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CONTEMPORARY SEPIK RIVER ART
A STUDY OF STYLISTIC CHANGE

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By

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the arts of acculturation and is thus concerned with change in the arts of non-western people under acculturative influence. The primary interest is the stylistic analysis of contemporary Sepik River art forms which form part of the Austin Collection now housed in the Royal Ontario Museum. These objects were collected during the period between 1961 - 1966 from the Sepik River Province of Papua New Guinea.

To understand the position of contemporary Sepik River art the art forms are considered in their cultural contexts. The overall cultural composition of the Sepik River Province is first presented and then followed by an overview of the tourist industry in Papua New Guinea so that the changes in art can be considered in the light of the prevailing socio-economic conditions.

In order to document the changes which have occurred in Sepik River art the stylistic features of the art forms from the Austin Collection are compared with those which are considered to be traditional. Included in the examination of traditional objects and illustrated in the appendix are art forms from the Margaret Mead Collection at the American Museum of Natural History,

from the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich, Germany, and art objects from the Ryan Collection exhibited at Isaacs Gallery in 1974 and 1975.

The results of analysis and comparison show that changes in art in the Sepik River Province as illustrated by the Austin Collection follow four main trends. These are: expansion, permutation, adjunction, and simplification. Expansion involves increased size, as well as the introduction of new forms, motifs, and colours replacing traditional ones. Permutation refers to the new translation of traditional content. The incorporation of new forms, motifs, colours, and materials to already existing ones resulting in a hybrid of traditional and foreign elements refers to adjunction. The simplification trend involves the reduction, elimination and standardization of traditional stylistic elements.

The stylistic analysis of the Austin Collection reveals that artistic activity appears to be very much alive in the Sepik River Province and is creatively adapting to the socio-economic changes of the twentieth century. As such, the Austin Collection reflects not only the sweeping changes that have occurred in contemporary Sepik River art production but becomes also a valuable document of

change which anthropologists should consider. This thesis is a contribution then to both the study of culture change and stylistic change. The illustrated catalogue represents a valuable reference tool for future studies and should be considered for any studies documenting stylistic change in the Sepik River Province of Papua New Guinea.

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Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	vi
List of Maps, Diagrams and Illustrations	ix
Chapter I Introduction	1
Chapter II Ethnographic Perspectives: Sepik River Culture	10
The Effects of Tourism	33
Chapter III The Lower Sepik River	38
Chapter IV The Middle Sepik River	66
Chapter V The Upper Sepik River	91
Chapter VI The Maprik	114
Chapter VII Conclusion	142
Bibliography	165
Appendix	175

List of Maps, Diagrams, and Illustrations

	Page
Map I Sepik River Province, Papua New Guinea.	161
Map II Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik, Papua New Guinea.	162
Diagram I Sacred Carvings of Kwoma Yam Cult	163
Diagram II Display of Sacred Nukuma <u>Mindja</u> Carvings	164
Plate 1 Mr. Fournier and Head-hunter from Korigo, Middle Sepik, Papua New Guinea.	175
Plate 2 Head-hunter's Insignia, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	176
Plate 3 <u>Haus Tambaran</u> , Sepik River, Papua New Guinea.	
Plate 4 Slit-gong, Middle Sepik.	179
Plate 5 Ceremonial Chairs, Middle Sepik.	182
Plate 6 Ceremonial Chair, Gaikarobi, Middle Sepik.	184
Plate 7 Shield, Washkuk, Upper Sepik.	186
Plate 8 Mask, Ramu River, Lower Sepik.	188
Plate 9 Mask, Murick or North Coast, Lower Sepik.	190
Plate 10 Mask, Lower Sepik.	192
Plate 11 Mask, Ramu River, Lower Sepik.	194
Plate 12 Mask, Lower Sepik.	196
Plate 13 Mask, Murick, Coastal Sepik.	197
Plate 14 Mask, Lower Sepik.	199
Plate 15 Carved Figures, Lower Sepik.	202

Plate 16	Carved Figure, Lower Sepik.	204
Plate 17	Carved Figures, Lower Sepik.	205
Plate 18	Carved Figures, Lower Sepik.	206
Plate 19	Mask, Anggoram, Lower Sepik.	208
Plate 20	Mask, Anggoram, Lower Sepik.	210
Plate 21	Mask, Anggoram, Lower Sepik.	212
Plate 22	Mask, Anggoram, Lower Sepik.	214
Plate 23	Bark Painting, Keram River, Lower Sepik.	216
Plate 24	Bark Painting, Keram River, Lower Sepik.	217
Plate 25	Memorial Board, Keram River, Lower Sepik.	219
Plate 26	Board, Keram River, Lower Sepik.	221
Plate 27a	Flute Figure, Mundugumor, Yuat River, Lower Sepik.	224
Plate 27b	Sculpted Figure, Mundugumor, Yuat River, Lower Sepik.	224
Plates 28 and 29	Sacred Crocodile Flute, Mundugumor, Yuat River, Lower Sepik.	228-229
Plate 30	Sacred Crocodile Flute, Mundugumor, Yuat River, Lower Sepik.	230
Plate 31	Sacred Crocodile Flute, Mundugumor, Yuat River, Lower Sepik.	232
Plate 32	Shield, Mundugumor, Yuat River, Lower Sepik.	234
Plate 33	Memorial Board, Yuat River, Lower Sepik.	235
Plate 34	Shield, Yuat River, Lower Sepik.	237
Plate 35	Memorial Board, Mundugumor, Yuat River, Lower Sepik.	239

Plate 36	Clay Pot Stand, Yual Village, Yuat River, Lower Sepik.	241
Plate 37	Clay Pot Stand, Mundugumor, Yuat River, Lower Sepik.	243
Plate 38	Skull, Middle Sepik.	245
Plate 39	Mwai Mask, Iatmul, Kamanibit, Middle Sepik.	248
Plate 40	Carved Figure and Clay Head, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	250
Plate 41	Carved Head, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	252
Plate 42	Hook Carving, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	254
Plate 43	Mwai Mask, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	256
Plate 44	Mwai Mask, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	259
Plate 45	Mwai Mask, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	261
Plate 46	Mwai Mask, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	263
Plate 47	Mask, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	265
Plate 48	Mask, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	267
Plate 49	Mask, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	269
Plate 50	Mask, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	271
Plate 51	Mask, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	273
Plate 52	Mask, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	275
Plate 53	Rattan Helmet Mask, Eastern Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	277
Plate 54	Rattan Pig Figure, Iatmul, Tambanum, Middle Sepik.	279
Plate 55	Shield, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	281
Plate 56	Shield, Middle Sepik.	283
Plate 57	Suspension Hook, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	285

Plate 58	Suspension Hook, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	287
Plate 59	Suspension Hook, Iatmul, Kandingai Village, Middle Sepik.	289
Plate 60	Carved Walking Stick, Iatmul, Middle Sepik.	291
Plate 61	Carving, Middle Sepik.	293
Plate 62	<u>Tumbuan</u> , Sawos, Middle Sepik.	295
Plate 63	<u>Malu</u> , Sawos, Middle Sepik.	297
Plate 64	<u>Malu</u> , Sawos, Middle Sepik.	299
Plate 65	Clay Pot, Chambri Lake, Middle Sepik.	301
Plate 66	Clay Pot, Aibom, Chambri Lake, Middle Sepik.	303
Plate 67	Clay Pot, Aibom, Chambri Lake, Middle Sepik.	305
Plate 68	Clay Vessel, Aibom, Chambri Lake, Middle Sepik.	307
Plate 69	Rattan Mask, Blackwater River, Middle Sepik.	309
Plate 70	Rattan Mask, Blackwater River, Middle Sepik.	311
Plate 71	<u>Yina</u> Carving, Kwoma, Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik.	313
Plate 72	<u>Yina</u> Carving, Kwoma, Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik.	315
Plate 73	<u>Yina</u> Carving, Kwoma, Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik.	317
Plate 74	<u>Yina</u> Carving, Kwoma, Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik.	319
Plate 75	<u>Yina</u> Carving, Kwoma, Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik.	321

Plate 76	Hook, Kwoma, Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik.	323
Plate 77	Yam Figure, Kwoma, Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik.	325
Plate 78	Clay Pot, Kwoma, Minowi, Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik.	327
Plate 79	<u>Yina</u> Carving, Nukuma, Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik.	329
Plate 80	<u>Mindja</u> Carving, Nukuma, Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik.	331
Plate 81	Shield, Nggala, Swagap, April River, Upper Sepik.	333
Plate 82	Shield, April River, Upper Sepik.	334
Plate 83	Gong-beater, Wogamus, Wogamus River, Upper Sepik.	336
Plate 84	Canoe Prow, Wogamus, Wogamus River, Upper Sepik.	338
Plate 85	Shield, Iwam, May River, Upper Sepik.	340
Plate 86	Shield, Iwam, Aum Group, May River, Upper Sepik.	342
Plate 87	Shield, Iwam, Waniap, May River, Upper Sepik.	344
Plate 88	Shield, Iwam, Mavi, May River, Upper Sepik.	347
Plate 89	Canoe Prow, Iwam, Waniap, Tributary of May River, Upper Sepik.	349
Plate 90	Canoe Prow, Iwam, Mavi, May River, Upper Sepik.	351
Plate 91	Canoe Prow, Iwam, May River, Upper Sepik.	353

Plate 92	Canoe Prow, Iwam, May River, Upper Sepik.	354
Plate 93	Canoe Prow, Iwam, May River, Upper Sepik.	355
Plate 94	Stool, Iwam, May River, Upper Sepik.	358
Plate 95	Lime Gourd and Stick, Iwam, May River, Upper Sepik.	360
Plate 96	Lime Gourd and Stick, Iwam, Waniap, May River, Upper Sepik.	362
Plate 97	Lime Gourd and Stick, Iwam, Waniap, May River, Upper Sepik.	364
Plate 98	Shell Ring, Abelam, Maprik.	366
Plate 99	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	368
Plate 100	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	370
Plate 101	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	372
Plate 102	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	374
Plate 103	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	375
Plate 104	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	378
Plate 105	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	380
Plate 106	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	382
Plate 107	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	385
Plate 108	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	386
Plate 109	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	388
Plate 110	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	390
Plate 111	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	392
Plate 112	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	394
Plate 113	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	396

Plate 114	Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	398
Plate 115	Carved Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	400
Plate 116	Carved Yam Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	402
Plate 117	<u>Babatagwa</u> Mask, Abelam, Maprik.	404
Plate 118	Frontal Façade of Abelam <u>Tambaran Haus</u> , Maprik.	406
Plate 119	Sago Spathe Painting, Abelam, Maprik.	409
Plate 120	Sago Spathe Painting, Abelam, Maprik.	411
Plate 121	Sago Spathe Painting, Abelam, Maprik.	413
Plate 122	Carved Figure, Abelam, Maprik.	416
Plate 123	Carved Hook Figure, Abelam, Maprik.	416
Plate 124	Carved Figure, Abelam, Maprik.	418
Plate 125	Carved Figure, Abelam, Maprik.	420
Plate 126	Carved Figure, Abelam, Maprik.	422
Plate 127	Coconut Shell Cup, Abelam, Maprik.	425
Plate 128	Coconut Shell Cup, Abelam, Maprik.	427
Plate 129	Clay Bowl, Abelam, Maprik.	428
Plate 130	Clay Bowl, Abelam, Maprik.	429
Plate 131	Clay Bowl, Abelam, Wosera, Maprik.	431
Plate 132	Drum, Abelam, Tau, Maprik.	433

The arts of non-occidental cultures have only recently been recognized by the Western world as objects of aesthetic value (Goldwater 1967). When 'primitive' objects were first acquired by museums they were regarded in terms of 'exotic' ethnological phenomenon and were often exhibited as curiosities. It was not until the twentieth century that the marked attention focused on these items by avant-garde artists sparked international interest in them as objets d'arts. It was not long, however, before controversy developed concerning the artistic merit and authenticity of those 'primitive' art items which were produced after contact with Europeans (Fry 1971-1972: 96). Contemporary productions were generally dismissed as deviations or poor imitations of the pure indigenous forms and were deemed unworthy of study. Nevertheless, recent research on these 'arts of acculturation' by Graburn (1969a; 1969b), Ben Amos (1973), May (1974), and others, have stressed the importance of studying the phenomenon of non-western contemporary arts as 'creative adaptations' and as 'visual communicative systems' in their own right.

The contemporary art of Papua New Guinea certainly qualifies as arts of acculturation (May 1974). When placed in historical perspective the contemporary art reveals that major and important stylistic changes have occurred. The concern of this thesis is, however, not to provide an historical survey of Papua New Guinea art but rather to study the art of one of its art producing regions and, in particular, to analyze and try to account for the stylistic changes that have occurred in a specific contemporary collection of Sepik River art.

The Austin Collection of relatively recent Sepik River art housed in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto provides the primary corpus of material to be studied. The collection is part of a 400 artifact assemblage from Papua New Guinea that was purchased in November of 1969 for \$25,000 from Mr. Norman Elder of Norman Elder Gallery, Toronto. Mr. Elder acquired the entire assemblage in 1967 from the collector, Peter Austin, an Australian geologist who worked in Papua New Guinea between 1961 to 1967 and had amassed the art objects. A large portion of the Austin Collection, including the Sepik River artifacts were represented in 1970 as part of the Royal Ontario Museum's Papua New Guinea exhibit (Rogers 1970).

The study also includes some examples of Sepik River art from collections in the United States and Germany, as well as another from Toronto. For comparative purposes, the art forms from the assemblage of Sepik River material collected by Margaret Mead for the American Museum of Natural History during her famous 1931-1933 expedition to New Guinea are particularly useful because of their generally accepted traditional nature (Mead 1934). Another useful collection is the Kunst der Südsee exhibit at the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in München, Germany. In this case, the art objects were acquired by the Museum mainly during the second decade of the twentieth century. A third valuable source of comparative Sepik River art material used in this study is the Ryan Collection which was exhibited at Isaacs Gallery in Toronto in 1974 and 1975. The artifacts collected by Mr. Paul Ryan of Vancouver, embrace a wide range of expressions ranging from the traditional to the arts of acculturation.

Valuable stylistic data was also derived from numerous illustrations and literary descriptions, of which Heinz Kelm's (1966-1968) three volumes, Kunst vom Sepik, were extremely useful.

The supplementary material selected from other museum collections and from the published literature

provide a baseline against which the stylistic properties of the Austin Collection can be compared. Such comparisons permit the identification of stylistic features which are innovations and those which are traditional. Furthermore, by examining examples of contemporary art from different parts of the Sepik River District it is possible to describe the drift of changes in art production in the Sepik.

Methodological Considerations

Stylistic analysis of the Austin Collection and of traditional Sepik art forms involves various processes. Essentially, the methodological framework used is derived from Herta Haselberger's (1961) systematic study for examining non-occidental art. The study represents a holistic approach stressing the necessity to examine the arts within their cultural contexts, that is, the cultural environment from which they sprang and to which they belong. A stylistic analysis involves examination of basic artistic properties and aesthetic qualities that characterize an object and constitute its style. The artistic components which are sensitive indicators of style, are material, technique, size, form and content (Haselberger 1961).

Material, Haselberger (1961:347) notes, "considerably affects the form of a work of art". Determined by both the

physical environment and artist, material is an important component of style. Any change in material, such as the adaptation of imported goods (beads, cloth, paint, and so on), is important in indicating not only alteration in form but in providing evidence of discontinuities in style.

Technique refers not only to the type of tools (traditional neolithic versus European metal implements) used to manufacture an item but also to the type of work applied to the object - for instance, whether the surface is polychromed, or left bare, polished or artificially aged. The technique used affects the finished state of an item and can be used to help place an art object in its time and location.

The size of an object is determined in part by the material, partly by the artist and to some extent by the conventions of the society. Modifications which result either in increase or reduction of size are significant for extremes often produce new stylistic expressions.

Form refers to the arrangement of the physical properties of an object which produce distinct images acceptable to the conventions of its society. The form is adapted to the expression of the materials' inherent character but can be subjected to whatever distortion

or stress that best serve the artist in building pictorial structures. Form is thus a determined arrangement of mass, colour and proportion. When the form conveys a meaning expressing a particular idea or acts as a symbol, a new element - an emotional value or content- is added to the form (Boas 1955:12). Form and content together constitute an 'organic whole' - "the essential basic components of art" (Gerbrands 1957:41). Content can refer, on one hand, to the meaning, symbolism or emotional value of a work of art, or, on the other, to the formal decorative elements which are subject to the rules and conventions of the cultural traditions.

Art styles then can be distinguished by their formal qualities which are discovered by analysis of material, size, form, content, and mode of execution. These characteristics also enable the ethnologist to identify an artifact and determine its provenience. But style, states Shapiro (1952:278), is not only a means by which the date and location of an object can be established but is above all,

a system of forms with a quality and a meaningful expression through which the personality of the artist and the broad outlook of a group are visible. It is also a vehicle of expression within the group, communicating and fixing certain values of religion, social and moral

life through the emotional suggestiveness of forms.

In order to determine the stylistic changes in the Austin Collection that have occurred as a result of socio-economic changes, it is necessary first to investigate the underlying principles that characterize traditional styles. Representative art expressions are thus examined to ascertain the traditional stylistic characteristics endemic to the style provinces of the Sepik River District (Bühler, et al. 1962:106-114). Once the traditional stylistic principles have been established in terms of intrinsic structural qualities as evident in material, size, form, and content, the essential characteristics underlying the artistic expressions of the Austin Collection are determined by comparison. Another task is to compare stylistically similar objects from related areas in order to discover the salient features of contemporary forms of Sepik River art as represented by the Austin Collection. Such an analysis facilitates the description of successive changes in style for the entire Sepik River District.

In describing the art styles of the Sepik River District I rely not only on the observations I made of objects studied at various museums (principally the Austin Collection at the Royal Ontario Museum, and

collections at Isaacs Gallery, at The American Museum of Natural History, and at the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München, Germany), but also on the published works of Abramson (1970), Bühler (1969), Forge (1967, 1971), Kelm (1966-1968), Newton (1967, 1971) et al. Discussion of contemporary art is based to a large extent on Graburn (1969a, 1969b) who established a useful classification of types and on May (1974) who investigated the general impact of tourism on Papua New Guinea art.

The visual data examined in this study are presented in catalogue form in the appendix. This catalogue consists primarily of illustrations of the Austin Collection from the Royal Ontario Museum. Some visual examples from The American Museum of Natural History, Isaacs Gallery, and from the Staatliches Museum in München, Germany, are included for comparative purposes. Apart from the illustrations, the catalogue also provides, where possible, the following information: the provenience; accession number; the institute where the art object was exhibited or stored at the time of this study; the date of its acquisition; the collector; dimensions; material and brief description.

Although the catalogue is relegated to the appendix it is worth pointing out that its compilation was a necessary

and preliminary task which involved examining, measuring and photographing every object, and often providing a tentative provenience based largely on stylistic evidence. As mentioned in the catalogue, some identifications were made by specialists such as Forge, Newton and Kaufmann, who actually viewed the Austin Collection in 1974. Unless otherwise stated in the text accompanying the illustration, identification for the Austin Collection was provided by Austin's notes. Also, unless specifically noted, the photographs are by the author.

In the following pages the art styles of the Sepik River District are presented within the context of Sepik culture. Chapter II introduces the cultural perspectives of the Sepik River District. The traditional culture is first outlined and then followed by the modern context which includes a discussion of culture contact and the development of the tourist industry, which presently provides the main stimulus for contemporary art production in the District as well as in many other parts of Papua New Guinea. Detailed analysis of traditional and contemporary art objects from the Lower, Middle, Upper Sepik River and Maprik style provinces as represented in the Austin Collection, are presented in Chapters III to VI. Chapter VII concludes with a discussion of the stylistic changes and artistic trends represented in the Austin Collection.

Chapter II

Ethnographic Perspectives: Sepik River Culture

The Sepik River District situated in the northwest corner of New Guinea consists of about 28,000 miles of terrain and is inhabited by a congeries of tribes numbering approximately 290,000 people (Newton 1971:8). Originating in the Island's mountainous spine, the River system flows in a north-westerly direction along a vast intermontane trough between the volcanic Central Cordillera and the northern chain of Torricelli and Prince Alexander Mountain Ranges, to empty 700 miles later into the Pacific Ocean. Descending from the central highlands to the grassy basin of the Upper Sepik Valley, the River is fed by numerous tributaries and cuts through mountainous rain forests, grassy plains and flooded sago-swamps. (Map 1).

The District is part of what was once northeastern New Guinea. Together with the Island's southeastern quadrant it forms the eastern half of the world's second largest non-continental island. The western portion of the Island, previously a Dutch colony, became a province of Indonesia in 1963 and is now known as Irian Jaya.

From 1884 to 1914 the Territory of New Guinea, known

as Kaiser Wilhelmsland, was under German rule. Except for this period and between 1942-1945 when the island was invaded and occupied by the Japanese, Australia, until just recently, governed the Territory. On December 1, 1973 Papua New Guinea was granted self-rule and in September 1975 it became an independent nation, thus ending approximately ninety years of foreign rule.

A century has elapsed since Otto Finsch, the first European to sail inland, discovered the Sepik River in 1885. Following Finsch's discovery a series of reconnaissance expeditions were undertaken but the Sepik remained relatively unknown until the twentieth century. In 1908, while covering the course of the Sepik River, Otto Reche, a German ethnologist, distinguished three areas: the lower, middle, and upper Sepik. The classification prevailed until the work of Kaberry (1940-1942) when the Maprik was added as a fourth style province. In 1961 this fourfold division was the basis of a stylistic analysis undertaken by Bühler; he identified the divisions as style provinces with sub-style centre developments. Bühler's stylistic classification and description has remained the main source of information for subsequent stylistic studies and is the basis of this research paper.

The style provinces are also relatively compatible with the linguistic picture drawn up by Laycock (1973).

Based on his survey work in the Sepik District between 1959-1972, Laycock (1973:19, 69) postulates the existence of groups of interrelated languages belonging to the Sepik-Ramu Phylum. The Phylum extends from the Irian Jaya border along the Sepik River to its mouth. Minimally, the Sepik-Ramu Phylum is composed of the Upper Sepik Stock, the Sepik Hill Family, the Ndu Family, the Pondo Family, and the Yuat and Grass Family languages of the lower Sepik, Ramu-Sub Phylum (Laycock 1973). All the languages are non-Austronesian except for the Sepik Coast where there is a mixture of Austronesian and Non-Austronesian languages spoken (Grace 1968:64; Laycock 1961:36).

Physiographically, the Sepik River District is distinguished by the coastal-riverine environment and by the drier inland grassy plains and foothill environments. The seasonal flooding of the river's banks creates permanent swamp forests which cover extensive areas along the river and its tributaries creating obviously contrasting environmental conditions and economies from those of the drier inland grasslands. The differences are realized in a riverine cliché: "we are crocodile and sago: they are cassowary and yam." (Newton 1971:9). This refers not only to the totemic ancestors of the people but also to the staple diet (Ibid). While yam cultivation requires well-drained soils, sago forests thrive in marshy swamps.

Subsidiary to the predominantly horticultural and starchy diet of yams and sago are nuts, fruits, pigs, an enormous number of birds, fish and reptiles including snakes, lizards as well as crocodiles.

Prior to the introduction of steel implements, wooden digging sticks, end-bladed axes and adzes made from wood and stone were employed as traditional garden and work tools throughout the Sepik District. These neolithic tools were often supplemented by other implements of bamboo, bone, shell, ivory and smaller ones made of teeth from marsupials, pigs and canines. Rattans, other climbing plants, and fibres teased from the bark of trees were employed to provide ropes and string (Bateson 1932:258).

The Sepik River not only provided the scores of head-hunting tribes with their livelihood but also acted as a unifying element throughout the District. With its natural dykes, canals, and tributaries, it served as the main artery of inter-village communication and made long-distance trade possible. Almost all travel, whether for trading purposes, fishing, or head-hunting was undertaken in dug-out canoes (Bateson 1932:251).

Exchanges of food surplus for utilitarian objects established a network of formal and informal trade relationships. The Kwoma women, for example, conducted

markets every three to five days with river people who traded fish or sea-shells for Kwoma sago meals (Whiting and Reed 1938:188). There were even certain villages that specialized in producing particular items that were in constant demand either by neighbouring tribes or over large areas. Such were the Aibom people of Lake Chambri, whose ceramics were highly valued in the middle Sepik. Sometimes temporary alliances or truces of peace were established with smaller groups, partly to prevent their decimation by head-hunting raids. The Mundugumor of the Yuat River who exported tobacco and food supplies in exchange for cooking pots, baskets and mosquito sleeping bags produced by people inhabiting the eastern swamps, are noted by Mead (1935:167) to have said, "that they were careful not to kill all of them (swamp people), for then there would be no makers of pots left alive."

Also common to Sepik River cultures were ceremonial exchanges (Mead 1935:168; Newton 1967:4). Carvings, songs, and rituals were exchanged as whole complexes or were assimilated with modifications to fit into the already existing stylistic or cultural contexts. Such borrowing of objects and styles were facilitated not only through exchange relations but also through other means of intertribal contact, such as warfare, intermarriage and migrations (Abramson 1972:279). These external relations which

encouraged the adoption of outside forms and decorative features were also often responsible for the blurring of styles and for the impressions of eclecticism in Sepik sub-styles (Newton 1967:4). Although economic and ceremonial exchanges as well as other forms of intertribal contact contributed to a great ferment of ideas towards variation and innovation in style, the acceptance of such external influences was regulated by internal norms and values (Ibid).

The almost complete dependence of the indigenous Sepik people on their great river system encouraged the formation of large permanent villages of approximately 200 to 1000 peoples along the banks of the river (Bateson 1932:255). There was a tendency for the often hostile tribes to spread out over large areas with villages acting as independent political units sometimes allied, and sometimes feuding in a perpetual round of warfare. A salient feature of Sepik culture, and characteristically Melanesian, was the acephalous form of political organization, that is, the absence of chieftainship. Primary influence and power were vested in certain men on the basis of economic accomplishments and personal achievements. They were known as 'Big Men' (Sahlins 1968) and their position depended on their success and generosity in amassing and dispensing their wealth at lavish ceremonies; on their ability to organize yam and pig exchanges and mobilize food for elaborate feasts; on their

knowledge of esoteric mythology; on their renowned success as warriors and head-hunters; and on their reputation as sorcerers, painters and carvers (Bateson 1932:257, 258; Chowning 1973:38-22, 38-24). Having obtained recognition of their achievements and deeds, Big Men secured social status, influence and power.

There was apparently no visible hierarchy of art objects nor status symbols associated with Big Men but Chowning (1973:38-24) states that, "it is very common for Big Men to wear distinctive paraphernalia and to carry special insignia,...even though they may not be notably better dressed or housed than others." Since a successful warrior was entitled to special homicidal ornaments (Plate 1), it was not unusual for a Big Man, pre-eminently a renowned warrior or head-hunter, to wear a band of opossum fur or to carry a lime-stick with suspended tassels representing a tally of men he had slain (Plate 2) (Bateson 1958:captions under Plate X and Plate XXIV(a)).

While the tribe was the largest permanent group of people, linked together by knowledge of a common cultural heritage, the village as mentioned, served as the widest political unit, that is, the largest community within which "fighting should never be carried to a point where it involves loss of life" (Kaberry 1971:33). Village inhabitants were usually members of totemic moieties divided into a number of phratries and segmented into

localized, exogamous and totemic clans composed of extended families of patrilineages (Bateson 1932:255). While senior male lineage elders usually held some vestige of influence at the lineage level of authority, leadership beyond this point generally followed the previously mentioned prerequisites of achieved Big Man status.

In some villages, particularly among the Iatmul of the middle Sepik, the social organization was revealed symbolically in the geometrical arrangement of houses (Bateson 1932:255). The dwellings of the two moieties stood opposite each other and lined the parallel sides of ceremonial ground which longitudinally divided the village in two. The land occupied by the two moieties was further segmented transversely proportioning land to each patrilineal clan. The smallest local unit usually consisted of the household composed of two or three classificatory brothers and their nuclear families - each family occupying a separate portion of the dwelling (Bateson 1932:256, 257).

The dwelling house was the woman's domain. She had considerable power and authority in the house since she reared the children and performed the cooking, fishing, and feeding of the pigs. The dwelling house itself was constructed from wood and thatching, those of the hill people built on the ground and those of the plains people

on piles raised high above the ground as protection against the periodic flooding of the river (Newton 1971:10). Conscious but not visual divisions separated the single house into individual residences for families. Neither walls nor screens but just huge, tubular mosquito sleeping bags of plaited twine divided the floor space in the centre of the house. Close to the walls the women had their separate cooking areas. The remaining wall space was employed as a framework for shelves lined with various pots and domestic utensils. A wealth of other objects - personal ornaments, weapons, tools, and food goods were suspended from the ceiling (Bateson 1932:261; 1958:143).

While the dwelling house, the domain of women, was simply decorated and furnished, the men's cult house, that is, the village's Haus Tambaran or ceremonial house was a splendid structure prodigiously decorated. It stood "as a symbol of their pride in head-hunting" and was "imbued with heat by the violence and killing which were necessary for its building and conservation" (Bateson 1958:124). Bateson (1958:121) also notes that "the contrast between ceremonial house and dwelling house is fundamental for the culture..."

The Haus Tambaran itself was constructed along the centre line of the sacred ceremonial or dancing ground and was often 120 feet in length and 60 feet in height (Bateson 1932:258, 259; Kaberry 1941a: 359) (Plate 3). The rectangular

walls and roof of thatched sago leaves were supported by enormous carved wooden poles which sometimes rested on human skulls. The façade was often decorated with totemic or purely decorative carvings of snakes, lizards, crocodiles and birds. In the cases noted by Bateson (1932:259; 1946:20) a gigantic female ancestor representing the guardian of the clubhouse was affixed to the towering gables at each end of the structure. A carved winged bird and male figure personifying the great fish eagle, symbolic of the clan's fighting force, often crowned the raised peak of the gable (Bateson 1946:20).

Sepik custom forbade women and children from trespassing on the grassy promenade leading to the clubhouse, much less entering the sacred structure where the ceremonial paraphernalia were manufactured and stored (Gilliard 1955:449). The interior of a Haus Tambaran introduced one to "the masculine assertive art (that)... has its locus within the grandiose female matrix." (Bateson 1946:120). Trophies of staring skulls lined the shelves while beside them masks with perforated tops were hung along the interior walls. Concealed inside the Haus Tambarans were pairs of heavy slit-gongs (Plate 4), sacred flutes which in particular no women should ever see, ceremonial chairs (Plates 5,6) and other sacred paraphernalia commemorating deceased ancestors and guardian spirits (Bateson 1932:261).

Tambaran is the neo-Melanesian term which is applied not only to the men's club-house which served as an assembly room exclusively for men, a workshop and as a repository for the sacred objects, but also to the ceremonial artifacts and to the men's cult itself from which females and uninitiated boys were excluded (Kaberry 1941a:356). Within the secrecy of the Tambaran was created an atmosphere of individual and 'histrionic pride' with emphases on the spectacular and theatrical (Bateson 1958:124).

Against such a dramatic and emotional background were performed the elaborate and spectacular ceremonies which were the climax of social life. Associated with the secrecy and forbidden character of the Tambaran, and formally best expressing the rigid sex dichotomy of Sepik culture, the ideology of male hegemony and the ideally flamboyant and aggressive male ethos, was the initiation ceremony. The ceremony represented part of the socialization process whereby boys received a formal introduction into the men's ceremonial life thereby assuming the status and responsibilities of an adult male. Though the ceremony itself may have varied in form and content from tribe to tribe it was a ritual recognition of puberty compulsory for all adolescent boys. The ritual included; the adoption of an initiate by a ceremonial father of the opposite moiety; seclusion of the initiate for a lengthy period to avoid

women and encourage male solidarity; a process of scarification; ceremonial thrashing and bullying; revelation of cult secrets and sacred objects; the bestowing upon each youth of ceremonial finery; and the completion of the initiation ceremony by exhibiting the novices to women in the celebration dances and musical performances accompanied by the sacred musical instruments (Bateson 1958; Newton 1971: 84; Whiting and Reed 1938:196). The central theme of the initiation rites was the symbolic death and rebirth of the initiate. The novice was usually "devoured" by a crocodile and later "reborn" (Bateson 1932:436).

Because of complex beliefs evolving around the ambivalent role of women in society and an elaborate set of beliefs concerning the crops, food supplies, musical instruments, and special activities, precautions were taken and taboos existed forbidding the presence and participation of women in certain ceremonies, secret societies or in some of the horticultural activities. Yam cultivation in particular was hedged with many beliefs, ceremonies and peculiar behaviour patterns, all in order to ensure fertility (Kaberry 1941a; Tuzin 1972; Whiting and Reed 1938:179). Once the land was cleared for yam gardening, the rituals of the yam cult began. Since the yam gardens and storehouses were taboo to the contaminating influences of women, the initiated male population participated in the planting, gardening and harvesting of the yams. The titular owners

observed food and sex taboos, performed magic and offered sacrifices during the gardening operations (Kaberry 1941a: 355). Once harvested, the sacred yams were elaborately decorated with magical paint, woven masks and headdresses to resemble humans. Tuzin (1972:245) states that the 'yam-body' equation functioned at the conscious level for the Sepik artists were known to discuss and "remark on the anthropomorphism of their yams in order to boast of their decorative skills." Ostentatiously exhibited, the yams were exchanged between ceremonial partners either from within or from other villages as a reciprocal economic agreement.

A competitive atmosphere dominated the gardening, exhibition and exchange activities since the long yams "obviously phallic symbols" were also considered symbols of man's virility, pride, status and the precondition of male influence and prestige (Forge 1962:10; 1966:28; Kaberry 1941a:355; Tuzin 1972:233,238,250). Yam competitions were in particular highly charged emotionally for not only were long yams important for future Big Men vying for influence and status, but were also esteemed to be symbols of clan and village pride and prestige (Tuzin 1972). Yams were also identified with the supernatural. They were considered to have an animistic quality and were believed to be inhabited by clan spirits whose names were applied accordingly (Kaberry 1941a:357).

The role of yams as the main symbol of male, clan and village prestige and its identification with both ancestors and mortal man, indicates that its cultivation is more than a matter of economic necessity. The yam cult was the nucleus of a complex set of economic, social, political, aesthetic and religious values.

Significantly, art production in the Sepik River District also played a central role in the economic, social, political and religious life of the culture. Unlike contemporary Western societies where the arts function almost as a separate institution, "identified by the special circuit in which they circulate and by their only visual use" (Maquet 1971:4), the arts of the Sepik were functional and integrated with nearly all facets of the culture.

The artistic tradition in Sepik culture had in particular, a close functional relationship with the religious ideology of the culture. At the core of Sepik religion, linking the past, present and future, was the belief in ancestral powers constantly operating in nature and in all facets of social and cultural life. This belief stimulated the production of many art forms which represented supernatural spirits.

Art production was an essential part of the ceremonies of the Tambaran and Yam cults, the institutions which not

only stimulated their production but also provided the contexts in which they were used. Since almost all art was produced for use in ceremonies these two cults were the primary institutions of artistic expression in Sepik River culture. Thus the art of the Sepik, "as in most New Guinea societies...is basically cult art" (Forge 1967:67).

The art items can also be distinguished as being either private or public (Newton 1971:343). They were private in the sense of being sacred, hidden and guarded in the men's cult house and restricted to a particular group of people - the initiates - while being taboo to the general public. On the other hand, public art productions, though sacred, were available to and seen by everyone during various ceremonies and feasts. These objects can be further distinguished on the basis of being either worn or held as property. Except for a few tribes, one being the Mundugumor of the Yuat River, where sacred cult objects were hereditary possessions and were wrapped up and kept in the individual's home, the most important art objects in Sepik culture were collectively or clan owned and when not in use were stored in the village Haus Tambaran (Mead 1935: 176).

Culture Contact and Sepik Art

Contact with Europeans has been principally instrumental in affecting cultural and stylistic change. During the almost ninety years of contact, Sepik culture and art styles developed within a distinct historical framework which can be organized into five chronological time periods, as follows.

1. 1885-1914 -German contact and first attempts at methodical collections of Sepik art.
2. 1914-1942 -Australian administration and beginnings of Australian, British, Swiss and American collections.
3. 1942-1945 -Japanese occupation.
4. Post World War II -World recognition of Sepik River art.
5. Post 1950 -Time of tourist 'invasion' and development of contemporary artifact industry.

First contacts took place with the Germans who had annexed the northeast quadrant of the island in 1884. The Germans named the Sepik River the Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss and claimed the District as part as Kaiser Wilhelmsland. The River itself was first sighted and briefly explored in 1885.

Reconnaissance expeditions were launched by the German administration but the Sepik District remained largely unknown until the twentieth century. In 1908-1910, Otto Reche's trek up the Sepik resulted in a detailed book (1913) still serving as the main source of information on Sepik River material culture (Haberland 1965:33). Important scientific visits up the Sepik River were mounted by the Leonhard Schultze-Jena boundary making expedition of 1910 and by Dr. Walter Behrmann's geographical survey expedition in 1912-1913 which reached the Yellow River in the upper Sepik valley. From there, Dr. Thurnwald travelled in 1914 through unknown territory to climax the series of German expedition by being the first European to discover the headwaters of the Sepik River system (Campbell 1938:232).

Except for these initial scientific expeditions the tribes along the banks of the Sepik River had little other direct European contact. Less accessible groups such as those dwelling in the interior were particularly isolated from the influence of Europeans, and in some instances were to remain so for at least another thirty years or more. Tribes inhabiting the area around the mouth of the Sepik River, however, were much more quickly exposed to Western culture. Trading centres established there readily introduced the local populations to White

man's culture (Gardi 1960:67). With the exception of the coastal area, the period of German contact was characterized by few, brief and sporadic visits up the Sepik River, affecting little if any change in the traditional cultures. The Germans were much more concerned with economic expansion and commercial enterprise than with native proselytization.

During the subsequent occupation of New Guinea by Australia, the Sepik River cultures witnessed their second wave of contact with the arrival of administrative officers, labour-recruiters, explorers, crocodile skin buyers, traders, missionaries, prospectors and anthropologists. This invasion of White men signalled the beginning of a new era - one of increasing social and cultural change.

During this time the Sepik River District was controlled as far as Ambunti by a patrol post 240 miles upstream. Established in the twenties, the government's farthest outpost boasted of two fine European house structures, a native hospital and a native police force (Fournier 1941: 92). The District also had a most active missionary settlement at Marienberg, fifty miles upstream in the lower Sepik. It is likely then that most of the tribes up to Ambunti had been contacted by missionaries, had experienced recruitment for wage labour on copra plantations, and were, at least, partially controlled by the government. Mead (1935:164) claims in hyperbole that,

"when this (government) control outlawed war, head-hunting, and cannibalism, Mundugumor life stopped dead..." Mead (1935:161) also states that, "the villages on the lower Sepik were in a partially disintegrated state owing to mission influence and overrecruiting."

The discovery of gold in New Guinea in the 1920's further intensified the disrupting and Westernizing effects of government administration, plantations and missionaries - the three principal agencies of change in the Sepik District (Oliver 1967:241). With the quest for gold, a rush of mining companies, prospectors, traders and adventurers invaded the Sepik District and offered new experiences to the local tribes.

Aerial surveys for mining purposes were also instrumental in speeding up the process of opening up virgin territory to European influence. The Williams-Campbell expedition of 1935-1937, organized on behalf of British and American mining interests made aerial reconnaissance missions in 1935 over the Sepik Headwaters and in 1936 received the distinction of being the first to land in the upper Sepik Valley (Campbell 1938).

Although some tribes had regular contact with White men, their cultures were not ethnographically well known. Aside from Reche's (1913) detailed work and a few German

surveys of the coastal tribes, ethnographic research was minimal. Under Australian administration a few anthropologists documented the traditional life for some tribes not then acculturated. Margaret Mead's (1935) research on sex and personality differences made the Mundugumor and Tchambuli famous. Gregory Bateson (1931-1932, 1935) painted an even more vivid picture of the rich Iatmul culture. The Abelam in the Maprik Mountains became known through the work of Phyllis Kaberry (1941a; 1941b). The only other comprehensive study was by Whiting and Reed (1938-1939) writing about the Kwoma dwelling in the Peilunga Mountains in the Washkuk area.

In the ethnographic sense then, the Sepik District was little known although it had experienced contact since 1885. The northern coast and tribes along the lower Sepik were visited more frequently due to their close proximity to European trading centres and missionary stations. Their cultures were therefore much more vulnerable to the dysfunctional effects of advancing European civilization.

The efforts of almost six decades of European culture contact on the economic, political and spiritual life of Sepik cultures were upset by the Japanese invasion and occupation of New Guinea between 1942-1945. Oliver (1967:374) states that the Japanese invasion demonstrated

how tenuous the bonds were between the indigenous populations and the Europeans:

Japanese seizure...marked a complete break in administration and commerce. Plantations and mines were abandoned and trade ceased. The Japanese...did not institute any general measure for administration or welfare. For their part, most natives were left to themselves...and returned to their pre-European past-times, including some inter-tribal fighting and head-hunting.

Oliver (1967:376) adds that the liberation of New Guinea by the Allied forces proved more devastating to native life than the Japanese invasion and occupation. He claims that "the Allies, by virtue of their more massive bombardments accounted for the larger share of the estimated 15,000 natives killed and 20,000 dwellings destroyed in Papua and New Guinea..." Native life came to a standstill and to quote Forge (1967:84) "the war and its aftermath virtually stopped artistic activity."

When after the war New Guinea became a Trust Territory of Australia, the Sepik River District entered its fourth period of foreign contact. The post-war administration was characterized by an interest in native welfare and attempts to repair the economy. Through intensified missionary efforts and ambitious plans for education, improved medical services, economic development, and political independence, the Sepik cultures were exposed to

and forced to adapt to increased Westernization. At the same time, pre-war research was introducing the western world to the rich New Guinea cultures, particularly to the Sepik River. The "explosion" of Sepik River art on the major world art centres during the 1950's stimulated further research and the influx of more alien contact.

By the 1950's, with the exception of the less accessible upper Sepik tribes and the terrae incognitae of southern water regions, such as the Karawari and Krosmeri River systems, the native populations were becoming increasingly acculturated, adapting the dress, customs, language, beliefs and values of the dominant European society. The growth of modern towns, the construction of hotels and miniature landing strips, the development of travel agencies and the lure of the exotic and primitive, all assisted in opening up the Sepik District for its fourth "invasion" and a new rush, this time for its art.

Through experience native populations quickly learned that White men were eager to acquire their carvings. During the first encounters often small knives, beads and buttons were used as trade objects (Fournier 1941:94). After the establishment of Australian government control and the introduction of taxes, Europeans also acquired through purchase art objects as souvenirs or for collections.

Fournier (1941:92) mentions that at Korigo on December 23, 1933, he "purchased a large, well worked bilum for five shillings." The ever increasing demand for native art objects led the indigenous populations to view their wooden carvings as popular commodities for trade or purchase. At this stage the commercial aspects of trading had not yet dominated traditional aesthetic productivity for there was not yet a guaranteed market. After the war however, when Sepik carvings received world recognition as valuable art objects, and curators, collectors, entrepreneurs, and tourists were competing for acquisition, carving activity became a commercial enterprise. The lure of European cash quickly induced native populations to sell crocodile skins and curios or reproductions of traditional works to itinerant Whites and tourists. Carpenter (1974:105) observed that at the news of arriving Europeans natives worked quickly in their riverside studios to produce and display their wares. According to Carpenter, "Both banks of the Middle Sepik (were)...lined with workshope whose tourist art is turned out en masse." The evidence indicates that once European contact was firmly established economic motivation rather than traditional reasons provided the stimulus for artistic production and was responsible for a flourishing trade on the tourist art market.

The Effects of Tourism

May (1974) has discussed tourism and the structure of the artifact industry as the new platform for the production of contemporary Sepik art. It is thus necessary to discuss the contemporary Papua New Guinea art market if one is to understand the nature of contemporary Sepik art.

May (1974:6) distinguished two markets: (1) the artifact market created by 'collectors', that is, private collectors, and buyers for art galleries, and museums who were "usually interested only in terms of a certain quality...defined in terms of ethnographic authenticity, aesthetic appeal, rarity, or some combination of these three" and (2) the 'tourist market' for casual buyers who were "mostly interested in acquiring one or a few items usually as souvenirs of a visit." The sellers were described by May (1974:7) as being the villagers and the urban migrants who usually sold to dealers items that they, or their relatives or friends had produced. May (1974:8) stated that the dealers who handled the bulk of the artifact industry were expatriates usually with shops in town catering to both the tourist market and the collectors. Most of the profits were reaped from the flood of tourist items which were subject to a low mark-up in price, and less from the more expensive but rare collectors' pieces.

There were also several smaller dealers who along with other entrepreneurs handled the sale of tourist art. May (1974:7,8) described professionals specializing in collectors' items for the international art market as the third group of dealers. The fourth were incidental dealers, such as missionaries, airline employees, administrative officers and academic field researchers "who in the nature of their work either spend a large amount of time in the field or are able to exploit an extensive field network."

Local Sepik people, though not as successful, have also become entrepreneurs. May (1974:8) described the involvement in recent years of three cases: a local entrepreneur establishing a roadside business in the Maprik area, a fairly successful business venture in Port Moresby set up by a group of Sepik men dealing principally in cheap tourist pieces in the middle Sepik style; and some riverine Sepiks establishing in Wewak a small cooperative - style enterprise with financial assistance from the Commercial and Development Bank and from the Department of Business Development. The strong demand for souvenirs and the realization that a carving industry might provide the natives with a stable source of income, perhaps encouraged government involvement in the production of artifacts for sale. The government established in the

East Sepik District villages a system of local government council enterprises (May 1974:9).

In addition to dealers within the Sepik District and Papua New Guinea, May (1974:9) noted that there were dealers who specifically conducted regular field trips to Papua New Guinea in order to deal in native art. Paul Ryan of Vancouver, whose collections in recent years have been annually exhibited at Isaacs Gallery in Toronto has done this, and the owners of a new Sepik artifact enterprise established in New York also conduct regular field trips (Maksic and Meskil 1973).

