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From Totemic Space to Cyberspace

Transformations in Sepik River and Aboriginal Australian Myth, Knowledge, and Art

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In many respects, the European gaze over the indigenous peoples of Australia and Melanesia engendered modern anthropology and its early concerns with the essences of human sociality such as totemism, moieties, and gift exchange. Recently, though, there has been little systematic comparison between Aboriginal Australia and the Sepik River of Papua New Guinea. The present chapter redresses this lacuna by discussing "traditional" and "modern" modes of identity, embodiment, and knowledge. I particularly focus on the Eastern Iatmul village of Tambunum, middle Sepik River.

I begin with totemic space, landed personhood, gendered time, and the politics of disclosure. I then turn to tourist art, commercial music, literacy, copyright, acrylic paintings, and the Internet. In this way, I identify continuities between tradition and modernity that, moreover, increasingly express the paradoxes and anxieties of transcultural hybridity and, to paraphrase Clifford (1997), "ex-centric nativism."

Totemic Space and Selves

For Eastern Iatmul, the primordial universe was aquatic. When a procreative wind stirred the waters, dry land surfaced from beneath the waves, which contained the "totemic pit" *(tsagi wangu)*. Ancestor heroes emerged from this chthonic womb and generated the grounded

cosmos through totemic toponymy along various migration "paths" *(yembi)*. Each patrilineal descent group corresponds to specific "paths" of names and a largely contiguous section of the cosmic landscape. But totemism is not solely a collective memory of cosmogony that is inscribed on the landscape, for it is also embodied in the very identities of living people who are named after totemic entities.

As I have recently discussed elsewhere (Silverman 1997a:114–117), Eastern Iatmul totemism *(tsagi)* resembles the Aboriginal dreamtime.[1] Both cosmologies refer to a prehuman era in which anthropomorphic and theriomorphic ancestral beings created the physical and moral landscapes. Both cosmologies have similar themes: onomastic topogenesis, ancestral travel, a landscape of tracks or "strings" (Rose 1992: 52), and spatialized time (e.g., Munn 1969; Williams 1986, chapter 2; Rose 1992; Morphy 1995). But there is an important distinction.

All cosmologies, of course, alter in accordance with the praxis of social life. But the dreamtime seems averred by Aborigines to be a "single, unchanging, timeless source" (Myers 1986:52; cf. Munn 1970: 144; Williams 1986:49–51)—an "everywhen" (Stanner 1956:205). By contrast, Eastern Iatmul rarely envision a fixed cosmos, a distinction that exists on the level of local ideology (see also Silverman 1996:42–45). In the oft-noted conservative worldview of the dreamtime, ultimate stasis underlies apparent historical change (e.g., Stanner 1963: 253–254; Maddock 1972; Morton 1989:289–292). Eastern Iatmul, however, view their cosmology in terms of pluralism, disjunction, and contradiction. Hence, the totemic position of Europeans was less of a conceptual puzzle than it was for the fixed, Aboriginal dreamtime (Sharp 1952; Worsley 1955, 1967).[2]

In Tambunum, the identification between persons and their totemic namesakes is "consubstantial" (Harrison 1990:48). Since names were instantiated at specific places during mythic migrations, persons also identify with topographic features, broader spatiotemporal "paths" across the landscape, and other selves—past, contemporary, future—whose patronymics derive from the same ancestral travels. These totemic, mythic, and spatial identifications instance diffuse or "partible" personhood (Strathern 1988). This way, as Weiner (1991:196–198) argues for Papua New Guinea and Australia, human lives are iterative *and* creative, at once tracing the paths of past beings *and* leaving traces from their own unique movements and actions (see also Wagner 1986:19–23).

Aboriginal Australians also homologize personhood, totemism, and land (e.g., Munn 1970, 1973a, 1973b; Myers 1986; Williams 1986; Morton 1987, 1989; Layton 1995; Morphy 1995). But here, too, there is a key difference. Many Aboriginal cultures "ground" personhood through conception, which is attributed to totemic beings—unborn children, spirit-children, and so on—who inhabit specific locations (Stanner 1965:232; Montagu 1974; Tonkinson 1978; Williams 1986: 31; Morton 1989). In Tambunum, totemic crocodile spirits *(waiwainjiimot)* are said to determine human pregnancy. Although these beings may be associated with specific locations, conception is not similarly spatialized. Instead, the Eastern Iatmul anchor personhood to the landscape through patrilineal names and associated totemic "paths." In the Sepik, then, names mediate between identity and the landscape, whereas in Aboriginal Australia personhood is directly tied to the ground. Likewise, the dreamtime is an immediate and omniscient "presence" in Aboriginal life (e.g., Rose 1992:205) while, for Eastern Iatmul, mythic-historic power suffuses the world through names.