Prices vary between those set at the source for artifacts in Papua New Guinea and those set in the major international art centres overseas. Prices for both fine art and tourist items are lower in Papua New Guinea than overseas. Several factors are responsible for the marked discrepancy in price. One of course, is the cost of the collection, including transportation and freight expenses, and costs in the field. Another is the mark-up which covers rent, wages, and advertising as well as allowing for a margin of profit (May 1974:9,10). With reference to the Ryan Collection, the mark-up ranged from a 100 to 500 percent. This range applied not only to fine art items but also to tourist pieces (Plate 8). May (1974:11) however, stated that in Papua New Guinea prices

for tourist items usually reflect native costs which might be related to the prevailing minimum daily wage, while prices for collectors' fine art objects reflect the values assigned to rarity, ethnographic authenticity, craftsmanship and aesthetic quality. As Maquet (1971:4,5) noted, once artifacts entered the international art circuit and circulated within the special commercial art networks, their value fluctuated according to elusive but manipulative factors. In his opinion, the people who controlled the networks were largely responsible for the prices that were set.

Placed in historical perspective, there was a close functional relationship between Sepik art and religious ideology. In the historical period the art continued to be integrated with its cultural milieu revealing, perhaps, only slight changes in the techniques or media employed, whereas Sepik art of the contemporary era is shaped to a large extent by Western values, that is, primarily by the demands of the market place. Although the effects of foreign occupations (German, Australian, Japanese and American) are largely responsible for the social and cultural changes which have occurred in the Sepik District, it is the tourist trade and international art markets which are shaping the character of contemporary Sepik carvings. A market structure consisting of riverside workshops,

village and town shops, government craft enterprises, and international galleries have developed in response to the market. In order to ensure marketability the producers of art had to be sensitive and receptive to the demands of the new art circuits.

Despite the presence of numerous shared cultural characteristics which on the surface suggest a high degree of homogeneity, the Sepik River District is not a uniform style province. Instead, the District consists of a number of style provinces, each with pockets of local sub-style developments (Bühler, et al. 1962:106). Some local sub-styles, however, are so unique that it is difficult to isolate stylistic features homogeneous to the Sepik District as a whole or to the mélange of other Sepik sub-styles. In other instances, there are sub-areas that are so closely related perhaps as a result of cultural exchange and diffusion of style elements, that the frequent blurring of stylistic distinctions makes identification of the individual style areas problematic.

One clearly defined province within the Sepik District is the lower Sepik River area which is famous for the rich variety of art produced by the inhabitants of the coastal zone and by the Anggoram, Kambot and Biwat peoples—the three principal cultures of the lower Sepik proper. The

area occupied by these three cultures lies between the delta and the village of Kanduonum, some miles west of the Yuat River estuary. Artifacts from these coastal and lower Sepik cultures are represented in the Austin Collection at the Royal Ontario Museum.

The Coastal Zone

The coastal zone of the Sepik River extends eastward past the Ramu River to Humbolt Bay, westward to the vicinity of Seleo Island and includes the offshore islands near the mouth of the Sepik River where the Murich people live (Newton 1967:5). Newton (1967:16) notes that the Murick probably exerted great influence on the art styles of the entire lower Sepik area for they "developed an important trade system...(specializing) in the purchase from Manam Island of masked - dance and song cycles, which they then resold to the coastal and inland people."

The dominant form of artistic expression in the coastal areas was sculpture. Human figures and masks were the most characteristic carvings and best illustrate the coastal style. They are particularly distinguished by the treatment of the nose and surface decoration.

Masks

The plastic character of the traditional coastal style found its best expression in masks. The masks are oval in shape, convex with hollow backs, and framed by a slightly raised and perforated rim border, plain or notched with a saw-toothed pattern. The rim is usually decorated with plaited rattan or cane to which were attached extraneous fibres such as leaves, feathers, and so on. The face is characterized by a high forehead with a central ridge indicated by the convex form of the mask itself, or represented by a notched ridge or a slightly raised curving V-shaped design on the forehead. The eyes are slanted upward, usually perforated with a slit opening, and deeply set within concentric sockets. Ears are represented by small realistic appendages of flat perforated ridges. The mouth is frequently a small curved opening. The most conspicuous feature is the nose of which I have discerned four basic types:

- 1) An involute nose, convex and very broad at the top.
- 2) A slender and natural resembling nose with a perforated septum.
- 3) A large bulbous nose.
- 4) An elongated nose, triangular in cross-section, and tapering to a point.

Also typical of these masks is a minimal amount of relief ornamentation and the monochrome application of a dark red-brown or dull brown-black pigment.

The particular treatment of the facial features results in essentially two forms: one closely adhering to conventional shapes and suggestive of human features; and the other, following a strong tendency to stylize marked by zoomorphism, which produces a beak-like impression as illustrated in Plate 8. The artistic properties of the latter face type, particularly the bird-like prolongation of the nose, have given rise to use of the term 'beak style' which was claimed in the Sepik to have originated and reached its highest development in the masks and human figures of the coastal-lower Sepik area (Speiser 1941:143). This 'beak-style' is however, not confined to the coastal and lower Sepik area but is also extensively distributed over the middle and even upper Sepik areas. Its most refined forms are exemplified in the beautiful mwai masks of the Iatmul, the dominant middle Sepik culture.

The stylistic effects of approximately ninety years of culture contact and fifteen years of intense tourism are visible on contemporary coastal mask productions in the Royal Ontario Museum's Austin Collection as traditional stylistic principles are barely distinguishable.

The conspicuous bird-like prolongation of the nose is almost the only characteristic feature retained of the traditional style. Other diagnostic elements have been so altered or completely deleted that a relationship with the traditional style is at best tenuous. Contemporary masks in the Austin Collection exhibit two opposing tendencies: a baroque tendency to ornateness, and the reverse, one of simplification.

The former tendency, expressed by an increase in the amount of relief detail and decoration and by the presence of innovative elements, is evident in Plates 9 to 12. All four masks, particularly the ones illustrated in Plates 9, 11, and 12, are characterized by elaborate and heavily incised curvilinear designs while traditional masks usually had only a minimum of surface decoration if any at all. While traditional masks were also laquered in red or brownish monochrome, a combination of brown and white polychromy is displayed in Plate 9. A most conspicuous innovation however, is the addition of a base depicted in Plate 5. This new 'refinement' apparently represents a European evolved stylistic development.

The opposite trend of simplification, that is, the elimination or reduction of features characteristic

of traditional forms is exemplified in Plates 13 and 14. A maximum amount of simplicity is evident in Plate 14 as the distinct facial contours and monochrome colour tradition characteristic of older models are omitted. Perhaps for the sake of economic efficiency, the facial features are not traditionally modelled but indicated by incisions in Plate 13 or implied by the sculptural mass as in Plate 14. The elimination of surface decoration is another feature which simplifies production and is characteristic of the two masks which are completely devoid of colour, which was a most typical feature of traditional coastal masks. Instead, the natural blond colour and grain of the wood is emphasized by smooth and polished surfaces. The ultimate effect is non-traditional in both form and expression.

While the above two masks share only the slightest stylistic affinity with traditional masks the fusion in Plates 9 - 12 of new elements with characteristic features cannot obliterate the close parallels which exist with traditional masks. The plastic treatment of the facial forms clearly displays the principles of the 'beak style' characteristic of the coastal area. Thus despite compositional and aesthetic differences which suggest commercial productions for indiscriminating souvenir hunters, the masks through their strong souvenir shapes

and expressions vie for sculptural integrity with older and traditional mask forms.

Human Figure Carvings

A most vitiating consequence of the trend towards simplicity and the standardization of forms, is clearly illustrated in statuettes of the human figure represented in Plates 15 to 18 from the Austin Collection of lower Sepik sculpture. Essentially uniform, the statuettes, though attractive, appear as simple caricatures of the vigorous traditional art forms which were produced primarily in the region of the Ramu River and Sepik River estuaries. Summarizing Wardell (1971:16), the traditional standing figures were comparatively heavy in proportion, squat in appearance with flexed legs and arms, and stout necks supporting oval heads. Particularly conspicuous were the elongated headdresses or coiffures and the exaggerated proboscis. Combined with slanted eyes, the nose was either beak-like or trunk-like in proportions, merging with the chin, navel, phallus or even gripped in the flexed arms. Ornamentation if any, was sparse and colour, primarily red or white, was executed in monochrome. The overall expression was characterized by bold shapes carved in usually strict symmetry, conveying taut, energetic figures.

The principles of the above style are radically altered in the statuettes illustrated in Plates 15 to 18. Stylistic features essential for identification, especially the trunk-like nose, are retained, but less conspicuous elements, such as subtle refinements which create uniqueness and produce individual variations of the traditional style, are lacking. The failure to articulate artistically these subtle nuances of individual design in form or decoration result in a far greater degree of standardization of design than was the case in traditional times.

Two different standardized designs are distinguished in the Austin Collection (Plate 15 and Plates 16 to 18) by variations in size, proportion, ornamentation and plastic rendering of the nose. All the figures however, exhibit a conventionalization of design and a stylistic uniformity that is atypical of traditional carvings. Colour, a common element of traditional carvings, is conspicuously lacking in these figures and such absence further emphasizes the bland uniformity of these standardized figures. The tendency towards standardizing production is a salient characteristic of mass-production and results in the inevitable loss of originality and creativity. Guiart (1968:24) describes such work as the "emergence of a kind of craftsmanship which aims at

economic efficiency by creating a prototype that can be reproduced indefinitely..." Items once produced for cultural use have now lost their cultural meaning and have become stylized and mass-produced stereotypes for the commercial market. Indeed, the above figures have been identified by Newton (private communication:1974) as a type mass-produced in the early 1960's by tuberculosis patients in the local native hospitals. As inexpensive curios they are distributed through the commercial tourist market, and one statuette, identical in style to the carvings illustrated in Plate 8, was selling in March of 1975 for \$20.00 in a bookstore in New York City.

The Anggoram

The demands of the tourist trade have also stimulated mass-production further upstream. This is suggested by the standardized style of masks from the Austin Collection represented in Plates 19 to 22. These four masks are produced by the Anggoram people, a large and widespread culture settled along the Sepik River in an area from Singarin near the mouth of the River to Kanduonum, a few miles east of the middle Sepik village of Tambunum (Wardell 1971:28). Crucially situated in a transition zone, the Anggoram culture and art forms are similar to those of the coast and the middle Sepik

(Newton 1967:16). It is most likely through the Anggoram that the artistic tendencies of coastal art diffused to the middle Sepik.

Anggoram art, though perhaps eclectic in expression has distinctive features. It is considerably more elaborately designed and decorated than that of the coastal area. Openwork sculptures are common and extraneous features such as shells, feathers, ivory, and colours in patterns, are often used to decorate and accentuate sculptural forms (Wardell 1971:28). Some of these tendencies are still apparent in the recently produced masks represented in the Austin Collection. Originality and creativity are however, blurred, in that these masks are characterized by a simplified and standardized design. Basically, the only features that are retained that are common to traditional Anggoram mask style are the oval shape and long nose extension of the mask in Plate 19. The black monochrome colour is a recent innovation since traditional masks were not all black.

The general traditional style is even less obvious in the other three masks (Plates 20 - 22). Though they do share a slight affinity with older Anggoram art forms in terms of incorporating bird forms with their sculptural contours, the heavy stylized features, wide gaping mouths,

and polished black surfaces of the stereotyped forms, are noteworthy differences that owe little if anything to traditional Anggoram art. These masks have a distinctive character of their own that contrasts with the more attenuated contours of the strongly conceptualized older Anggoram mask forms. The simplicity of sculptural forms and decoration, the use of a single colour (black, in this case) which was uncommon in traditional sculpture and the standardization of design and production technique, are formal features of contemporary work and are consistent with changes introduced by the tourist market.

The Kambot

Stylistically akin to the Anggoram are the Kambot who have developed another local lower Sepik sub-style (Newton 1967:5). Consisting of several tribes, some former refugees from the Sepik River itself, the Kambot, who live along the Keram River, produced art work that shared stylistic affinities with the main river groups and the Ramu River cultures (Newton 1967:5,7). However, unlike the controlled and restrained forms of the coastal and Ramu River area, the Kambot have produced a more complex and elaborate art rivalling the intricate forms of the Anggoram.

Prominent among Kambot art forms were bark paintings which lavishly decorated the cult houses. Reproduced in Newton (1967:Plate 45) and in Kelm (1966 - 1968:III, no. 416), the bark paintings were richly decorated with human and animal forms intricately fused with a variety of curvilinear patterns in bright red, yellow, black and white pigments.

The two paintings (Plates 23 and 24) from the Austin Collection exhibit such significant modifications in their designs that they barely suggest the intricate and richly sophisticated paintings produced traditionally by the Kambot people. The anthropomorphic faces, animal and plant forms are traditional motifs but their expressions so crudely represented in fading and running colours, are not. A loss of quality in the craftsmanship is apparent as the traditional conventions of design have been abandoned for aesthetically untidy forms. Upon comparison with older and traditional works these two paintings appear aesthetically inferior. Dawson (et al. 1974:27) notes that a deterioration of design and craftsmanship is a frequent consequence of commercialism and "is most marked when items which had a functional place in the traditional culture have lost their cultural meanings and have become simply inexpensive curios." It is quite possible, then, that the Austin bark paintings represent

non-functional items which were produced to sell to tourists.

Different responses to commercialism are illustrated by two other Keram River boards (Plates 25 and 26) from Austin Collection. Plate 25 illustrates a fine and attractive work but one with a style developed for sale. Rows of linear patterns replace the more characteristic curvilinear elements found enhancing Keram River artifacts, and form such a peculiar design that it cannot even be regarded as a reasonable variant of Keram board style. While this style is clearly foreign and no doubt produced for the white tourist consumer, the board in Plate 26 suggests a style that could have been made for traditional tribal use. Similar designs decorate 'kampshields' collected in 1896, 1912-1913 and 1929 that are illustrated in Kelm (1966 - 1968: III, nos. 404 - 410, 413).

Stylistic conventions of these older boards are preserved in Plate 26 but minor aberrations apparent in the slightly larger size (Boards illustrated in Kelm range only from 53 cm. to 122 cm. in length while the board in Plate 26 is 136 cm. long) and in the presence of a peculiar central ridge, are innovations. The general features however, are conveyed in a style that attempts to emulate traditional boards. The adherence to traditional design affects a look of authenticity which is even further

enhanced by the blackening or scorching process carried out to the back and top of the board, perhaps to simulate an older appearance. The result is a clever fake in design and technique, successfully fusing traditional and innovative elements while giving emphasis to the older and traditional style.

The recent manufacture of such a traditional looking board suggests the artist's insight into the contemporary commercial market where older and traditional artifacts are more eagerly sought. Antiquing and simulating the traditional style to effect an older and thus "an authentic look" is perhaps a result of introducing commercial values and standards, and may also be a response to the demands of serious collectors who are not only searching for but who pay more for the traditional or 'real' item. It appears then that the art market can directly influence style and is encouraging the practice of antiquing and thus faking.

The Mundugumor

A most striking and dynamic art tradition in the lower Sepik has been developed by the Biwat speaking people, known as the Mundugumor, who dwell along the middle stretch of the treacherous Yuat River. The culture of the once

fierce cannibalistic Mundugumor was first reported in 1935 by Margaret Mead who undertook an extensive investigation of them and two other New Guinea tribes during 1931 to 1933. At that time the Mundugumor had been under government control for about three years but were yet unmissionized (Mead 1935:164).

Not only is Mundugumor art striking but their culture is also quite distinctive. In contrast to communal or village ceremonial life and permanent cult houses characteristic of other Sepik tribes, the Mundugumor had no such tribal cults or houses but rather a number of minor cults centered around flutes, masks and other sacred objects (Mead 1935:176). These objects were not village property but hereditary possessions exclusively owned by individuals, stored in private homes and passed down a rope, which is a form of descent system based upon a theory "of a natural hostility that exists between all members of the same sex" (Mead 1935:172). As a result, cult objects and most other property descend from a father to a daughter or from a mother to a son (Ibid).

Another most unique feature of their culture and art tradition was the bizarre method of selecting artistic talent. Based upon an arbitrary accident of birth,

...basket-makers are the women who are born with the umbilical cord twisted around their throats. Males so born are destined to be artists, to continue the fine tight tradition of Mundugumor art, the high-relief carving on the tall wooden shields, the low-relief stylized animal representations on the spears, the intricate painted designs on the great-triangles of bark that are raised at yam-feasts. They it is who can carve the wooden figures that fit into the ends of the sacred flutes, embodiments of the crocodile spirits of the river. Men and women born to arts and crafts need not practise them unless they wish, but no one who lacks the mark of his calling can hope to become more than the clumsiest apprentice.

(Mead 1935:168)

Flutes

Among the spectacular Mundugumor art works the sacred flutes are the most impressive and valuable. They are constructed from bamboo and have an ornamental stopper at one end, either in the form of an animal, bird, an anthropomorphic mask or human figure (See Plates 27a, 28-31). A masked flute (Plate 30) is represented in the Austin Collection but for appreciation of this work and the striking Mundugumor style a discussion of the more spectacular flute figures is necessary. The latter (Plate 27a) carved from heavy wood range from 25 cm. (8 in.) to 96.5 cm. (38 in.) in height and dwarf-like are carved disproportionately with gigantic heads compared to their diminutive bodies (Fraser 1955:17). The gnome-like bodies

are set on sturdy legs which are attached to slim tubular extensions which act as plugs covering the embouchures of the ceremonial flutes. The limbs are bent apart on either side of the phallus which often dangles below the knees.

The striking appearance of the figure's head however, reveals the style that is characteristically Mundugumor: high forehead, fleshy bulbous nose with perforated septum, large mother-of-pearl inlaid eyes, under overhanging brows, and protruding thick lips. Surface ornamentation is minimal if any at all, and colour restricted usually to a brown monochrome. In other figures (Plate 27b) however, the sculptural forms are accentuated with polychromy.

Plates 28 and 29 illustrate the final form of a magnificent Mundugumor sacred flute complete with its prodigious decorations. These musical instruments appear to be more like idols rather than flutes which can be played upon. They were elaborately decorated with cherished valuables and were given ceremonial birth whereby they were triumphantly displayed to the public and then wrapped and hidden in the back of the owner's house, to be seen subsequently by both girls and boys at initiations which were organized at the whim of any Big Man vying for

prestige and fame. The value of the sacred flute was further enhanced because it represented a woman's principle dowry at marriage, and then later became the property of her eldest son. In essence, the functional use of these flutes did not lie in their practical use as musical instruments but more in being sacred objects of wealth and prestige in which was centred the pride of the Mundugumor (Mead 1935:203).

The bold and dramatic expression of Mundugumor sacred flute figures can also be seen in masked flutes. Such masks are quite distinct, being constructed with coconut or other large fruit shells as heads resting on matted fibres. These superstructures are covered in mud and resin, blackened and lavishly adorned with shell decoration, bear tusks, human hair and cassowary plumage. The typical Mundugumor bulbous and sometimes involute nose is also a characteristic feature of these mask flutes.

The striking nature of such superstructures is evident in the copy of a flute from the Austin Collection illustrated in Plate 30. Compositionally, it exhibits certain stylistic elements (fruit shell as a base for face modelling, bulbous and involute nose, and an abundant embellishment of marine and snail shells) that are common features of traditional Mundugumor flutes. In

craftsmanship however, it is questionable whether the ephemeral nature of the material or poor workmanship is responsible for the careless and inferior appearance of the composition. The back matting, bamboo flute and shell face are exposed and unadorned, lacking the rich encrustation of mud and the load of decorative shell valuables. The usual lavish adornment of shells, feathers and human hair are also replaced by a more restrained and less ostentatious display. The general expression, then, though still dramatic and characteristic of traditional Mundugumor flutes is crucially altered by the poor workmanship.

As pointed out already a reduction in ornamentation is a trend occurring in modern commercialism. This trend is also reflected in a Biwat flute (Plate 31) that was exhibited at Isaacs Gallery in 1975. Although only 10 to 20 years of age and lacking the spectacular ornamentation and the dramatic force of traditional Biwat flutes, this flute has, nevertheless, entered the international art circuit with an asking price of \$900.00.

Shields

A distinctive Mundugumor style is also manifest in shields and memorial boards. Older shields (Plate 32) are characterized by a rigid bilateral symmetry with

curvilinear forms: S-shaped swirls, zigzags, and central-circle-and-chevron pattern more typical of the middle Sepik, distributed along the longitudinal sides of the surface area. The principal design consists of an incised anthropomorphic face at the top enclosed within circular double borders and aligned above a number of smaller, stylized heart-shaped faces. The nose of all the faces was almost always carved in high relief and perforated, usually with a twisted cord tassel threaded through. Also characteristic are spoke-like wings extending from and enclosing the round eyes. The sculptural forms are accentuated with white, red and black polychromy. Projecting from the top of the concave board is usually a short peg serving to hold either feathers and / or grass tassels. Identical grass tassels are frequently attached to the sides of the board. The technical execution of these shields was traditionally a specialized occupation to be undertaken solely by men who were born with the umbilical cord twisted around their necks (Mead 1935:168).

The three shields (Plates 33-35) from the Austin Collection seem to embody features that are typical of older and traditional models. The motif elements appear to be derived from traditional sources and the formal organization of elements is also in keeping with the

the strict symmetry of older models. The execution of these details is also marked with the fine technical skill that appears characteristic of older sources. Though these formal similarities exist, stylistic modifications are apparent in minor but distinguishing features. Some of the more conspicuous changes are: a more abundant use of motifs which help create a more cluttered look; a particular standardization of design elements; an expansion of the colour scheme; a more startling and brighter colour contrast created by the use of imported rich paints thickly encrusted between heavy black contour lines; and the scorching of the unpolychromed surface area of the shield in Plate 35. It appears that this shield (Plate 35) has been recarved, burnt and polished, perhaps in an attempt to age the material and therefore simulate the appearance of traditional boards. As previously mentioned, this antiquing treatment may possibly be a response to the great European demand for older artifacts.

Stylistically, however, the three shields embody features that are derived from traditional productions and display a resurgence of the technical skill diagnostic of traditional manufacturing procedures. The final expression is spectacularly dramatic, arresting and characteristic of Mundugumor style.

Pottery

The Dimiri potting villages of the Yuat River district provide examples of utilitarian items that are equally individual and striking in nature. The distinctively bold nature of Mundugumor art is displayed in the two pot stands (Plates 36 and 37) from the Austin Collection. These two stands are manufactured from fired clay, have a flat circular base, a narrow cylindrical neck and two projecting arms which curve horizontally. The front of the pot stands lend themselves to high relief modelling of an anthropomorphic face whose plastic image is in keeping with the Mundugumor style. Particularly typical are the fleshy and bulbous facial features, especially the prominent nose. Similar facial features are illustrated in Kelm (1966+1968:I, no. 356). The incised curvilinear design of chevrons, ovals and zigzags are also common elements in Mundugumor art. These stands are employed in pairs or threes to support pots over hearth fires.

Kaufmann (1974:private communication) identified these pot stands as characteristic of the potting tradition prevailing in the Dimiri district during the 1960's. He also stated that they were stylistically different from older stands which were bowl-like in shape and whose clay heads were used in ritual contexts.

Apparently the Mundugumor penchant for drama and colour did not cease when traditional ritual features endemic to their culture were outlawed by the dominant white government. Instead, as illustrated by the contemporary examples from the Austin Collection, their artistic achievements continue to combine high contrasting, vigorous and intricate surface patterns with bold sculptural forms reminiscent of their earlier dramatic shapes and flamboyant style. Indeed, Douglas Fraser's (1955:20) characterization of the nature and quality of Mundugumor art is still applicable:

The art of the Mundugumor stands in an ambiguous position with respect to other Sepik styles. It sums up, in one sense, the cultural attitudes of the area, but at the same time it deviates from the norm in others. In its remarkable power of assimilating external ideas, in its use of many different materials, in its reliance for its motifs upon an emotionally experienced world, the Mundugumor speaks for the whole Middle Sepik. In its huge degree of assertiveness, in its ability to refurbish otherwise traditional forms with new expressions, and in its overpowering emphasis on aggressive qualities, the Mundugumor speaks for itself.

Summary

An important culture centre, the lower Sepik tribes traditionally excelled in art works that ranged from the restrained and controlled expressions of coastal styles to the 'explosive' shapes and spectacular,

energetic creations of the Mundugumor. Virtually confined to masks and statuettes of human forms, the coastal style is distinguished by the particular treatment of the nose; a minimal amount of relief ornamentation; and monochrome red or red and white colouring. Two principal styles of faces are found to predominate: one with a surprising naturalism, and the second, with a stylized face carved in strict symmetry with slanted eyes and prominent nose in a beak-like or trunk-like elongation. Apparent in these figures and masks is a tendency to standardize and simplify.

As one ascends the Sepik River, this trend gives way to a proliferation of motifs, shapes, and forms, with a greater emphasis on elaboration, emphasized by openwork sculptures, relief ornamentation and colour. Curvilinear designs in polychromy increasingly replace the plain or incised monochromed surface designs of the coastal area. The most vigorous creations of the lower Sepik appear to be the impressive Biwat sculptures. In their bold and assertive art expression, the lower Sepik styles suggest artistic affinities with middle Sepik creations. Through numerous incidents of contact they probably both absorbed and exerted influence.

The artifacts in the Austin Collection share some

of the above traditional stylistic characteristics of the lower Sepik areas from which they emanate but also reveal varying amounts of influence from contact and the ubiquitous tourist trade. The stylistic analysis undertaken points to the predominance of two principal trends: one towards elaboration and the other, towards simplification. Almost all the lower Sepik artifacts from the Austin Collection exemplify one or the other.

The trend to elaborate takes various forms. One technique is to increase the amount of relief ornamentation. This is achieved by either introducing new motifs or by elaborating on or exaggerating traditional characteristic patterns as in Plates 9, 11, 12 and 33. Another method employed is to introduce new colour schemes. Prior to the influence of white contact, a basic red was applied in monochrome to most coastal masks. Since that time, not only have new colours been added but the monochrome treatment has also been replaced in some artifacts by elaborate polychromy. Plate 9 exhibits not only the new brown and white colours but also the new polychrome colour design. Black has recently also achieved wide use in the lower Sepik as illustrated by Plates 10 to 12 and 19 to 22. Use of vermillion paints also achieves

new surface finishes, either shiny and glowing as in the Anggoram masks (Plates 19 to 22), or brighter and with more intense value contrasts as displayed in the Mundugumor shield (Plate 33).

The most salient feature of the elaboration trend, however, is the use of innovative elements or technique. For example, the Keram shield (Plate 25) takes on an entirely new character when traditional curvilinear patterns are replaced by large, repetitive linear designs. However, the two most significant innovations are the introduction of a base on a coastal mask (Plate 12) and the burning or scorching treatment of the surface material in the Keram shield (Plate 26) and Mundugumor shield (Plate 35). The scorching treatment appears to be related to the activities of forgery and faking as Dawson (et al. 1974:28) suggests in the following quote:

As the various processes of modification have accelerated, a 'cult of antiquity' has emerged among the buying public which overvalues age and 'authenticity', and thus encourages faking.

Almost all these traits appear to result from a desire to produce something unique and visually arresting in order to attract a buyer, or are executed in a manner to appeal to the values and standards

of occidental predilections. In other words, they appear to be responses to commercialism.

The tendency to simplify is also related to commercialism and is apparently motivated by economic efficiency as has been pointed out by several authors (Guiart 1968:24; Graburn 1969a:462). The seemingly limitless demand for souvenirs has stimulated the reduction and even total elimination of such characteristic elements as colour, motifs, and relief or surface ornamentation: features that are either meaningless to foreigners or too time-consuming for speedy production. A widespread result of this simplification trend is the standardization of forms, designs and techniques. This in turn leads to loss of originality. The statuettes (Plates 15-18) and Anggoram masks (Plates 19-22) well illustrate the effects of mass production.

The tendency to simplify often results in failure to express essential elements or subtle refinements that are so much a part of the artistry of the people. A natural consequence of this failure is a deterioration in design and craftsmanship as attested to by the two Keram bark paintings (Plates 23, 24) and Mundugumor flute (Plate 30). The Austin Collection suggests that the demands of souvenir

hunters have qualitatively and quantitatively effected art production in the lower Sepik River. In essence, the tourist trade seems to be influencing quite strongly the development of Sepik art styles.

The middle Sepik, a strong culture centre, consists of the westwards stretch of the Sepik River from Tambunum to Sepandai (Map 1) (Wardell 1971:56). The area is inhabited by four principal culture groups: the Iatmul, the Sawos, the Chambri, and the Arambak, of which the first three are culturally and stylistically related and represented in the Austin Collection at the Royal Ontario Museum. It is, however, in the Iatmul area that artistic development reaches a peak. As the largest and dominant riverine group, they hold a key position for the entire Sepik area (Haberland 1965:58). Background information about their culture is useful for a coherent understanding of middle Sepik art.

The Iatmul

The approximately 10,000 Ndu - speaking Iatmul inhabit the entire length of the middle Sepik River from Tambanum to Sepandai and form the largest culture group dwelling along the river itself. Laycock (1965:195-196) suggests that the ancestors of these present Ndu-speakers

probably migrated from the south through the foothills of the Karawari and Krosmeri River systems (Newton 1966:206). As they became a riverine people, they began to depend upon the Sepik as their primary source for food, as their principal route for inter-village communication and as the main highway of travel for food, trading and head-hunting (Bateson 1932:251). Their rich cultural life was first extensively examined and reported by Bateson in 1932 and 1936. He portrayed the Iatmul as a highly individualistic, proud and dramatic people dependent upon head-hunting for ritual pride. They lived in independent villages divided longitudinally in two by the ceremonial ground and haus tambarans which were the central foci of their ceremonial life. Their elaborate and theatrical ritual life embraced transvestite-oriented Naven ceremonies as well as practices of initiatory, mortuary and homicidal rites which were the most important ceremonies of the tambaran cult. Associated with the tambaran cult and the prodigious cult houses was a wealth of sacred and decorative art of such rich and exciting design that they represent the artistic climax of the Sepik.

Masks

The Austin Collection of middle Sepik art is dominated by masks of such rich design and decoration that

they are of prime importance in this study. Although the proliferation of shapes, dimensions and materials is almost limitless as natives carved, modelled and fabricated masks of wood, clay and rattan, at least three basic types representing human - like faces are identified and were maintained in all Iatmul villages (Forge 1973:171). The three types of faces are:

1. Naturalistic modelled skull type, actually modelled on skulls of dead ancestors and enemies; also reproduced in light wood and worn in the 'tail' of certain ritual performers. (Plate 38)
2. A flat broad face used in most wood carvings and on the awan masks. (Plate 6)
3. Mwai-type masks, very long and narrow elliptical face with upswept eyes and long nose extensions ending in a totemic animal. (Plate 39)
(Forge 1973:171)

These three major styles are distinguished by the facial features but are stylistically coherent in that they exhibit a prescribed style of face painting built up of a series of sweeping spirals and circles applied on all masks and similar to the painted faces of the ceremonial performers (Ibid).

The most highly prized masks are the ones modelled over skulls of ancestors or head-hunting victims. The skulls are dried, cleaned and have their facial features built - up of clay and resin. Shell eyes usually

replace the former hollow spaces, tufts of human hair are cemented onto the mock clay skull and, if the skull is of a formerly successful head-hunter, crowned with fur. The features are artistically decorated with the painted tribal pattern or ceremonial colours worn by the deceased (Newton 1967: commentary to Plate 56).

These precious skulls, now rare since head-hunting was abolished in the early twentieth century, are eagerly sought by collectors and tourists. However, since the marketing of these skulls is forbidden by the government, natives competing for the tourist market have resorted to various devices to sell them. Attempts to camouflage the appearance of the actual skulls from government officials is practiced. One method is by plugging up the hollow opening in the lower sphere (Mr. Weinberg 1975: private communication). Other enterprising artisans, inspired by commercial profits, manufacture clay and wooden masks in imitation of actual modelled skulls.

Skull type imitations from the Austin Collection are illustrated by Plates 40 and 41. Plate 40 represents a mock clay head decorated with shells, braided human hair and splendid pattern of colours and spirals in the traditional face painting style. It is an excellently manufactured and decorated copy of an Iatmul modelled skull.

such heads or traditionally, skulls of dead ancestors, were mounted on poles, prodigiously ornamented and set up as mortuary or fertility figures in tambaran ceremonies (Bateson 1958: commentary to Plate XXVIII).

Wood has also been adopted as a material to simulate modelled skulls. The Austin Collection has one such wooden head (Plate 41) emulating the traditional face painting style. One important distinction however, is the displacement of the hollow back opening used to receive the neckpole of carved ceremonial figures, by a thickly carved neck. The new addition also acts as a base or pedestal. The attachment of a base to a carving is a European custom alien to traditional Sepik concepts but harmonious to the classic Western approach to art. A trend towards naturalism is also indicated by the conventional carving of its shape and features. This contemporary carving thus appears to integrate traditional concepts with new occidental ideas.

The mwai type mask, a narrow, elongated wooden carving with shaply undercut brow and long nose extension stylized into a totemic animal, is frequently coated with rich plumage and ornamented with curved boar's tusks. The masks are usually ceremonially employed in pairs by novices impersonating pairs of ancestral brothers and sisters; served in raids where they were shaken toward the enemy to insure

invulnerability; and were worn by the leading tumbuan in ceremonies in which prisoners were killed by initiated boys (Bateson 1958:45, 233, commentary to Plate XXVII; Newton 1967: commentary to Plate 59). The mwai face style as a mask is thus worn alone, is attached to tambuans, that is, rattan dancing costumes, and also forms the face style of heads represented on hooks and other carvings.

The elaborate hook carving (Plate 42) in the Austin Collection is an example of modern Iatmul art employing the mwai face in traditional form and face painting style. The mwai type masks (Plates 43 - 46) in the collection, however, are poor imitations of the traditional prototypes. The only stylistic feature that is common to both traditional and these contemporary productions is that of their final shape. The overall elliptical mwai form is restrained but even here individual features have been modified or eliminated. Most noticeably different is the elongated nose which traditionally terminates in a totemic animal. In Plates 43 - 45 it is replaced by a cylindrical arch merging with the body of the mask while in Plate 46 a Y-shaped appendage displaces the traditional finely carved beak-nose. Another change common to commercial arts and apparent in these masks is the reduction or simplification of decorative details. In

Plates 43, 44 and 45, the more intricate traditional face painting is replaced by an overall black paint even though no traditional Iatmul mwai mask carvings were black. The substitution of black paint for the traditional curvilinear pattern painted in red and white ochre is perhaps a time-saving procedure.

While Plates 43 - 45 illustrate masks with some consistency in manufacture to the traditional mwai face style, the mask in Plate 46 exhibits an extreme modification of mwai form contouring and an absence of traditional mwai face relief carving and painting. Individual formal features diagnostic of mwai face style have been eliminated or so drastically altered that the stylistic expression of formal attributes bears little resemblance to traditional mwai-type masks and represents an example of airport art as defined by May (1974:1).

Plates 47-49 represent masks that are recent productions of the flat, broad awan face. Examination of the carvings reveals that the simple but strong sculptural tradition developed in awan face types is lost when foreign structural features are added. The incorporation of a serrated headdress in Plate 47, the rim border in Plate 48, the rectangular handle at the top of the mask in Plate 49 and the flat backs, not only alter

the formal attributes but produce a new class of objects: wall plaques. Even the face painting style has lost its once elegant character. The smudged application of a colour design in Plate 47 produces only a poor impression of the highly distinct artistic tradition, while the design in Plate 48 is too elaborate and gaudy an interpretation when compared with traditional face painting styles. While the flowing patterns at least decorated the sculptural shapes, suggestions of any colour let alone prescribed pattern are totally absent in Plate 49. As previously reported, the elimination of time-consuming activities is a feature of commercial art. The resulting raw, blond and polished wood represents not only a new wood carving technique but a type of carving not common to traditional Iatmul woodwork. The three carvings illustrate changes in style that are characteristic of productions aimed specifically at the indiscriminating buyers of the tourist market.

In the following three masks (Plates 50 - 52) from the Austin Collection, too elaborate or ornate a style results in a trend toward grotesqueness. Formal elements characteristic of awan and mwai face types are combined together and with other design elements result in an eclectic expression bordering on the grotesque.

Dawson (et al.1974:27) states that the trend toward grotesqueness is a feature found in New Guinea carvings connected with commercialism. It apparently adds a feeling of the exotic, of the terrifying and pagan, which is what uninformed foreigners initially expect of primitive 'savages'. This quality of the grotesque may result from a desire to produce works that are conspicuously distinct from the multitude of available tourist productions. In these masks the traditional style and its quality have been sacrificed for commercial reasons.

Rattan Sculptures

The Iatmul are not only proficient artists in woodwork but are also noted for their outstanding rattan sculptures. The bold and expressive qualities characteristic of their woodcarving also appear in the variety of forms ingeniously fabricated from rattan. Two rattan sculptures (Plates 53 and 54) from the Austin Collection manifest the bold and aggressive expressions which are classic to traditional Iatmul artistic achievements. The peculiar combination of coiled rattan with contrasting colours of red, white, and black produce a simply constructed helmet mask but with a spectacular textural quality and vibrant contrast of colour and form. Though the sensitive use of line and form is replaced by bulk and mass, this recent

fabrication is both sculpturally and expressively characteristic of eastern Iatmul style.

Also representative of the eastern Iatmul art tradition is the woven pig figure illustrated in Plate 54. A very realistic image is conveyed by the ingenious use of plaited rattan. Traditional colours are combined with yellow and extraneous materials of wood and plumage, to create a fascinating and arresting figure with a touch of the grotesque.

Shields

Iatmul shields are quite rich and diverse in stylistic expression but they share common features which provide for some stylistic homogeneity. Some of these homogeneous features are evident in the carving from the Austin Collection (Plate 55) and an analysis of its style will serve to characterize Iatmul shield art. Typical in style is the distinct anthropomorphic face with prominent nose and protruding tongue, carved in high relief. The central - circle - chevron pattern is not only characteristic of Iatmul shields, but is found on almost all middle Sepik wood carvings. Other diagnostic traits are the central patch above the eyes, the traditional red, black and white colours and the bilateral symmetry. The ultimate stylistic expression of Iatmul shields is thus

composed of a bold abstract face balanced by related curvilinear shapes. This description serves to characterize the basic diagnostic features found in Iatmul shields.

Further analysis, however, reveals significant stylistic differences which are common to mass produced commercial arts. The most conspicuous differences are the presence of a narrow projection at one end and the overall reduction in size. A change in size, particularly a reduction, is a process developed to accommodate Western demands and the exigencies of portability, packing and transportation (Ben Amos 1973:13). This change in scale is related to another feature of commercialism, namely the simplification of form and decoration. The traditional activity of carving the curvilinear patterns in relief has been replaced in this shield by simply indicating them by paint on a flat surface. The overall design appears to lack the spark of vitality and energy which is present in most traditional Iatmul shields. A comparison with a shield (Plate 56) manufactured in 1913, long before the tourist invasion, reveals how acculturation and the demands of the tourist trade have affected the strong, individual and vigorous style of older and traditional Iatmul works.

Suspension Hooks

Hooks used to suspend food and personal paraphernalia from rafters out of reach of rodents, are common furnishings in both dwelling and ceremonial houses, and represent another ingenious Iatmul art form. They are usually surmounted by human figures, anthropomorphic faces or bird representations and decorated with curvilinear incisions accented with red, white and black pigments. Of the three suspension hooks in the Austin Collection (Plates 12, 57, and 58), only Plate 12 illustrates a hook manufactured with a traditional design. The hook is surmounted by a head that appears in the mwai face style and is decorated with the lavish curvilinear ornamentation characteristic of the Iatmul. The typical man-bird combination is also common to this hook. Plates 57 and 58 however, represent modern hooks with only slight references to traditional forms. Stylistically, they are far removed from traditional Iatmul hooks since they differ considerably in shape, rendering of features, decoration and colour. The minimal amount of plasticity in the unusually flat, plaque-like forms, and the monochrome black colouring are new features not common to older hook forms. Elimination of distinguishing Iatmul features is evident as the sculptural strength, characteristic curvilinear incisions and white, red, and black polychromy

are lacking. A comparison in stylistic expression with an older hook (Plate 59) carved and lavishly decorated in a style characteristic of its village and Iatmul virtuosity reveal how the two hooks from the Austin Collection have become modified and vitiated in stylistic expression.

'Airport Art'

Two fascinating works of innovation, clearly illustrating both the inspirational and at the same time vitiating influence of occidental contact and tourism are represented in Plates 60 and 61. The copy of a German walking stick in Plate 60 represents a subject matter that is European in concept but superbly decorated with traditional iconology and according to Iatmul conceptions of design. The crocodile motif man-reptile combination are familiar Iatmul concepts executed in characteristic curvilinear form. Evidently the Iatmul have borrowed and imitated from the material paraphernalia of the White world and mixed these borrowings with traditional artistic design to produce an elegant and fine work of sculpture.

While Plate 60 attractively combines traditional and foreign features, Plate 61 represents an entirely new form in concept and composition. It is a modern

work of sculpture totally alien to traditional Iatmul artistry. It is however, in keeping with the grotesque fantasy which seems to characterize many non-occidental art productions made for the tourists. It definitely constitutes a new genre of art work and illustrates what May (1974:6) has called unfortunately 'bastard art'.

The Sawos

A well developed style has been established by the Sawos, a people who live a few miles north of the middle Sepik River in an area roughly parallel to the Iatmul villages of Sapanaut and Tambunum (Wardell 1971:56). Though bounded by the Abelam in the north, the Sawos are culturally related to the Iatmul, their closest neighbours, and share stylistic affinities with them (Newton 1967:18). Sawos art however, is most distinct and should not be regarded as a mere variant of the Iatmul style.

Tumbuan

Impressive basketry costumes or tambuans, beautifully woven and often prodigiously decorated, were manufactured by the Sepik cultures to be worn by initiated men in ceremonies for the benefit of the uninitiated (Mead 1934:236). The dance costumes were produced in different styles: some constituted enormous masks which were fitted with grass skirts and other extraneous fibres,

while others had wooden masks attached to the front of the tumbuan or basketry masks woven into the costume itself. Attached mwai masks are most characteristic of the area but the second type, the woven masks known as apan are also typical (Ryan's notes). An analysis of the mask design suggests that the tumbuan (Plate 62) in the Austin Collection, manufactured by the Sawos, appears to represent the apan type. The white painted anthropomorphic faces are characterized by looped probosci which are quite pronounced and typical of middle Sepik style in their prominence. The middle Sepik beak style is thus suggested but characteristic curvilinear features combined with white, red and black polychromy, which provide a common stylistic character throughout the middle Sepik area are absent. However, the tumbuan apparently does exhibit, in its elegant use of line and form characteristic features of the Sawos for Newton (private communication: 1974) identified it as belonging to the Sawos village of Nonggosop.

Malu

Distinctly characteristic of the Sawos are the spectacular and beautifully conceived openwork ceremonial boards which best represent the fine and exuberant use of curvilinear line in middle Sepik art forms. One such malu

is illustrated in Plate 63 and reveals the typically visually arresting plastic rhythm of form. Frequently traded to the Iatmul, the malu were reported to represent racks from which skull trophies were hung (Newton 1963:188). Summarizing Newton (1963), malu are characterized by open-work carved boards that are usually sub-rectangular in shape and range from five to seven feet (161.5 cm. to 222.5 cm.) high and two (61 cm.) or more feet wide. Structurally, the design field consists of three connected sections. The upper third is occupied by a round face in low relief with the exception of the free-standing and projecting nose. The long-nosed face represents the totemic sago-beetle, palanggum, and is decorated with a colour scheme derived from the face painting style used by successful head-hunters. The middle section, the most delicately carved, consists of open-work spatial patterns featuring two compositional elements in silhouette: totemic stylized bird profiles and pierced tear-drop shapes. The bird forms, in symmetrically opposed pairs, are characterized by S-curves of which the tips of the beaks or tails interlock to produce a central-cross oval while the tear-drops are perforated with two to six apertures in shallow relief. The lowest section usually exhibits a lunette opening framing a grillwork of vertical prongs. The malu form was richly endowed with white, black and red

ochre. Stylistic variation of form resulted in four basic types (Newton 1963). As is characteristic of middle Sepik art, curvilinear forms predominate but are treated in such an expressive style that the Sawos art form is essentially unique and in its inherent relationships of form expresses universal beauty.

The dynamic rhythm of traditional content and form is abandoned in the modern malu version (Plate 64) from the Austin Collection. Comparably narrower, the malu-like beard displays definite change from a sub-rectangular to a rectangular shape. A general bilateral symmetry is retained but the deletion of traditional stylistic and iconographic features results in a limited motif vocabulary consisting of stylized tear-drop shapes in a highly standardized design. The elimination of traditional symbolic content and the resulting standardization of design are processes which simplify manufacture and eliminate time-consuming work. These simplification activities and modifications in size, shape, and content result in such significantly severe alterations that only a tenuous relationship is maintained with older and traditional malu. The plastic expression indicates that the open-work carving of malu technique procedure was mirrored but the content has been diluted

to a simplified and redundant pattern that in comparison is aesthetically static. The schism between technique and content alters the original malu format to such a degree that a less successful and plagiarized design results.

The Chambri

Closely related to the Iatmul are the Chambri whose villages are found around and somewhat to the south of Chambri Lake (Wardell 1971:56). One of the riverine villages, Aibom, has natural access to a deposit of clay suitable for the manufacture of pottery (Maksic and Meskil 1973:40). As a result of this natural advantage and the versatile ability of female artisans Aibom is one of the great pottery centres of the Sepik.

Pottery

Traditional Aibom earthenware was produced entirely by hand without the aid of a wheel or modern kiln. Unlike other Sepik villages where women did not participate (with the exception of weaving) in the manufacture of art works, Chambri women at Aibom specialized in pottery making. The decoration however, was exclusively a male activity (Bühler 1969:138). Large and traditionally manufactured Chambri vessels (Plate 65)

are particularly famous for their elegant shapes and three-dimensional stylized faces on their necks while smaller clay jars and sage pots are characterized by a concave, lime-whitened faces with beaked-noses.

Plates 66 and 67 from the Austin Collection represent modern vessels decorated with traditional face relief sculpturing. The white washed stylized face comprised of two concentric circles, the junction of which forms the predominantly modelled nose, is easily recognized as an Aibom trademark. Two or four such identical faces are usually found decorating each vessel.

While the above vessels are manufactured in traditional style, new forms, adopted through European influence or demands, are also produced. One such example exemplifying a change in form, is illustrated in Plate 68. A Catholic missionary influence is strongly suggested in its form (Kaufmann 1974: private communication). In structure it appears to plagiarize an altar candle container. The shift in production from a vessel manufactured for internal use to an inspired European model eventually intended for commercial consumption indicates a change in both form and function.

Blackwater River

The art styles of the cultures inhabiting the southern border areas of the Karawari, Blackwater and Krosmeri Rivers have been profoundly influenced by the Iatmul, "with whose art styles theirs are either very similar or identical" (Newton 1967:22,23). This southern area is particularly famous for the Arambak Kamanggabi hook figures and for the long-nosed basketry masks frequently produced by the Blackwater peoples. Bühler (et al. 1962:114) hypothesizes that "this may also be the cradle of the basketry masks which are known throughout the middle Sepik since particularly large and fine specimens are to be found in the southern border region."

Basketry Masks

A proliferation of plaited rattan work is found throughout the middle Sepik. Two gable masks (Plate 69 and 70) from the Blackwater River area, quite different from the previous woven sculptures in the Austin Collection, indicate not only the amazing diversity of rattan technique and style but also particular Iatmul traits assimilated into Blackwater River style. The resulting style of the masks is thus particularly typical

of the middle Sepik River area. Characteristic are the circular eyes, the wide gaping mouth, and the long, narrow and looped nose and concentric arrangement of curves around the eyes. The contributions of the Iatmul are apparent in the rendering of the nose, the colour scheme and curvilinear style. Even the severely convex foreheads of the mask suggest the sharply bulging foreheads of Iatmul mwai masks. The peculiar rendering and arrangement of features however, particularly the striking flap-like mouth, produce a mask type that is especially characteristic of the distinct basketry masks for which the Blackwater River people are famous.

Summary

Famous for the rich and dramatic artistic expressions that characterize Sepik art, the middle Sepik area has been described as being "the centre of Sepik art proper" (Schmitz 1971:71). As revealed, several distinct art traditions are known in this vast expanse of space but the area is most notable for the art forms of the Iatmul. Since cultural and aesthetic expressions culminate in the Iatmul who straddle numerous styles and in turn strongly influence numerous cultures, an analysis of certain recurring forms and patterns basic to the Iatmul should serve to characterize middle Sepik style.

The Iatmul and in turn, the middle Sepik, are principally characterized by sculpture, predominantly of the human head and human figure. Particularly, conspicuous are the spectacular heads, fashioned with a great striving for symmetry and characterized by red, parallel curvilinear lines colouring and decorating the facial contours. There is also a tendency to sculpt in relief a hanging tongue, and more commonly to emphasize the nose. A revealing account of this last practise is provided by Bateson (1958:163) who notes that the Iatmul consider conspicuously leptorrhine noses as highly attractive features. He states there that the choice of a skull with an exaggerated proboscis is thus apparently related to aesthetic preferences. Techniques of emphasizing the nose are by prominently plaiting it in ratian, profusely decorating it with extraneous fibres frequently by adding curved bears' tusks or shell discs to the nostrils, or, most commonly achieved through relief, in the shape of a beak nose appendage which directly resembles the beak style downstream. Apparently influence from the coastal and lower Sepik has made itself felt in the middle reaches of the River.

Animals, though less frequently represented, are also important art motifs and are depicted alone or with human forms. Biri, crocodile and snake designs predominate and

are conspicuous artistic motifs linked to totemism (Wirz 1955:64). The bird design is almost always combined with the human form. It is either fused with the nose forming a beak-like appendage; terminates in a bird's head; or, appears as a separate motif, wings outstretched and perched on a human form's head or shoulders as exemplified in Plate 59. A stylistic unity underlying the heterogeneity of forms and diverse rendering of local styles is provided by the embellishment of almost each element by curvilinear patterns in paint or relief.

A salient characteristic of Iatmul and middle Sepik art is then the rich use of polychromy in white, red and black pigment for symbolic, descriptive and decorative purposes. The predominantly monochrome colouring of the coastal and lower Sepik is replaced in the middle Sepik by curvilinear ornamentation in polychromy and relief. Conspicuously recurring patterns are the central-circle-chevron and the S-curve as favourite ornamental lines impregnating the surface areas with energy and vitality. The modelled skulls and the florid-designed malu panels particularly exemplify the virtuosity of the curvilinear tradition. Employed in both relief and painting, this curvilinear ornamentation serves as a common stylistic feature basic to the middle Sepik.

Many of the traditional motifs and traits described above are lacking in the Austin Collection of middle Sepik artifacts. Very few of the artifacts in the Austin Collection impress one as being skillfully produced replicas of the traditional style. With the exception of the clay head (Plate 40), mwai face hook (Plate 42), Sawos dance costume (Plate 62), Chambri pots (Plates 69, 70), which have not all lost stylistic references to traditional forms, almost all of the remaining artifacts appear as uninspired and inferior caricatures of older and traditional forms.

Some of the more conspicuous stylistic changes noted are: a willingness to dispense with traditional curvilinear patterns, traditional motifs and colour schemes; greater use of monochrome black to replace former red, white and black polychromy; a reduction in size; a tendency toward the grotesque; a certain simplification of forms; a standardization of design and workmanship; increase of new motifs by emulation of European paraphernalia; and a deterioration in quality.

Most of these formal changes are evident in the

Iatmul masks, which represent the aesthetic locus of the middle Sepik, that is, the traditional class of objects in which a higher level of excellence in design and quality are displayed (Maquet 1971:11-12). One would presume that because of cultural and aesthetic values and due to traditional sanctions, these artifacts would be the least affected by foreign influences. This is partially correct for while almost entirely new designs characterize other artifacts, at least the sculptural forms of the masks, that is, contours and general appearance, still vaguely resemble traditional models. Some of these masks are however of the crudest sort and no longer express the heightened aesthetic concern traditionally accorded to highly valued ceremonial objects. The basic recognizable features are also retained in the galy panel which traditionally would also have constituted the aesthetic locus of the Sawos. But again, those features which provide the true stylistic character, in this example, the traditional motifs, the sensitive and rhythmic use of florid line, and aesthetic excellence are lacking. Apparently, the most important traditional features, totally meaningless to souvenir-seeking tourists, and also the most intricate and therefore time-consuming to depict are eliminated.

Chapter V The Upper Sepik River

The area of the upper Sepik encompasses both banks of the twisting Sepik River from the Ambunti Mountains upstream to the Central Highlands. Numerous tribes and villages, some sharing cultural affinities with the middle Sepik Iatmul and others with the Telefomin in the region of the Sepik River's headwaters, dot the banks of the Sepik and its meandering tributaries: the April, Wogamas, Leonhard-Schultze, Frieda and May Rivers in the south and the Yellow River in the northwest.

The Upper Sepik area was first visited in 1910 by a boundary-surveying expedition led by Dr. Leonhard Schultze. Dr. Walter Behrmann's 1912-1914 Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss Expedition shortly followed and travelled as far as the Yellow River. Except for these known initial reconnaissance surveys and no doubt visits by gold prospectors, labour recruiters and crocodile hunters, the upper Sepik remained relatively untouched by white civilization until after World War II when administrative patrol posts were established. Until the late 1940's, the farthest administrative outpost was at Ambunti, a station bordering the Middle Sepik and established in 1924.

A number of cultures, more or less related, but expressing distinct individual artistic expressions, inhabit the upper Sepik area. These cultures however, are not all represented in the Austin collection at the Royal Ontario Museum. The principle upper Sepik styles distinguished in the Austin collection are that of the Kwoma and culturally related Nukuma, both in the Washkuk Hills, and some of the April, May, Wogamus, Leonhard-Schultze, and May River peoples.

The Kwoma

A small tribe of approximately 1700 people, the Kwoma dwell in the Ambusti Range of the Washkuk hills just northwest of the administrative patrol post at Ambusti (Map 2). They were subjects of field-work undertaken by Whiting and Reed in 1936-1937 and were comprehensively reported in their 1938-1939 publication. The term 'Kwoma' is the generic name applied to four Ndu-speaking groups or sub-tribes, composed of patrilineal, exogamous and totemic sibs who live in dwellings clustered into small hamlets (Whiting and Reed 1938-1939:206). Headhunting was traditionally practised and was regarded as a prerequisite activity for Kwoma males in order to achieve a men's status and be eligible for membership in the ngwi ritual which was the most secret and highest social division and ranking

grade of the yam cult (Ibid:180,208).

Consisting of complex beliefs and a series of rituals related to the cultivation and harvesting of yam tubers the yam cult was the primary institution for artistic expression by the Kwoma. Kwoma art played a determinate role in the yam cult where it was esoteric, sacred and viewed only by initiated males. The cult essentially consisted of three social groupings and three rituals known as yina-ma, mindja-ma and nogwi (Newton 1971:84). Central to each of the rituals was "a particular kind of basket... built inside the ceremonial house... (and) filled with part of the yam harvest and decorated with different types of sacred carvings or pottery objects" (Ibid) (See diagram 1). The sacred carvings are known by abbreviated names of their respective rituals: Yina, Mindja and Nogwi (Newton 1971). Thus the terms Yina-ma, Mindja-ma and Nogwi, each apply to "the ritual as a whole, the sacred objects displayed (though not the musical instruments used) and the social divisions involved" (Newton 1971:84).

Yina Carvings

According to Newton (Ibid), "each clan owned one or more minor yins, often as brothers and sisters, which were

as a group regarded as brothers or sisters of a major male yina." The yina of the Kwoma are stylized wooden heads forming long ovals with heavy over-hanging brows and concave facial planes, set on short, pointed neck-like shafts and, decorated in monochromatic black or grey before white, yellow and sometimes red psychromy. In size the yina range from:

about four feet to about nine feet high. The faces are much longer in proportion to the brow area, and often are deeply concave. The nose is long, and projects downward from the brow, detached from the face. The eyes are conical projections, sometimes set at the tips with discs of conus shell. The small ears are set high at the sides of the brow. The mouths are u-shaped. In some examples...only the lips or a very small protruding tongue are indicated; a few...show the tongue extended in an arc which reconnects at the chin...(or) is even more marked, and even forms two loops...

Behind the head there protrude downwards one or more long spikes; these represent the yina daggers of human thigh bone such as were carried by important men. They occasionally suggest in form hornbill heads...

(Newton 1971:85)

Five yina carvings are represented in the Austin Collection at the Royal Ontario Museum. Plates 71, 72 and 73 best illustrate traditional yina sculpture while Plates 74 and 75 represent carvings which exhibit hybrid expressions of new structural and colour techniques combined with

traditional stylistic features.

An examination of yina carvings in Kaufmann (1968) reveals a predominantly single face painting style. The colour design of the yina carving illustrated in Plate 71 is characteristic of the traditional yina face painting style (Kaufmann 1974: private communication). Apparently yina carvings are characterized by an exuberant use of black, white and yellow polychromy, shaping and outlining the simple but bold sculptural forms in a preconceived style with prescribed surface areas of colour emphasized with series of white dots. Diagnostic traits are: black brow laquered with white and yellow horizontal stripes and white dots; black eyes with white bands; black nose decorated with white dots; yellow cheek planes; lips outlined in yellow; black tongue decorated with white stripes and dots; mouth and chin enveloped by a black heart-shaped design; and a white and black saw-tooth pattern framing the lower three-quarters of the sculpture's perimeters. Traditional variations of this painting style existed. Less frequently, two lunettes are found on the brow instead of the horizontal stripes and dots. A faint representation of this pattern is illustrated in Plate 73. Other variations include the incorporation of black circles with the traditional linear and curvilinear colour designs; the

substitution of ovoid shapes for linear colour designs; and/or the deletion of the triangular borders which frame the standardized face.

Yina carvings represented in Plates 74 and 75 illustrate an interesting blend of traditional and non-traditional stylistic features. The adaption of new elements in Plate 74, such as the spiral forms, central spikes, side hooks and attached nose, radically alter the typical yina expression. The integration of irregular decorative colour elements and sculptural forms with traditional stylistic elements represent in Plate 75 a modern copy of a traditional yina carving manufactured for sale (Kaufmann 1974: private communication). Apparently the older and traditional style is not preserved when the indigenous functions and motivations for manufacture are replaced by commercialism.

The yina carvings in the Austin Collection are stylized wooden heads with little adherence to conventional proportions or relationships. They are quite dramatic in form and expression due to size, and heavy and bold sculptural features. The carvings are characteristically decorated in monochromatic black or grey or brightly polychromed in contrasting colours of white and yellow on the black background, thus exhibiting a certain affinity

with the colour techniques of the Abelam in the Maprik area. A radical departure from the traditional style is apparent as new elements are adopted to replace older ones or are integrated with traditional features to produce fascinating hybrid forms.

Hook and Ceramic Vessel

The particular decorative technique peculiar to Kwoma cult art is also evident in the embellishment of utilitarian objects such as the wooden hook illustrated in Plate 76. Carved in the round, decorated in relief and polychromed in cult colours and combinations, the hook displays distorted facial forms appearing as stylistic aberrations of traditional yina faces. The application of brilliant acrylic colours combined with lopsided and asymmetrical forms of yina faces, produces a fascinating hybrid of traditional and quasi-traditional features. However, the too-elaborate synthesis of complex forms, features and colour technique creates a baroque appearance, atypical of older and traditional style, and too complex to read. The tendency to excessive ornateness is perhaps a process related to commercialism, to dramatize or individualize a work in order that it be distinctive and attract a potential buyer from the competitive market.

The baroque tendency to elaborate is complemented by the counter trend towards simplicity which is particularly conspicuous in the yam spirit figure illustrated in Plate 77. Simplicity in manufacture has resulted in a grotesque caricature of traditional ceramic faces, a reduction of the traditional decorative use of brilliant colour and an aesthetic flabbiness characteristic of many mass-produced stereotypes.

Plate 78 also represents a recently produced form (Kaufmann 1974:private communication). In contrast to Plate 77 however, the clay vessel illustrated in Plate 78 is manufactured in the traditional form and typically decorated. The plastic and decorative similarities indicate discriminating adherence to traditional stylistic conventions. The vessel may then represent an item which was produced for internal consumption.

The Nukuma

Culturally and linguistically related to the Kwoma are the neighbouring Nukuma. The yam cult is also an important feature of Nukuma culture. Plates 79 and 80 from the Austin Collection represent both a yina and mindja carving from the sacred Nukuma yam cult.

Yina Carvings

The yina carvings of the Nukuma are generally smaller than that of the Kwoma. The common range is from approximately 91 cm. (3 feet) to 137 cm. (4½ feet), and proportionally the shaft is equal or slightly longer in length than the head (Newton 1971:85). According to Newton (Ibid)

the faces are broad ovals with horizontal, undercut brows and flat face planes. The eyes are projecting rings, and the mouths projecting u-shapes; the noses, triangular in section, run from the brow line about halfway down the face, attached the whole length except for the pointed tip, which has a pierced septum. There is very often a narrow flang round the face representing the beard. On the brow are a pair of lunette shapes, said to represent forehead wrinkles. At the crown there is usually a small flare with a stubby projection, which sometimes hooks backwards, showing a bird's head... The upper part of the face is usually painted black; the lower half, from a vertical line under the nose, is usually a solid colour, often red or yellow...

The Nukuma yina carving illustrated in Plate 79 differs in both structural form and colour technique from the traditional models. The most conspicuous difference is the detached, cylindrical nose in place of a commonly attached one, triangular in section and sharply pointed at the tip. A small knob and projecting extension at the crown are also lacking. The colour scheme is rather irregular with prescribed colour areas no longer painted in

the traditional arrangements but in a style reminiscent of Kwoma polychromy. Apparently, stylistic features characteristic of Kwoma yina carvings are here integrated with traditional Nukuma elements thus resulting in a hybrid combination of traditional Nukuma and neighbouring Kwoma styles.

Mindja Sculpture

Mindja carvings represent water-spirits dwelling in lakes, and according to Newton (1971:87) the term is also applied to multipronged objects. Traditionally,

unlike the yina heads, which were all individual and could vary in number, the carvings for Mindja-ma were always made and shown in pairs only. (Diagram 2) They were large, flat slabs, elongated diamonds in outline, the smaller angle at the top being carved as a human face with pierced eyes and mouth.

Those of the Nukuma are about five feet long. The face conforms largely to the type described for the yina. The flat body is carved down the edges with a relief design of large triangles enclosing diamonds, representing banana leaves...; over this is a series of free-standing loops representing a snake... with a human head at the lower end which it is represented as biting. The mindja-ma are male and "partners"...

(Newton 1971:86)

Plate 80 from the Austin Collection illustrates a mindja carving essentially in the traditional Nukuma style with the exception of two obvious stylistic features. The reduced size 111.5 cm. (44 in.) is atypical as well as the

protruding shaft which is not common to traditional mindja carvings. It should be mentioned that a reduction of size is a feature of much acculturated art produced and is "one of the first and most common alterations to take place in the adaption of traditional arts for sale to outsiders..." (Dawson, et al. 1974:28). Though the carving has been modified in size it has not lost its traditional structural form for the designs have also been reduced in scale and display close adherence to traditional features and details. The common black colouring has also been applied but the bright white, yellow and sometimes red psychromy, characteristic of both Nakuma and Kwoma cult art is lacking.

The April River

The April River is a southern tributary of the Sepik River and is lodged between the Hunstein Mountains on the right and by the Wogamush River tributary on the left (See Map 1). The headhunting cultures dwelling along the April River were frequently in a state of warfare which was endemic in the not so distant past (Newton 1971:33).

Shields

Shields were widely distributed along the April River. Unlike pigskin ones sometimes found in Washkuk Hills or feather-shields from among the Karam River cultures, shields from the April River are carved from wood in low relief designs. Sometimes the shields were of ritual significance and were identified with major ancestral spirits (Newton 1971:36). Since they were ancestrally associated, use of them was restricted to a special group of men. Among the Eggala people for instance, shields were allotted by elders to adept men, that is, initiates who had proved themselves capable of carrying them in mock battle contests (Ibid).

There appear to be principally two distinct models of traditional shields from the April River. The Austin Collection contains only one type (Plate 82) while the other model is represented by a shield (Plate 81) from the American Museum of Natural History. The latter is characteristic of the Eggala people who live in a single village initially called 'Kara' but today named 'Swagup' and situated a few miles up the April River (Newton 1971:33).

The shield (Plate 82) from the Austin Collection is characterized by an irregular ovoid shape of which one end is wide and round while the other is tapered and bluntly

cut. Carved in relief the basic design is composed of a series of faces one above the other and surrounded by a fairly symmetrical curvilinear design; and triangles or a sawtooth pattern which trims the edges of the shield. The carved design is painted in black, yellow and grey, contrasting with the natural grain of brown wood. Whether the colours themselves or the patterns are of particular significance is not known. An examination of older shields (Haberland and Schuster 1964:106; Isaacs Gallery 1974) and comparison with the shield in Plate 82 indicates that except for the slight standardization of anthropomorphic faces, the stylistic form and design of the shield is typical of and derived from traditional April River models.

The Wogamus

The Wogamus people live in four villages bordering both banks of the Sepik between the April River and a few miles west of the Wogamush River. It is noted (Newton 1971: 51) that the Wogamus consist of immigrants from the Ngala, Washkuk, Iwam and former hill people who moved to the river. The principal Wogamus art objects are associated with their ceremonial cults.

Gongbeater and Dance Prow

The most important of the musical instruments

associated with ceremonial life are the slit-gongs and gong-beaters. The gongbeaters were believed to be personified female water spirits and symbolized paddles (Newton 1971:52). The beautifully carved gong-beater (Plate 83) from the Austin Collection is typically carved in the form of a mythological bird's head. The head is shaped in a form resembling the elongated looped nose lugs carved to the Iatmul waken slit-gongs (Newton 1966:210). Incised with a curvilinear design consisting of an elongated and curving tear-drop filled with circular discs, the bird's head is the same design unit employed for Wogamus canoe prows (Plate 84). The standardized head design usually represented a highly stylized totemic bird personifying the mythical cassewary (Newton 1971:54). Although of contemporary manufacture, the excellently carved gongbeater and canoe prow exhibit almost identical design features of the traditional Wogamus style illustrated in Newton (1967:75; 1971:59) and in Haberland and Schuster (1964:100).

The Iwam

Inhabiting the banks of the Sepik and May River, one of the Sepik's southern tributaries, are the Iwam, a linguistically defined group belonging to Laycock's (1968: 44-45) Upper Sepik Stock, which is part of the Upper Sepik

Phylum. Because of slight linguistic and cultural differences the Iwam have been divided into two groups: the Sepik River Iwam dwelling along the Sepik banks near the Sepik-May confluence, and the May River Iwam, who inhabit the lower reaches of the tributary (Abramson 1972:270). Though first discovered by the Behrmann expedition in 1912-1913, the May River Iwam experienced only sporadic visits by white cultures until the establishment of the May River Patrol Post in 1956 (Newton 1973:41). The Behrmann expedition did not encounter the Sepik River Iwam who were then living further inland. Extensive commercialism of Iwam art did not occur until the late 1960's (Ibid).

Not only were the Iwam a society of cannibals, headhunters and fierce warriors but they were also talented and prolific artists. They manufactured intricately carved shields, canoe prows and cassowary sculptures, engraved lime gourds and cassowary bone daggers, used sago spathe paintings as decorations on doors and elaborately decorated dried human skulls. Iwam shields (Plates 85-88), canoe prows (Plates 89-93), a carved stool (Plate 94), and lime gourds (Plates 95-97) are represented in the Royal Ontario Museum's Austin Collection.

Traditional Iwam shields were carved with tiny

marsupial teeth or cassowary bone tools and manufactured in two models: narrow shields used by advancing men and broad, thick shields, protecting groups of advancing men (Abramson 1970:56). Design elements and motifs enhancing the surface area were conditioned by clan or family affiliations and were subject to multiple interpretations (Ibid). An examination of traditional Iwam shields (Abramson 1970:56; Haberlan and Schuster 1964:107; Helm 1966-1968, II:187, 189) reveals the following stylistic traits:

- a) rectangular shaped wooden boards with an average height ranging from 173 cm. to 201 cm.
- b) the distribution of motifs according to a rigid longitudinal bilateral symmetry or a common division of the shield into horizontal parts for decoration
- c) a stylistic distinction between May River and Sepik River Iwam shields (Abramson 1972:272). (Bilateral symmetry is clearly displayed in May River Iwam shields as double vertical lines of connected s-curves or permutations of them form on either side of a horizontal midline. Sepik River Iwam shields however, exhibit horizontal surface divisions typified by patterns organized in a system of x's, formed by diagonals of toothed lobe-shaped or teardrop motifs (Ibid))
- d) a limited motif vocabulary on each shield although the pictorial range is extensive when considered totally (Ibid)

e) typical pictorial motifs, each with multiple meanings, include biomorphic elements of circular, teardrop or lobe-shaped forms, the interiors of which are lined with teeth or filled with rays or star designs; vertical extending s - curves, scrolls and bands of chevrons combined within a particular system of conventions along the length of the shield (Abramson 1970:57).

The Iwam shields in the Austin Collection are single shields, narrow in width displaying a combination of traditional and contemporary stylistic features. A conspicuous feature and one that is a typical result of commercialism is extremism in size. In the shield illustrated in Plate 85, an exaggerated height of almost 11 feet is found. Apparently, traditional standards are replaced by innovations perhaps to achieve a dramatic effect in order to attract a potential buyer and/or generate a higher price.

A dramatic or striking effect is also achieved by the use of different colour techniques. The emphatic use of black against white and the replacement of lighter and muted colours of local ochres by vermillion paints creates brighter and deeper colour contrasts as exemplified by the shield represented in Plate 86. Traditional motifs enhance the surface area of the shield but the heightened colour

contrasts and lack of traditional organizational principles are formal changes characteristic of contemporary shields geared for the tourist market (Abramson 1970:57).

Plates 87 and 88 represent shields illustrating carefully executed motifs reminiscent of traditional Iwam shields but also simultaneously exhibiting stylistic idiosyncracies that suggest new or foreign references. Plate 87 represents a shield most analogous to traditional models in surface content: but it differs in its shape which is a distinct oval, and in the cluttering of its decorations. Meticulous illustrations of rhythmic and curvilinear designs resembling traditional motifs also enhance the slightly convex surface of the shield in Plate 88, creating an aesthetically harmonious and extremely attractive pattern. This example, however, introduces new motifs in the form of sharp zig-zags, as well as, a new compositional arrangement of design elements. The concern with filling available space, evidence of different organizational principles, and the adaption of new elements, that is, expansion of the motif vocabulary, is characteristic of the formal changes apparent in contemporary Iwam shields oriented towards the tourist market (Abramson 1970:57).

Whether the stylistic changes found in the Austin

Collection of Iwam shields work to create striking and arresting designs to attract potential customers, or, are stylistic changes sensitive to Western aesthetic predilections, is unknown. The changes are however, brilliantly fused with traditional features in a style that Abramson (1972:285) describes, "...is still conditioned by various factors implicit in the older, apparently traditional Iwam styles." The Austin Collection of Iwam shields embodies the 'synthesis' style identified by Abramson (1970:57) as characterized by technical excellence and representing "a fascinating mixture of consistency and radical departure in terms of the old traditional styles." Motifs are derived from traditional Iwam sources but their organizational principles, colour techniques and stylistic expressions sometimes appear changed or irregular and betray their contemporary manufacture and orientation toward commercialism.

Canoe Prows, Carved Stool and Lime Gourds

Design elements decorating traditional Iwam shields enhance canoe prows (Plates 89-93), a stool (Plate 94) and gourds (Plates 95-97) which are found in the Austin Collection. The limited number of motifs formed by lobe-shaped forms filled with teeth, or circles, plain or containing rays and star shapes, are arranged in the typically stylized and symmetrical compositions characteristic of traditional

Iwam shields. Abramson (1972:271) reports that the basic formal orientation of bilateral symmetry characteristic of traditional Iwam shields is also found on Iwam canoe prows, decorated arrows, gourds and bark paintings. The canoe prows in Plates 90 and 91 particularly well illustrate the stylized motifs employed and the excellent detailed craftsmanship typical of traditional works. The gourds illustrated in Plates 95-97 are also excellent representations of Iwam design elements and high quality work. The aesthetic flabbiness that is common to much of contemporary art manufactured for sale is lacking in the Austin Collection of Iwam shields, canoe prows and gourds, which are executed with excellent technical skill.

Summary

Stretching from the Washkuk zone to the May River, the Upper Sepik populations as revealed, have produced numerous distinct artistic expressions, but ones with stylistic affinities which create an overall upper Sepik style. This Sepik sub-style is principally characterized by an abstract stylization of forms and a striving for symmetry. A common theme, characteristic of the upper Sepik and especially of its lower Washkuk cultures, is the anthropomorphic face, carved and coloured to the limits of

abstraction. Another recurrent theme, is the depiction of a bird, embellishing canoe prows, gong-beaters, slit-gongs and paddles. The hornbill or cassowary whose heads are most frequently represented, are often difficult to recognize as they are heavily stylized, reduced to essentials and loosely carved in open-work relief. Sometimes a symbolic shorthand is practised whereby the bird's head is replaced by a curved spike or hook which represents daggers made from cassowary bones or a hornbill's head (Newton 1971:85).

Also characteristic of the upper Sepik is the rich curvilinear decoration frequently found embellishing stylized sculptures and two-dimensional works. Of particular interest are the decorations found enhancing the shields. A proliferation of decorative and symbolic relief patterns of repetitive, curvilinear motifs in stylized combinations, and usually in bilateral symmetry, adorn the shields. The decorations are also frequently loaded with symbolism (Abramson 1970:57). The ambiguous nature of these symbols is, however, emphasized by Abramson (Ibid) when he notes that the motifs have multiple interpretations and function on multiple levels of cultural, ritual, and personal meaning.

The tourist market and its accompanying cultural

and social consequences have changed values, needs, and aesthetic criteria in the upper Sepik, which in turn, have gradually altered the treatment of traditional stylistic elements.

With commercialism displacing traditional production, older and traditional stylistic principles of form, content, size and decorative technique have been changed in order that art works be distinct and saleable. Some obvious formal changes have resulted and are apparent in the Austin Collection of upper Sepik art. These notable changes are: an increase in size to gigantism; an expansion of decorative elements; a reduction in size and in the motif vocabulary; a loss of traditional organizational principles such as bilateral symmetry; brighter and heightened colour contrasts due to use of vermillion paints; and other less conspicuous innovations or modifications which have altered the formal stylistic expression. These changes however, have been integrated or combined with traditional stylistic features and have produced usually vigorous and attractive styles.

The time factor involved is here important in order to comprehend this successful merger. Since the tourist invasion arrived much later in the upper Sepik and did not effect some areas until the middle or late 1960's, the majority of the Austin material, since collected before 1967, escaped the intense commercialism of the contemporary

tourist market. The changes and ingenious designs perhaps reflect a new freedom to experiment and innovate in order to produce distinctive and attractive art, rather than merely to conform to Western standards and demands. The Austin Collection of upper Sepik River art thus represents a rich mixture of art objects illustrating works decorated in traditional styles or, producing vigorous and brilliant designs blending both traditional and contemporary elements.

CHAPTER VI

THE MAPRIK

The second most important art centre in the Sepik District is Maprik, a style area situated on the southern foothills of the Prince Alexander and Torricelli Mountain Ranges (Bühler et al. 1962:114). The approximately 30,000 inhabitants of the area live in large, politically autonomous hilltop villages of 300 to 800 in population, and are known as the Abelam (Forge 1970:269). They form a cultural and linguistic area speaking mutually intelligible dialects of the Ndu-language family, and are distinguishable by the long yam and Tambaran cults which are central to religious, economic, political, social and aesthetic spheres of life (Forge 1967).

Abelam villages, which are comprised of a collection of hamlets, consist of a number of totemic, exogamous patrilineals associated with the nggwalndu - major clan spirits which are the focal points of Abelam religious beliefs and aesthetic activities (Kaberry 1941). Each hamlet is formed by a clustering of clan-landholding units built around a common public square (Kaberry 1941a:241). Where possible, each hamlet is characterized by its own haus tambaran and has its own big man who organizes activities associated with the long yam and tambaran cults (Kaberry 1971:45). For participation in the two ceremonial cults the village males are divided into two dual

sections or ara with men of one ara exchanging yams and initiating their respective ceremonial partners in the other ara (Kaberry 1971:42, 54). Each village acts as a corporate unit having a strong sentiment of solidarity, expressing its identity in its name, in its possession of bird totems; and in its founding myths (Kaberry 1971:44). The villages take pride in their "skill, art, industry and initiative which are symbolized by the possession of a haus tambaran" and boast to other villages of their "numerical superiority, their powers as fighters, and their skill as builders of haus tambarans and as cultivators of long-yams" (Kaberry 1971:36,44).

Religious practices of the Abelam are based on magic and religious beliefs in the powers of the nggwalndu and other ancestral spirits. They are represented in paintings, carvings, and basketry masks decorated with mud, shells, feathers, fruits, flowers and vividly polychromed with the ritual colours of yellow, red, white and black (Forge 1962: 12). The nggwalndu are used as symbols in ceremonies or as decorative features ornamenting houses, weapons and everyday articles. Although decorative art exists, "all art among the Abelam is fundamentally cult art" associated with the yam and tambaran cults (Forge 1967:67). Tambaran and yam cults appear throughout the Sepik District but the Abelam's

particular association with and visual manifestations of nggwalndu which are central to the complex beliefs and values constituting the two cults, is peculiar to them alone and distinguishes them from other Sepik peoples.

The yam cult is essentially "the competitive growing of phallic tubers" as a means of obtaining prestige and accumulating wealth (Forge 1969:88). According to Kaberry (1941a:353) this phallic cult is central to a complex set of religious beliefs and activities, revealing a very important aspect of Abelam religion - "one that is closely interlocked with economics and with the interests and prestige of the men".

The Abelam cultivate two types of yams, ordinary ones grown as food in gardens which are open to both sexes and all ages; and, long yams, named after their clan spirits, which are grown according to the phases of the moon, in sacred gardens accessible only to initiated men observing stringent sex and food taboos for the duration of time between planting and harvesting. To ensure fertility, long yams are subject to much ritual and magic during their cultivation. Men perform magic invoking the moon, ancestors and the nggwalndu to watch over their yams (Kaberry 1941:355). Inherited or purchased spells are also incanted,

ginger and other herbs whose smells excite and encourage yams to grow are used, and powerful magical paints are employed (Forge 1966:307). Forge (1962:10) remarks that earth paints of varying colours which are considered to be so 'hot' they irritate the yams are applied in small amounts to the growing tubers. In order to relieve the irritation the yams are believed to squirm and stretch thus forcing themselves to drive further and further into the ground thus getting longer and longer.

Shortly after harvest the yam cult festival begins. Only yams of five feet or longer in length are prodigiously decorated and exhibited on the ceremonial ground. When exhibited, the long yams are lashed to poles and decorated with necklaces of shell, or beaded amulets and wear brightly coloured woven or wickerwork masks and headdresses ornamented with cassowary plumes, fur, leaves and floral arrangements. Singing and dancing accompany these elaborate displays and it is not uncommon for yams to be adorned in paraphernalia similar to the costumes that men parade in during the festivals. Tuzin (1972:236) in fact, states that their particular "styles of adornment" accent the "physical resemblance between man and yam". Not only are men and yam dressed in similar paraphernalia but the tuber's skin is decorated and enhanced with "painted designs...representing belts, amulets, shell

ornaments, genitalia, and the like" (Ibid). Tuzin's statement, (though made 31 years later), concurs with Kaberry's (1941a:356) identification theory of a close relationship between Abalam man and his yam. Kaberry (Ibid), Forge (1966:308) and Tuzin (1972) have also remarked on behaviour, spells, and beliefs which reveal a great deal of identification between man, and his yam and his nggwalndu. The symbolism associated with the yam cult and decorated long tubers appears to underlie Forge's (1966) analysis in which he considers Sepik art as a symbolic "system of visual communication" transmitting "messages" which are "implicit non-verbal statements" about Sepik men, their culture and society. "The ultimate identity of man, long yam, and spirit" is one such statement (Forge 1966:312-313).

Elaborately ornamented, the long yams are exchanged with ceremonial partners from other clans of the opposite ara. In essence, this is an economic contract for reciprocal presentations are made the following year. However, since "long yam-growing is the essential way of obtaining prestige" the receiver will always try to exceed the original gift by more and longer yams (Forge 1966:307). Sacred long yams, single, straight and cylindrical, are reported by Forge (Ibid) to be usually six to nine feet in length, although they sometimes reach fantastic lengths of over twelve feet.

As previously mentioned, the long yams are phallic symbols, and expressions of pride and prestige not only of individual big men but also of the clan, hamlet and village.

Masks

Fabricated from plaited rattan (main vein of palm leaf) and polychromed with ritual earth pigments, woven basketry masks, or wooden imitations of them decorate the long yams and are, according to Bühler (1962:114), the only type of mask known in the Maprik territory. Traditional pigments of red and yellow ochre, white powder and black scrapings were used over a mud wash on the surface of the rattan masks. The earth dyes, believed to be inherently powerful transmitting supernatural powers, were secretly imported by each big man from outside village sources in exchange for shell rings (Plate 93) which form Abelam wealth (Forge 1962:10). The striking basketry masks were produced in two sizes: diminutive ones to adorn animistic yam tubers; and life-size to be worn by larger yams and male dancers during yam festivals. Though varying in size most of the masks were characterized "by a bulging conical head with a zoomorphic face consisting of two predominant eye motifs which are separated by a protruding crest resembling a nose or bill. Some have ears and headdresses (Austin and

Teilhet 1967:30-31). In New Guinea pidgin terminology, public masks such as the yam masks are generally called "Tumbuan" in contrast to the sacred "tambaran" (Mead:1934).

Approximately forty years of culture contact have little affected the particular style of Abelam basketry masks which are represented in the Royal Ontario Museum's Austin Collection (Plates 100-114). The Museum's inventory reveals yam masks constructed in the traditional style, featuring a structural and expressive technique whereby constantly recurring geometrical elements are defined into articulating forms of pure colour. Of the geometric elements formed, the ovoid circle is the most dominant compositional feature. The simple design formula consists of a zoomorphic facial type, ovoid in shape and built up of a minimum number of geometric elements: the slightly convex crescent-shaped triangular forehead; the long and curved crest-like nose; and the circular eye and cheek planes. These structural features are arranged in a prescribed and stylized form whereby two circular cheek planes are separated by a characteristically long crest-like nose terminating in a curved loop. This may be a detail appropriated from reality for the Abelam preferred perforated nasal septums and during childhood pierced the septum (Kaberry 1941a:361). Kaberry (1941a:230) reports that a "long curved nose is

regarded as a sign of beauty and it is featured prominently in the wickerwork and carved masks". The mouth is frequently a small triangular slit-opening, and ears, when added are stylized perforated discs placed at the junction of the temple and headdress. Sometimes ovoid or spade-shaped superstructures surmount the zoomorphic face in imitation of head ornaments, and are decorated with hair, feathers and fur as illustrated in Plate 114. The cheeks are rendered in either bulging rounded surfaces or in recessed flat facial planes with triangular crescent-shaped openings above and/or below the eye. Eyes are frequently quite prominent, varying from simple concentric circles to large perforated bulbous or tubular projections. Plates 99 and 100 illustrate excellent examples of masks whose structural compositions are reduced to their basic geometrical equivalents.

The striking appearance of yam masks is due to the exuberant use of pigments which provide the simple structural forms with rich colour, traditionally believed to be inherently powerful and capable of charging the masks with supernatural powers. Colour balanced against colour creates a colour structure whereby specific surface areas are lacquered with prescribed pigments. A patch of white usually appears on the forehead while black is frequently used to

outline forms. White and red as well as yellow usually decorate the facial planes. In addition to the four traditional and ritual colours of white, yellow, red and black, some of the masks have also been polychromed with blue, green and brown dyes. The employment of foreign colours however, is not detrimental to the aesthetic quality of the masks nor creates conspicuous disharmonies. Forge (1962:121;1973:283) notes that new paints introduced into Vayrik by returning recruited labourers, the Japanese, and trade stores, were generally accepted and ritually integrated into the traditional colour scheme.

The two yam masks illustrated in Plates 99 and 100 reveal a modification in style - a tendency towards simplification. The masks are traditional in structural composition but have been reduced to the most simple geometrical components without any decorative details added. Colour - the most characteristic feature of Abelsan art has been omitted. Essentially uniform, lacking even subtle nuances of colour the two masks appear traditional in form but non-traditional in expression.

The trend towards simplification as previously mentioned, is related to the tourist market. Garbrands (1975: private communication) for example, stated that when last in Vayrik in

1967, yam masks, traditional in structure but lacking colour, were being produced for tourists. The reduction of traditional stylistic features and accompanying standardization of forms may be a simplification process to save time and work but it may also indicate the Abelam artists' insight. The artists perhaps understand that the ritual aspect of mask production (the intrinsically powerful colour; and the painting itself, a sacred act bound with taboos in order to ensure fertility and success in the yam cult) may be eliminated since the masks will not be used in the yam cult and thus will not require the traditional ritual decoration accorded to culturally functioning masks. Colour may also be eliminated if the artists perceive that the ritual aspect of colour is meaningless and not understood by the European shopper not socialized in Abelam culture.

Wooden masks, (Plates 115, 116), in imitation of yam masks are also produced but in different stylistic form. The stylistic form echoes the facial expressions of extremely sacred, carved ancestor figures hidden in the dark chambers of the haus tambaren. Plate 115 from the Austin Collection represents a mask characterized by a slightly curving, horizontal eye-brow ridge perpendicular to a long vertical

incised nose forming a basic T-shaped face which is diagnostic of traditional Abelam sculpture (Bühler et al. 1962:114). Common also are the multiple lines of various colours and white dots which decorate and outline colour areas. Upon viewing the yam mask, Forge (1974: private communication) identified it as being "quite old". Though the wooden mask in Plate 116 shares traditional stylistic elements it, on the other hand, illustrates a crude attempt at imitating yam masks or sculptural face painting.

Associated with both yam and tambaran cults is a large woven rattan mask called babatagna. It was allegedly worn by male dancers who personified the Baba-Tagwa spirit of the yam cult (Austin and Teilhet 1967:31). Based on the helmet masks illustrated in Newton (1967:Plates 252,248) the baba mask is characterized by a great amount of expressive stylization of shapes and features. Globular in shape, the mask is dominated by large ovoid or circular shaped eye-cheek crests attached side by side and separated by a typically prominent nose formed by the central ridges of the eye crests. The nose characteristically terminates in a loop. The eye varies in form from concentric circles, to perforated domes, or projections, and is surrounded by decoratively shaped, but functional, openings through which the wearer can see. Ears are stylized discs or open horn-like

projections attached at the side of an elaborated headdress which alone, or decorated with feathers or other extraneous fibres, completes the striking babatagwa design.

The babatagwa mask (Plate 117) in the Royal Ontario Museum's collection is typical in style of the traditional babatagwa masks. It, however, appears to be more elaborate and thus, more abstract in appearance than the traditional zoomorphic heads with which it shares its basic compositional features. A row of multi-coloured triangles framing the predominant eye-crests and a ric-rac design mounting the central crest junction create this busy impression. Like all traditional masks associated with the yam cult, colour is the common denominator. Strong shapes are built up with ritual colours of red, yellow, white and black.

The ceremonial anthropomorphic masks are characterized by a plasticity of forms combined with a restricted palette, but one exhibiting vibrant Fauve colours. The style of these yam masks features a high degree of stylization in facial shapes and features. Monotonous uniformity is avoided by minute variations in detail. These traditional styles are perhaps maintained because they are

thought to be useful, that is, effective and beneficial, since the Abalam believed that inherent supernatural powers could only be released if the designs were correctly conceived (Forge 1967:82).

Tambaran Cult

The complex beliefs and activities involved in the yam cult are closely related to the tambaran cult. Symbolically, the two cults are united for both are "conceived with aspects of the nggwalndu, the spirits associated with nominally patrilineal clans....."(Forge 1970:272). Cultural values and beliefs are institutionalized in the emotionally charged and formalized ceremonies of the tambaran cult of which the central feature is a display of a series of objects which stand for the nggwalndu (Forge 1967:69). The tambaran cult which appears in variant forms throughout the Sepik District essentially consists among the Abalam, of initiation ceremonies in which initiates are shown by their respective ceremonial partners sacred objects claimed to be the nggwalndu. At the next ceremony the youths are informed that they were tricked and that they are now to be shown the real clan spirits. This pretense continues until the final ceremony which culminates approximately twenty years later when huge

carved figures, known to be the real nggwelndu, are shown (Forge 1970:273). Forge (1967:71, states, that "the emphasis is all on the magnificence of the decorations, both of the objects and of the initiators, and the desire to create an impression on the visitors".

Since the tambaran ceremonies cannot be performed while the long yams are being cultivated they are limited to four months: beginning after the yam harvest and subsequent displays and ceasing when the long gardens are to be cleared for planting (Forge 1970:272). The tambaran ceremonies and displays are staged either on the ceremonial ground of the hamlet or in the haus tambaran. Ritually constructed to one side of the ceremonial ground the Abalam haus tambaran stylistically varies from the ceremonial houses on the Sepik River which commonly have a rectangular floor plan, and consequently, two gabled towers. Depending on the length and position of the sloping ridge pole which Forge (1965:305) reports to be masculine, phallic and the most important part of the house, Abalam haus tambarans range from forty to eighty feet in height and are triangular in ground plan and vertical section (Kaberry 1941a:242; Forge 1971:229). The triangular façade is divided into two sections. The top section (Plate 118) is transversely panelled with sheets of sage spathe on which are usually painted horizontal

rows of stylized faces and figures in traditional white, black and with yellow and orange-red ochre. Forge (1970: 273) writes that the largest and most important of these ancestor spirits are those at the bottom - "a huge row of nggwaindu heads whose large round eyes look down on the amei (ceremonial ground)". Augmenting the painted designs are carved figures and/or faces polychromed in the same colours, decorating a wooden beam of the trallis. The lower section of the façade is constructed from woven palm matting decorated with attached carvings of masks, animals and birds. An opening leads into the womb-like interior chamber where the highly secret and sacred tambaran paintings and carvings are displayed. Symbolically, the Abelam ceremonial house echoes the dual nature of Sepik River tambaran houses whereby masculine "assertive" art is contained within the dark interior of the female house.

Characteristic of Abelam art is the dramatic and exuberant use of brilliant polychrome painting as exemplified in the yam masks and tambaran sculptures. Unlike the yam cult where paint is considered to be intrinsically powerful, paint in the tambaran cult is not imbued with supernatural powers. The painting activity itself, however, is sacred and carried out under stringent tabocs similar to those of the Yam Cult (Forge 1967:75). The actual painting activity

"becomes the principle vehicle by which the benefit of the ceremony is transmitted to the participants" (Forge 1967: 75). A spectacular explosion of colour not only enriches the frontal façade and carvings, but also highlights the initiation chamber inside the haus tambaran which is lined with paintings similar to those of the frontal façade but reduced to the simplest unit - a flattened oblong sago bark spathe called wut (Forge 1973:180). The designs and panels have a feminine association. Forge (1967:70) writes that, the term wut also refers to the only feminine aesthetic activity - the beautifully designed string bags, and to the womb which

"in this instance (is) the most obvious symbolic referent.....the initiation chamber being a small dark room built inside the large female house with its low entrance through which the initiates crawl when entering and leaving".

Sago Spathe Paintings

Wut panels, first coated in a grey or black mud wash are painted with a number of graphic elements built up into a highly stylized anthropomorphic forms or harmoniously arranged, from our ethnocentric perspective, into seemingly abstract patterns. Forge (1973:183) however, suggests that the figurative - abstract dichotomy is a fallacious one since "there is no line to be drawn between

representational and abstract (or non-representational) at least in Abalam terms". Themes, in effect, are essentially conveyed not in realistic, but in symbolic, forms. Reduced to the most simple geometric form the wut paintings are characterized by pointed ovals, v's, opposed w's, circles, triangles, polychrome cross-hatchings and multiple lines used to shape and outline the principle forms of the designs (Ibid). The dominating constant is the pointed oval identified as the rbia (belly) or asa (mother) and is thus essentially feminine (Forge 1973:183).