For Eastern Iatmul, too, topographic features are important links to the past only insofar as they have totemic names, which themselves embody ancestral potency. For Australian Aborigines, the landscape itself has "spiritual charisma" (Berndt 1984:177; Rose 1992:46; Swain 1993). As a result, the dreamtime is often said to exemplify the ecological "wisdom" of indigenous peoples—a claim that is frequently deployed as a critique of European resource extraction (e.g., Rose 1992; see also Sackett 1991). Eastern Iatmul, however, like the Wola of the Southern Highlands (Sillitoe 1993), are deeply ambivalent about their environment, especially the Sepik River. It is so vast and swift, so powerful and (re)generative, so dangerous and eroding, that its waters will prevail over the detritus of human activity.

Disputed Spaces and Selves

The relationship between identity, cosmology, and totemic "place" is particularly evident in land disputes. Australia, of course, unlike Papua New Guinea, was a "settler" rather than a "conquered" colony. Through the doctrine of *terra nullius* (land inhabited/owned by nobody) and the imposition of English common law on the Aus-

tralian landscape, Aboriginal legal principles were erased outright. However, recent legal challenges and legislative actions have eroded *terra nullius* by affirming native land title as a legally protected "interest" that coexists with common law tenure holdings such as national parks, Crown possessions, and pastoral leases (Tehan 1997; see also Gray 1993; Tully 1994). These include the 1992 High Court decision in *Mabo v. State of Queensland,* 1993 Commonwealth *Native Title Act,* 1996 Wik decision, and the Native Title Amendment Bill of 1998.[3] Australian Aborigines, as they pursue land reclamation, use dreamtime knowledge and mythic cartography to negotiate with the state (see Layton 1995; Whittaker 1994).

In the Sepik, totemic knowledge can also provide a foundation for legal action. But the colonial history of the Sepik, largely a matter of outmigratory labor rather than land alienation, was vastly different from the post-1788 Aboriginal experience. Hence these cases have so far mainly concerned village-level disputes. Here is one example.

In 1988 Tambunum neared completion of a tourist guesthouse. The project was negotiated between Australian entrepreneurs and a group of elder men who are generally recognized to be the legitimate "voice" of the patriclan that claims the guesthouse location. These men also affixed their signatures and other authorial inscriptions onto a legal contract. The legitimacy of this written document, however, was called into question by a junior man who was excluded from the deliberations and contractual agreement. His express goal during the ensuing totemic debate was not material or cash benefits but the mere public acknowledgment that his mythic-historic ancestors created the guesthouse location (Silverman 1997a:103–104).

The guesthouse is built on a point of land named Agumurl, which is an important spatiotemporal node in the mythic history of the Shui Aimasa patriclan. Agumurl, a location that is now defined by the intersection of tourism and totemism, is claimed by the hereditary "father" of the Shui Aimasa patriclan, an aging and erudite man named Agumoimbnage. The phonemic similarity between the names of the man and the place are, in this context, not insignificant. When the junior rival argued that his totemic ancestors created the location and bestowed a different name than Agumurl, he effectively erased Agumoimbnage's totemic identity by denying the existence of this topographic personification.

In scale and urgency, this Eastern Iatmul debate hardly compares

to the mining and logging disputes elsewhere in Papua New Guinea and Australia.[4] Nevertheless, it illustrates a central motif of premodern and contemporary social life in both regions: the relationship between cosmology, topogenesis, and personal identity.

Embodied Cosmos, Gendered Time

Eastern Iatmul and Aboriginal Australians also tie images of the body to their respective cosmologies. In both regions, as Weiner (1995a) elegantly shows for Papuan mythology, embodiment is a mode of thought that intertwines sexuality, space, and movement, often through metaphors of detachment and incorporation that evince Strathern's (1988) notion of cross-sexed or androgynous gender.[5] Cosmological temporality, too, is embodied, especially when mythic and ritual images of masculine stasis are encompassed by feminine dissolution.