These same traditional elements decorate the surface of the sago panels (Plates 119 and 120) in the Austin Collection. Plate 119 illustrates a stylized figure while a more ambiguous design decorates the panel represented by Plate 120. The most obvious diagnostic features illustrated in Plate 119 are: the v's and opposed w's formed by the typically black stick-like arms and legs; the classic 'hocker' position of the figure formed by the particular placement of arms and legs; predominance of oval female forms; the shaping of principle forms by multiple polychrome lines; lack of conventional facial features; white hatching distinguishing the forehead which is filled with a black triangle commonly identified as the femal pubic triangle (Forge 1973:184); six pairs of white circles which are usually

identified as eyes or stars associated with ancestors and the sacredness of the body (Forge 1973:186); a central oval representing the mbia, but being black is identified as "half-belly" (Forge 1973:182); the ubiquitous cross-hatching and curved bands filled with polychrome triangles which "are all classified as various forms of wut-string bag" (Forge 1973:180). The principle artistic forms appear to represent female motifs. According to Forge (1973:180,184) these feminine relationships comply well with and articulate Abelam traditions where women are creators of the vegetation and the discoverers of yams, tambaran and the ngwalndu - the most supreme male values and most essential to male ethos and ritual power. It seems that the motifs and presumably their arrangements are a part of the process of visually expressing value-laden statements about Abelam culture, specifically about the paradoxical nature of female-male relationships.

The diagnostic motifs: white circles, black triangles, ovals, semi-circles, polychrome cross-hatching and wut string bag filling, and other unidentified motifs form the visual code articulating the surface of the wut panel illustrated in Plate 120. The familiar stylized figure composition is lacking. Instead, the basic graphic elements are arranged in a seemingly 'abstract' design. This may be an innovative arrangement or an accepted and traditional form

of expression of an Abelam sub-style.

Traditional orange-red, yellow, white and black colours enhance both panels from the Austin Collection. However, since contact there has been an introduction of different paints as mentioned earlier, and non-traditional colours have been included interchangeably with the four traditional colours. Forge (1970:283) states that the colours "are subsumed into the four paints" - thus a green powder is called yellow and blue is called black. Plate 121 from the Ryan Collection is an example where blue colour has been incorporated.

Sculpture

The climax of Abelam art and the most sacred examples of Abelam art are the wooden anthropomorphic carvings of the ngwalndu and other clan spirits hidden in the initiation chamber of the haus tambaran. Their distinct style in particular distinguishes Abelam art.

Based on wooden figures (Plates 122-125) which are thematically and conceptually characteristic of traditional Abelam ancestor carvings, fundamental stylistic themes and traits are: three dimensional, free-standing human figures, predominantly male, ranging from below life-size to over ten feet; a predominance of basically ovate and curved shapes defining the sculptural forms; a frequent representation of

the figure in a crouching position as a result of the particular curved rendering of legs; a clearly represented phallus, frequently pointing down towards the feet; a profusion of the four traditional colours extensively polychroming the defined surface areas; and a brilliant fusion of the figure with birds and/or snakes.

According to Kaberry (1941a:357) the human figures named after the principle male and ancestral clan spirits are hewn from logs eight to ten feet long. Less sacred ancestors are carved in similar style but in smaller dimensions. Generic to almost all ancestor figures is a proportionally large head accentuated by a dome-shaped top. The head is oval with a face invariably convex displaying a large, narrow nose perpendicular to the horizontal and close set eyes and brow ridge, and an oval shaped mouth outlined in white. The brightly coloured and carved faces are stylistically uniform, having in common T-shaped faces, formed by the bulging forehead and straight narrow nose (Bühler et al. 1962:114).

The elaborate, high-domed head is usually hunched down upon a neckless body formed by the classical oval shape. The ovate trunk is framed by two thin curving arms adhering closely to the body. The arms extend separately

from the top of the trunk or are joined together forming an arc or arabesque below the head. The hands rest on the groin.

As is characteristic of Abalam art, the figures are brilliantly polychromed with yellow, orange-red and combined with white and black. The face is composed in a prescribed style with definite surface areas of colour outlined in white lines and dots. Multiple lines of colour and dots usually define different colour areas decorating the carved figure. Echoing the colouring style of the yam tubers, paint is used to colour ornaments to the head, chest and appendages as well as decorative designs on different parts of the anatomy. Forge (1962:13) emphasizes that "painting of great clan figures is a sacred and dangerous activity" while carving, though carried out in secrecy, is not a ritual activity. Once the carving is painted though, it is highly sacred, significant and powerful.

The animal-man combination, a theme common to Sepik art, is represented in the Naprik. Relief carvings of snakes and birds, usually identified as cockatoos or hornbills, are often brilliantly fused with the carved human figures. The crocodile motif is unknown in the Naprik. Forge (1965:309) reports of totem birds, or pigs, or snakes carved between the feet of the anthropomorphic figures with

the head facing up in a position approximately an inch from the end of the pointed phallus as illustrated in Plates 123 and 125.

Fundamental principles of the traditional style are displayed in the ancestor carving (Plate 126) belonging in the Austin Collection. Represented is a female anthropomorphic figure typically fused with animal combinations. Embodied are three prominent Abelan symbols: the totemic hornbill, here presented perched above the head in opposing profiles; the snake, believed to be responsible for conception (Forge 1969:88), emerging from the vulva; and woman, a powerful fertility figure, creator of vegetation and discoverer of the nggwalndu. Typical is the presence of rounded and ovate sculptural forms and polychromy of red, yellow, white and black. Characteristic also, are the familiar decorative and symbolic ornaments such as the breast decoration, and the designs which enhance the carved modelling. These features are comparable to the painted designs used for the panels and yam tubers.

Thematically, traits generic to traditional ancestor carvings are exhibited, but stylistically, some dramatic differences are revealed. The most conspicuous and distinguishing features are the lack of arms and the presence

of three circular projections with central concave depressions placed at the sides of the figure. Other deviations include: only diminutive, stylized sausage-like legs carved independently of the torso and set against a platform base; and a loose interpretation of the basic T-shape face typical of Abelam sculpture. There is a greater resemblance to conventional features and addition of more facial details which result in a more individual and less stylized and uniform expression.

The wealth of Abelam art "is basically cult art" produced for magico-religious purposes in the yam and tambaran cults (Forge 1967:6). Decorative art, of course, exists but as Forge (1970:279) emphasizes, "its motifs and usages are derived from cult art and from statues associated with the yam and tambaran cults". Forge (1967:67) writes of coconut shell cups and spoons of the type portrayed in Plates 127 and 128 as being "among the finest small objects produced by the Abelam". These elaborately engraved coconut shell artifacts are polished black with the engraved designs filled with white. The ubiquitous oval and circular forms are represented as well as the omnipresent T-shaped face and classic 'hocker' figures, reminiscent of the designs on the flat paintings and sculpture. The artists of the four shell containers reveal a predilection for riotous curvilinear elements engraving the surface area

in an exuberant fashion. Used for drinking soup, these shell containers are carried and used by big men or men who have achieved full initiation status in the tambaran cult and success in the competitive yam cult (Forge 1967:67). Pottery bowls, were similarly restricted in traditional times to serve ceremonial food to ceremonial partners during initiation (Kaufmann 1974:private communication). Clay bowls were made by women, but the engraving and sacred painting activities were carried out by men (Forge 1967:67). The clay pots from the Austin Collection illustrated in Plates 130 to 131 display motifs that are derived from flat painting and sculpture employed in the tambaran cult: circular faces hunched down on oval trunk forms; stylized 'hocker' figure; v's, opposing w's, triangles, and ovals; white circles comparable to the symbolic 'eyes' and 'stars' enhancing wut panels; multi-spiral designs, and the traditional yellow, red-orange, white and black polychromy. Stylized forms of the 'hocker' figure are also featured on a drum (Plate 132 from the Austin Collection).

Summary

The Austin Collection of Abelam artifacts reveal highly individual art forms notable for spectacular paintings, sculpture and stylistic coherence. The repertoire

of objects in the Royal Ontario Museum's Austin Assemblage consists of masks, flat paintings, sculpture and pottery, all elaborately polychromed and all sharing basic design elements, motifs and stylistic features characteristic of traditional Abelam art. The presence of these basic stylistic elements suggest strong parallels with traditional Abelam art.

The most conspicuous feature of this collection however, and characteristically Abelam, is the spectacular use of polychromy in red, yellow, white and black pigments for either decorative, descriptive or symbolic purposes on both cult and decorative objects. This limited range of colours belong to a symbolic colour tradition: colours involved in the yam cult are traditionally believed to be 'hot' and imbued with supernatural powers; while in the tarbaran cult, the painting activity itself and not colour is regarded as sacred. Rather than colour being of secondary importance as is often the case in the art of other Sepik peoples, it is the most prominent, significant and dramatic feature of the Abelam art forms in the Austin Collection.

Common to Abelam art forms are compositions of either conventionalized anthropomorphic figures or faces. They all express a great degree of stylization of shapes and features displaying little close dependency on natural

proportions or relationships. So highly stylized are the designs that they can be reduced to almost basic geometric forms. A great amount of reliance on the stylization of features, shapes and designs is evident in both cult and decorative art.

A distinguishing feature of Abelam style is the rare use of a single line. Instead, multiple lines of traditional polychromy are favoured with a series of white dots further accentuating the linear designs. Another dominant design feature and a constant element in the iconography is the oval or mbia shape found often in the various motifs in flat painting, and in the shaping or symbolic and decorative designs enhancing the wooden ancestor sculptures. Abelam style is based primarily on curved forms and rounded shapes and is thus revealed in the Austin Collection.

A salient characteristic of Abelam art tradition and typical of artifacts in the Austin Collection is the common use of identical colour techniques decorating the surface areas of the principle art objects. Tuzin (1972:236) writes of colour designs representing belts, bracelets and ornaments decorating the animistic yam tubers and simulating the paraphernalia worn by men dressed for ceremonies. Similar chest and forehead ornaments are found on the anthropomorphic figures represented in the panel

paintings and sculpture. A conspicuous Abelam trait present, is the basic T-shape face form which is universal to ancestor sculptures and to wooden masks which adorn the long yam tubers. Buhler, Barrow and Mountford (1962:114) add that the T-shaped face is a common feature in the paintings and Forge (1970:280) writes that Abelam face painting consists of

a prescribed style built up of a series of elements (forehead ornaments, nose decorations, etc) and definite areas of colour (eyes - black, cheeks - yellow, etc) that make all painted carved faces stylistically the same as each other and the same as the painted faces of the initiators,....during the actual ceremony .

Forge (1973:177) concludes that "this single face painting style provides an expression of the fundamental unity of the trinity, man, yam and ngwalndu" and "is one of the most important 'theological' functions of Abelam art" (Forge 1970:280).

This stylistic analysis suggests the existence of a formal system of art whereby compositions are built up from a particular cluster of elements according to a set of rules. The arts repeatedly exhibit the same motifs in masks, flat painting, sculpture and pottery (that is, in both cult and decorative art), especially in traditional Abelam art objects. In spite of conspicuous differences, such as the lack of significant colour in two yam masks or the absence of characteristic attributes in the sculpture, the style and colouring of Abelam art as found in the Austin

Collection have remained relatively constant throughout the years of culture contact and are characterized by a standard of artistic integrity that is common to traditional Abelam artistic expressions.

The Austin Collection of Sepik River art, though not comprehensive in thematic and stylistic scope, nevertheless embraces many of the principal art styles of the great Sepik River District. As revealed by this study, the Collection represents contemporary art forms that are encyclopedic in variety and quality, are marked by disparate sizes, characterized by fantastic forms of an almost surrealistic order, or, are naturally delineated. Also highly variable in technical and artistic quality, the art objects are differentiated in craftsmanship by either shoddy work or by the remarkable virtuosity characteristic largely of older and traditional artistic expressions. Essentially, the artists have drawn upon the art of the not too distant past, but at the same time have discarded some of its aesthetics and traditional forms to explore and adopt unconventional techniques and expressions of the new contemporary era.

By virtue of prolonged European contact and the acculturation process not only were traditional values altered but a new socio-cultural environment was created. Characterized in part by an economic cash market and a tourist industry, contemporary Sepik culture is so radically different from the one at time of contact that it produces

art forms which, in some cases, do not even have a tenuous relationship with older and traditional art objects. Commercialism is the most important agent of acculturation currently affecting Sepik River art. The various market systems are responsible for some far reaching changes in local art production. Gradually replacing the traditional production and exchange patterns, commercialism is transforming the art into commodity items that are consumed by unknown clientele. The orientation towards sale not only differentiates much of the contemporary arts from their traditional functions but also divorces them from their cultural patrons and thus from any direct stylistic controls. With the traditional patron-artist relationship greatly altered, the arts are no longer bound to conform to the traditional standards of artistry and as a result lose some of their cultural meanings. Increasingly, the art is subjected to influences and changes introduced by the European culture such as those which result from the demands of the new art patrons - serious collectors and casual tourist shoppers. As a product of this new cultural life, the Austin Collection exhibits considerable stylistic changes when it is compared with the traditional art forms which first became known to Europeans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Almost all of

the stylistic changes in terms of material, size, form and content are best viewed as "accommodations" to the new commercial functions (Ben Amos 1973:13).

One of the primary changes that have taken place in the production of contemporary arts is the assimilation of European materials. Although items of Western technology are present in the Austin Collection, their introduction has not affected profound changes in the art objects. Paint, beads, and cloth are adopted and are either substituted for traditional materials or incorporated with native made and natural fibres. Their integration, however, is subtle and not detrimental to the aesthetic quality of the art forms. The new materials do not create conspicuous disharmonies; instead, they are a source of enrichment.

The introduction of western oil paints increases the range of colours available to the artists, but in this collection of Sepik material does not alter the traditional style. The use of vermillion paints does however, produce brighter and more startling colour contrasts when compared with the more muted hues of the local colours. But nowhere does assimilation of oil paints produce garish and gawdy expressions. If dysfunctional innovations result as in the Anggoram (Plates 19-22) or Iatmul masks (43-52),

it is because a new colour scheme is substituted for the traditional face painting style.

As illustrated in the Austin Collection, some European artifacts have been adopted by Sepik culture: the copy of a German walking stick (Plate 60) and Aibom copy of an altar vessel (Plate 68) serve as excellent examples. These are the only artifacts in the Austin Collection of Sepik River art that are direct copies of western forms. Although decorated by traditional designs, they represent the sort of art objects which May (1974:5) has characterized unfortunately as 'bastard art'.

A common response to commercialism and one found in the Austin Collection is a change in size. Both a reduction and an increase in size are modifications that differentiate the recently produced art forms from their traditional predecessors. Reduction in scale serves several purposes: it accommodates the casual shoppers' demands for portability and makes packing and transportation easier; and, also reduces the work of the producers and therefore saves time (Dawson, et al. 1974:28). The phenomenon of reduction is explored in greater detail later in this chapter. The exaggeration of size, as exemplified by the Iwam shield (Plate 85), appears to be a less common practice whose

goals are, perhaps, to distinguish such art forms from the mass of generally small souvenir items, and to generate a higher price. Although these modifications in size do occur they do not distort drastically the traditional designs which they bear, since the designs are either reduced in scale or increased in number to accommodate the larger size.

Closely related in size modification is a change in shape as exhibited in the malu board (Plate 63). The rectangular adjustment in shape perhaps serves some of the purposes mentioned above. Alternatively, it may indicate manufacture by an artist who perhaps was not brought up within the traditional culture and is not familiar with the details of the traditional style. Cases of this have been reported by May (1974:1).

Modification of composition is another stylistic change frequently appearing in the contemporary art forms from the Austin Collection. Since the art objects are no longer culturally functional and have lost their intrinsic meanings, they are more susceptible to stylistic experimentations, such as the acceptance of innovations and accommodations to meet the demands or tastes of the new patrons. Structural modifications have taken

various forms, some producing almost entirely new compositions in which almost all references to older models are abandoned while others are adjunctive and fuse new compositional features with traditional designs. The Austin collection features several examples of the latter.

For instance a most conspicuous innovation is the introduction of a base to the traditional form (Plate 12). Though foreign to traditional Sepik masks, the base conforms to Western preferences of free standing figures that can be displayed easily on the mantelpiece. Another adaptation, perhaps also in response to the display function, is illustrated by the hook figures (Plates 57-58) and masks forms (Plates 47-49) from the middle Sepik which exhibit a flattening of the traditional sculptural modelling to produce 'exotic' wall plaques. The masks even display hook or loop-like additions to lend themselves to comfortable suspension on the walls. The Western preference for wall plaques is apparently having a marked influence on suspension hooks and masks.

Other modifications result from new stylistic interpretations of traditional organizational principles. An excellent example is provided by Plate 76 which displays a rearrangement of compositional features distorting the

traditional Washkuk norms of frontality and symmetry. Similarly, a recently produced Iwam shield (Plate 86) is also characterized by the loss of the traditional bilateral symmetry. According to Abramson's (1972:275-6) findings in upper Sepik shields, the abandonment of such organizing principles as bilateral symmetry is in favour of achieving a striking 'visual impact' conditioned by the paramount desire to sell the art object.

The trends toward naturalism and grotesqueness apparent in the Austin collection may perhaps be functioning within this new striking visual necessity. Modifications through stylistic disruption of the traditional forms and colours have led to these new and different compositional expressions. The most obvious example of the naturalistic aesthetic is illustrated in the free-standing wooden head (Plate 41). The percentage of artifacts from the Austin Collection manufactured in this style is, however, minimal. The trend toward grotesqueness is more apparent and is primarily evident in the mask forms from the Austin Collection that have been identified by Kaufmann and others as blatant tourist productions (Plates 19-22, and 50-52). The traditional conventions of style in these masks appear to have been replaced with incongruous elements which produce

designs that are distinct and striking in nature but with almost no discernable parallels with the traditional styles.

The desire to sell an object by creating a visually arresting expression may also be the influencing factor in explaining the trend in the Austin Collection towards elaboration. Widespread forms of elaboration involve increasing the size of an object; expanding the motif vocabularies; adding more decoration (such as introducing relief ornamentation where none was employed traditionally); incorporating new design elements; and producing a more ornate and intricate colour scheme to replace the traditional one. In some cases, the increased proliferation in decoration results in an unfamiliar cluttered appearance, distorting the traditional stylistic expression.

A more crucial consequence of commercialism is the trend towards reduction or simplification. Different forms represented in the Austin Collection include examples which reveal a reduction in size and show evidence of a willingness among local artists to dispense with traditional forms, motifs, decorative techniques, and colour schemes. In some items, new, simpler decorative elements which were never applied to older models replace the traditional features. In other examples, the forms and colour schemes are so

simplified or completely reduced that the items barely resemble their traditional predecessors. This practice of abbreviating or eliminating traditional features may be directly correlated with the new souvenir character of the tourist trade. Abramson (1972:275) finds that , "a change in design emphasis is apparent... (when) aesthetic considerations oriented around the desire to sell the object seem to be paramount." He suggests the subordination of traditional content to 'striking' visual effects. However, the elimination of traditional stylistic features may also be regarded as a simplification process to economize on time and effort in return for faster and increased production. This economization may account for the reduction of symbolic content and important pigments in the Abelam masks (Plates 90, 100) and lower Sepik statuettes (Plates 15-18).

Through the simplification and standardization of design and technique artisans are able to meet the high volume demands of the tourist market. Mass production of stereotyped models is a typical response to high demand. Examples of such productions are represented in the Austin Collection by the statuettes from the lower Sepik (Plates 15-18). Inevitably, high volume production has lead to a loss of creativity and quality. According to May (1974:4),

This loss of quality has been partly the result of breaking the link between the art and its traditional religious or secular function in the society, partly the result of producing large numbers quickly and partly are a reflection of the fact that non-traditional craftsmen have been attracted into the industry.

Other items in the Austin Collection reveal evidence of traditional aesthetic and stylistic conventions, and suggest a continuation of the high technical skill characteristic of pre-contact times. Some of these artifacts, however are artificially aged. The Mundugumor shield (Plate 35) is a fairly obvious fake, probably produced for the tourists, but the Keram shield (Plate 26) is a more clever fake, perhaps intended as a replica for some serious collector. Whether there was deliberate intention to defraud the buyer or whether it was a response to his wants is unknown but what is significant is the evidence it suggests of the artist's insight into the workings of the commercial market structure and his awareness that there is a distinction between the tourist and fine art markets.

There is no doubt that the Austin Collection represents an 'art of acculturation', that is, an:-

art production, which differs significantly from traditional expressions in form, content, function, and often from the various forms of art production indigenous to ever-growing 'civilization'.

(Graburn 1969a:457)

Contemporary cultural realities have produced artistic expressions that are almost all characterized by a blend of indigenous and occidental concepts. The stylistic changes introduced are characterized by modifications of form, size, material and content. The innovative changes or transformations that are revealed may be summarized as being produced by expansion, permutation, adjunction and simplification.

Expansion refers to the introduction of totally new forms, concepts and motifs from either Western culture or from spheres of native life, traditional or contemporary, that previously were not visually expressed. Other changes of expansion include increased size, as well as the addition of new colours, and materials replacing the traditional ones.

Permutation involves the new translation of content and occurs in various ways. It takes place by the dislocation of forms and colours by either distortion or alteration of structural harmonies to produce a variation of the previous traditional order. The apparent compositional changes illustrated in the Washkuk figure (Plate 66) and Iwam shield (Plate 86) are the result of new structural principles replacing the traditional

stylistic conventions.

Adjunction refers to the incorporation of new forms, motifs, colours and materials to already existing ones to produce a hybrid of traditional and introduced elements as well illustrated by the lower Sepik masks (Plates 9, 12) and Abelam figure in Plate 127. The integrative process has in some cases resulted in the subordination of traditional content to new visual expressions.

In contrast to the expansion trend, simplification involves the reduction, elimination and standardization of certain traditional stylistic elements. In several instances (Plates 15-18, 20-22), this trend is linked to mass - production techniques.

The activities of expansion, permutation, adjunction and simplification have occurred separately or in combination. In some of the art forms the modifications are subtle and do not disrupt the traditional expressions. In others, however, the changes are so severe that the art forms display only slight stylistic parallels with their respective traditional predecessors.

The range of stylistic expressions distinguish three

categories of art objects in the Austin collection and perhaps reflect a pattern of artistic development for contemporary Sepik River traditions. At one extreme of the continuum are art objects which are non-Sepik in style. These objects fall into the category of 'souvenir' or 'airport' art forms. The terms are reserved for:

stylized works, whose relation to anything within the traditional culture is at best tenuous, mass-produced, often by people with little knowledge of the traditional culture and perhaps not even from the society whose art they purport to portray.
(May 1974:1)

In such works, Graburn (1969b:4) states that, "the artists' own tastes and traditions are subordinated to speed of production, quantity of output, and eminent saleability of the cheap product." These works are primarily manufactured for tourist consumption and have flooded the international art market. Such items dominate the Austin Collection.

Less conspicuous but also manufactured for the cash market are the art forms which are stylistically derived from traditional Sepik sources but with innovative design elements. Abramson (1970:57) refers to these hybrid forms as 'contemporary synthesis pieces'. They "represent a fascinating mixture of consistency and radical departure in terms of the old traditional style" (Ibid). These art

forms embody stylistic features that are derived from traditional art works. At the same time however, they reveal stylistic modifications that distinguish them from their traditional sources. Abramson (1970:59) states that the new aesthetic considerations and design elements are "oriented around the desire to sell the object" and attempt "to achieve the most interesting and 'striking' effect..." The intent is to manufacture a product that is so distinctive that it will stand out from others. This, Abramson (Ibid) claims "is perhaps the major factor influencing the experimentation and increasing freedom and ingenuity of design to be seen...today."

Although such objects are derived from traditional models they are entirely original in character. They reveal the flexibility of the artists in adapting the old traditions to the new functions without a decline or loss of quality. Graburn (1969b:3) classifies such art productions as "commercial fine arts". "They are differentiated from souvenir arts in that the artist's own values and traditions are not completely subordinated." (Ibid). He (1969a:467) hypothesizes

that commercial fine arts gain a market because of their uniqueness and quality. whereas souvenir arts hold their market because of their cheapness and conformity

to the buyer's tastes.

A third category of art objects apparent in the Austin Collection represent art forms which appear to be carefully manufactured in the traditional style. Graburn (1969a:465) and May (1974:1) have respectively classified such reproductions as 'functional' and 'contact-influenced' arts. The principle distinction between these and the 'pure traditional' arts is at "the level of medium or technique" (Graburn 1969b:2). That examples of functional art are present in the Austin Collection can best be explained as follows: either they were made for and used in local ceremonies and then later sold or they were made specifically for serious collectors. The artificially aged Keram and Mundugumor shields and the Abelam masks exemplify this type of art production.

The stylistic expressions of these contemporary art forms suggest some evidence of an artistic renaissance which is characterized by a renewal of traditional design elements and by high quality of craftsmanship. The artistic renaissance is probably related to the revival of pride in the traditional Sepik cultures. In fact, Anthony Forge (1967:84) suggests this when he writes of the great vigour in northern Abelam artistic activity and equates the renaissance of traditional Abelam creativity after World

War II to:

a symbol of, a withdrawal from excessive contact with European values and a reaffirmation of traditional values. In fact up to now, the art, far from changing, has been reinforced in its conservatism by taking on the additional value of acting as a symbol of Abelam culture in the face of colonial culture.

It is significant that, in examining the stylistic forms of contemporary artistic expressions from the Austin Collection, a marked difference in the rate of stylistic change may be observed in the art objects of the east Sepik River from those of the west and north. The arts of the east, which includes the lower and middle Sepik areas, appear to be quite susceptible to European influence, exhibit marked changes and show more evidence of mass-production. By contrast, the arts of the west, that is, of the upper Sepik, are more conservative and modest in the stylistic modifications that they exhibit, while many of the art objects of the north, represented in this study by the Abelam, are predominantly traditional in character, displaying sometimes only minor changes if any at all.

A difference in culture-contact experience and in the time when the tourist invasion began probably explains why one part of the Sepik is less conservative than the other. Most of the lower and middle Sepik cultures

experienced early and intense culture contact, while contact in the upper Sepik did not occur until considerably later and was sporadic and less penetrating. Intense tourist trade had not even reached the majority of upper Sepik tribes when Peter Austin made his collection. In the north, the Abelam were affected even less by the changing socio-cultural environment. Forge (1962:9) points out that a salient feature of contemporary Abelam culture is their remarkable tenacity and perseverance in retaining their traditional culture "particularly their art and architecture". Essentially, the Abelam experienced very little contact with European culture until approximately 1937 when an administration Patrol Post was established at Maprik. In addition, after the war and until the early sixties contact in the Maprik area was limited to missionaries, academics and occasional government patrols who disrupted little of the indigenous cultural life. Forge (1967:84) states that "contact with the Australian administration and the missions (had) not affected the art in style or content." Forge (1970:271) and Whiteman (1966:54) both suggest that the high development of the tambaran cult and the deep involvement of the all-pervading and peculiarly satisfying yam cult were

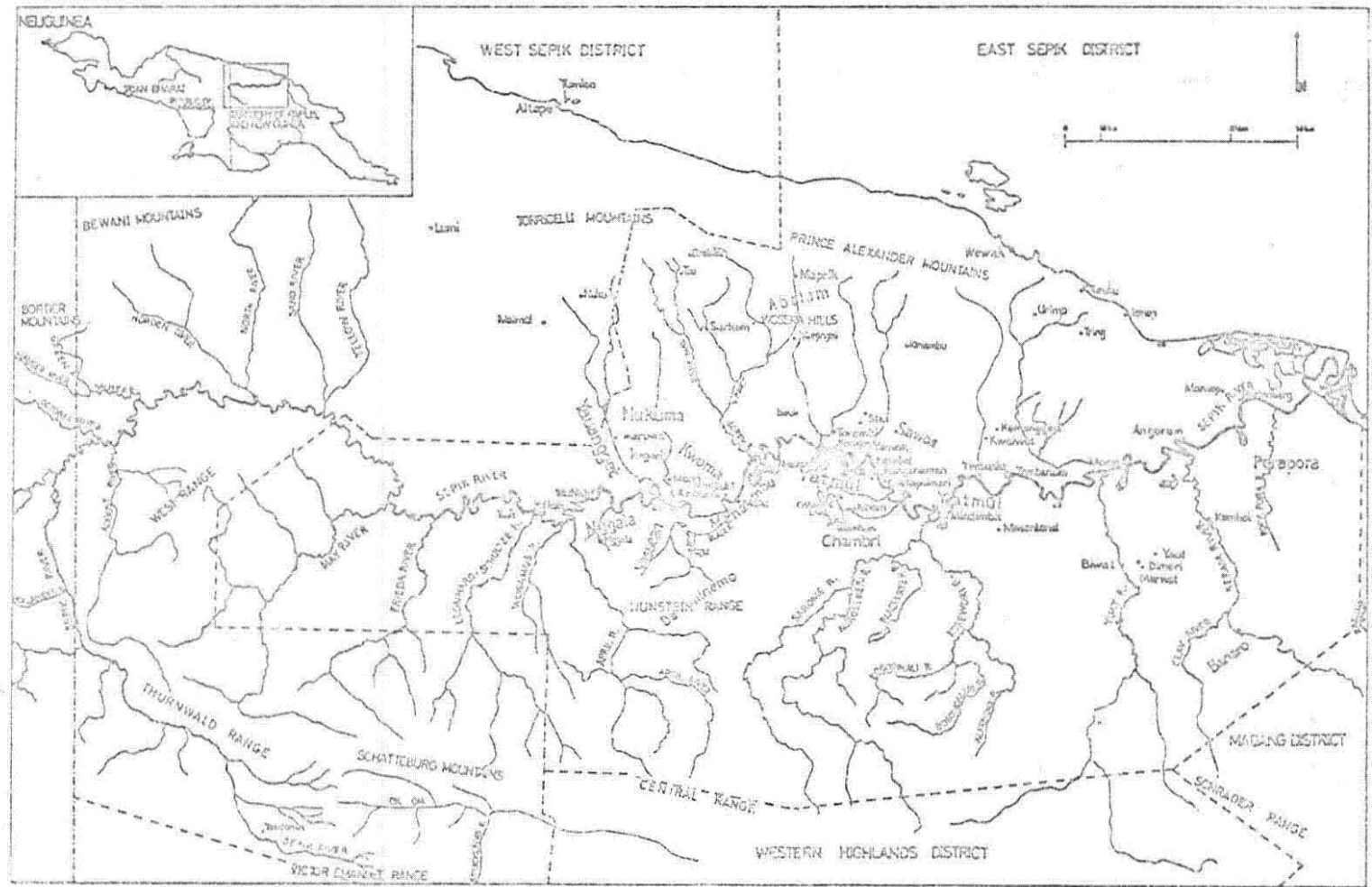
responsible for the Abelam's ability to resist abandoning their traditional lifestyle and their art forms. The Abelam art objects from the Austin Collection are not, however, all characterized by traditional styles. Some items exhibit 'synthesis' as well as 'souvenir' art forms.

It should be emphasized at this point that art does not cease to be art just because it has changed and is no longer serving the same traditional functions. Certainly the art items contained in the Austin Collection are different from their traditional predecessors but they have changed in response to external influences and to the demands of the prevailing forces of change. Thus they represent a legitimate cultural activity which serves new needs, such as providing economic support and acting as symbols of cultural identity and pride (Graburn 1969b).

In spite of the often radical and conspicuous stylistic changes that are evident in the Austin Collection, items in the category of 'commercial fine arts' retain numerous stylistic continuities from the past, remain predominantly unique, and reveal the remarkable aptitude for sculpture of the contemporary Sepik artists. This is threatened, however, by the growing influence of the tourist market and by the reduced standards which

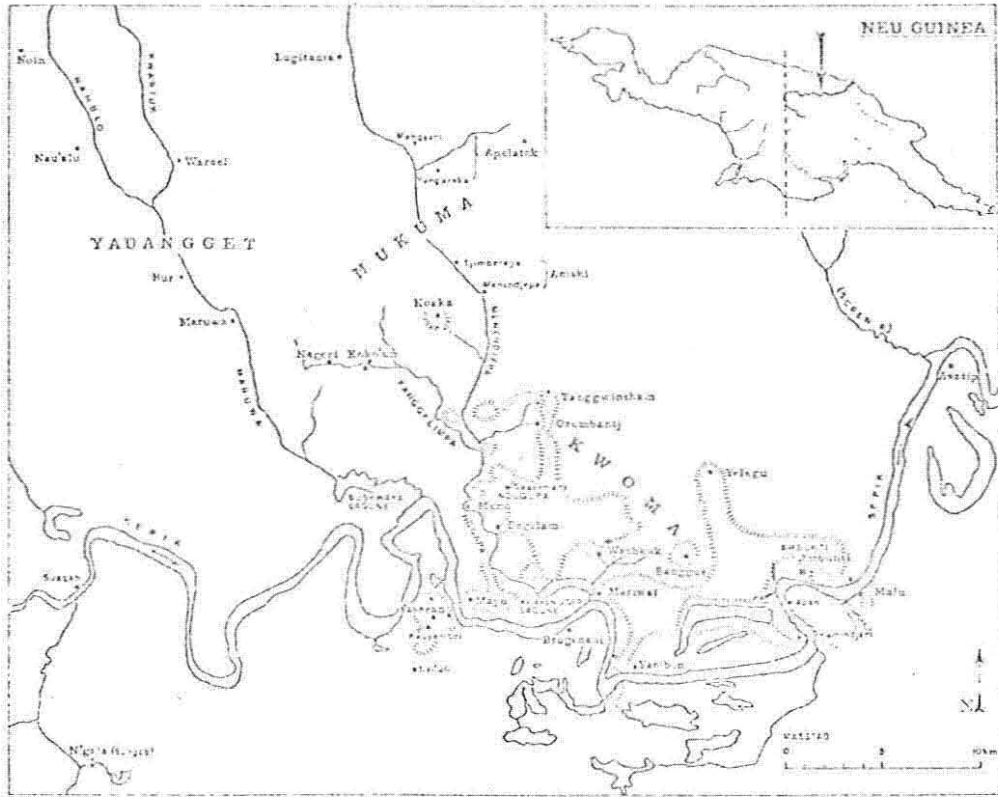
it encourages. It is possible that artists who produce commercial fine art objects might succumb to the lower expectations of the tourist market.

Nevertheless, some mass-produced 'souvenir' forms are attractive works of undeniable sculptural excellence revealing creative inventiveness and ingenuity of form and design. It is quite possible therefore that the introduction of European materials, forms and concepts do not necessarily result in deterioration but could well provide sources of inspiration. Contemporary productions by native artists are not 'bastard' art forms as May (1974) has called many of them but objects indicative of the artists' ingenuity in exploring and creating new forms. The Austin Collection thus suggests that artistic creation in the Sepik is far from doomed to mediocrity. It represents a living art that mirrors the socio-cultural changes that have shaped its development and is a fascinating and valid document of culture change in the Sepik River District. As such these new art forms should not be ignored as some anthropologists have tended to do nor be dismissed as degenerate forms but instead should be regarded dispassionately as legitimate evidence of culture change visually communicating salient knowledge about Sepik man and the twentieth century.



Map I

Sepik River Province Papua New Guinea
(Kaufmann 1972:113)



Map 2 Washkuk Hills
(Kaufmann 1968:65)

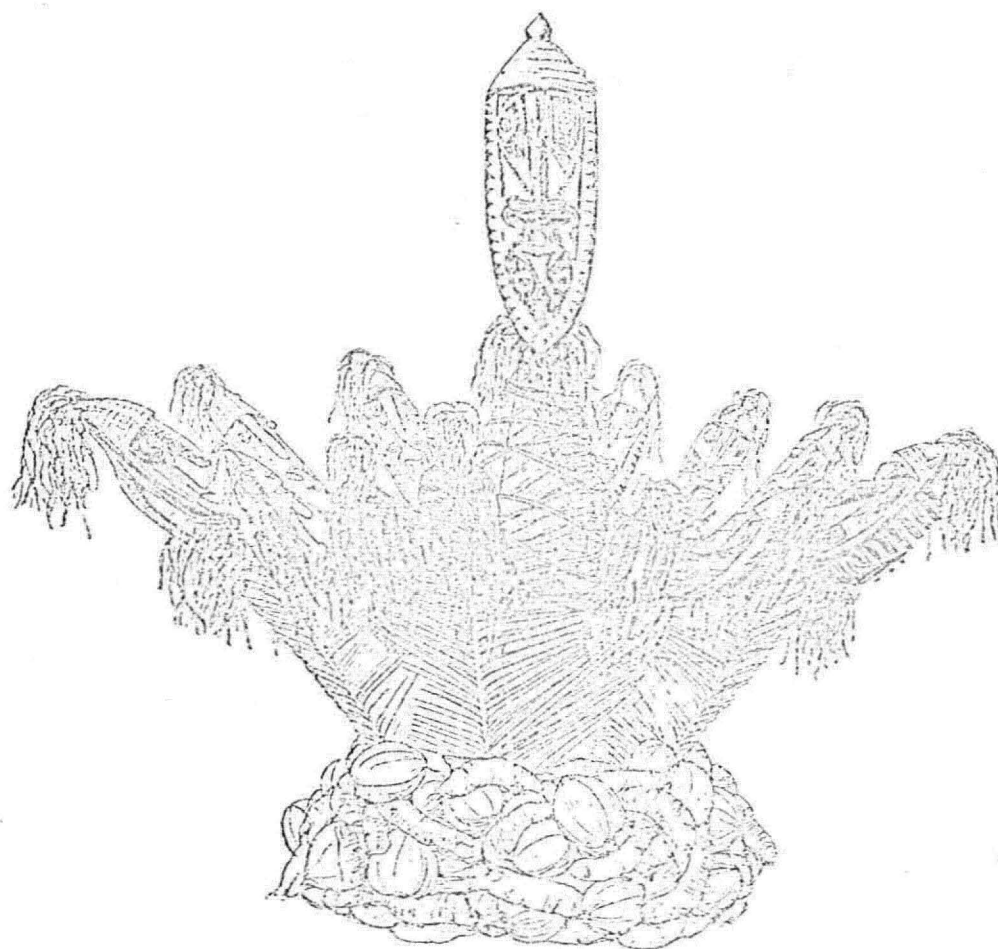


Diagram 1 Kwoma Yam Cult Carvings

From Über Kunst und Kult bei den Kwoma und Nukuma
(Kaufmann 1968:94)

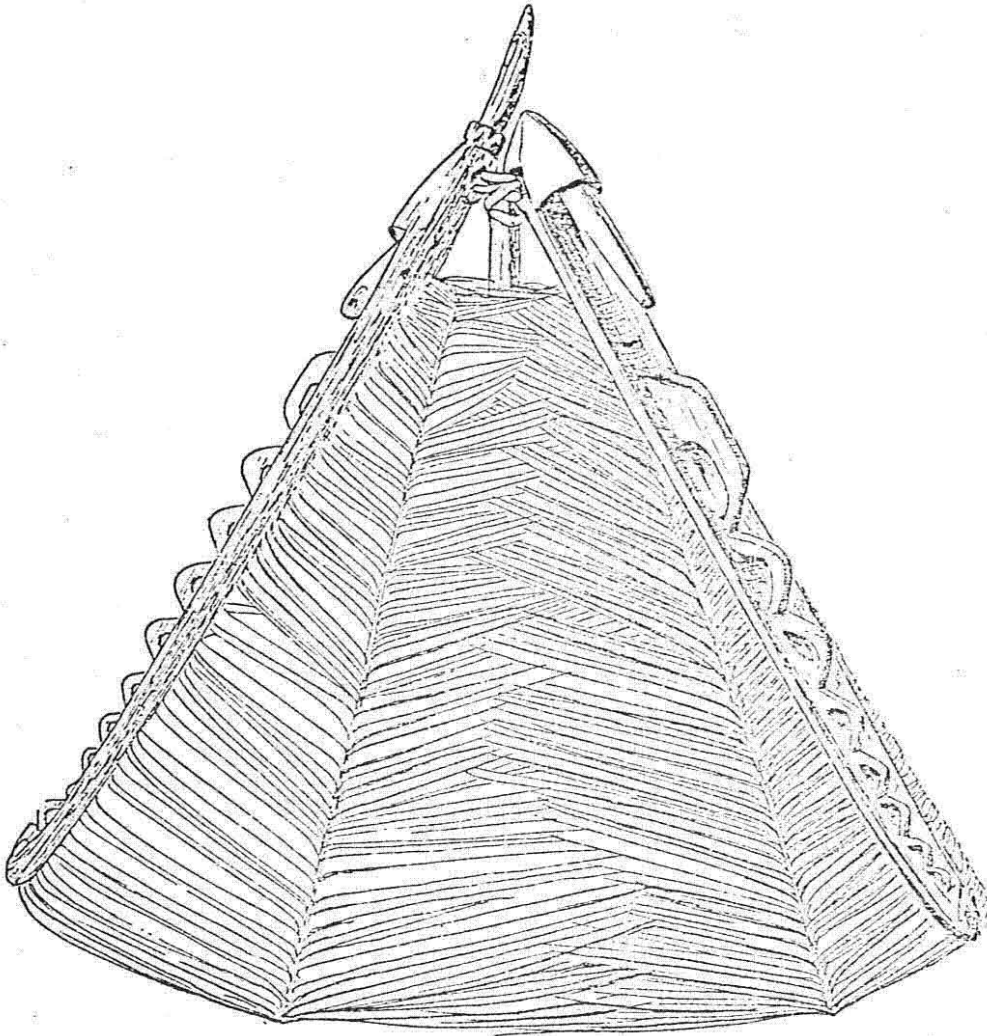


Diagram 2 Display of Mindja Carvings from the Nukuma Yam Cult

From Über Kunst und Kult bei den Kwoma und Nukuma

(Kaufmann 1968:97)

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Appendix

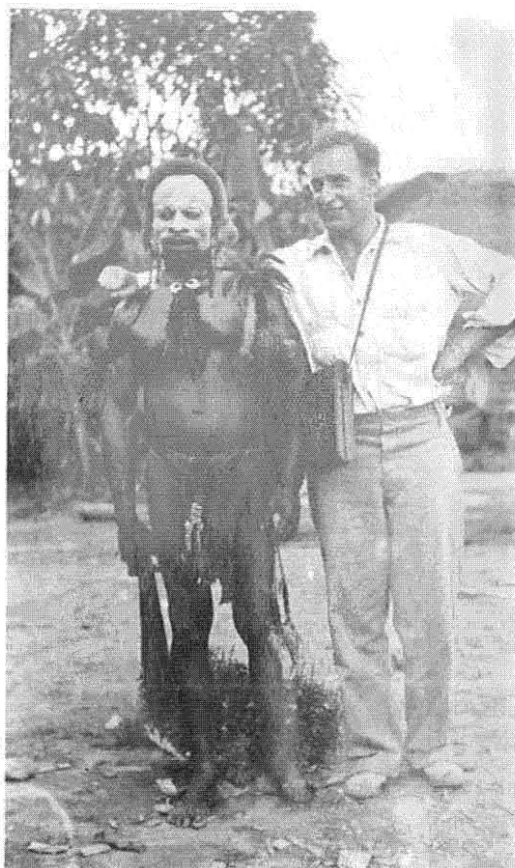


Plate 1

Photo: Courtesy of Mr. Fournier

Mr. Fournier with head-hunter from Korigo, Middle Sepik, New Guinea, 1933-1934.

The white paint on the facial features "is a privilege of those who have killed a man, and is worn on all ceremonial occasions" (Bateson 1958: caption under Plate X). The tassels dangling at the head-hunter's knees and the band of opossum fur worn are also badges of homicide.

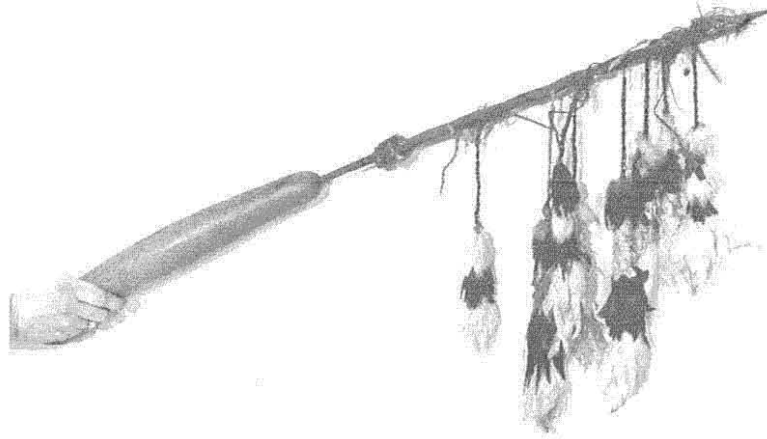


Plate 2 Head-hunter's Insignia

Photo: Courtesy of Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Iatmul, Middle Sepik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.264 a-b
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Total length: 127 cm. (50 in.)
 Length of longest tassel: 43.3 cm. (17 in.)
 Length of gourd: 35.5 cm. (14 in.)
- G) Material : Gourd, lime, wood, feathers, cloth,
 beads, and red stripes of paint.

H) Description: Inserted into the thin gourd is a serrated stick to which is attached a long zig-zag shaped wooden extension with red stripes and a series of perforations. Through the perforations are attached twisted fibres from which dangle eight tassels composed of feathers and fragments of red, blue and yellow cloth.

According to Austin,

the tassels signify the owner has taken ten heads in his time - two heads before he can use a gourd and stick such as this, and then one tassel is added for each additional head.



Plate 3

Photo: Courtesy of Mr. Fournier

View of Haus Tambaran, Sepik River, New Guinea 1933.

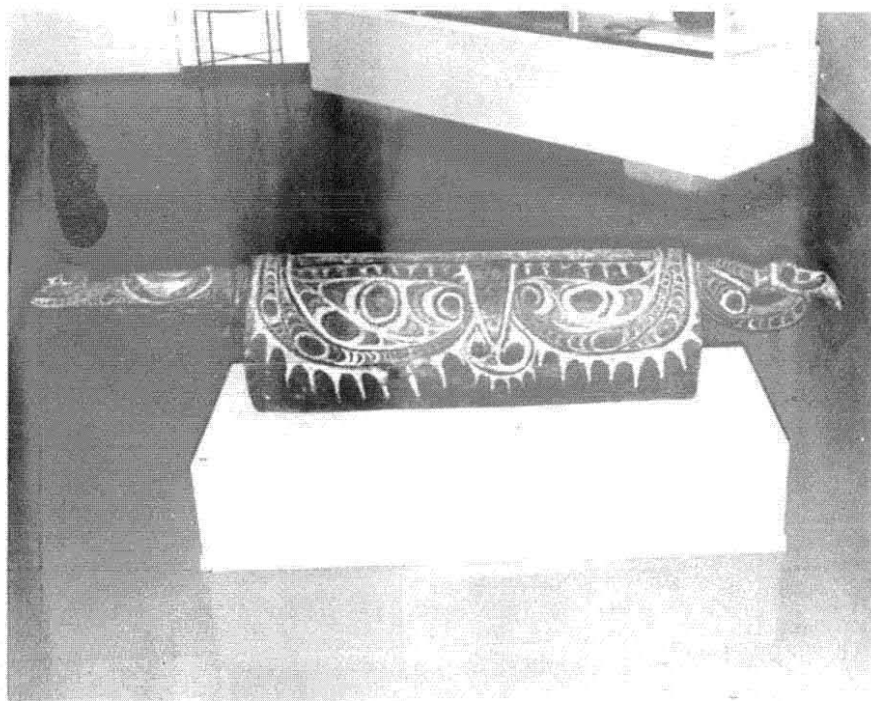


Photo 4 Slit-gong

- A) Provenience : Middle Sepik
- B) Accession Number: 13-18-127
- C) Institute : Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde,
München, West Germany
- D) Date : Museum acquisition date 1913
- E) Collector : Anonymous
- F) Dimensions : Length: 180 cm. ($71\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Width: 30 cm. ($11\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
- G) Material : Wood, white, red and black ochre
- H) Description : Elaborately decorated slit-gong
carved from a single piece of wood in
a log shape is hollowed out and has a
narrow slit perforating the top

surface. Two different zoomorphic heads in high relief ornament the gong at either end. Carved ornamentation at both ends is typical of the mi type of slit-gong found among the Iatmul of the middle Sepik (Bateson 1932: 259). The spiral decorations with the centre circle and extending chevrons coloured in red, black and white are common to middle Sepik decorative patterns.

Bateson (1932:259) notes that among the Iatmul the surface of the slit-gongs was elaborately carved with totemic emblems, geometrical patterns and marked with a count of decapitated heads that had been pressed upon it. The gongs were clan owned and in Mindibit and Tambunum were set down the centre of the Haus Tambaran, according to their position in the totemic system of the native people. Bateson (Ibid) also mentions that the Iatmul made their garamuts in pairs and known are two types, wagan and mi. The wagan were ornamented with a strange loop-nosed face at one end, while the latter had ornamentation at both ends. Gilliard (1955:455) notes pig and crocodile heads adorning the ends of slit-gongs. The gongs were used to impersonate voices of ancestral spirits, employed in initiation ceremonies and by belonging to the Tambaran cult were taboo to women and the uninitiated. When the gongs were played to send messages they were instrumental in forming a local miniature

communications system. The slit-gongs were stored with the remaining sacred and ceremonial musical instruments and other paraphernalia in the upper chamber of the Haus Tambaran.



Plate 5 Ceremonial Chairs

- A) Provenience : Middle Sepik
- B) Accession Number: 13-18-2, and 13-13-4
- C) Institute : Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde
München, West Germany
- D) Date : Museum acquisition date 1913
- E) Collector : Anonymous
- F) Dimensions : According to museum data both are
approximately 90 cm. (35½ in.) in
length and 40 cm. (15¾ in.) in width
- G) Materials : Wood, shells, feathers, red, white ,
black, and brown colouring
- H) Description : Important cult items the ceremonial
chairs or orator's stools were clan

owned and formerly found in most Haus Tambarans in the middle Sepik. The stools were not intended to be sat on but rather to be used as pulpits. They played a significant role in the rites and council sessions, for a man standing beside it had the privilege to speak. Part of the ritual ceremony consisted of punctuating one's oratory by beating the seat with coconut or dracana leaves (Bateson 1958:125, 126). The purpose and meaning of this is not clear but often the oratory would move the audience into a violent frenzy.

The orator's chairs were religious and sacred in character. They were usually three legged, two of which belonged to the standing male figure which formed the back of the stool. Bateson (Ibid) believes that the back figures represented particular totemic ancestors and thus perhaps the chairs were the sacred symbols or the seats of ancestral spirits. According to Christensen (1955:279) the stools were usually swathed in brown pigment over which the face was painted in white and red. Facial features resembling masks, engraving on the heavily defined pectorals, hands resting usually on the legs, and some feather or dried fibre ornamentation, were particularly characteristic of middle Sepik sacred figure stool carvings.



Plate 6 Ceremonial Chair

- A) Provenience : Gaikarobi, Middle Sepik
B) Accession Number: PA 2275 NG 76
C) Institute : Issacs Gallery
D) Date : Exhibition date: Spring of 1975
E) Collector : Paul Ryan
F) Dimensions : Height: 175.5 cm. (5 ft. 9 in.)

G) Materials : Wood, caucus fur, cassowary feathers,
grass fibres, shells, white, red and
black colouring

H) Description : Refer to Plate 5

Asking price at Isaacs Gallery: \$650.00

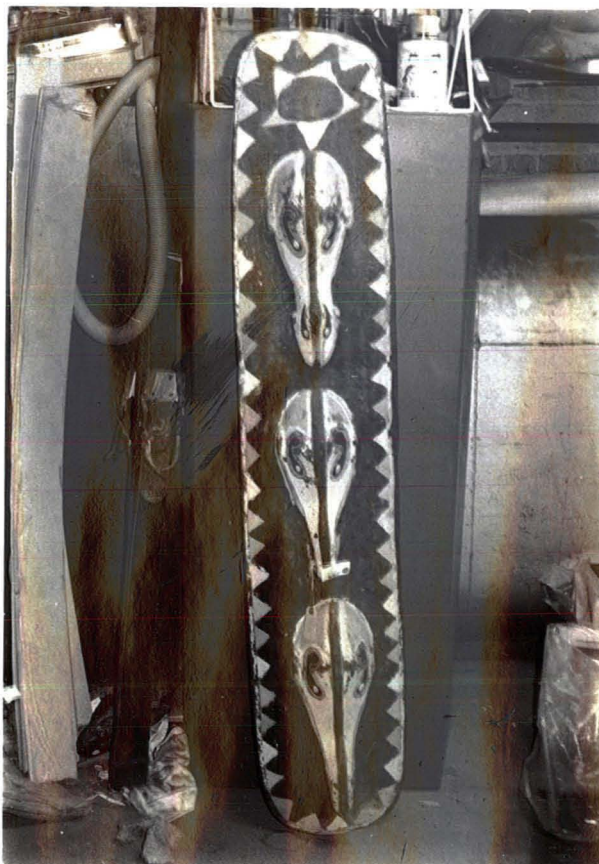


Plate 7 Shield

- A) Provenience : Washkuk
B) Accession Number: S148 R447
C) Institute : Isaacs Gallery
D) Date : Exhibition date: Spring 1975
Of recent manufacture
E) Collector : Paul Ryan
F) Dimensions : Length: 170.5 cm. (5 ft. 7 in.)

G) Materials : Light weight wood, cowrie shells,
yellow, white, pink and brown paint.

H) Description : The shield has three protruding faces. The upper face is semi-human and merges into the face of a pig. The second and third faces have protruding noses which stand out from the shield through which long vines can be tied from the handles.

This shield comes from one of the most primitive areas in the Sepik, Washkuk. At the moment pieces from this area are eagerly sought after by world museums.

(Paulian Association, New
Guinea Primitive Arts.
Sydney Australia. 1974)

Asking price at Isaacs Gallery: \$400.00

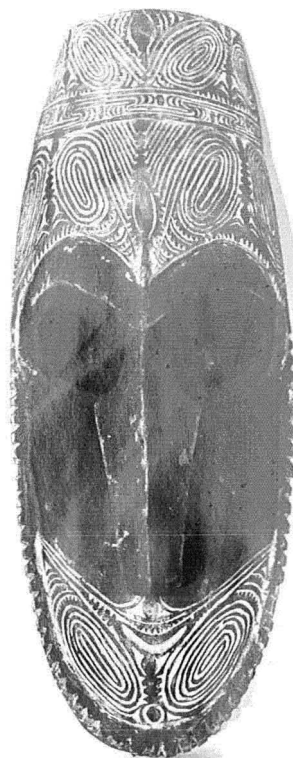


Plate 8 Sepik Mask

Photo : Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Ramu River, Coastal Sepik
B) Accession Number : 930.32.1
C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
D) Date : Acquisition date: 1930
E) Collector : Purchased from Sotheby and Co., London, England
F) Dimensions : Height: 75.7 cm. (29 7/8 in.)

- G) Materials : Wood and dark brown pigment
- H) Description : This lanceolate - shaped mask well illustrates the simplicity and elegance of the coastal style. The stress on the vertical median line and the plastic rendering of the slanted eyes, concentric mouth, high and convex forehead, and elongated and pointed nose are all representative of the "beak" style which culminates in this area. Brown pigment has been applied to this mask. It is perforated at the top and on either side.



969.330.14

Plate 9 - Mask

- A) Provenance : Murick or on North Coast, Lower Sepik
(Identification by Kaufmann 1974:
private communication).
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.14
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 29.8 cm. (11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)
Width: 23.5 cm. (9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

- F) Material : Wood, brown and white pigment.
- G) Description : Prominent "beak" style features characterize the facial features of this mask while curvilinear spiral and dentate designs incise the upper and lower portions of this mask. The back of the mask is concave.

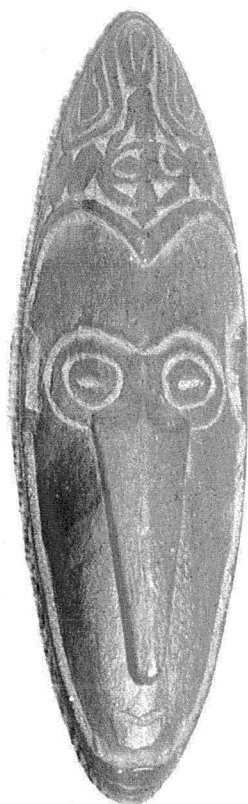


Plate 10 Lower Sepik Mask

- A) Provenience : Ramu River country, Lower Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.158
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Collector : Peter Austin
- E) Date : Collected between 1961 -1966
- F) Dimensions : Length: 18.2 cm. (7 1/8 in.)
Width: 5.1 cm. (2 in.)

G) Materials : Wood and black paint

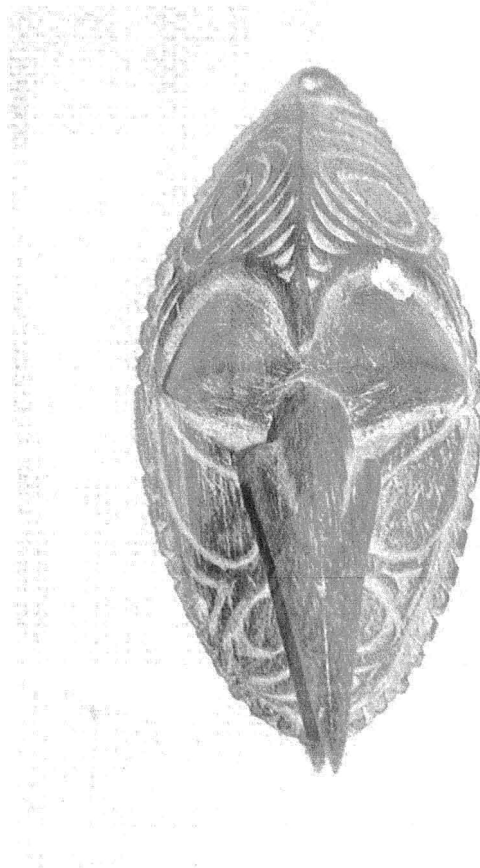


Plate II Lower Sepik Mask

- A) Provenience : Ramu River country, Lower Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.159
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 18.2 cm. (7 1/8 in.)
Width: 5.1 cm. (2 in.)

G) Materials : Wood and black paint



Plate 12 Lower Sepik Mask

- A) Provenience : Lower Sepik (Identification by writer)
- B) Accession Number : 969.33.112
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 16.5 cm. (6 1/2 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and black paint

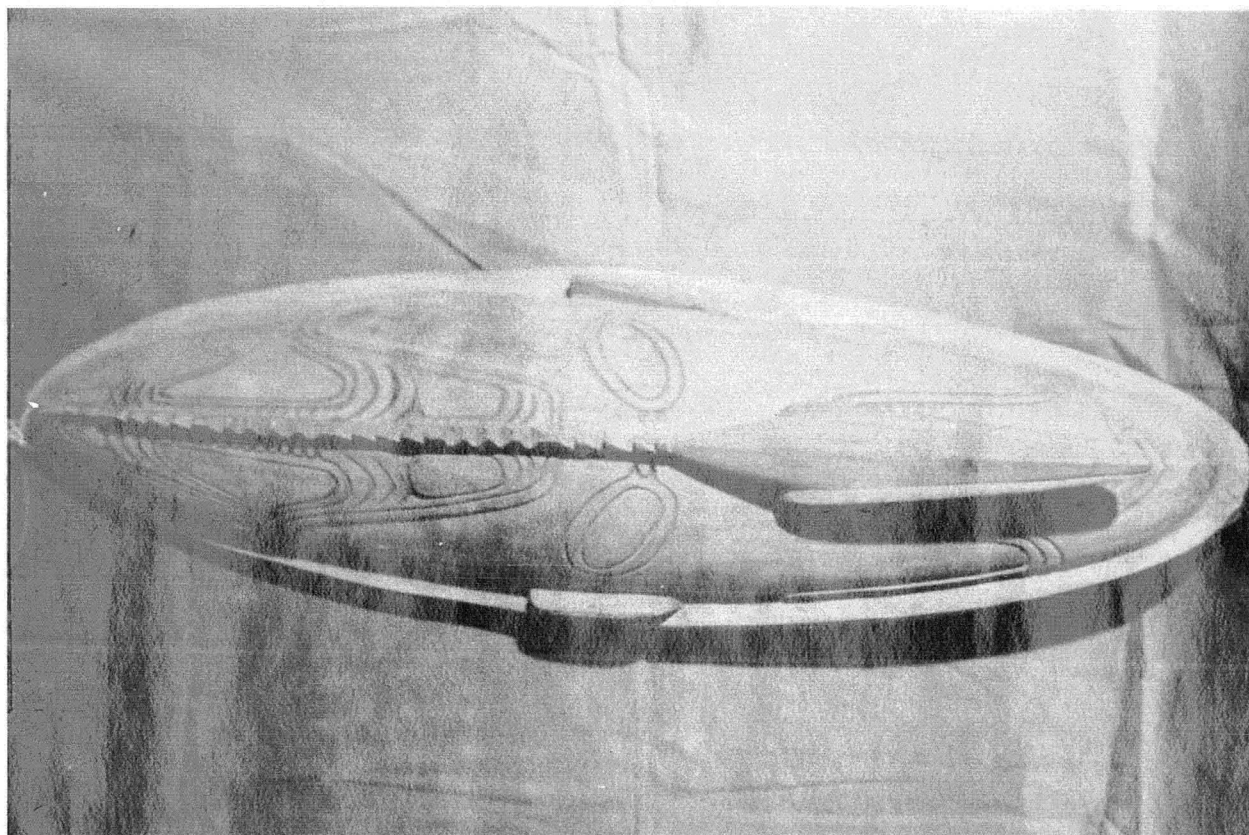


Plate 13 Lower Sepik Mask

- A) Provenience : Murick, Coastal Sepik (Identification by Kaufmann
1974 : personal communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.12
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: 68 cm. (26 3/4 in.)
Width: 19.1 cm. (7 1/2 in.)

G) Materials : Wood and grass fibre



Plate 14 Lower Sepik Mask

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Lower Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.2
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin

- F) Dimensions : Height: 37.5 cm. (14 3/4 in.)
Width: 15 cm. (5 7/8 in.)
- G) Materials: : Wood

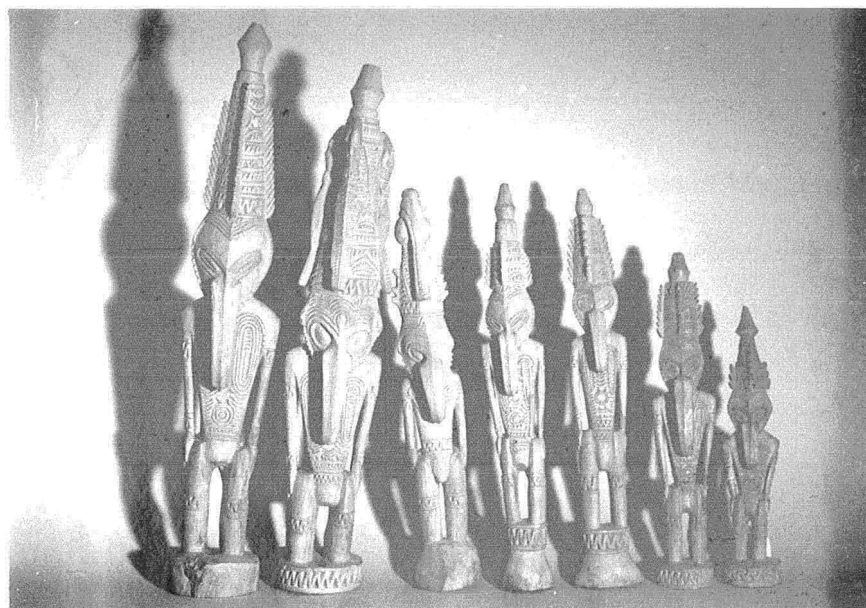


Plate 15 (a,b,c,d,e,f,g)

Lower Sepik Carved Figures

- A) Provenience : Lower Sepik
- B) Accession Number : a:969.330.105, b:969.330.104, c:969.330.103
d:969.330.101, e:969.330.106, f:969.330.102
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin

- F) Dimensions : a: 47 cm. (18 1/2 in.) e: 43.8 cm. (17 1/4 in.)
b: 33.6 cm. (13 1/4 in.) f: 34.3 cm. (13 1/2 in.)
c:33.7 cm. (13 1/4 in.) g: 28 cm . (11 in.)
d: 24.2 cm. (9 1/2 in.)
- G) Material : Wood



Plate 16 Lower Sepik Carved Figure

- | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| A) Provenience | : Lower Sepik |
| B) Accession Number | : 969.330.110 |
| C) Institute | : Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date | : Collected between 1961 - 1966 |
| E) Collector | : Peter Austin |
| F) Dimensions | : Height : 54 cm. (21 1/4 in.) |
| G) Materials | : Wood |

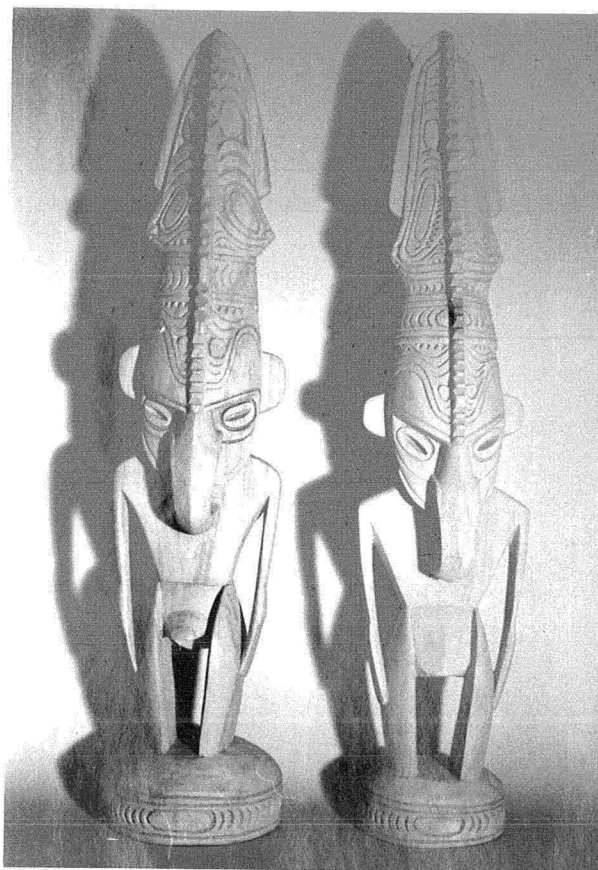


Plate 17 (a,b,) Lower Sepik Carved Figures

- A) Provenience : Lower Sepik
- B) Accession Number : a: 969.330.108, b: 969.330.214
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: a: 53.4 cm. (21 in.)
b: 54 cm. (21 1/4 in.)
- G) Material : Wood



Plate 18 (a,b,c) Lower Sepik Carved Figures

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| A) Provenience | : Lower Sepik |
| B) Accession Number | : a: 969.330.107, b: 969.330.109, c: 969.330.111 |
| C) Institute | : Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date | : Collected between 1961 - 1966 |
| E) Collector | : Peter Austin |
| F) Dimensions | : Height: a: 50.8 cm. (20 in.)
b: 57.8 cm. (22 3/4 in.)
c: 54.6 cm. (21 1/2 in.) |

G) Material : Wood

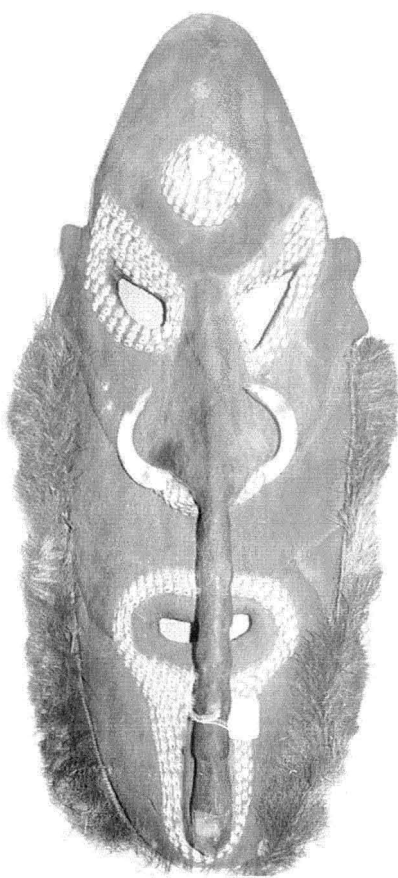


Plate 19 Lower Sepik Mask

- A) Provenience : Anggoran, Lower Sepik (Identification by writer based on Kaufmann's identification of 969.330.16 and 969.33.17)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.19
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 82.7 cm. (32 5/8 in.)
Width: 26 cm. (10 1/4 in.)

G) Materials : Wood, shells, mud, boars tusks, grass fringe,
and black, red, and purple paint.



Plate 20 Lower Sepik Mask

- A) Provenience : Anggoram, Lower Sepik (Identification by Kaufmann
1974: Private communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.16
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 58.5 cm. (23 in.)
Width: 28.3 cm. (11 1/2 in.)

G) Materials : Wood, cowrie shells, mud, bone, grass fibre, and yellow, brown, purple and black paint.

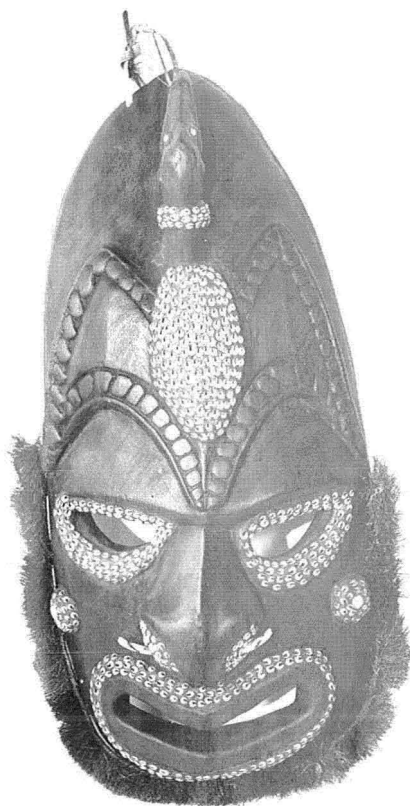


Plate 21 Lower Sepik Mask

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Anggoram, Lower Sepik (Identification by Kaufmann
1974: private communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.17
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 66 cm. (26 in.)
Width: 28.15 cm. (11 1/4 in.)

G) Materials

: Wood, cowrie shells, mud, shell, bark fibre,
grass fibre, and black, yellow and purple paint.

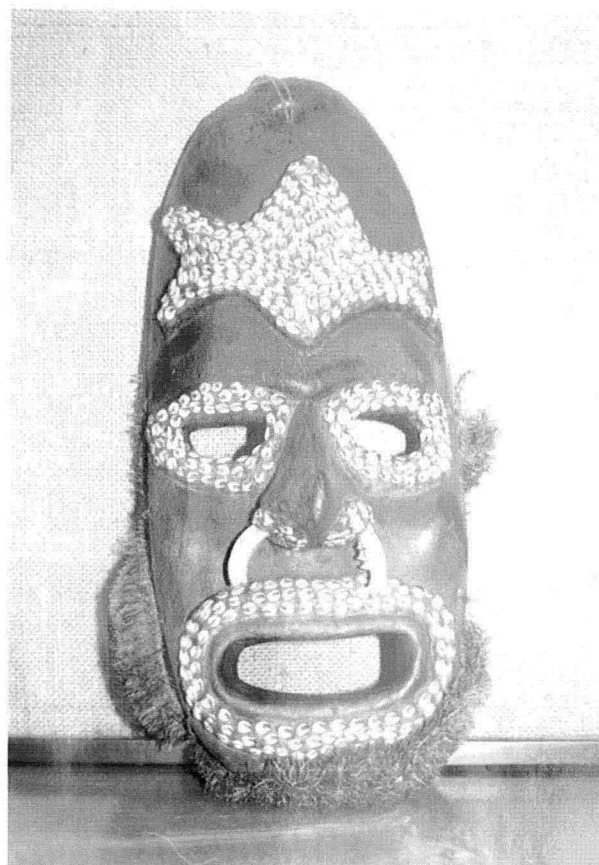


Plate 22 Lower Sepik Mask

- A) Provenience : Anggoram, Lower Sepik (Identification by writer based on Kaufmann's identification of 969.330.16 and 969.330.17)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.20
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length without fringe: 39.5 cm. (15 1/2 in.)
Width: 16.5 cm. (6 1/2 in.)

G) Materials

: Wood, cowrie shells, mud, twisted fibre, grass fringe, and black, yellow and purple paint and ivory tusk and jaw bone with teeth.

Plate 23 Lower Sepik Bark Painting

- A) Provenience : Karam River, Lower Sepik (Identification by Kaufmann 1974: personal communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.311
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 70.5 cm. (27 3/4 in.)
Width: 53.5 cm. (21 in.)
- G) Materials : Bark, wood, grass fibres, brown, white and black paint

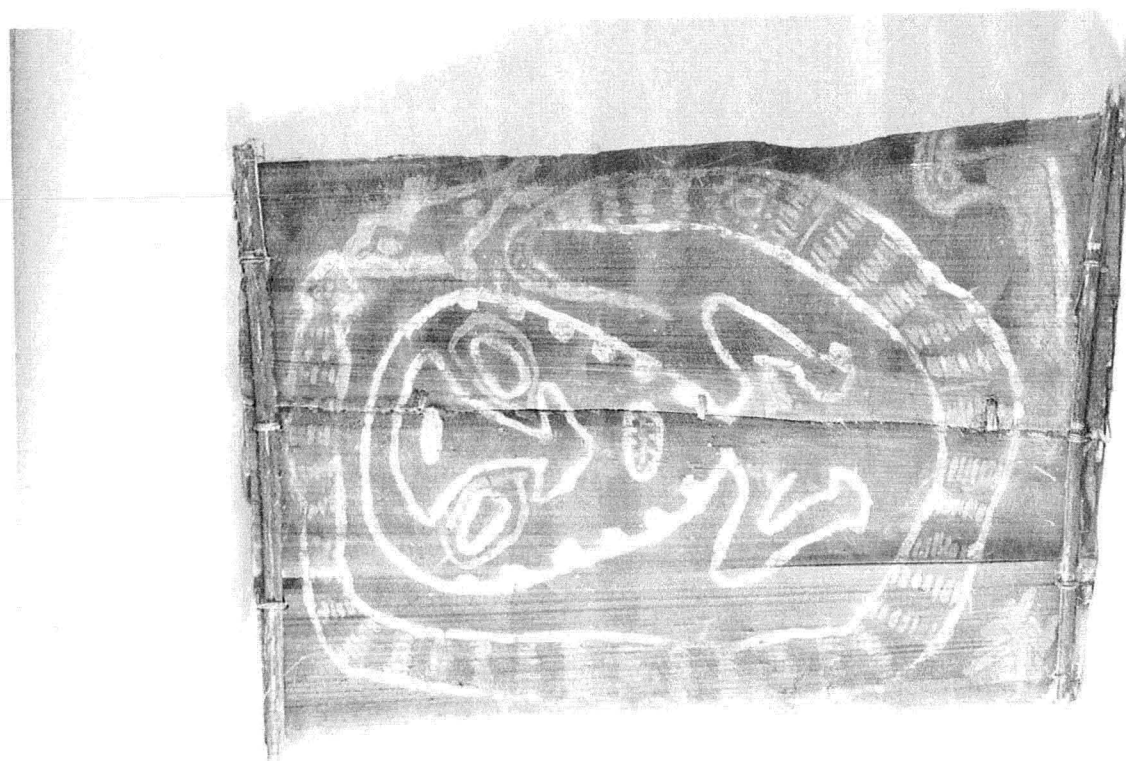


Plate 24 Lower Sepik Bark Painting

- A) Provenience : Keram River, Lower Sepik (Identification by Kaufmann 1974: personal communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.286
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 98.5 cm. (38 3/4 in.)
Width: 34.5 cm. (13 5/8 in.)
- G) Materials : Bark and red, white and black paint and a synthetic fibre on back.



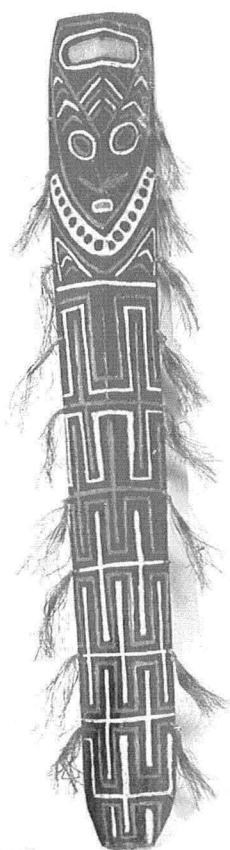


Plate 25 Lower Sepik Board

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Keram River, Lower Sepik (Identification by
Kaufmann 1974: personal communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.308
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin

- F) Dimensions : Length: 166 cm. (64 1/4 in.)
Width at top: 17.9 cm. (7 in.)
Width at bottom: 9 cm. (3 1/2 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, grass fibre and black, red and white paint.

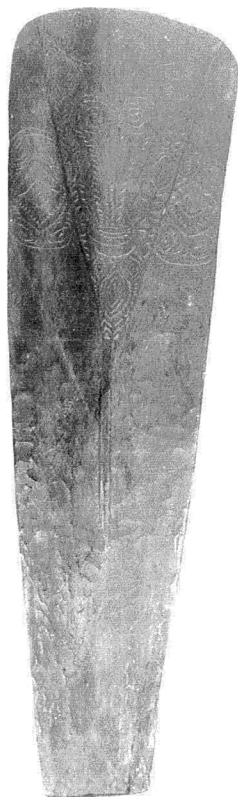


Plate 26 Lower Sepik Board

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Keram River, Lower Sepik, (Identification by
Newton: 1974, personal communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.287
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin

- F) Dimensions : Length: 136 cm. (53 1/2 in.)
Width: 38.2 cm. (15 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, dark brown colour

Plate 27a Flute Figure

Photo: Courtesy of American Museum
of Natural History.

- A) Provenience : Has been identified as a Tchambuli figure, but
stylistically it is identical to figures produced
by the Mundugumor, Yuat River, Lower Sepik.
- B) Accession Number : 80.0 8246
- C) Institute : American Museum of Natural History
- D) Date : Collected 1933 - 1934
- E) Collector : Margaret Mead
- F) Dimensions : Not available
- G) Materials : Wood, pigment, shell, human hair and string fibre



Plate 27b



Plate 27a

Plate 27b Mundugumor Figure

Photo: Courtesy of American Museum
of Natural History

- A) Provenience : Kendavi Tribe, Yuat River, Lower Sepik Tributary
- B) Accession Number : 80.0 8248
- C) Institute : American Museum of Natural History
- D) Date : Collected 1933 - 1934
- E) Collector : Margaret Mead
- F) Dimensions : Not available
- G) Materials : Wood, black, red and grey pigment
- H) Description : Highly polychromed figure with similar pose,
and enlarged head and proportions as the figure
in Plate 27a. Anatomical forms are however,
swollen and bulbous.
-

Plates 28 and 29 Sacred Crocodile Flute

Photo: Courtesy of American Museum
of Natural History

- A) Provenience : Mundugumor, Yuat River, Lower Sepik Tributary
- B) Accession Number : 80.0 8347A
- C) Institute : American Museum of Natural History
- D) Date : Collected between 1933 - 1934
- E) Collector : Margaret Mead
- F) Dimensions : Height of Flute Head: 68.5 cm. (27 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, pigment, shells, feathers, bone, string
fibre and ivory tusks.
- H) Description : The Mundugumor carve small wooden figures with
disproportionally large heads and insert them in the
ends of bamboo flutes which have been heavily encrusted
with shells. Upon the carving an enormous load of
valuables is decoratively arranged.
(Mead: 1934:240)
-

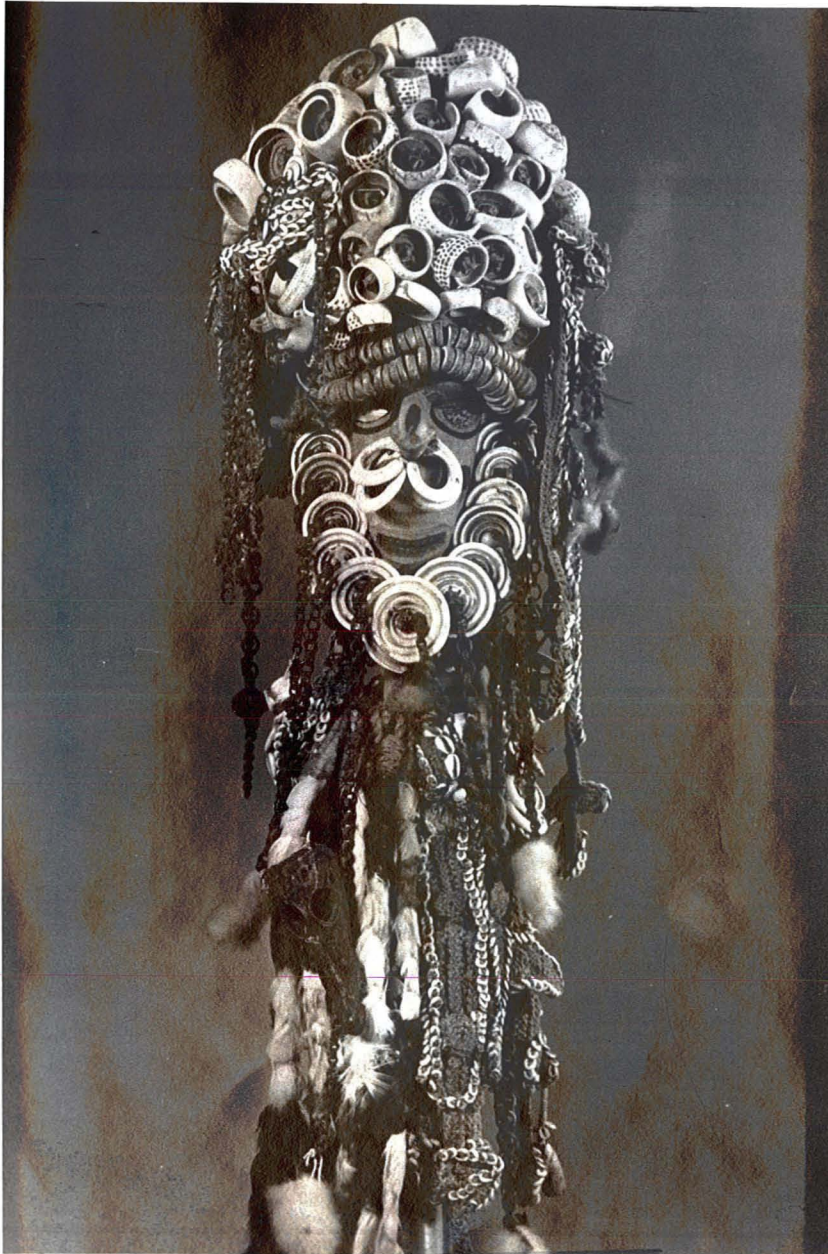


Plate 28

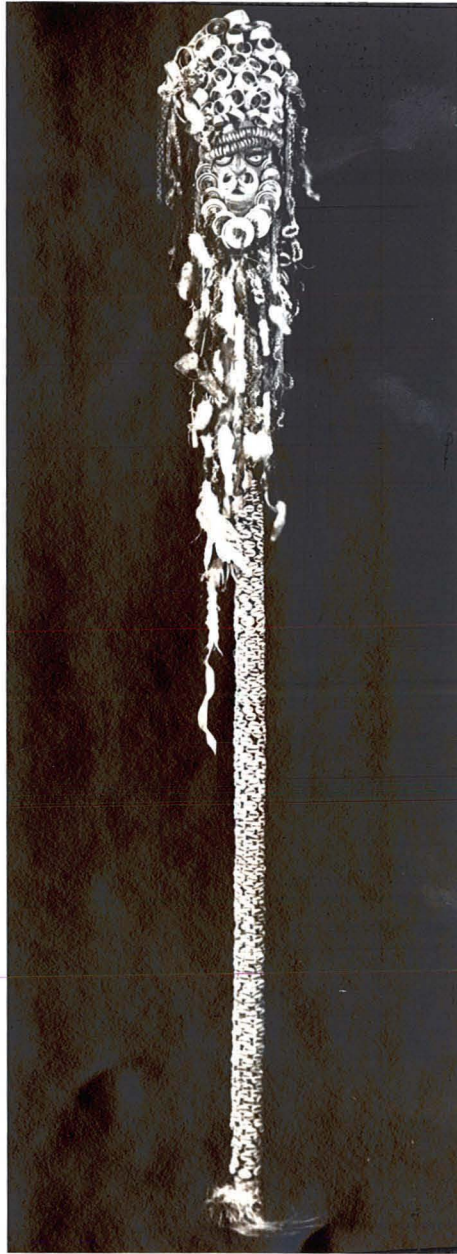


Plate 29



Plate 30 Lower Sepik Flute

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| A) Provenience | : Biwat, Yuat River, Lower Sepik |
| B) Accession Number | : 969.330.222 |
| C) Institute | : Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date | : Collected between 1961 - 1966 |
| E) Collector | : Peter Austin |
| F) Dimensions | : Length: 104 cm. (41 in.)
Width: 30.5 cm. (12 in.) |

G) Materials : Bamboo pole, mud, shells, wood backing,
grass fibre, cassowary feathers.

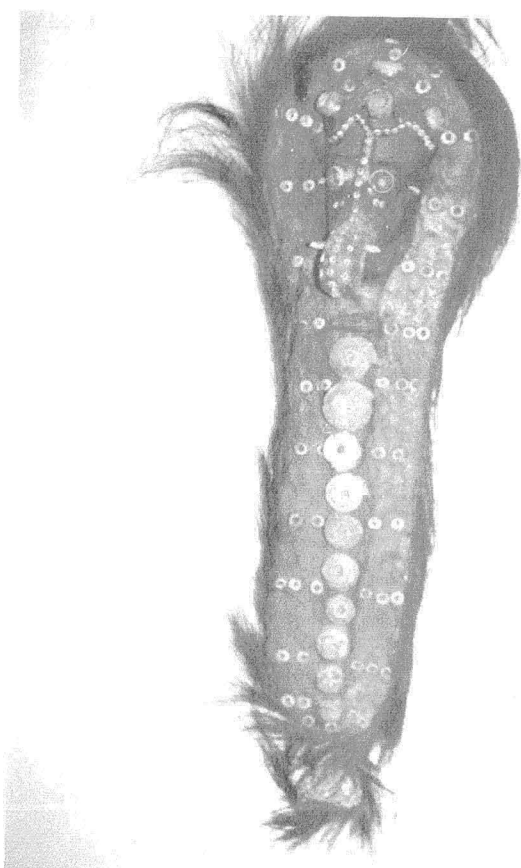


Plate 31 Sacred Flute

- A) Provenience : Mundugumor, Yuat River, Lower Sepik Tributary
- B) Accession Number : 288
- C) Institute : Isaacs Gallery 1974
- D) Date : 12 to 22 years of age
- E) Collector : Paul Ryan
- F) Dimensions : Not available
- G) Materials : Bamboo, coconut shell, mud, shells and cassowary feathers.

H) Description

: These musical instruments are often played in pairs sometimes a smaller one being regarded as female and a larger male. The flutes are made from hollowed out bamboo and have an ornamental stop at one end. This stop can take the form of a human figure, a human face and sometimes a bird. The flutes are played by males blowing through their two thumbs, placed over the mouth-piece. The repetitive sounds produced, helped in hand by slit gongs can create quite some frenzy among dancers. The flutes are used not only at dances, but at cult ceremonies and initiations. In fact, they are usually regarded as one of the sacred objects of the tribe. The areas from which the flutes originate is generally determined by the flute stopper....(mak). The bamboo section is called a kai. The Biwat River Flute is similar to elsewhere on the Sepik, but during skin cutting initiation ceremonies a black mask with shell work is attached to the flute and venerated as a spiritual being. The Biwat flute stops are quite characteristic, often being worked from coconut shells, painted black and with much shell ornamentation. The bulbous and rolled under nose is also characteristic of the mask and figures on the flute. The sounds produced by the flutes during secret cult ceremonies were often supposed to represent the voices of spirits and non-initiates were told they were such.

(Ryan 1975)

Asking price at Isaacs Gallery: \$900.00.

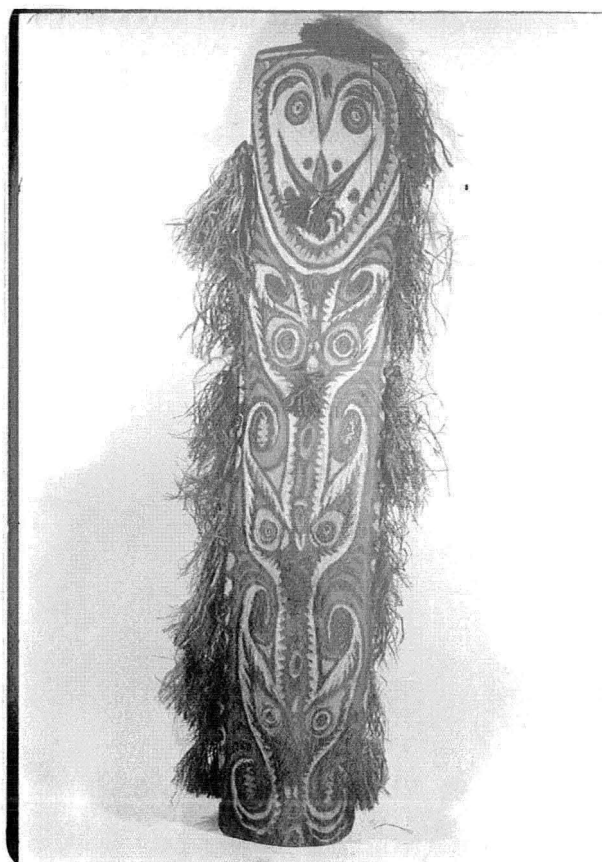


Plate 32 Lower Sepik Shield

Photo: Courtesy of American Museum
of Natural History.

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| A) Provenience | : Mundugumor, Yuat River, Lower Sepik River |
| B) Accession Number | :80.0 8401 |
| C) Institute | : American Museum of Natural History |
| D) Date | : Collected in 1933 - 1934 |
| E) Collector | : Margaret Mead |
| F) Dimensions | : Length: 159.5 cm. (66 3/4 in.) |
| G) Materials | : Wood, paint, feathers, grass tassels |

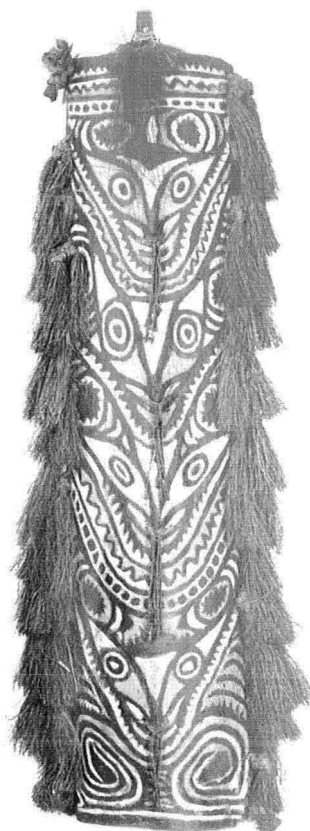


Plate 33 Lower Sepik Board

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Yuat River, Lower Sepik (Identification by Newton
1974: Private Communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.307
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 199.5 cm. (78 1/2 in.)

G) Materials

: Wood, cord tassels, grass fibres, black
plumage, black, red, yellow and white paint.

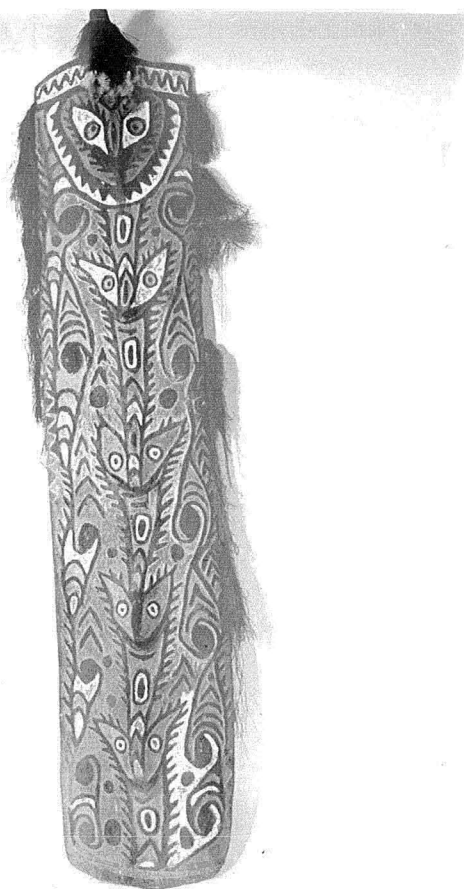


Plate 34 Lower Sepik Shield

- A) Provenience : Yuat River, Lower Sepik (Identification by Newton
1974: private communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.304
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 206 cm. (81 in.)
Width: 38.1 cm. (15 in.)

G) Materials : Wood, grass fibres, plumage and black, red and white paint



Plate 35 Lower Sepik Board

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| A) Provenience | : Biwat, Yuat River, Lower Sepik |
| B) Accession Number | : 969.330.305 |
| C) Institute | : Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date | : Collected between 1961 - 1966 |
| E) Collector | : Peter Austin |
| F) Dimension | : Length: 174.6 cm. (68.3/8 in.)
Width: 33 cm. (13 in.) |

G) Materials : Wood



Plate 36 Lower Sepik Clay Pot Stand

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Biwat, Yual village, Yuat River area, Lower Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.185
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: 23.8 cm. (9in.)
Width: 24.8 cm. (9 3/4 in.)

G) Material : Fired clay and soot



Plate 37 Lower Sepik Clay Pot Stand

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

-
- A) Provenience : Biwat, Yuat River, Lower Sepik
B) Accession Number : 969.330.186
C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
E) Collector : Peter Austin
F) Dimensions : Height: 19cm. (7 1/2 in.)
Width: 21.5 cm. (8 1/2 in.)

G) Material : Fired clay

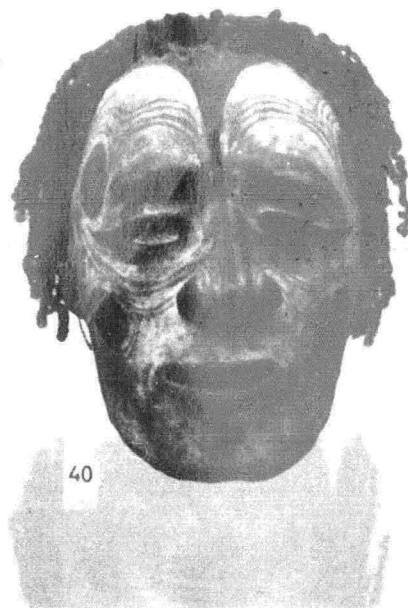


Plate 38 Decorated Skull

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 13-18-30
- C) Institute : Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde,
München, West Germany
- D) Date : Acquired by Museum in 1913
- E) Collector : Anonymous
- F) Dimensions : Height: 20 cm. (7 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Width: 16 cm. (6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

- G) Materials : Human skull, clay, hair, white and red pigment
- H) Description : Human skull of either a headhunting victim, relative or someone considered to be particularly attractive, illustrates the traditional Istmul face painting style of sweeping curvilinear lines and circles.



Plate 39 Iatmul Mwai Mask

- A) Provenience : Kamanibit, Iatmul territory, Middle
Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 67
- C) Institute : Isaacs Gallery
- D) Date : Exhibition Date 1974
- E) Collector : Paul Ryan
- F) Dimensions : Unavailable
- G) Materials : Wood, human hair, shellwork, bone,
multi-coloured plumage, and white,
black and red pigment

H) Description 1. Wooden mwai mask decorated with cowrie shell eyes, perforated bone tusks as nose ornaments, adorned with human hair, and red, green, gold and black plumage. Long nose appendage typically terminates in a totemic animal. Face painting of upswept eyes, curving lines and circles is traditional in style. Asking price at Isaacs Gallery -- \$350.00

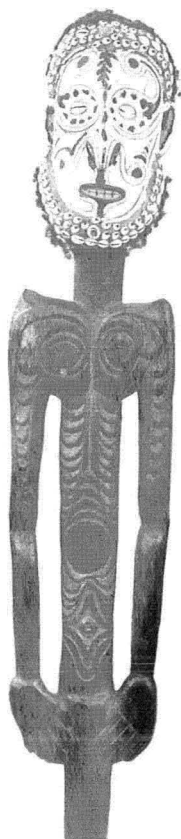


Plate 40 Carved Iatmul Figure and Clay Head

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.169 A and B
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : A) Head: Height: 28 cm. (11 in.)
 Width: 14 cm. (5½ in.)
 B) Figure: Length: 117.5 cm. (46½ in.)
 Width: 17.8 cm. (7 in.)

- G) Materials : Wood , clay, mud, shells, human hair, white, black, and red pigment
- H) Description : Clay head is adorned with cowrie shell eyes, mud, shellwork, and negroid hair covering the scalp and chin. Elaborate face painting in white, black and red is in traditional curvilinear style. Traditionally, a decorated human skull of an ancestor was mounted on a pole figure and elaborately ornamented. The prodigious display was to represent a mbwatnggowi figure in a tambaran ceremony or to promote village prosperity and fertility (Bateson 1958: Commentary accompanying Plate XXVII). Bateson (Ibid) also reports that,

each clan has its mbwatnggowi, and the principal interest of the natives in the ceremony lies in its spectacular nature and its esoteric origins rather than in its effect upon fertility.



Plate 41 Iatmul Head Carving

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
B) Accession Number : 969.330.194
C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
E) Collector : Peter Austin
F) Dimensions : Length: 20.4 cm. (8 in.)
G) Materials : Wood, red, white and black pigment,
shell and metal

H) Description : Head is carved from a single piece of wood and rests on a high base which appears to be a continuation of the neck. Facial features carved in high relief are natural in appearance. Ears are perforated at base and the left one is adorned with a round shell hanging from a metal loop. The neck-base and ears are painted red, while the mouth and hair are lacquered black. The rest of the face is elaborately painted in a curvilinear red and black pattern on white.

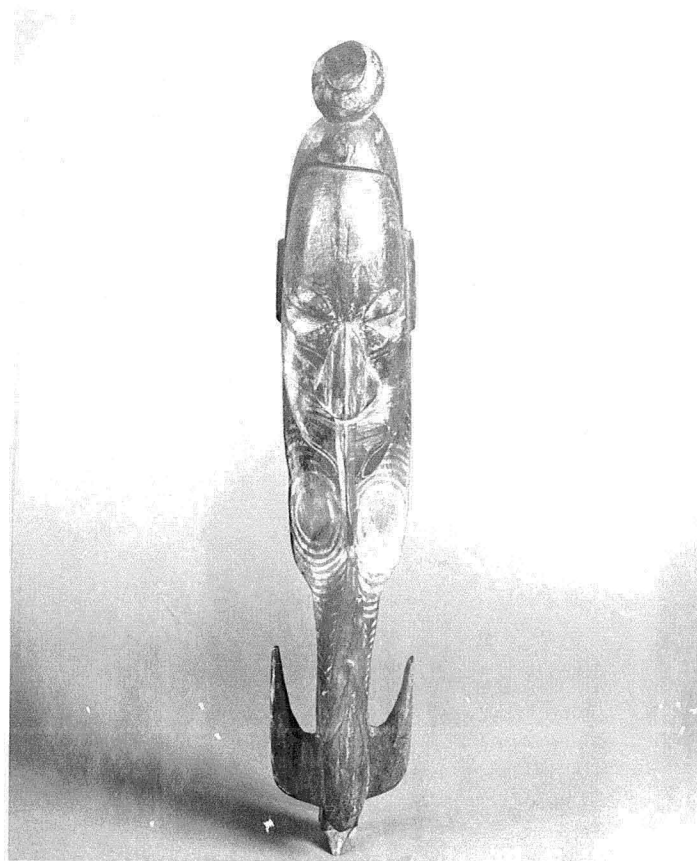


Plate 42 Iatmul Hook Carving

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.170
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 52 cm. (20½ in.)
Width: 9 cm. (3½ in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, and white pigment

H) Description

: Suspension hook is surmounted by an anthropomorphic face in the style ²⁵⁵
mwai masks. Characteristic features include the sloping forehead, upward slanted eyes, beak-like nose extension, and elaborate concentric circle pattern on face. The base of the hook is carved in the shape of a bird, a motif that is common to Iatmul art forms.

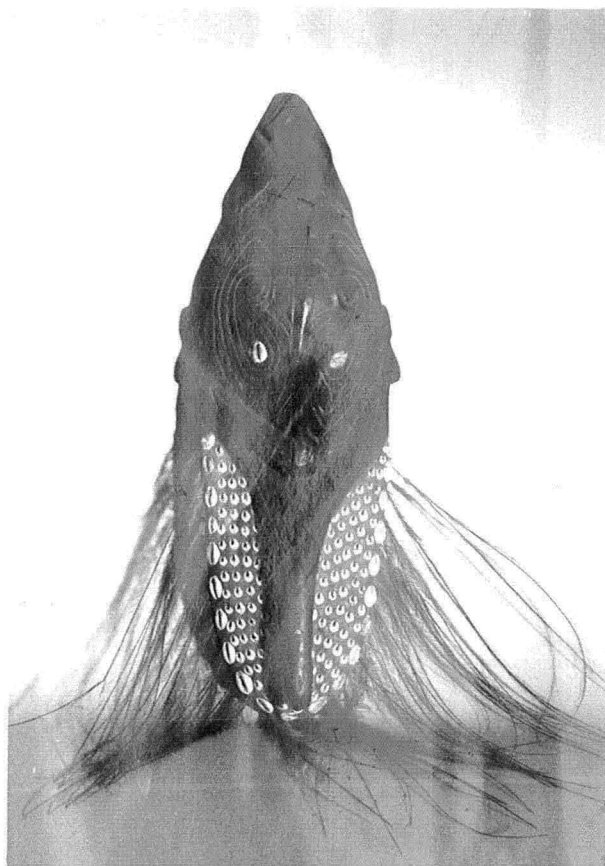


Plate 43 Iatmul Mwai Mask

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.3
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: 42 cm. (16½ in.)
Width: 13.4 cm. (5¼ in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, mud, shells, black paint and cassowary feathers

H) Description : Small, elongated plaque-like mask is painted black and decorated with incised curvilinear designs, shell-work and cassowary feathers. It is carved in the mwai face style but with several alterations. The overall black paint, the flat back, and the arch-like nose extension, are principle features which indicate a departure from the traditional mwai style and betray recent manufacture.



Plate 44 Iatmul Mwai Mask

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.18
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 56 cm. (22 in.)
Width: 14 cm. (5½ in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, mud, shells, black paint, and
fringe of purple, yellow and black dyed

grass fibres

H) Description : Elongated, plaque-like mask is painted black and decorated with incised curvilinear designs, shellwork, and a fringe of dyed yellow, purple, and black grass fibres. The mask is carved in the mwai face style but with several alterations. The overall black paint, the flat back, arch-like nose extension, and grass fringe of non-traditional purple and yellow colours, are the principle elements which indicate a departure from the traditional mwai style and betray an experimental style of recent manufacture.

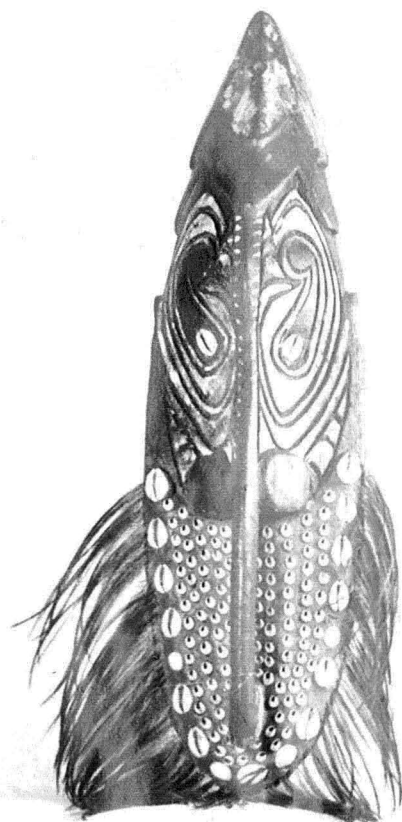


Plate 45 Iatmul Mwai Mask

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
B) Accession Number : 969.330.7
C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
E) Collector : Peter Austin
F) Dimensions : Length: 47.6 cm. (18 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
Width: 12.8 cm. (5 in.)

- G) Materials : Wood, mud, shells, black and white paint, and cassowary feathers
- H) Description : Elongated, plaque-like mask is painted black and white and decorated with incised curvilinear designs, shellwork, and cassowary feathers. The mask is carved in the mwai face style but with several innovations. The dominant black colour, flat back, arch-like nose extension and circular-shaped nostrils, are the principle elements which indicate a departure from the traditional mwai style and betray an experimental style of recent manufacture.

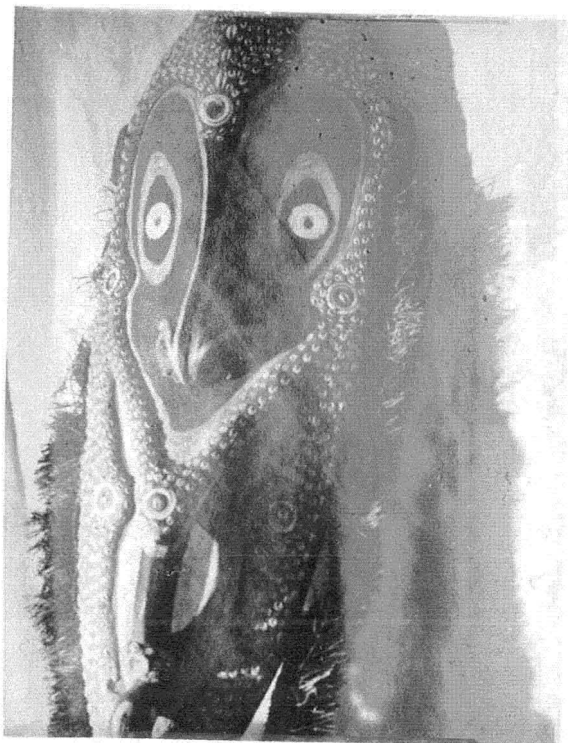


Plate 46 Iatmul Mwai Mask

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
 B) Accession Number : 969.330.9
 C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
 D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
 E) Collector : Peter Austin
 F) Dimensions : Height: 69.8 cm. (27½ in.)
 Width: 27.5 cm. (10¾ in.)

- G) Materials : Wood, mud, shells, red, white and black paint, and fringe of dyed purple, yellow and black fibre
- H) Description : Elongated wooden mask is painted predominantly black and decorated with shellwork and a fringe of dyed purple, yellow and black grass fibres. The mask is carved in a style vaguely resembling the mwai face type. Noteworthy differences in formal structural and decorative features however, suggest a style developed for sale to Europeans. This mask is an example of Middle Sepik airport art.

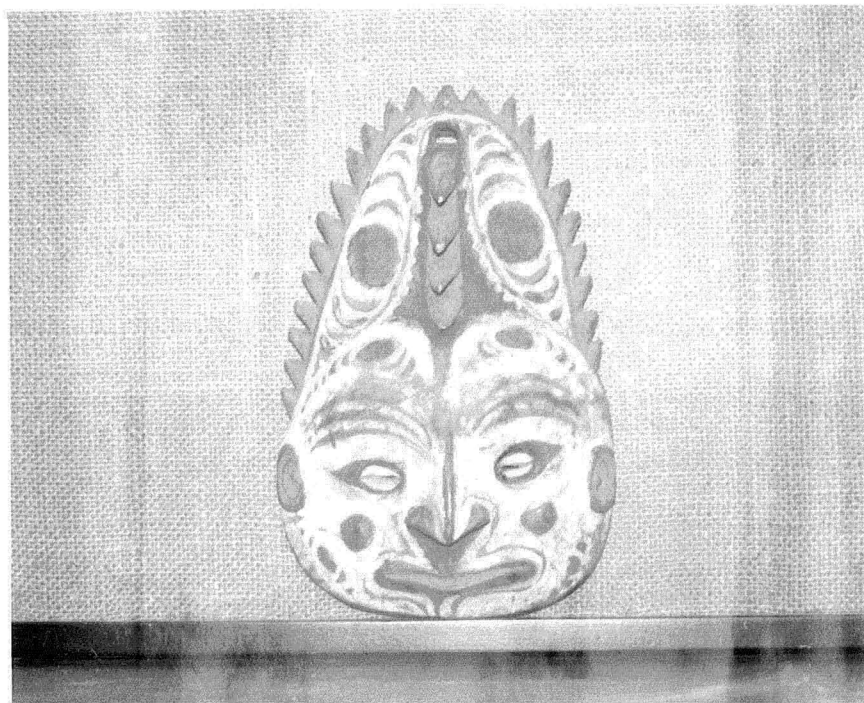


Plate 47 Iatmul Mask

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.6
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: 23 cm. (9 in.)
Width: 15 cm. (5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, white, red and black paint
- H) Description : Plaque-like mask is painted white and red with a touch of black at top of superstructure. The face painting style is fairly traditional but the serrated headdress, flat back and

diminutive size, are innovative features. This mask is an example of modern tourist work.



Plate 48 Iatmul Mask

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.21
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 29.8 cm. (11 3/4 in.)
Width: 23.5 cm. (9 1/4 in.)

- G) Materials : Wood, shells, white, brown and black paint
- H) Description : Plaque-like mask is painted white, black and brown.
Delicately carved facial features and coloured
in a style resembling traditional latmul face
painting but in a pattern too ornate and not in
the prescribed colours of white and red. The colour
scheme, flat back, and the rim-like border are
innovative features indicating recent manufacture.

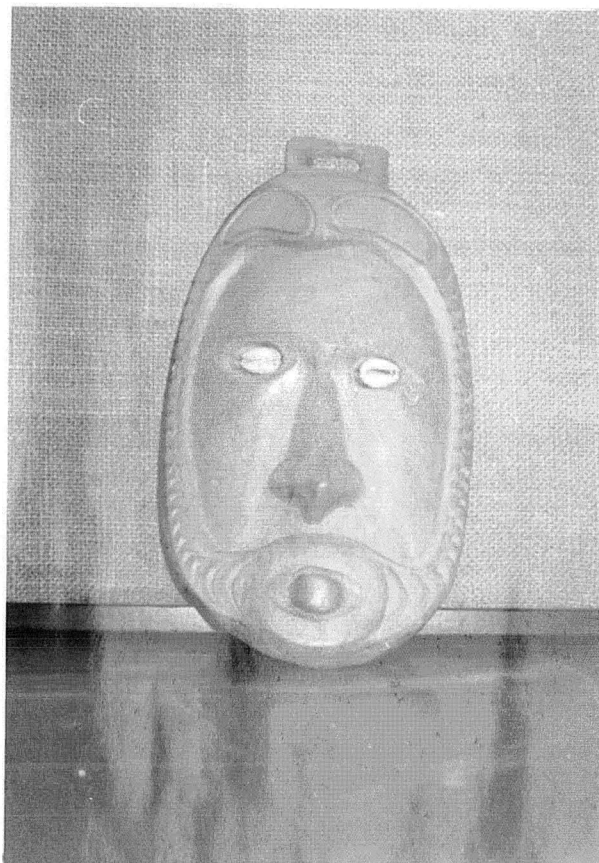


Plate 49 Iatmul Mask

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.13
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 29.2 cm. (11 1/2 in.)
Width: 15.5 cm. (6 1/8 in.)

G) Materials : Wood and shells

H) Description : Plaque - like mask has facial features carved in almost conventional forms. The protruding tongue and cowrie shell eyes are common elements in latmul art forms. However, the raised border around the face, perforated rectangular handle at top and naked, raw polished wood, are non-traditional features which indicate a style developed for the contemporary tourist market.



Plate 50 Iatmul Mask

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.4
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: 71.7 cm. (28 1/4 in.)
Width: 28 cm. (11 in.)

G) Materials : Wood, mud, shells, tusks, feathers, orange cloth, fringe of dyed purple and yellow fibres, and white red, yellow and black paint.

H) Description : Elongated mask of painted black, white and yellow and red wood is decorated with mud, shellwork, tusks

and a fringe of purple and yellow fibres. On lower section of mask is carved the head of a bird, a common motif in the Sepik. A pendant terminating in white plumage and orange cloth, is tied to the bird's head at the point where it merges with the mask. A similar fibre pendant is found extending from the left dome projection near the bird's head. The cluttered appearance and eclectic expression of awan and mwai features indicate a style uncommon to traditional Iatmul masks. The eclectic style is one that is developed for the contemporary tourist market.



Plate 51 Iatmul Mask

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| A) Provenience | : | Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River |
| B) Accession Number | : | 969.330.10 |
| C) Institute | : | Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date | : | Collected between 1961 - 1966 |
| E) Collector | : | Peter Austin |
| F) Dimensions | : | Height: 82.8 cm. (32 1/2 in.)
Width: 26.8 cm. (10 1/2 in.) |

- G) Materials : Wood, shells, grass fibre, red, yellow, white and black fibre.
- H) Description : Elongated, oval mask of painted wood has facial features carved in high relief and outlined in curvilinear patterns of red, yellow, white and black. Typically middle Sepik features are the large nose and the prominent mouth with protruding tongue. This work is an example of the type of mask mass-produced in the late 1950's for the tourist market.



Plate 52 Iatmul Mask

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.11
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: 56 cm. (22 in.)
Width: 17.3 cm. (6 3/4 in.)

- G) Materials : Wood and red, white and black paint.
- H) Description : Elongated mask of painted wood has facial features carved in high relief and outlined with dots, striped and curvilinear designs in red, black and white . The peculiar combination of strange elements, particularly the raised V-shaped band extending from the arrow-shaped nostrils, with traditional concepts, produces a carving in the style uncommon to traditional latmul masks and grotesque in expression

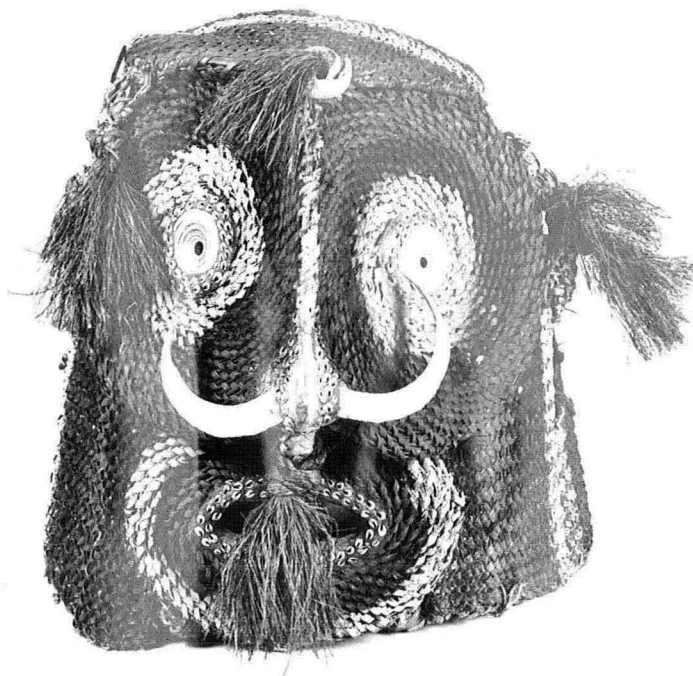


Plate 53 Woven Iatmul Mask

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Eastern Iatmul, Middle Sepik River. (Identification by
Forge 1974: Private communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.156
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: 42 cm. (16 1/2 in.)
Diameter: 43.2 cm. (17 in.)

- G) Materials : Rattan, mud, shells, Boar's tusks, dyed purple grass fibre and red, white and black colour.
- H) Description : Helmet mask of coiled rattan is constructed from several plaited sections sewn together. Three circular sections form the face. Eyes are represented by circular pieces of shell, the gaping mouth is outlined in mud and shellwork and crest nose is constructed from the junction of two eye planes and build up of mud and shellwork from which extend boar's tusks. The upward curve of white tusks is reminiscent of painted curvilinear designs characteristic of traditional wooden masks. Tassels of dyed purple grass fibres attached to each ear, top of facial crest, and arch below nose, complete the mask.

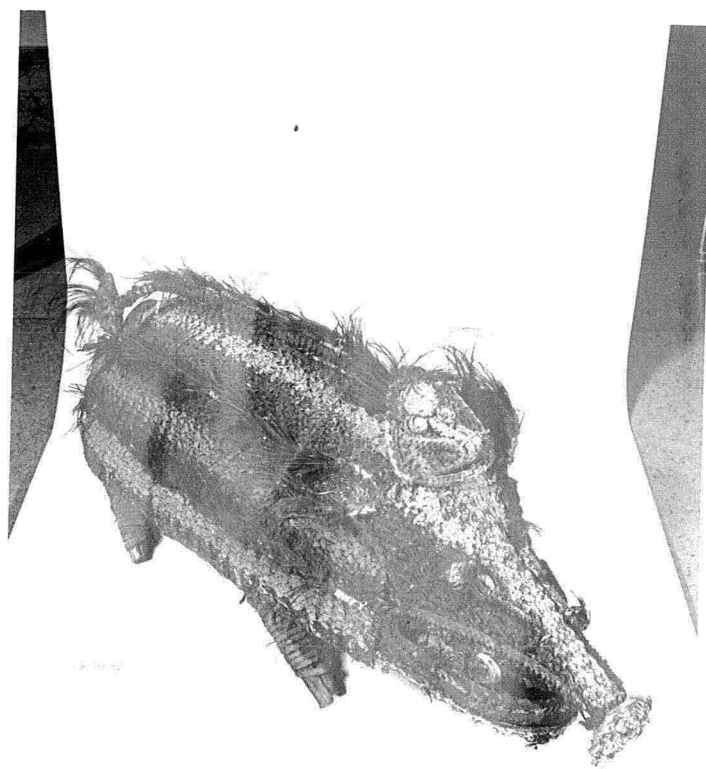


Plate 54 Iatmul Woven Pig Figure

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Tambanum village, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.211
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Recent manufacture. Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: 101 cm. (39 3/4 in.)
width: 40.7 cm. (16 in.)

- G) Materials : Wood, plaited rattan, shells, cassowary feathers and white, yellow, black and red paint.
- H) Description : Conventional - looking pig is constructed from plaited rattan and painted in long stripes of black, white, yellow and red. Woven circle of fibres is attached to the end of snout and the rear - end of pig. Woven circle in shape of anthropomorphic mask with extremely pronounced nose is attached to top of pig's head. Rows of cassowary feathers extending down length of pig complete the decoration. According to Austin's notes, this is a contemporary work of rattan sculpture.

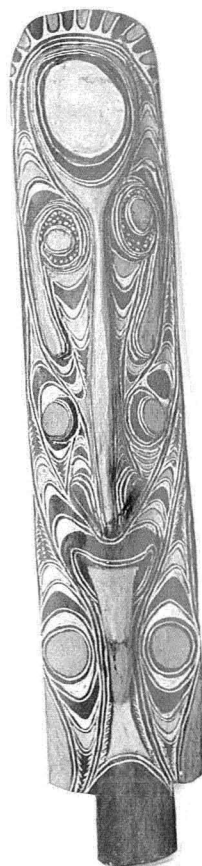


Plate 55 Iatmul Shield

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.282
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 139.2 cm. (4 ft. 7 in.)
 Width: 30.5 cm. (12 in.)
 Projection: 12.8 by 15.3 cm. (5 by 6 in.)

G) Materials : Wood and black, white and red colour.

H) Description : Rectangular shaped board has anthropomorphic face carved in high relief and polychromed in

red, black and white. Features characteristic of the latmul are central-circle-chevron pattern which here is painted on to decorate the surface area.

Bottom projection is black. Back of board is flat. Shorter length, lack of relief carving the circle-chevron pattern and the lack of arm handles at back indicate the board to be of recent manufacture and produced for sale.

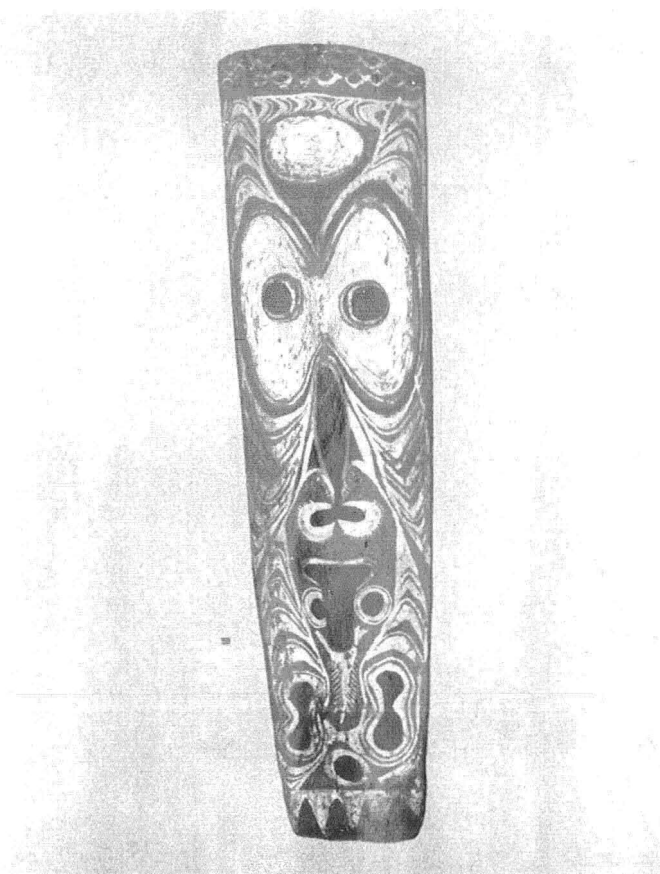


Plate 56 Middle Sepik Shield

- A) Provenience : Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 13 - 18 - 137
- C) Institute : Staatliches museum für Völkerkunde, München,
West Germany.
- D) Date : Museum acquisition date: 1913
- E) Collector : Anonymous
- F) Dimensions : Length: 150 cm. (59 in.)
Width: 40 cm. (15 3/4 in.)

- G) Materials : Wood, and white, red and black paint.
- H) Description : Rectangular-shaped board tapering at lower end is distinguished by an anthropomorphic face carved in high relief. Other diagnostic features illustrated are: the circular eyes, elongated nose, protruding tongue and curvilinear design in red, black and white pigment.

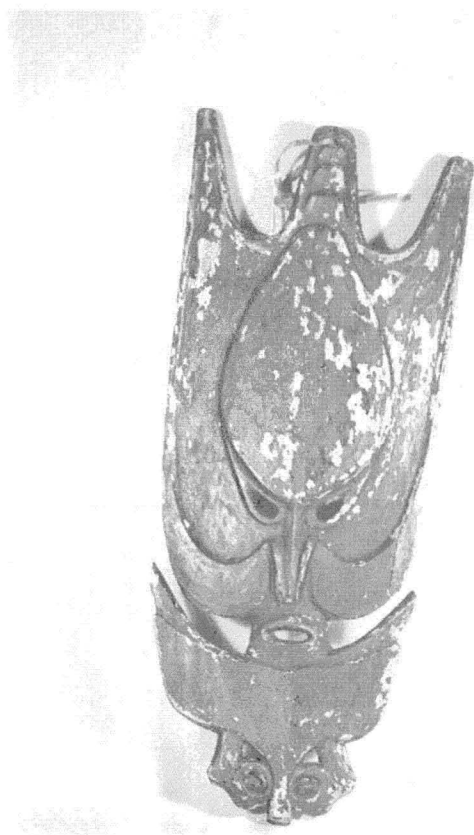


Plate 57 Iatmul Suspension Hook

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River (Identification by
Forge: private communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.200
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Of recent manufacture. Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 53.3 cm. (21 in.)
Width: 21 cm. (8 1/4 in.)

G) Materials : Wood and black paint

H) Description : Flat hook of painted black wood is surmounted by a plaque-like anthropomorphic face. Flat face has slightly raised facial features but is still characterized by a lack of sculptural modelling. Below each hook is carved design that when inverted resembles a bird. Concept of flat, plaque-like anthropomorphic face is painted totally black as new and indicates a modern work produced for the tourist market.

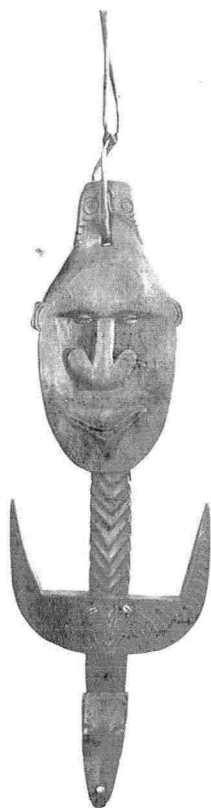


Plate 58 latmul Suspension Hook

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : latmul territory, Middle Sepik River; (Identification by Newton: 1974, private communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.171
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : of recent manufacture. Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 76.2 cm. (30 in.)
Width: 23.5 cm. (9 1/4 in.)

- G) Materials : Wood, shells, rubber fibre, and brown paint
- H) Description : Hook of stained black wood is surmounted by a plaque-like anthropomorphic face while the shaft terminates in the crocodile head. Another stylized face with shell eyes is incised in the centre of hook on both sides. Face lacks traditional modelling and has flat like features slightly raised. Neck and hook are incised respectively with an overlapping V and semi-circular design. Face on suspension hook is a more natural in appearance and lacks the traditional latmul face painting as well as black, red and white colour scheme. Its plaque like appearance also suggest that it represents a new type of suspension hook, one with its own developed style produced for the commercial market.

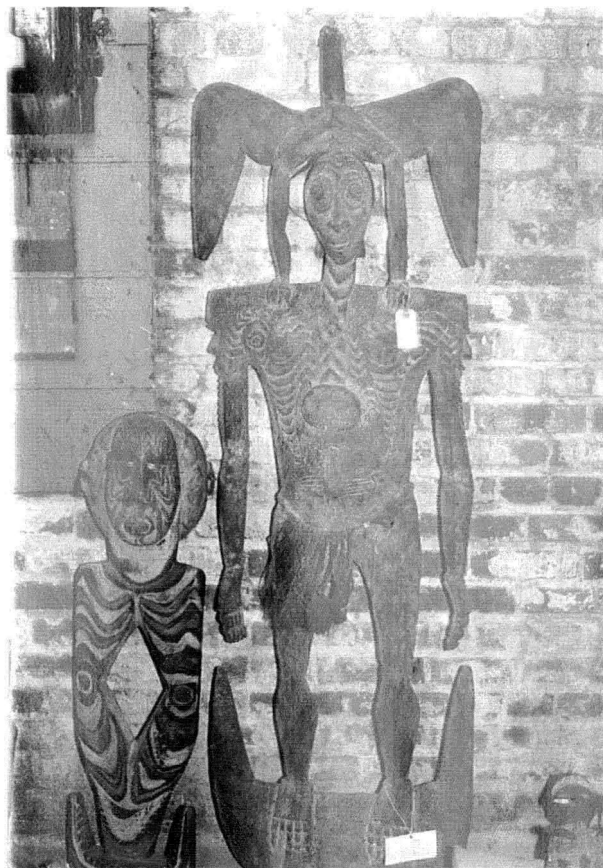


Plate 59 Iatmul Suspension Hook

- A) Provenience : Kandingai Village, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : N.G. 72 P.A. 2780
- C) Institute : Isaacs Gallery 1975
- D) Date : Unknown
- E) Collector : Paul Ryan
- F) Dimensions : Length: 182 cm. (5 ft. 8 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and brown-black pigment

H) Description : Elaborate suspension hook is surmounted by a large male figure partially dressed with a brief grass skirt. The figure is topped by a winged bird perched on its wide shoulders. Both the back and front of the sculpture are beautifully incised with curvilinear patterns, and with anthropomorphic faces carved on each shoulder and on the centre back. According to Isaacs' notes, the figure represents an ancestor from Kandingai village and shows the skin scarification resulting from initiation. The protruding eyes and claw like hands and feet are characteristic of Kandingai. The superb carving relies for expression on its simple but imposing stance, on its magnificent carving virtuosity, and timelessness of formal aesthetic qualities.

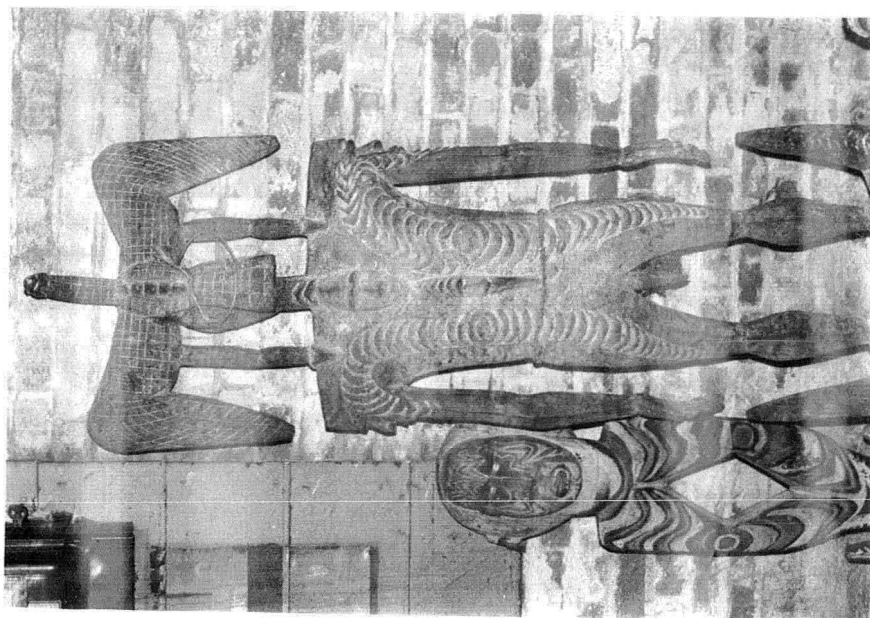




Plate 60 Iatmul Carving of a Walking Stick

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Iatmul territory, Middle Sepik River, (Identification by Forge 1974: private communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.122
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 52 cm. (20 1/2 in.)

G) Materials : Wood, cowrie shell and brown paint

H) Description : Imitation German walking stick consists of a

carved staff with crocodile curving to form loop

or handle at top and terminates in broken blunt end with two anthropomorphic

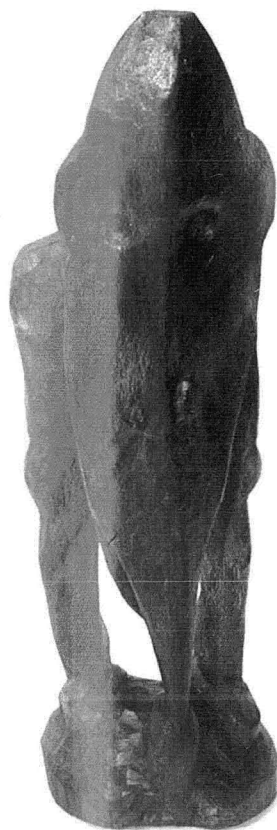
heads at each side. The staff is beautifully incised in traditional curvilinear

design of swirls, circles and chevrons. Crocodile's body is also heavily

incised with scale like details and saw tooth pattern in high relief on tail.

According to Forge (1974: private communication) this represents the

upper part of a walking stick in a developed style made specifically for sale.



92

Plate 61 Middle Sepik Carving

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Middle Sepik River
B) Accession Number : 969.330.192
C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
E) Collector : Peter Austin
F) Dimensions : Height: 58.5 cm. (27 in.)
Width: 16.5 cm. (6½ in.)

G) Materials : Wood and black paint

H) Description : Abstract figure is carved in the round from black painted wood. Plaque like anthropomorphic face terminates in a beak-like extension which rests in the form of a knob on the roughly carved base. Shoulders extend into legs and rest on same base. Such an abstract figure was never made traditionally.



Plate .62 Sawos Tumbuan

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| A) Provenience | : Nonggosop Village, Middle Sepik River |
| B) Accession Number | : 969.330.209 |
| C) Institute | : Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date | : Collected between 1961 - 1966 |
| E) Collector | : Peter Austin |
| F) Dimensions | : Height: Without loop and fringe: 169 cm. (63 in.) |
| G) Materials | : Rattan, grass fibre, white and black paint. |

H) Description : Large dance costume of woven rattan is circular in shape and widens at bottom where a long grass skirt is attached. Two rectangular shaped armholes are left open at sides. Front of costume has two anthropomorphic masks woven into rattan. Woven masks are painted white and are characterized by open eyes, prominent noses and wide, gaping mouths. Costume is topped by a rattan loop probably used for suspending it from the rafters.



Plate 63 Sawos Malu

- A) Provenience : Sawos territory, Middle Sepik River
- B) Catalogue Number : 34
- C) Institute : Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, München,
West Germany
- D) Date : Not known
- E) Collector : Anonymous

- F) Dimension : Length: 170 cm. (63 in.)
Width: 45 cm. (17 3/4 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and black , white and red pigment.
- H) Description : Sub-rectangular board is carved in openwork pattern and decorated with a long nosed anthropomorphic face, totemic birds and animal, and a number of teardrops arranged in the background. The lack of hook-prongs in the lower section of the panel is a feature of the Type 3 malu form. (Newton, 1963:4)

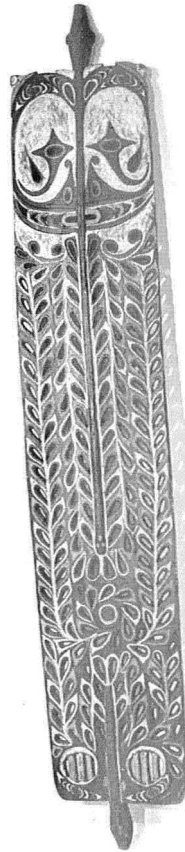


Plate 64 Sawos Malu

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| A) Provenience | : Sawos territory, Middle Sepik River |
| B) Accession Number | : 969.330.280 |
| C) Institute | : Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date | : Collected between 1961- 1966 |
| E) Collector | : Peter Austin |
| F) Dimensions | : Length: 162.1 cm. (60 1/4 in.) |
| | Width: 30 cm. (11 3/4 in.) |

G) Materials : Wood, and black, white, and red paint

H) Description : Rectangular shaped board carved in openwork design is a modern version of a malu. The large flat face has eye-design B (Newton 1963: 3), stylized face paint designs of the familiar central - circle-chevron form, and a nose-ridge which extends from the naturalistic human head at the top of the board to the zoomorphic head near the lower sector of the panel. On either side of the nose extension are teardrop shapes symmetrically arranged. The central design below the zoomorphic head of the nose extension appears as a stylized flower. Circular grillwork at the lower section has hook prongs and the same stylized circle-chevron design as the face. Between the hook grillwork is a ridge extension terminating in what appears to be a snake's head pointing downwards. Most conspicuous is the total absence of the stylized bird profiles which are generally characteristic features of traditional malu panels.



Plate 65 Chambri Pot

- A) Provenience : Chambri Lake Area, Middle Sepik River
- B) Catalogue Number : 54
- C) Institute : Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München,
West Germany
- D) Date : Unknown
- E) Collector : Anonymous

- F) Dimensions : Height: 75 cm. (29 1/2 in.)
Width: 50 cm. (19 5/8 in.)
- G) Materials : Fired clay and traces of pigment
- H) Description : Large storage vessel of fired clay. Depicted in high relief on neck and shoulder of vessel is an anthropomorphic face with prominent nose. Border of depressed ovals frames the stylized face.



Plate 66 Aibom Pot

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Aibom Village, Chambri Lakes, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.175
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date ; Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: 28 cm. (11 in.)
Diameter: 25.5 cm. (10 in.)

- G) Materials : Fired clay and white and dark brown paint
- H) Description : Modern storage pot of fired clay has a founded
base and body with tapering neck and flaring rim.

Four white washed and heart shaped anthropomorphic faces in high relief decorate the upper body of the vessel. Heart shaped, white faces with round eyes and pronounced noses in high relief are traditional Aibom features.



Plate 67 Aibom Pot

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Aibom Village, Chambri Lake, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.173
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimension : Height: 29.2 cm. (11 1/2 in.)
Diameter: 25 cm. (10 in.)

G) Materials : Fired Clay and white and black paint.

H) Description : Modern circular storage pot of fired clay

has a rounded base and body with tapering neck and flaring rim. Four white-washed and heart-shaped anthropomorphic faces in high relief decorate the upper body of the vessel. Heart-shaped face, prominent nose and white surface paint of faces are traditional features of Aibom pottery. Another Aibom trademark is the band of depressed ovals in the shape of a ring of burst-bubbles.



Plate 68 Aibom Vessel

- A) Provenience : Aibom Village, Chambri Lakes, Middle Sepik River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.178
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: 31.2 cm. (12 1/2 in.)
Diameter at rim: 13.4 cm. (5 1/4 in.)

- G) Materials : Fired clay and white paint
- H) Description : Modern pot of fired clay is in the shape of a goblet. Exterior surface area is incised with horizontal wavy lines, linear zigzags and dentate patterns. The incisions are filled in with white paint. Influenced by the altar paraphernalia of Catholic missionaries, the pot suggests the exaggerated shape of an altar vessel.



969.330.137

Plate 69 Blackwater River Mask

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Blackwater River, Middle Sepik, Identification by Kaufmann (1974: private communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969:330:137
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 71.7 cm. (28 1/4 in.)
Width: 39.5 cm. (15 1/2 in.)

G) Materials : Woven rattan, cane, grass fibre, red, white and black colour

H) Description : Anthropomorphic mask of woven rattan has an elliptical shape with flat, broad facial features

with a convex forehead sloping to lower concave face. The facial features consist of round, projecting eyes and ears, a central ridge which terminates in a woven loop nose above wide open flap representing the mouth.

Curvilinear design in white and black on red background enhances the facial planes. Dentate colour design decorates circular border extension of face.



Plate 70 Blackwater Basketry Mask

- A) Provenience : Blackwater River, Middle Sepik, (Identification by Kaufmann, 1974: Private communication)
- B) Accession Number : 969.300.138
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961 - 1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 59.5 cm. (23 1/2 in.)
Width: 47 cm. (18 1/2 in.)
- G) Materials : Woven rattan, cane, red, white and black colour

H) Description : Refer to Plate 69



Plate 71 Kwoma Ying Carving

- A) Provenience : Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.215
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 78.7 cm. (31 in.)
Width: 25.5 cm. (10 in.)

- G) Materials : Wood and white, yellow and black colour
- H) Description : Oval-shaped anthropomorphic face is carved with large protruding features. Heavy brow is typically decorated with horizontal white and yellow stripes outlined with white dots. Black bulging eyes are encircled with white bands. The length of the nose is attached to face and displays broad yellow nostrils over a hanging tongue protruding from the u-shaped mouth. Sawtooth pattern trims the lower edges of the mask. Series of white dots combined with white, yellow and black colour areas polychrome the carving and outline and shape the facial features. Black knob crowns the head. Back side has two long spike-like projections carved downward. This sculpture illustrates the traditional ying carving design.



Plate 72 Kwoma Ying Carving

- A) Provenience : Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.216
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 167.8 cm. (66 in.)
Maximum Width: 38.1 cm. (15 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and black paint

H) Description : Oval-shaped anthropomorphic face is carved with large protruding features: prominent brow and crown knob; conical eye projections; curving phallic nose; hanging tongue from u-shaped lips; and three arches over oval depressions on the chin, all in monochrome black. Back side has two long spik-like projections extending downwards. Neck-like shaft extends down from back of the carving.



Plate 73 Kwoma Ying Carving

- A) Provenience : Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik
B) Accession Number : 969.330.218
C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
E) Collector : Peter Austin
F) Dimensions : Length: 114.2 cm. (45 in.)
Width: 28 cm. (11 in.)

G) Materials : Wood and grey pigment

H) Description : Oval and concave shaped anthropomorphic face

is carved with large protruding features: prominent brow with two lunettes; blunt-shaped knob crowning the carving; protruding bulbous eyes; long cylindrical-like shaped nose with pierced septums containing small stick; and thick v-shaped lips, all in grey pigment with flasking. Neck-like shaft extends down from back of the carving and terminates in the round. Older and traditional yina carvings however, displayed a shaft which terminated in a point. Except for this anomaly the carving is traditional in stylistic form and expression and most likely was used within the sacred yina cult.



Plate 74 Kwama Ying Carving

- A) Provenience : Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.221
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 92.7 cm. (36 1/2 in.)
Width: 30.5 cm. (12 in.)

- G) Materials : Wood, and white, yellow and black colour
- H) Description : Oval-shaped and concave anthropomorphic face is carved with large protruding features and polychromed in white, yellow and black. The spiral forms, central spikes, side hooks and irregular colour design are features alien to traditional ying carvings and indicate modern manufacture. Other features which are lacking or irregular of traditional ying carvings are: knob-like headpiece, neck-like shaft and short stature of carving.



Plate 75 Kwoma Yina Carving

- A) Provenience : Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.217
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : L: 81.8 cm. (32 1/4 in.)
Width: 21 cm. (8 1/4 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and white, yellow, red and black paint

H) Description : Oval-shaped anthropomorphic face is carved with large protruding features and polychromed in white, yellow and red against a black background. Small headpiece, projecting eyes, long cylinder-like shaped nose with perforated septum, curving thick lips and neck-like shaft, are characteristic of traditional yina carving style. The irregular colour design, blunt end shaft and short stature are however, atypical and indicate a contemporary carving manufactured for sale.



Plate 76 Kwoma Hook

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik (Identification by author)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.223
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 161.5 cm. (60 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, and red, white, yellow and black paint

H) Description : Hook consists of three anthropomorphic faces, merging with one another and attached to a slender pole which terminates in an inverted bird's head and figure. Faces are distorted copies of traditional Kwoma yina carvings. Pole is striped black and white while red, yellow, white and black polychromy decorates the three faces. Traditional colours are outlined with white dots.



Plate 77 Kwoma Yam Figure

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| A) Provenience | : Minowi, Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik |
| B) Accession Number | : 969.330.188 |
| C) Institute | : Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date | : Collected between 1961-1966 |
| E) Collector | : Peter Austin |
| F) Dimensions | : Length approximately: 56 cm. (22 in.) |
| G) Materials | : Clay, and white, yellow and black paint |

H) Description : Modelled clay figure has long, rounded and oval-shaped body with conical head. Anthropomorphic face appears as a caricature of traditional Kwoma faces which appear on ceramics. The facial features are modelled in relief and consist of prominent ears and nose with flaring nostrils; open eyes and open grinning mouth; two free-standing loops on forehead; and flaring rim projection at chin. Figure is coloured black with traces of yellow circles and white paint on figure. Kaufmann (1974; private communication) stated that he purchased an identical figure from a Kwoma craftsman who was mass producing them.



Plate 78 Kwoma Pot

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Minowi, Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.187
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: 21.7 cm. (8 1/2 in.)
Diameter: 21.7 cm. (8 1/2 in.)
- G) Materials : Clay and black colouring

H) Description : Circular clay pot has conical base which widens at the sides and curves inwards at the rim.

Exterior surface is incised with curvilinear designs consisting of chevrons, circles, ovals and teardrop shapes with dentate perimeters, as well as a dentate band near the rim. According to Kaufmann (1974: private communication) this is a nicely styled modern pot but with a confusing design incised in clay that was too soft. The older and traditional pots were characterized with at least one ring or band at the bottom to separate the pattern from the base. This ring is absent from this pot. A black laquer has been applied to both the interior and exterior of the pot.



Plate 79 Nukuma Yina Carving

- A) Provenience : Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.220
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 81.2 cm. (32 in.)
Width: 23 cm. (9 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, and white, yellow and black colour

H) Description : Oval-shaped anthropomorphic face is carved with large prominent features in white, yellow and black polychromy. Traditional features consist of the over-bearing brow decorated with lunettes; the bulging eyes; curving lips; slightly protruding tongue; jutting rim; pointed neck-like shaft; and polychromed surface areas outlined with white dots. The detached and cylinder shaped nose replacing a triangular-shaped nose, the lack of a knob at the crown and the irregular painting style are features not characteristic of traditional Nukuma yina carvings.

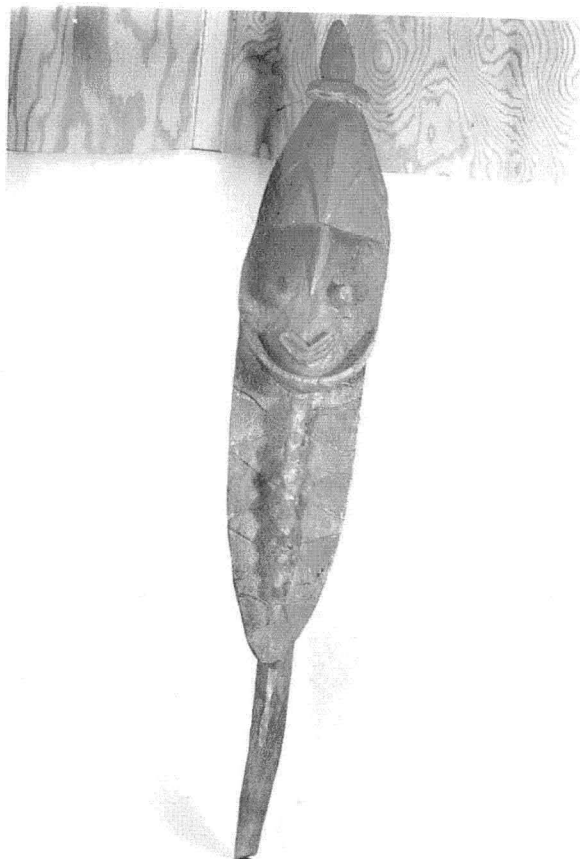


Plate 80 Nukuma Mindja Carving

- A) Provenience : Washkuk Hills, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.219
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 11.7 cm. (4 1/2 in.)
Width: 1.9 cm. (7/8 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and black colour

H) Description : Sculpture consists of a narrow oval-shaped plaque carved on a thin shaft. The face, resembling yina carvings, is oval in shape and features: a heavy and prominent brow with two incised lunettes; a knob crowning the carving; a long nose, sharply pointed and with a pierced tip; two projecting eyes; curving thick lips; and a rim jutting out at the chin. Large triangles at the sides, forming central diamonds are incised on the plaque-like body. Over this low relief design are carved a series of free-standing loops. A thin spike-like projection below a perforated knob extends downward from the back on each side. The entire carving is painted black. The shaft and short stature of the carving are irregular features. Shaft projections were not common to traditional mindja carvings which were also much larger, approximately 152.5 cm. (5 ft.) in length and usually polychromed with white, yellow and red colouring against a black background.

Plate 81 Nggala Shield

Photo: Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

- A) Provenience : Swagap, April River, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 80.1 5179
- C) Institute : American Museum of Natural History
- D) Date : Collected in 1964
- E) Collector : New Guinea-Admiralty Island Expedition
- F) Dimensions : Length: 173 cm. (68 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, and white, yellow, red and black colour
- H) Description : Rectangular shaped shield, slightly convex and

tapering at one end is carved in low relief with a curvilinear design in the shape of an hour-glass form with an anthropomorphic face at each end. Polychromy defines the pattern and decorates the surface area of the shield.

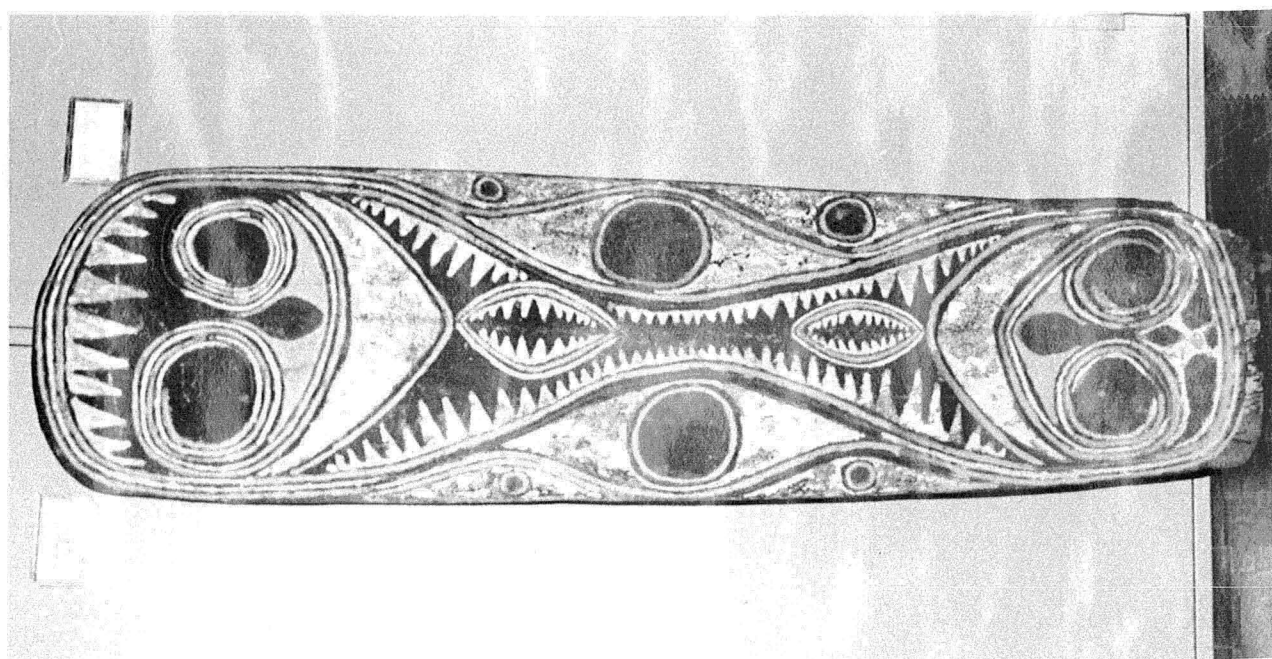




Plate 82 April River Shield

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| A) Provenience | : | April River, Upper Sepik |
| B) Accession Number | : | 969.330.277 |
| C) Institute | : | Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date | : | Collected between 1961-1966 |
| E) Collector | : | Peter Austin |
| F) Dimensions | : | Length: 187 cm. (5 ft. 10 in.) |
| G) Materials | : | Wood, and yellow, grey and black colour |

H) Description : Shield is ovoid in shape and tapers greatly at one end which is bluntly cut. Carved in low relief the central design consists of a series of abstract faces surrounded by curvilinear patterns and triangles which border the perimeters of the shield. Polychromy of yellow, grey and black is combined with the natural grain of brown wood in the traditional style.

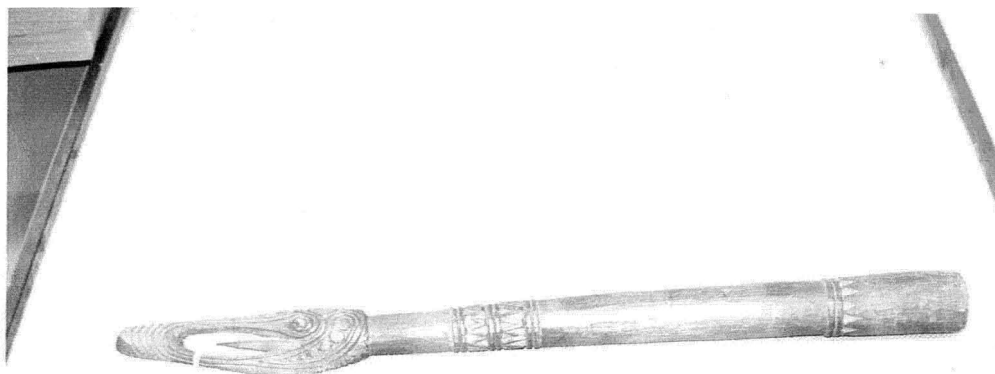


Plate 83 Wogamus Gong-beater

- A) Provenience : Vicinity of Wogamus River, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.225
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 69.8 cm. (27 1/2 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and black colouring
- H) Description : Long cylindrical-shaped piece of wood is wide and blunt at one end while the other terminates in a stylized bird's head, open in the centre and displaying a sharp tongue-like

projection. The surface area of the head is elaborately decorated with curvilinear carving in the form of curving teardrop shapes filled with circular discs. Bands of zig-zaging decorate the top and lower sections of the beater. The gong-beater is completely coloured in black.

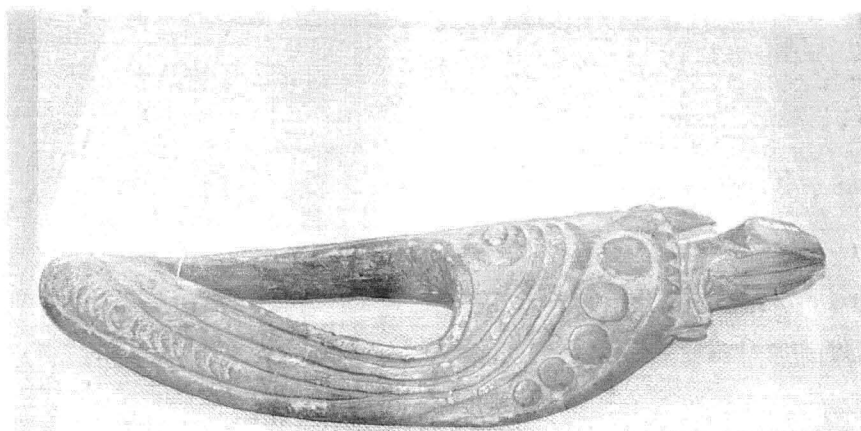


Plate 84 Wogamus Canoe Prow

- A) Provenience : Vicinity of Wogamus River, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969,330.230
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 58.5 cm. (23 in.)
Width: 15.3 cm. (6 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and brown colouring
- H) Description : Canoe prow is carved in the shape of an abstract bird's head. The stylized head is open in the centre, has slightly bulging eyes and is decorated with curvilinear carving consisting of curving lines following form of open space, a teardrop shape filled with

circular discs and triangular pattern of the top. At the base of the head is a curving projection for attachment to the canoe. Incised pattern is similar to that of 969,330,225.



Plate 85 Iwam Shield

- A) Provenience : May River, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.294
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 327.3 cm. (10 ft. 8 3/4 in.)
Width: 43.2 cm. (17 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, and yellow, pink and black colour

H) Description : Slightly convex, and long rectangular shield is carved in relief with stylized traditional designs painted white and pink and contrasted with raised black lines. Exaggerated length is a common feature of contemporary works which are produced for sale.



Plate 86 Iwam Shield

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Aum group, May River, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.281
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 218.5 cm. (7 ft. 2 in.)
Width: 33 cm. (1 ft. 1 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, and white, yellow and black paint.

H) Description : Rectangular-shaped shield decorated with traditional Iwam motifs: circles, plain or containing star designs which are generally regarded as eye or sun symbols; and the sawtoothed pattern or teeth motifs, which, depending on clan and family affiliations, are generally interpreted as representing crocodile teeth or serrations on banana leaves (Abramson 1970:57). The heightened colour contrasts resulting from the predominant use of black against white and yellow; and the abandonment of traditional bilateral symmetry, are however, features indicating the new freedom in style composition evident in shields no longer produced for indigenous consumption but for sale.



Plate 87 Iwam Shield

- A) Provenience : Waniap, Tributary of May River, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.303
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 228 cm. (89 3/4 in.)
Width at centre: 38.7 cm. (15 1/4 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, and black and red colour

H) Description : Oval-shaped board is elaborately carved in relief with traditional designs consisting of circles, teardrop shapes and sawteeth patterns combined in a horror-vacui manner with concentric circles and curving lines. The patterns in relief are painted black while the background area is reddish-brown.



Plate 88 Iwam Shield

- A) Provenience : Mavi, West May River, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.293
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 244 cm. (8 ft.)
 Width at top: 34.3 cm. (13 1/2 in.)
 Width at bottom: 42 cm. (16 1/2 in.)

- G) Materials : Wood, white, yellow, black and reddish colours
- H) Description : Rectangular shaped shield slightly tapering
towards the top is slightly convex and articulated
into differently sized horizontal design sections. The decoration is composed of
traditional and non-traditional elements. Traditional Iwam motifs of toothed
lobe designs at the top, commonly representing opossum tails or bird wings,
and circles, plain or concentric ones filled with rays or star designs generally
interpreted as eye or sun symbols (Abramson 1970:57) are fused with multilined
and parallel zigzags which appear to be foreign to traditional Iwam iconography.
Though organized into horizontal working areas, the common x formation of
lobed patterns composing traditional designs is replaced by a stylized pattern of
paired concentric circles and enclosing zigzags in an attractive and well
executed but untraditional design in yellow, white, red and black polychromy.

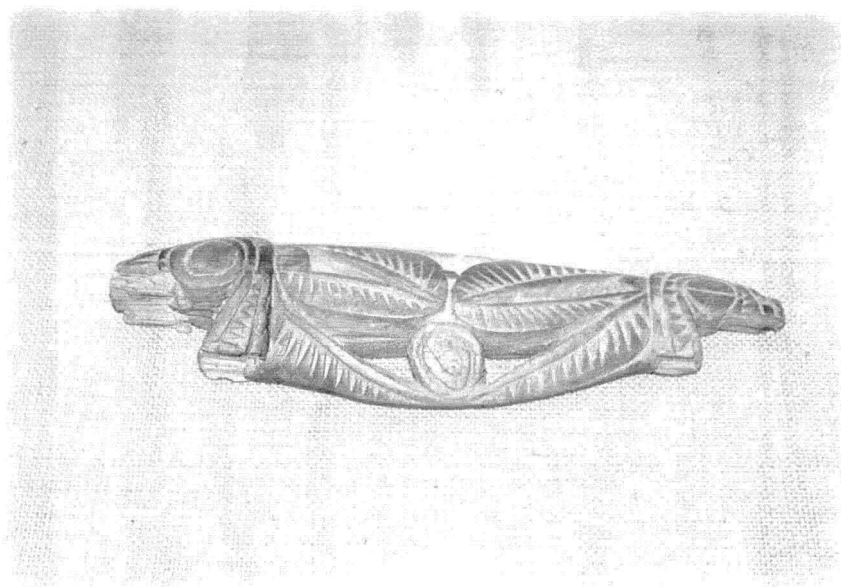


Plate 89 Iwam Canoe Prow

- A) Provenience : Waniap, Tributary of May River, Upper River
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.228
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 33.6 cm. (13 1/4 in.)
Width: 8.2 cm. (3 1/4 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and brown colouring
- H) Description : Oval-shaped carving with right-angled piece cut from each end. Carving consists of an open-work

pattern with central circle above which are lobe-shaped forms incised with teeth on either side of deep central depressions. Triangular or sawtooth incisions decorate the curving patterns.

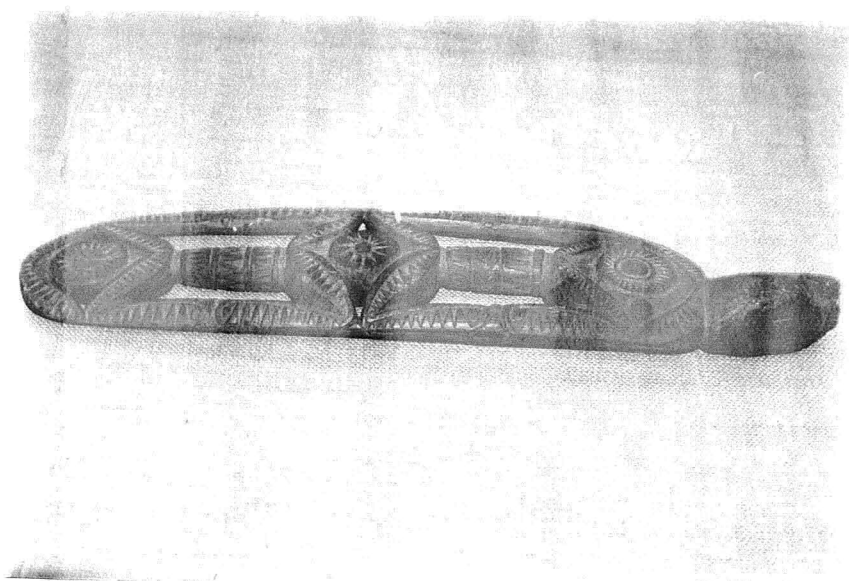


Plate 90 Iwam Canoe Prow

- A) Provenience : Mavi, May River, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.229
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 61 cm. (24 in.)
Width: 14 cm. (5 1/2 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and black colour
- H) Description : Curving rectangular shaped carving consists of open-work and relief decoration. Traditional

Iwam motifs: circles with star designs, toothed lobe-shaped forms, and sawtooth or dentate patterns elaborately decorate the black coloured surface area.

Broken extension at one end served as attachment to canoe.

Plate 91 Iwam Canoe Prow

- A) Provenience : May River, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.120
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 63.5 cm. (25 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and black colouring
- H) Description : Rectangular shaped carving consists of two parallel sections joined at either end by blocks of carved wood. Elaborate Iwam motifs: circles, perforated teardrop shapes, curvilinear lines and sawtooth or dentate patterns decorate the carving which is entirely coloured in black. A plain extension at one end served as attachment to canoe.

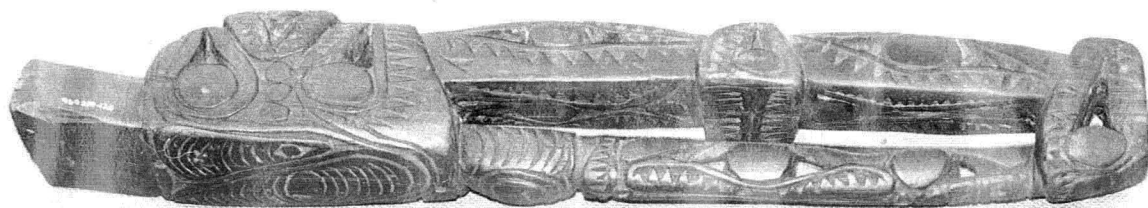
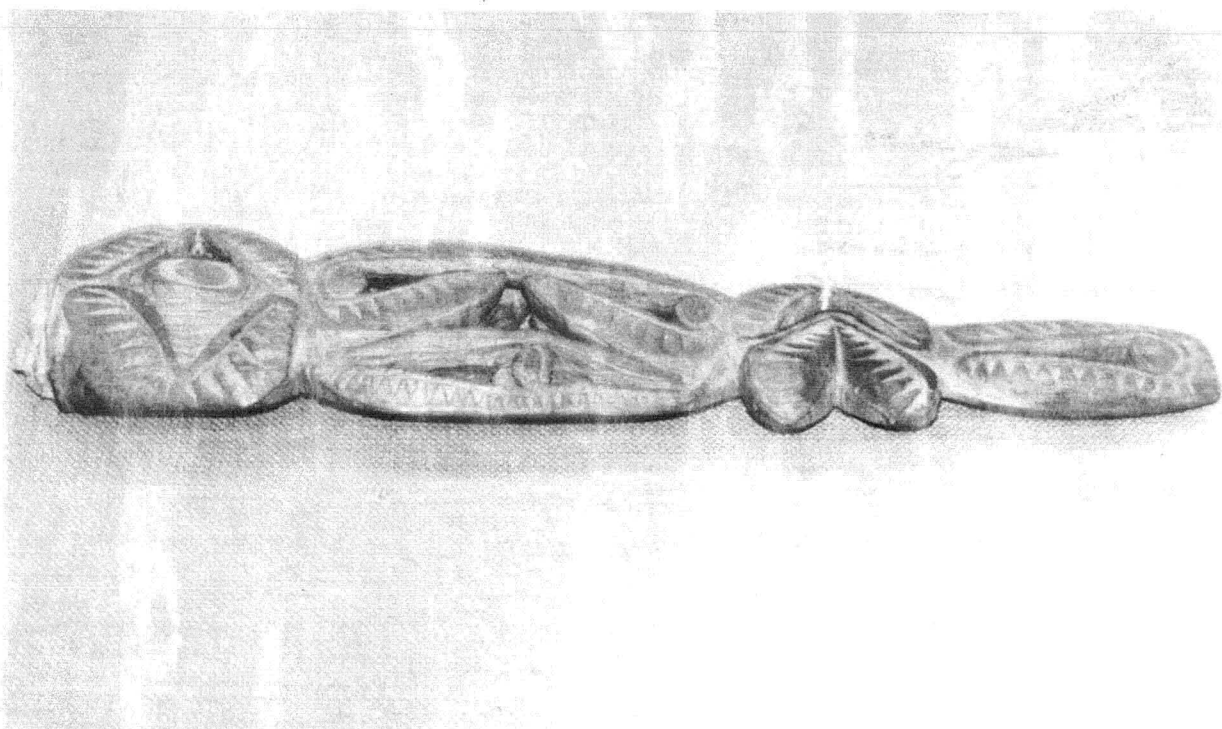


Plate 92 Iwam Canoe Prow

- A) Provenience : May River, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.231
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 62.2 cm. (24 1/2 in.)
Width: 14.5 cm. (5 3/4 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and brown colour
- H) Description : Open-work carving of canoe prow consists of fused circular and oval shapes elaborately decorated with traditional Iwam motifs: circles, lobe shaped forms, the interiors of which are incised with teeth; and sawtooth or dentate patterns around the perimeters of the open carving.



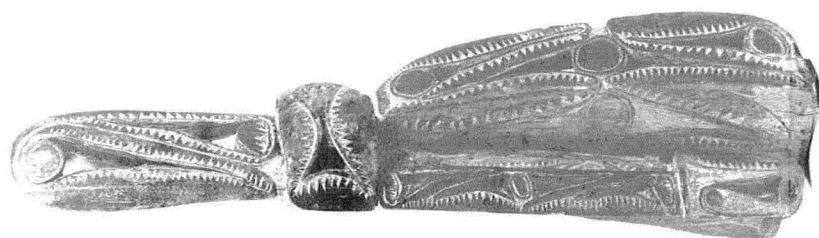


Plate 93 Iwam Canoe Prow

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : May River, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.234
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 106.7 cm. (42 in.)
Width of midpoint: 17.8 cm. (7 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood, and white, yellow, and red colour

H) Description : Open-work carved canoe prow is composed from oval and rectangular shapes elaborately decorated with traditional lwam motifs. Motifs consists of plain circles, perforated teardrops incised with dentate patterns, the interiors of which have a circle in the corners; toothed lobe-shaped forms. White, red and yellow polychromy combined with the natural grain of wood decorate the forms. The prow is only partially decorated since the relief carving and colour technique have not been completed.



Plate 94 Iwam Stool

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : May River, Upper Sepik (Identification by author)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.165
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length: 47.5 cm. (18 3/4 in.)
 Width: 23 cm. (9 in.)
 Height: 16.5 cm. (6 1/2 in.)
- G) Materials : Wood and black colouring

H) Description : Saddle-like stool consists of three scalloped forms on both sides in the manner of 'legs'.

Traditional Iwam designs decorate the sides of the stool. The centre scalloped 'leg' is reminiscent of the Iwam circle with interior star-design but is eclectic in composition adopting toothed lobe-shapes and dentate patterns too. The side 'legs' consists of the symmetrical leaf-like lobed shapes with toothed interiors. The raised area is coloured black contrasting with the natural brown of the carved out surface.



Plate 95 Iwam Lime Gourd and Stick

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : May River, Upper Sepik (Identification by author)
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.56 A and B
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length of gourd: 25.5 cm. (10 in.)
Length of stick: 26.2 cm. (10 1/2 in.)
- G) Materials : Gourd and black colouring, lime and stick
- H) Description : Bulbous gourd narrow through centre is perforated
at smaller end where it receives the lime stick.

Section of the bulb is incised with traditional circular, curvilinear and

toothed lobe-shaped, Iwam motifs. The carved out surface is blackened and contrasts with the natural brown gourd surface producing a highly attractive effect.

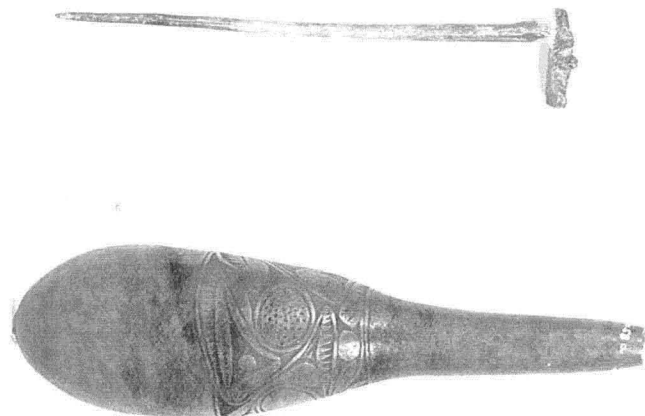


Plate 96 Iwam Lime Gourd and Stick

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Waniap, May River Tributary, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.58 A and B
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length of gourd: 28 cm. (11 in.)
Length of stick: 24.2 cm. (9 1/2 in.)
- G) Materials : Gourd and black colouring, lime and stick

H) Description : Flask-shaped gourd has long slim neck which is perforated to receive lime stick. Top section of bulbous shape is incised with traditional Iwam motifs consisting of circles, plain and dotted; lobe-shapes, the interiors of which are toothed; and curvilinear lines. The carved out surface is blackened and contrasts with the natural brown gourd surface producing a highly attractive effect.

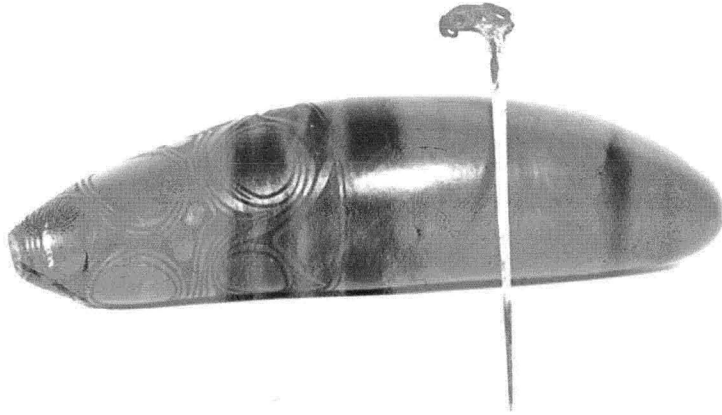


Plate 97 Iwam Lime Gourd and Stick

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Waniap, May River Tributary, Upper Sepik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.59 A and B
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Length of gourd: 49.5 cm. (19 1/2 in.)
Length of stick: 35.5 cm. (14 in.)
- G) Materials : Gourd, black colour, bone and lime
- H) Description : Elliptical shaped gourd is perforated at the tapered end and contains lime. Top third of

gourd is elaborately incised with traditional curvilinear and curving lwam motifs.

The carved out surface is blackened and contrasts with the natural dark brown gourd surface producing a highly attractive effect.

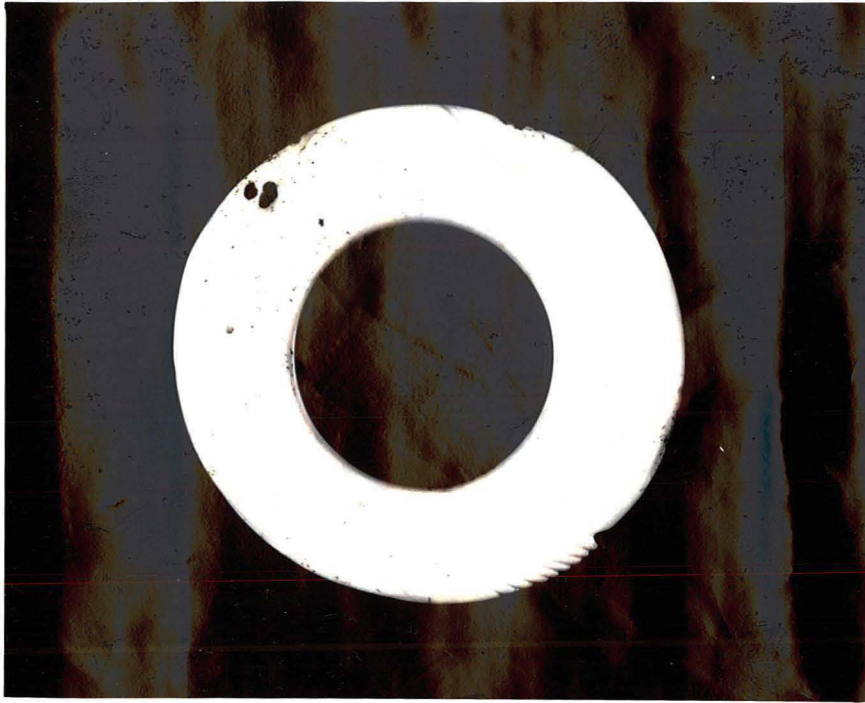


Plate 98 Shell Ring

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| A) Provenience | : Maprik |
| B) Accession Number | : 969.330.34 |
| C) Institute | : Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date | : Collected between 1961-1966 |
| E) Collector | : Peter Austin |
| F) Dimensions | : Diameter: 12.7 cm. (5 in.) |
| G) Materials | : Circular section of a shell |
| H) Description | : Flat circular ring of white shell has been worked
and has a highly polished surface. Traditionally |

considered to be a wealth item, such shell rings were traded through out the Maprik. They were used as ceremonial currency as well as items of personal ornamentation.

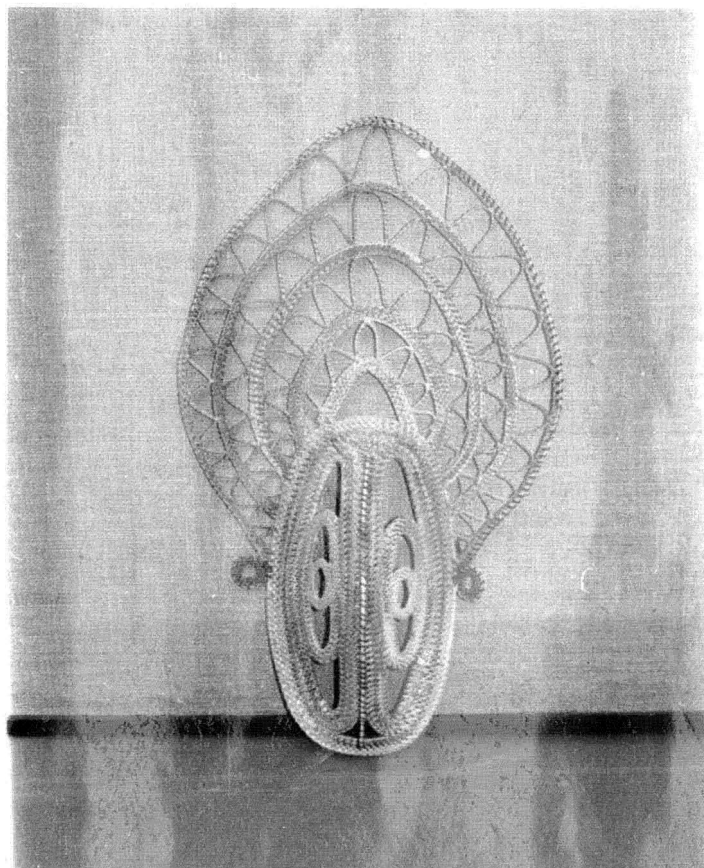


Plate 99 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.139
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Height: 63 cm. (24 3/4 in.)
Width: 37.5 cm. (14 3/4 in.)
- G) Material: Rattan

H) Description: Unpainted, woven rattan mask is characterized by a stylized anthropomorphic face. Superstructure of five, woven, open-work bands is in imitation of a head ornament. The mask is of the type produced for the tourist market.

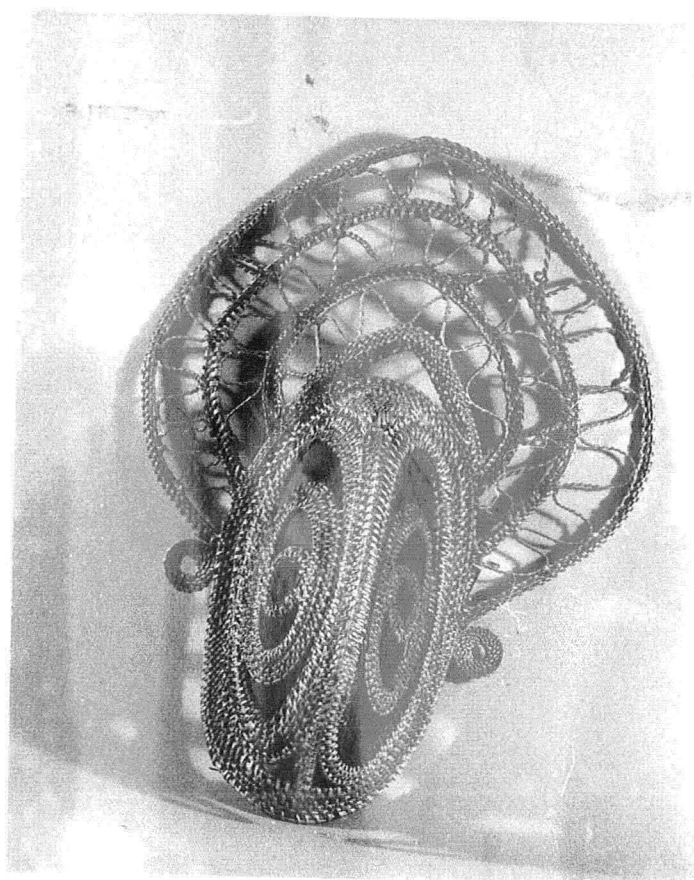


Plate 100 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- A) Provenience : Maprik
- B) Accession Number : 969.33.140
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Height: 43.8 cm. (17 1/4 in.)
Width: 31.2 cm. (12 1/4 in.)
- G) Material : Rattan
- H) Description : Unpainted, woven rattan mask is characterized by a stylized anthropomorphic face. Super-structure of four, woven, open-work bands is in imitation of a head ornament.

The mask is of the type produced for the tourist market.

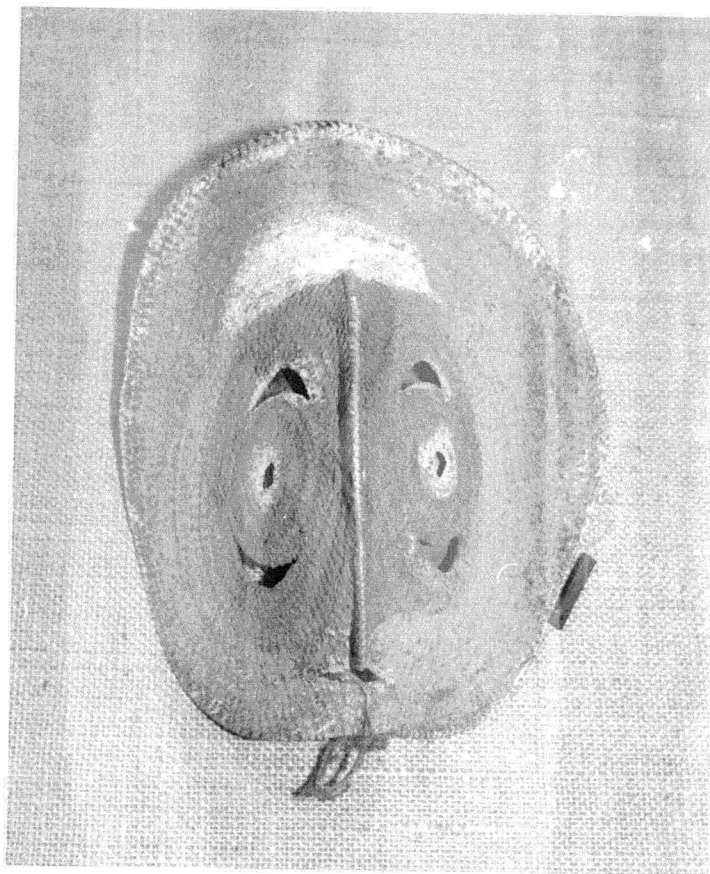


Plate 101 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- A) Provenience : Maprik
- B) Accession Number : 969.330.141
- C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector : Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions : Height: 25.7 cm. (10 in.)
Width: 20.5 cm. (8 in.)
- G) Materials : Rattan, yellow, red, white and black pigments

H) Description : Woven rattan mask is characterized by an anthropomorphic face built up of flat, recessed, circular eye planes painted red and separated by a central nose crest which terminates in a loop. Border is predominantly yellow with characteristic white patch on the forehead. According to Forge (1974:private communication) this mask and the ones represented up to Plate 114 are manufactured in the traditional style.

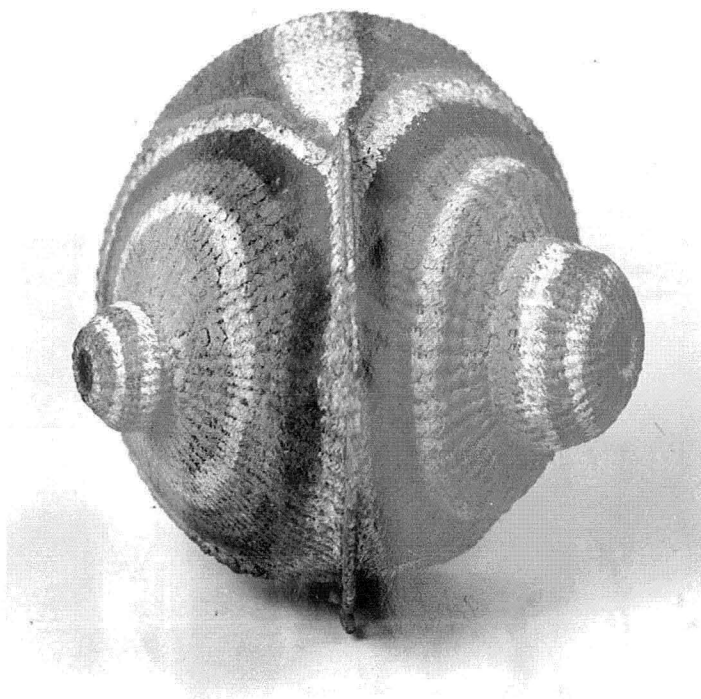


Plate 102 Ceremonial Yam Mask

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Maprik
B) Accession Number : 969.330.142
C) Institute : Royal Ontario Museum
D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
E) Collector : Peter Austin
F) Dimensions : Length: 17 cm. (6 5/8 in.)
Width: 14.7 cm. (5 3/4 in.)
Height: 14 cm. (5 1/2 in.)

G) Materials : Rattan, red, yellow, white and black pigments

H) Description : Diminutive helmet mask of woven rattan is
characterized by an anthropomorphic face

built up of bulging concentric circles painted yellow, red, white and black.

A central nose crest terminates in a loop. Below, is a horizontal slit for
a mouth. Note the projecting, bulbous eyes and characteristic white patch
above the eyes.

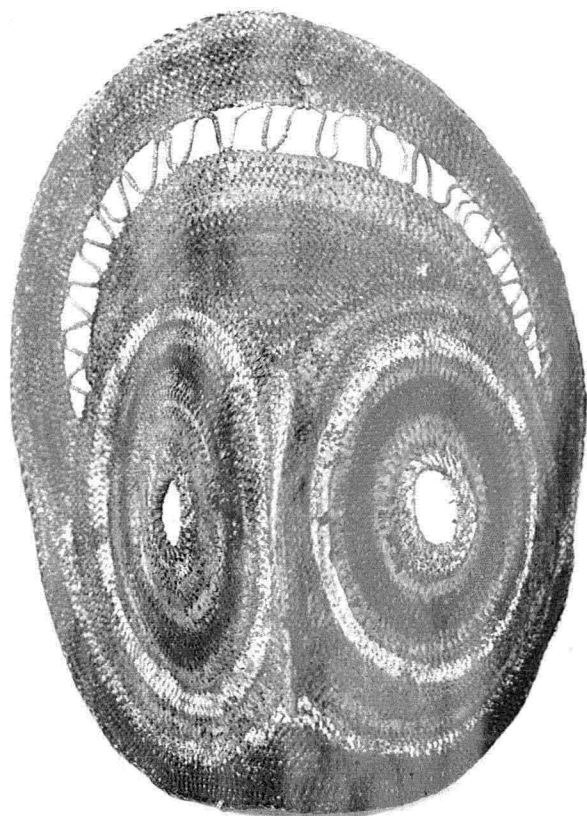


Plate 103 Ceremonial Yam Mask

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience : Maprik
B) Accession Number : 969.330.144
C) Insitute : Royal Ontario Museum
D) Date : Collected between 1961-1966
E) Collector : Peter Austin
F) Dimensions : Length: 28 cm. (11 in.)
Width: 21.5 cm. (8 1/2 in.)

G) Materials : Rattan, red, brown, white, black and green pigments

H) Description : Woven rattan mask is characterized by an anthropomorphic face built up of flat, recessed circular eye planes coloured white, red, black and brown and separated by a central nose crest which terminates in a loop. Traces of green are evident on the crest. Curved triangular section above circular eye planes is painted black and red. Border at perimeters is black and brown.

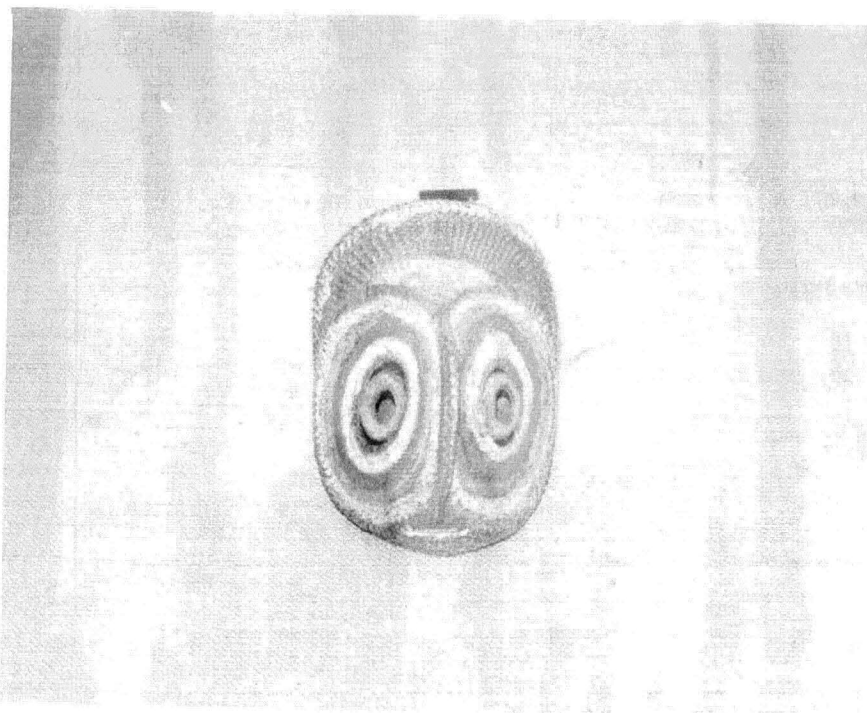


Plate 104 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| A) Provenience | Maprik |
| B) Accession Number: | 969.330.145 |
| C) Institute: | Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date: | Collected between 1961-1966 |
| E) Collector: | Peter Austin |
| F) Dimensions: | Length: 20 cm. (7 7/8 in.)
Width: 14.5 cm. (5 3/8 in.) |
| G) Materials: | Rattan, yellow, red, white and black pigment |
| H) Description: | Diminutive rattan mask is characterized by an anthropomorphic face built up of flat, recessed |

concentric circles with crescent-shaped openings below and above open circular eye section. Central nose crest terminates in a loop. Below, is a horizontal slit for the mouth. Concentric rings are polychromed in yellow, white, red and black. Characteristic triangular section above the eye is articulated in yellow. A black border flares out at right angles to face of mask.

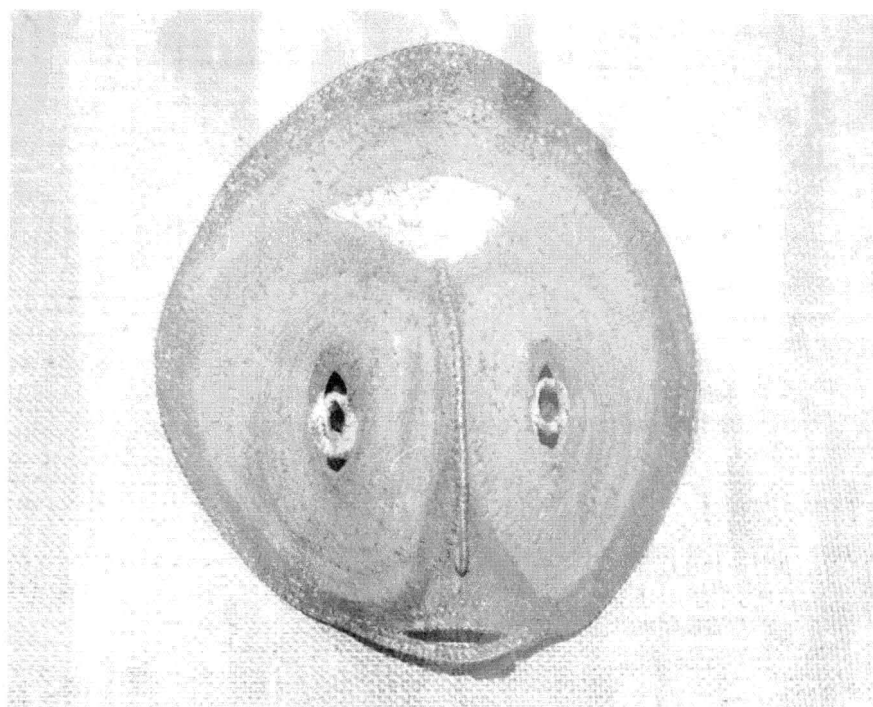


Plate 105 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- | | | |
|----|-------------------|---|
| A) | Provenience | Maprik |
| B) | Accession Number: | 969.330.146 |
| C) | Institute: | Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) | Date: | Collected between 1961-1966 |
| E) | Collector: | Peter Austin |
| F) | Dimensions: | Length: 24.7 cm. (9 3/4 in.)
Width: 23.2 cm. (9 1/8 in.) |
| G) | Materials: | Rattan, yellow, red, white and black pigments |
| H) | Description: | Tightly woven rattan mask is characterized by
an anthropomorphic face built up of flat, yellow,
concentric circles with crescent-shaped openings below and above circular,
open eye ring. A central nose crest terminates in a loop. Below is a horizontal |

slit for a mouth. Border is black and the characteristic white patch is present above the nose crest.

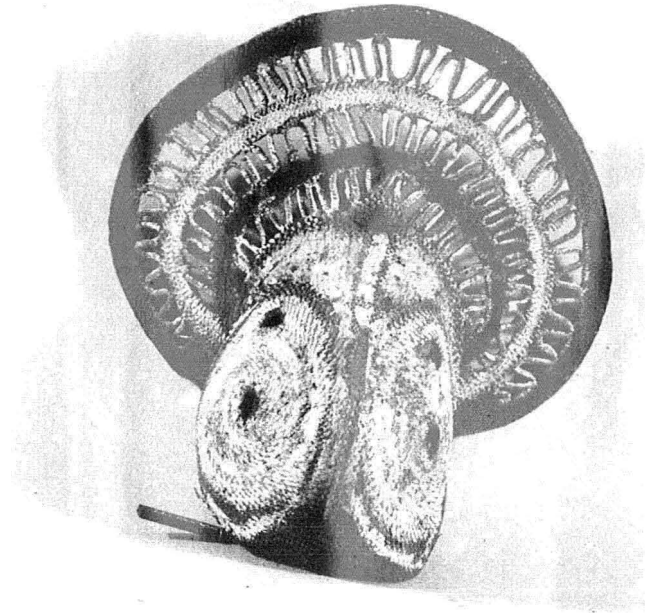


Plate 106 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| A) Provenience | Maprik |
| B) Accession Number: | 969.330.147 |
| C) Institute: | Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date: | Collected between 1961-1966 |
| E) Collector: | Peter Austin |
| F) Dimensions: | Length: 20.5 cm. (8 in.) |
| | Width: 19 cm. (7 1/2 in.) |
| G) Materials: | Rattan, yellow, brown, white and black pigment |

H) Description: Woven rattan mask is characterized by an anthropomorphic face built up of flat, concentric circles with crescent shaped openings above the open circular eye rings. The central nose crest terminates in a loop. A superstructure of three, woven, open-work bands in imitation of a head ornament is coloured in yellow and black. Concentric circles around the eyes are polychromed in brown, yellow and dark red.

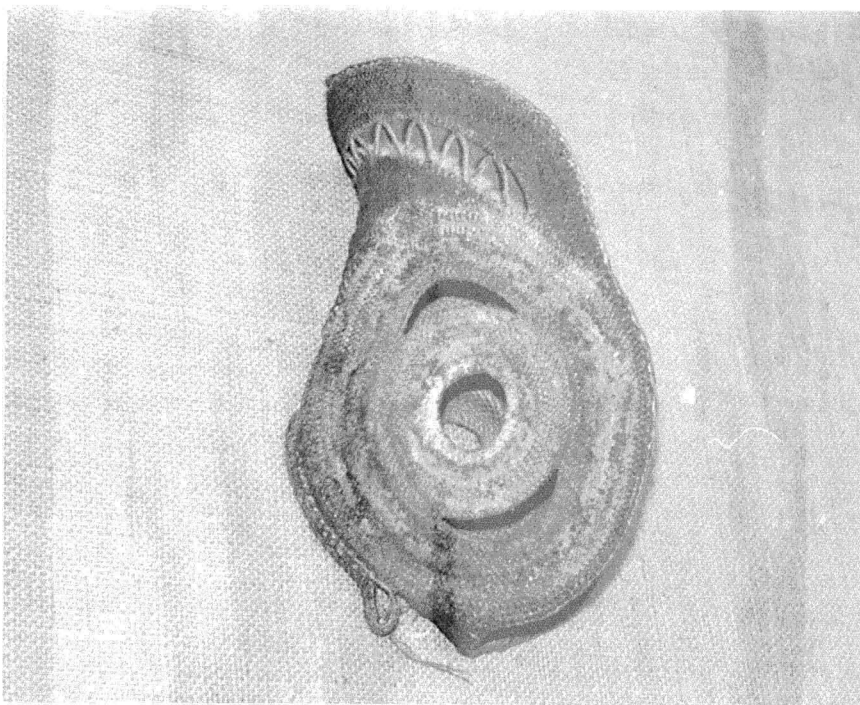


Plate 107 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.148
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Length: 25.7 cm. (10 1/8 in.)
Width: 12.7 cm. (5 in.)
- G) Materials: Rattan, red, yellow, white and black pigments
- H) Description: Woven raitan mask is characterized by an anthropomorphic face built up of flat, concentric circles with crescent shaped openings above and below open eye ring. Eye rings are polychromed in white, yellow and red. A central nose crest terminates in a loop and is threaded with a fibre. A wide border at top is coloured black.

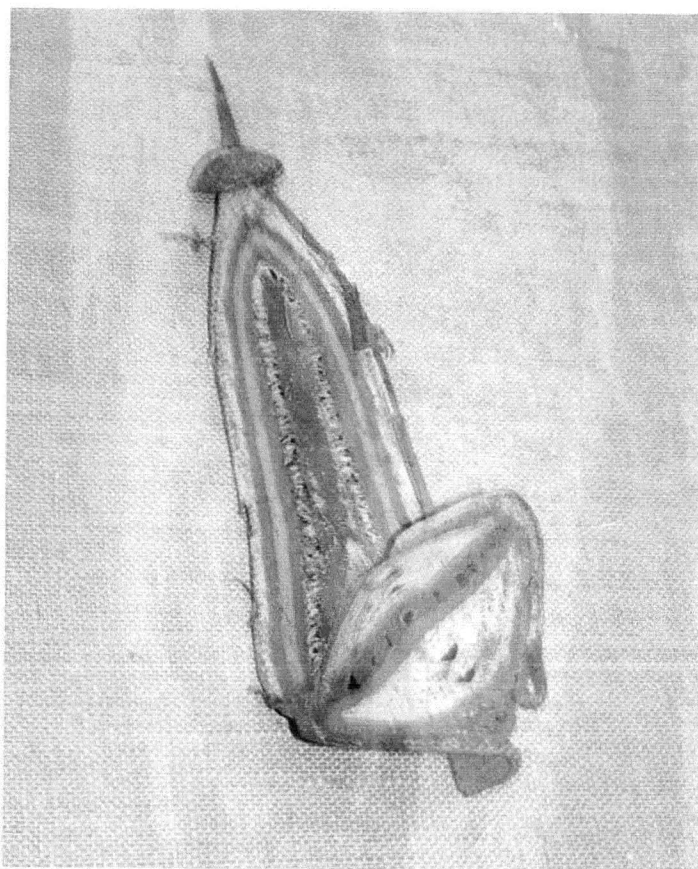


Plate 108 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| A) Provenience | Maprik |
| B) Accession Number: | 969.330.149 |
| C) Institute: | Royal Ontario Museum |
| D) Date: | Collected between 1961-1966 |
| E) Collector: | Peter Austin |
| F) Dimensions: | Height: 35.5 cm. (14 in.)
Width: 11.5 cm. (4 1/2 in.) |
| G) Materials: | Rattan, red, yellow, white and black pigment |

H) Description: Woven rattan mask with an anthropomorphic face is built up of almost flat concentric circles which come together at an acute angle and are topped by a central nose crest which terminates in a loop. Both circular eye planes consist of twelve crescent shaped openings radiating out and are pigmented white with a diagonal black and red line cutting across. Extending from the back, a high superstructure, supported by a reed fastened to eachside, is polychromed with curving bands of white, red, yellow and black. Projection at top centre of elaborate superstructure is cone-shaped and coloured red.

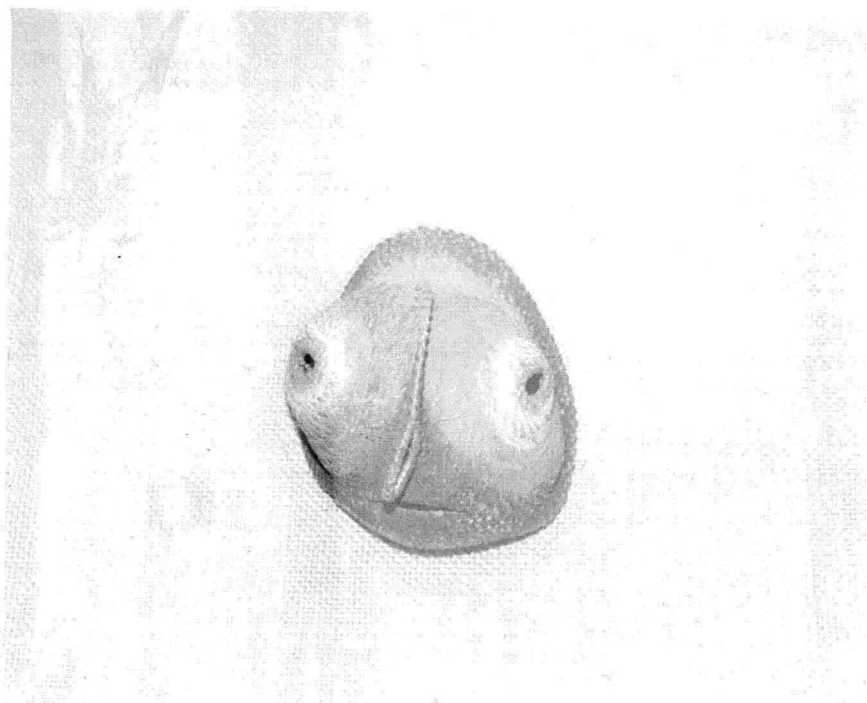


Plate 109 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.150
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Length: 14.3 cm. (5 5/8 in.)
Width: 11.2 cm. (4 3/8 in.)
- G) Materials: Rattan, red, yellow, brown, white and black pigments
- H) Description: Diminutive, round mask of woven rattan is characterized by an anthropomorphic face built up of convex concentric circles of white, yellow, reddish-brown and black polychromy. Bulging eyes are separated by a central nose crest which

terminates in a loop. Below is a horizontal slit mouth. Section above eyes is coloured reddish-brown while border is pigmented black.



Plate 110 Ceremonial Yami Mask

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.151
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Length: 23.2 cm. (9 1/8 in.)
Width: 21.7 cm. (8 1/2 in.)
- G) Materials: Rattan, red, blue, white and black pigments
- H) Description: Tightly woven rattan mask is characterized by an anthropomorphic face built up of concentric circles of orange and red with circular eyes polychromed with red, white, blue and

black horizontal lines. Crescent-shaped openings are above the circular eye rings. Central nose crest is painted red and terminates in a loop. Below is a horizontal slit for a mouth. Characteristic white patch is above the nose crest. Black border frames the mask.

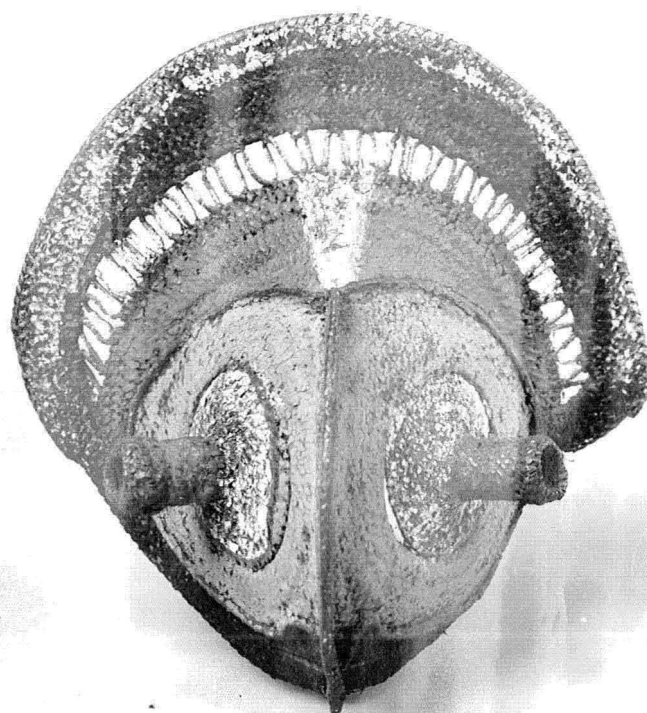


Plate III Ceremonial Yam Mask

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.152
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Length: 24.2 cm. (9 1/2 in.)
Width: 23.5 cm. (9 1/4 in.)
Height: 14 cm. (5 1/2 in.)

- G) Materials: Rattan, yellow, red, white and black pigments
- H) Description: Woven rattan mask is characterized by an anthropomorphic face built up of flat, yellow sections with circular, white eye planes and long, cylindrical, red protruberances in the centre. Separating the planes is a central nose crest which terminates in a loop. Below, is a horizontal slit for the mouth. Characteristic white patch is above the nose crest. Superstructure of red, white and black colours frames the upper section of the mask in imitation of a head ornament.

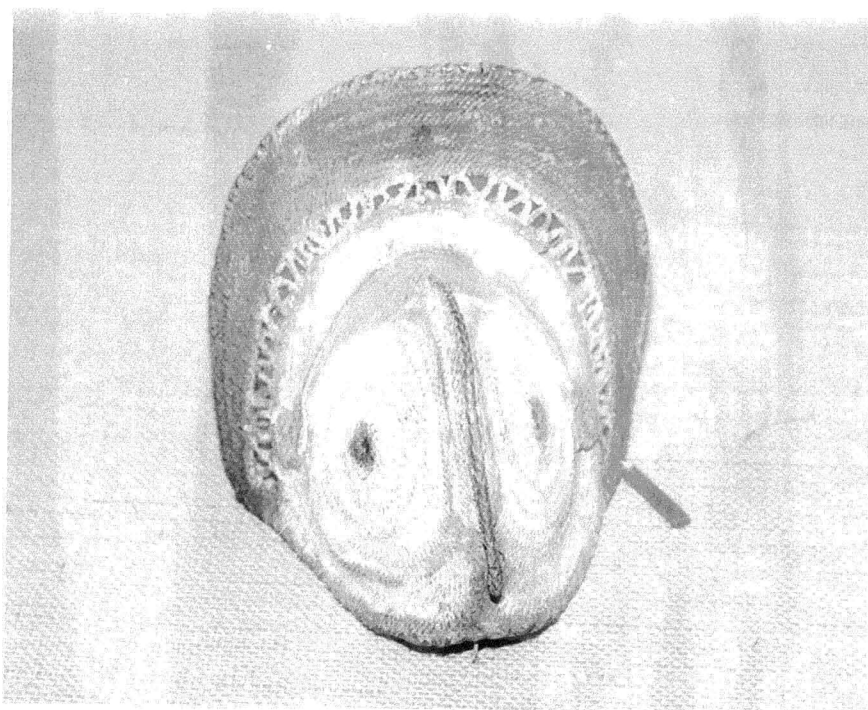


Plate 112 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.153
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Length: 19.1 cm. (7½ in.)
 Width: 16 cm. (6½ in.)
 Height: 14 cm. (5½ in.)
- G) Materials: Rattan, white, red, brown and black pigments.

H) Description: Woven rattan mask is characterized by an anthropomorphic face built up of white, concentric circles separated by a high central nose crest which terminates in a loop. A raised brown rib curves around the top of the face and terminates at either side in perforated woven disks. A wide border at the top curves at right angles to the face and is coloured in white, red and black.

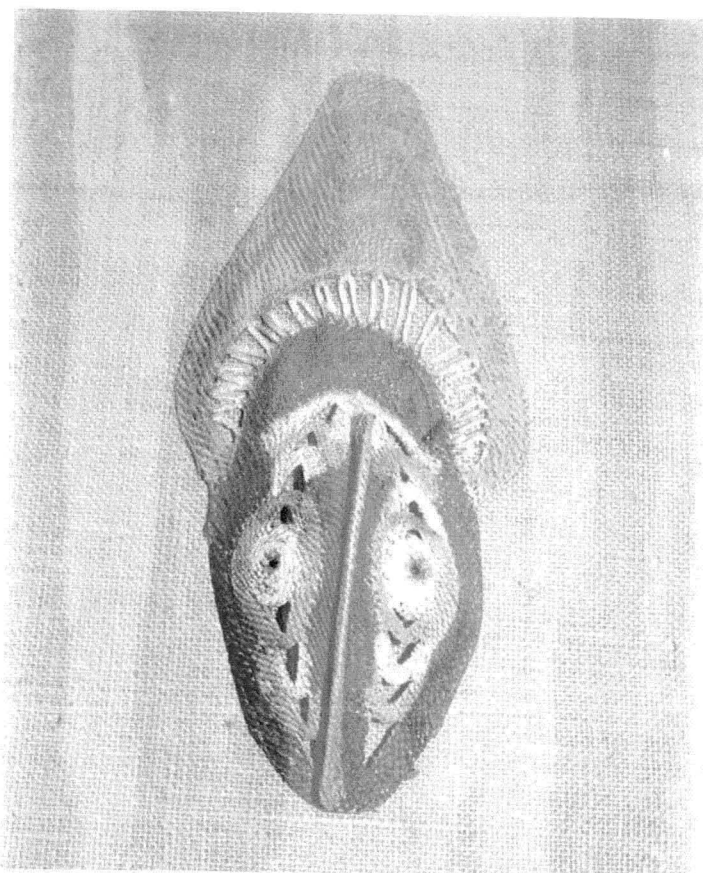


Plate 113 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.154
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1969
- E) Collectors: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Length: 37.2 cm. (14 3/8 in.)
Width: 16 cm. (6 1/4 in.)
- G) Materials: Rattan, white and black pigments

H) Description: Woven rattan mask is characterized by an anthropomorphic face built up of concentric circular eye rings separated by a central nose crest which terminates in a loop. Below is a tiny opening for the mouth. A high superstructure with an openwork lower section surmounts the mask. Black and white pigments alternate with the natural colour of the rattan fibre.



Plate 114 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.155
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1969
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Length: 38.2 cm. (15 in.)
Width: 43.3 cm. (17 in.)
- G) Materials: Rattan, white, red, yellow and black pigments,
cassowary feathers, white downy feathers, wood and
bark fibres

H) Description: Woven rattan mask is characterized by an anthropomorphic face built up of bulging, circular eyes separated by a central nose crest which terminates in a loop. Below is a protruding opening for the mouth. Concentric circles are painted in white, red, yellow and bordered in black. The characteristic triangular patch above the nose crest is accented by contrasting white and black colours. A wide black border at the top of the face is surmounted by an elaborated headdress of black cassowary feathers and a strip of white downy feathers. The structure is in imitation of headdresses that decorate modelled skulls of revered ancestors.

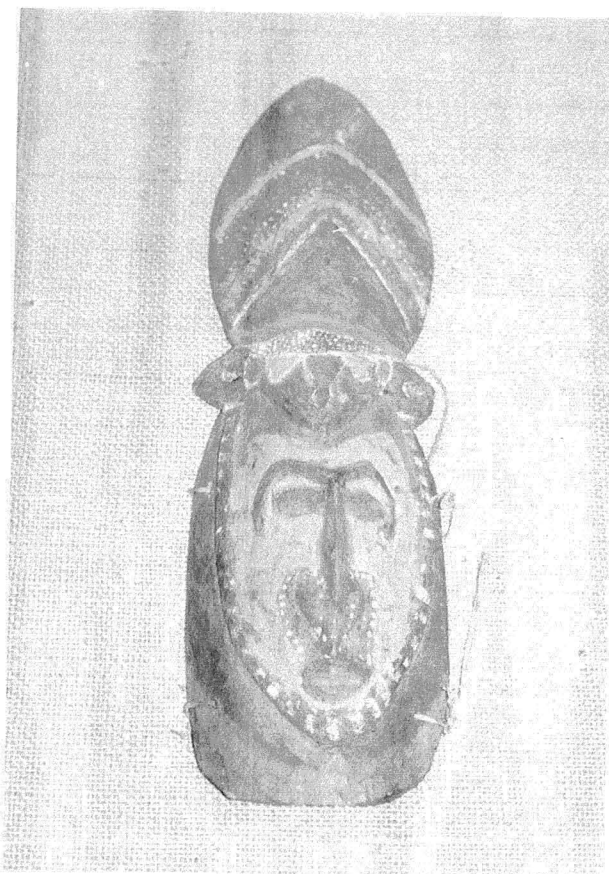


Plate 115 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.163
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Length: 36 cm. (14 1/8 in.)
Width: 10.2 cm. (4 in.)
- G) Materials: Wood, yellow, red, black and white pigments, and dried grass fibre

H) Description: Small carving is characterized by an oval-shaped anthropomorphic face built up of T-shaped facial features outlined in black and emphasized with white dots around the lower section of the face. The characteristic black triangle on the forehead is carved in low relief. The facial planes are typically coloured yellow. An oval-shaped headdress is decorated with an inverted V in multiple lines painted black, white, red and yellow on a red background. Two perforated triangles are at the sides just below the headdress. This mask follows the prescribed style of design and colouring which characterizes Abelam face-painting.

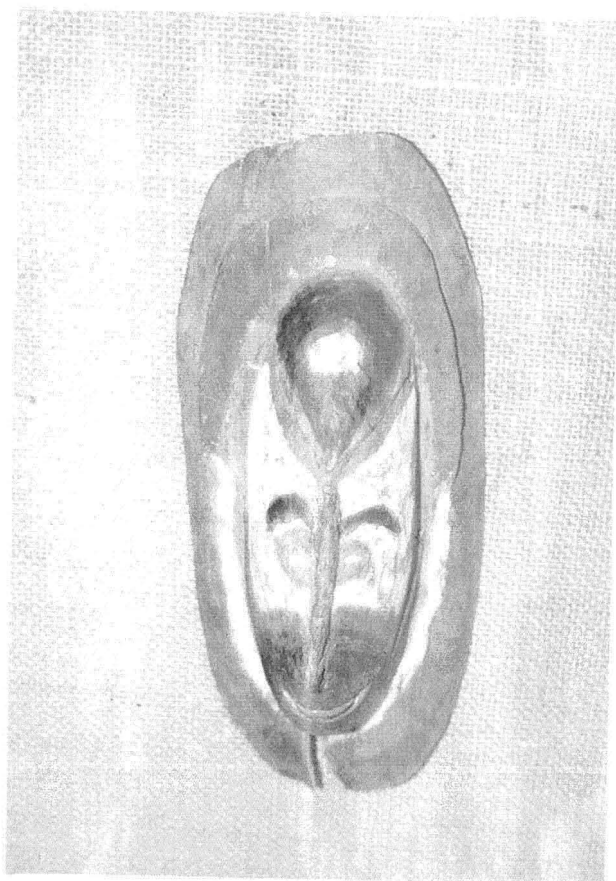


Plate 116 Ceremonial Yam Mask

- A) Provenience: South Wasora, Maprik (Identification by Forge 1974:
private communication)
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.160
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1969
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Length: 24.5 cm. (9 5/8 in.)
- G) Materials: Wood, red, black, white and yellow pigment

H) Description: Oval shaped mask is carved from wood and is decorated in a crude imitation of ancestor sculpture face painting. Facial features are crudely incised except for the extremely long nose which is in low relief. Instead of the characteristic yellow of the facial planes, this mask is polychromed with white and the lower section in black. The almost ubiquitous black triangle forehead crest is present here in relief and decorated with a white patch in the centre. A red and black border frame the face. The back is splintered, crudely carved and unpainted.



Plate 117 Babatagwa Mask

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.207
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1969
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Height: 43.2 cm. (17 in.)
Diameter at base: 38.1 cm. (15 in.)

- G) Materials: Rattan, mustard, red, white and black pigment,
and grass fibre
- H) Description: The large globular, woven rattan mask is characterized
by an abstract face polychromed in red, mustard,
white and black. Bulging dome-shaped eyes with a crescent-shaped opening
below and above are placed in the centre of circular planes which are
separated by an elaborate and open-work crest 5 cm. high. The mask is topped
by an intricately designed tiara-like headdress threaded with a thick piece
of grass fibre. Triangles in alternating colours of white, mustard and red
decorate the facial planes. Horn-like openings are situated at the mouth and
at the sides of the mask perhaps to simulate ears. The base of the baba-mask is
coloured in collage of the four pigments.

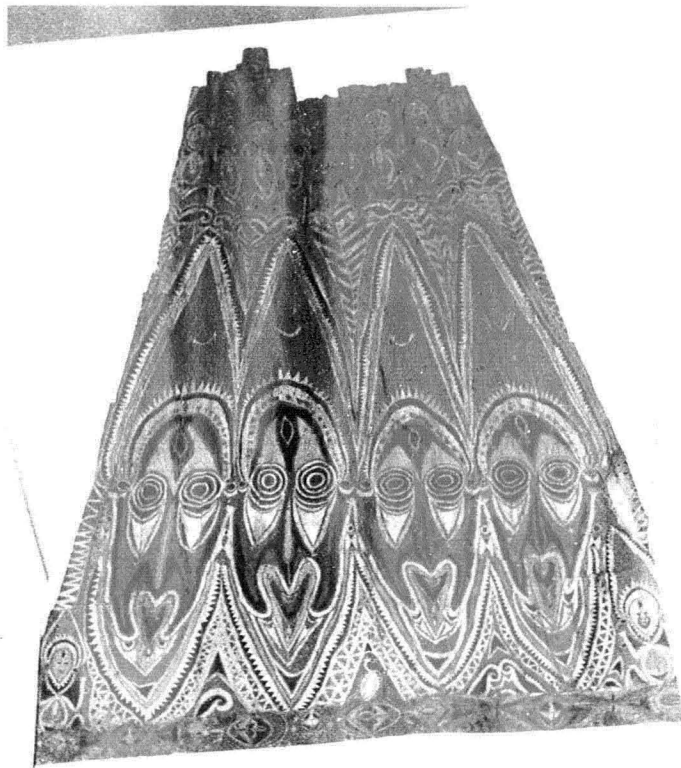


Plate 118 Frontal Façade of Abelam

Tambaran Haus

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: Not available
- C) Institute: Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde
München, Germany
- D) Date: Not available
- E) Collector: Not available
- F) Dimensions: Height: 7.50 m.
Width: 6.70 m.

- G) Materials: Sago spathe panels, wood, and white, yellow, orange-red, and black pigments
- H) Description: Façade of cult house is triangular in shape and consists of several decorative divisions. The top of the facade is decorated with a horizontal band of stylized 'hocker' figures. Below the band are painted four enormous nggwalndu faces - the most important of the ancestral spirits. Augmenting the painted designs is a wooden beam horizontally placed at the lower end of the sago sheets. The beam is decorated with carved heads. All the designs are painted in the traditional white, yellow, orange-red and black pigments.

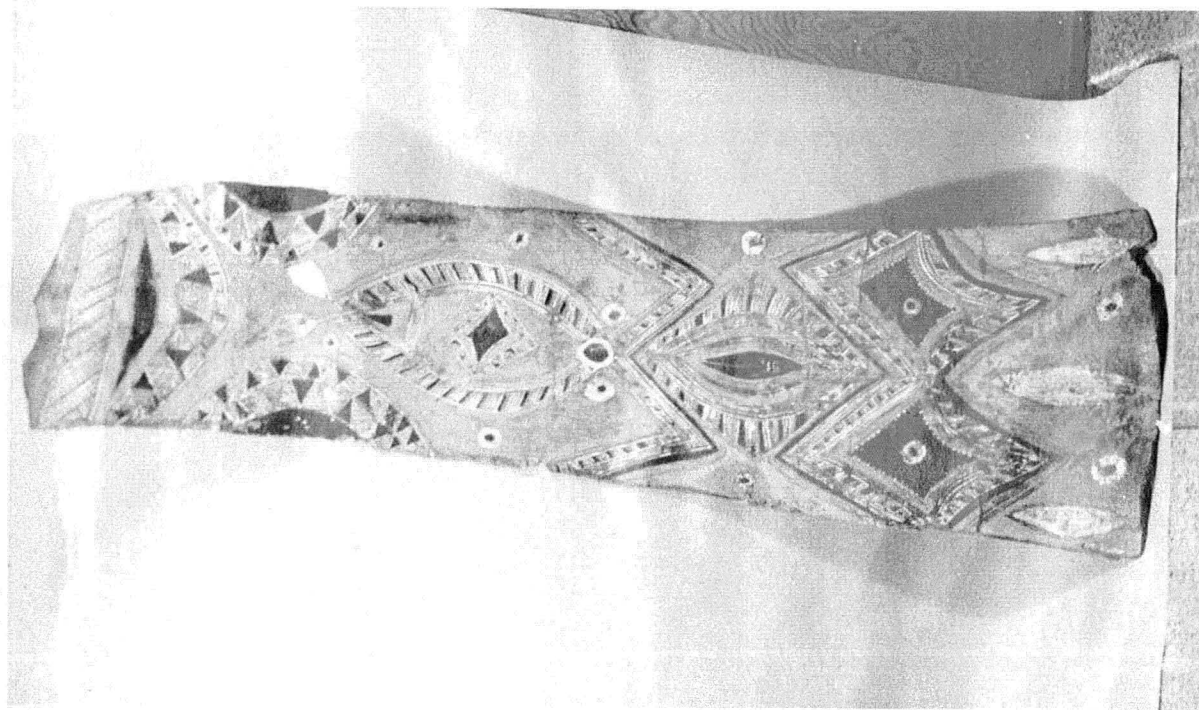


Plate-119 Sago Spathe Painting

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.276
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Length: 152 cm. (59 3/4 in.)
Width: 46.3 cm. (18 1/4 in.)
- G) Materials: Sago spathe, orange-red, yellow, white and black pigments.

H) Description: Oblong-shaped sago panel is decorated with a 'hocker' figure, white circles and ovals, white cross-hatching and 'wut' triangle fillings, all polychromed in black, yellow, and white on an orange-red background.

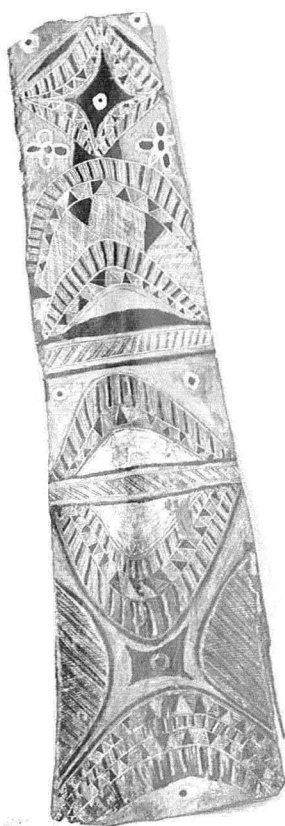


Plate 120 Sago Spathe Painting

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience: Maprik (Identification by writer)
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.310
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Not available
- G) Material: Sago spathe, orange-red, yellow, black and white pigment
- H) Description: Oblong-shaped sago panel is decorated by white circles, crescent-shaped ovals, and cross-hatching, black triangles, 'wut' bag

filling and other geometric motifs painted black, yellow and white on an orange-red background.



Plate 121 Sago Spathe Painting

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 213
- C) Institute: Isaacs Gallery
- D) Date: Exhibition date: Spring, 1975
- E) Collector: Paul Ryan
- F) Dimensions: Not available
- G) Material: Sago spathe, blue, green, red, yellow and white pigments
- H) Description: Oblong-shaped sago panel is decorated

with a 'hocker' figure, polychrome cross-hatching, wut bag filling and other motifs in green, red, yellow and white polychromy on a blue background. The head is represented by an imitation head ornament. Note the chest ornament with cowrie-shell design pattern which is in imitation of the ornamentation worn in real life. Use of alien colours such as green and blue, is an indication that it was produced with the use of European paints.

Asking price at Isaacs Gallery: \$200.00.

Plate 122 Abelam Wood Sculpture

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 80.0 6631
- C) Institute: American Museum of Natural History
- D) Date: Collected in 1933
- E) Collector: Margaret Mead
- F) Materials: Wood, and red, white, yellow and black pigment
- G) Description: Three-dimensional, free-standing, male figure carved in rounded and invariably convex shapes defining the predominantly oval structural forms which build up the sculpture. Large oval shaped head is hunched down on an oval torso framed by attenuated arms curving in an arabesque across the shoulders and resting above the groin. Phallus is clearly indicated and points down. The face is characterized by the basic T-shape design typical of sculptural facial forms. Reminiscent of ceremonial masks and flat paintings are the chest ornament; the linear facial designs outlined with white dots; the triangular wut bag design; and white, yellow, red and black polychromy.

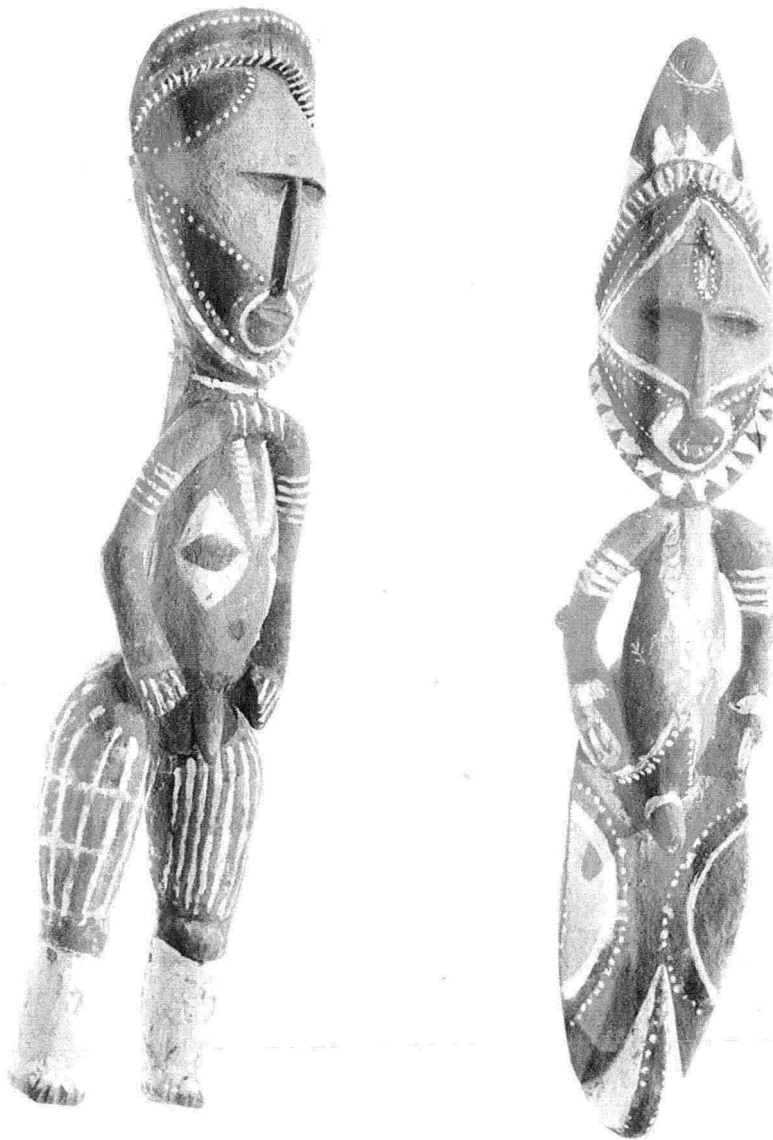


Plate 122 and 123

Photo: Courtesy of The American Museum
of Natural History

Plate 123 Abelam Wood Sculpture

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 80.0 6643
- C) Institute: American Museum of Natural History
- D) Date: Collected in 1933
- E) Collector: Margaret Mead
- F) Materials: Wood, and red, yellow, white and black pigment
- G) Description: Three-dimensional, male, hook figure is carved in predominantly ovate structural forms. The large oval-shaped head rests on the ovate trunk which merges with an oval shaped plaque, concave and terminating in a hook. The hook resembles the zoomorphic heads which are placed between the legs and and look up towards the phallus. The principle stylistic features consists of the T-shaped facial features; the black oval form on the forehead; surface areas outlined in white lines and dots; the triangular wut bag pattern; the familiar chest ornament; and the red, white, yellow and black polychromy.



Plate 124 Abelam Wood Sculpture

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenance: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 958.117.8
- C) Institution: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Museum acquisition date: 1958
- E) Collector: Anonymous
- F) Dimensions: Unavailable
- G) Material: Wood, and red, white, yellow and black polychromy

H) Description: The three-dimensional, male figure is carved in predominantly ovate structural forms. The large oval-shaped head is hunched down on an oval trunk which is framed by curving arms with the hands resting on the groin. Legs are characteristically bent and rest on a hook. The phallus is long, and points down. The principle stylistic features consist of the T-shaped facial features; the black triangular design on the forehead; surface areas outlined in white lines and dots; the triangular 'wut' bag patterns; the omnipresent chest ornament; and the red, white, yellow and black polychromy.



Plate 125 Sacred Wood Sculpture

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 37
- C) Institute: Isaacs Gallery
- D) Date: Exhibition date: Spring, 1975
- E) Collector: Paul Ryan
- G) Material: Wood, and orange-red, yellow, black and white pigment.
- H) Description: Three-dimensional, free-standing male figure is carved in predominantly ovate-shaped forms which define the head, torso, and the curving arms and legs. The figure is fused with two birds perched on the

head and a snake between the feet, facing up to the phallus which hangs straight down just above the snake. The characteristic stylistic features consist of the T-shaped facial features; the white circle on the forehead; surface areas outlined in white lines and dots; the triangular wut bag patterns; the typical chest ornament; and the red, white, yellow and black polychromy.

Asking price at Isaacs Gallery \$850.00.



Plate 126 Sacred Wood Sculpture

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.197
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Length: 96.5 cm. (3 ft. 2 in.)
- G) Material: Wood, and red, yellow, black and white pigment

H) Description: The three-dimensional, female figure is carved in curved and rounded forms. The principle stylistic features are the fusion of the figure with two hornbills perched on the head and a snake emerging from the vulva; the T-shaped facial features; but here loosely represented; the chest ornament; the cross-hatching and triangular 'wut' bag design; surface areas outlined with white dots; and the white, red, yellow and black polychroming. Conspicuous features are the three oval concave depressions at the sides; the short stylized legs; and the lack of arms.

Plate 127 Coconut Shell Cup

Photo: Courtesy of the American
Museum of Natural History

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 80.0 6192
- C) Institute: American Museum of Natural History
- D) Date: Collected in 1933
- E) Collector: Margaret Mead
- F) Dimensions: Height: 12.7 cm. (5 in.)
- G) Materials: Coconut cup and white and black pigment
- H) Description: Circular, coconut shell cup is engraved with stylized 'hocker' figures and curvilinear and geometric designs on the top three-quarters of the surface area. The engraved areas are filled in with white pigment contrasting with the black background. The bottom quarter of the cup is laquered black.



Plate 127

Plate 128 Coconut Shell Cup

Photo: Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 80.0 6232
- C) Institute: American Museum of Natural History
- D) Date: Collected in 1933
- E) Collector: Margaret Mead
- F) Dimensions: Height: 12 cm. (4 in.)
- G) Material: Coconut shell, and white and black pigment
- H) Description: Circular coconut shell cup is engraved with a series of stylized 'hocker' figures, oval designs and other geometric elements filled in with white pigment contrasting against the lacquered black background.



Plate 128



Plate 129 Clay Bowl

- A) Provenience: Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.174
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Height: 23 cm. (9 in.)
Diameter: 25.3 cm. (10 in.)
- G) Material: Clay, and orange-red, yellow, white and black pigment.



Plate 130 Clay Bowl

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenience: Wosera, Maprik (Identification by Kaufmann 1974: private communication)
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.177
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Height: 22.8 cm. (9 in.)
Diameter: 25.3 cm. (10 in.)



Plate 131 Clay Bowl

Photo: Royal Ontario Museum

- A) Provenance: Wosera, Maprik (Identification by Kaufmann 1974: private communication)
- B) Accession Number: 969.330. 176
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Height: 23 cm. (9 in.)
Diameter: 25.3 cm. (10 in.)
- G) Materials: Clay, orange-red, yellow, white and black pigment
- H) Description: Circular polychrome bowl of fired clay is incised with multiple lines

in curvilinear designs, triangles and pointed notched ovals. The bowl is predominantly orange-red, with yellow and black articulating the ovals, and white applied to some triangles and curvilinear designs.



Plate 132 Abelam Drum

- A) Provenience: Tau, Maprik
- B) Accession Number: 969.330.136
- C) Institute: Royal Ontario Museum
- D) Date: Collected between 1961-1966
- E) Collector: Peter Austin
- F) Dimensions: Length: 75 cm. (29½ in.)
Maximum Diameter: 21.5 cm. (8½ in.)
- G) Materials: Wood, black and red paint

H) Description: Drum is carved into an hour-glass shape. A rectangular shaped, undecorated handle is carved to one side of drum at the waist. Outer surface of drum is decorated with stylized 'hocker' figures carved in low relief. Tympanum is lacking. Drum is coloured red and black.