For Eastern Iatmul, planting is a reproductive metaphor that transforms female fertility into the masculine realm of totemism and ritual. Mythic histories and genealogies enumerate long lists of locations where male ancestors interchangeably established villages *(ngepma)* and planted trees, especially coconut palms *(tupma)*. This association of male creation with landed social life contrasts with the undifferentiated and aquatic state of the primordial cosmos. Progressive or successive cosmological time, we could say, unfolds as an imposition of masculine structure onto feminine water.

In Tambunum, bones are said to derive from paternal semen, whereas the surrounding soft and fleshy parts of the body gel from maternal blood. The "backbone" of the human skeleton is explicitly likened to patriliny: the spine and pelvis are respectively labeled the "father bone" *(nyait ava)* and the "grandfather bone" *(nggwail ava)*. Together, the compound term *nyai-nggwail* refers to a patriline's totemic ancestors, names, and sacra. Social structure is also vegetative in addition to somatic. Patrilineal groups are imaged as tree trunks, branches, shoots, rhizomes, various types of root systems, and seedlings (see also Bateson 1936:94, 249; Wassmann 1991:72, 179; Rumsey, chapter 4 above). Women, through marriage, birth, and patrilocal residence, are likened to vines that creep between trees, as well as to birds and pollinating butterflies. Here we can clearly see the rela-

tionship between cosmology, embodiment, sexual reproduction, and the "dehiscence and caducity"—the fertile "bursting" and reproductive dropping off of a plant's germinal organs (Weiner 1995a). This way, too, the masculine structure of social life is enveloped by images of the feminine.

Land has multiple cosmological embodiments. As a single-sexed entity, land is a male crocodile spirit. It is also a floating maternal grass island *(agwi)*. But, in some contexts, land is a heterosexual union: a feminine island rests atop a masculine crocodile (Silverman 1996). Land can, however, also be cross-sexed when, as Wassmann (1991:98) notes, the crocodile and island are totemically equivalent. In one ritual, the crocodilian creature brandishes a male canoe paddle and pursues the feminine island, who is pregnant with eggs of dry land, in order to direct and contain her fertility. Male landed creation, in most of these cosmological figurations, is in some manner tied to female fertility.

Yet the things men create—houses, trees, and villages—are continuously threatened by the endless erosion of the female river (Silverman 1997a). In this sense, the alpha and omega of the Eastern Iatmul cosmos is feminine water rather than the masculine word of totemism. As the river flows, it regresses male social time back toward the pretotemic, womblike, aquatic state of the cosmos.[6] What can men do to resist this watery fate? Simply rebuild houses, stage rituals, chant totemic names, and, like their ancestral counterparts, plant trees.

At the beginning of a funerary rite, for example, men erect a patriclan "father tree" *(nyait mi)* outside the cult house. This image symbolizes the androcentric genealogical and totemic continuity of the clan. It opposes the somatic decay of death, which is obliquely associated with femininity. But the masculine "father tree" incorporates a stalk of totemic bamboo, which symbolizes the secret flutes *(wainjiimot)* of the male cult whose ritual utterances, as it were, proclaim men's exclusive control over magical fertility and sociocosmic reproduction. Men, however, purloined the flutes from women in the primal past. The "father tree" is thus androgynous: phallic uterus and uterine phallus. It also defines masculinity in terms of the reproductive powers of the female body. Furthermore, the "father tree" is an arboreal affirmation of masculine stasis amid a feminine river that threatens to encompass male ancestral creation and the illusion of structure in its waters. Yet the feminine ultimately prevails, since the names of the

flute melodies, and the mellifluous sounds themselves, evoke the flow of riverine tides and seasonal floods.

The mythic importance of sexuality, gender, and bodily detachment and incorporation is particularly evident in the myth of sago. The origins of this consummate Sepik repast lay on the body of an old, repulsive woman who plucked fetid boils from her skin and threw them onto the ground. These disembodied sores spawned sago palms. But the pith of these primal trees resisted transformation into edible food until after an act of copulation atop the sago-producing apparatus. Once the genital fluids of heterosexuality dripped into the starchy mixture, humans were able to cook and consume nutritive sago. In local ideation, sago is a preeminent symbol of maternal nurture, the source of vitality for men's bodies and Eastern Iatmul culture. Yet this nourishment derived from an anti-maternal figure and an act of sexuality that otherwise depletes men of their strength and hastens somatic decay. Similarly, male ritual revolves around sacra that were once owned by ancestresses. And men can only oppose but never triumph over the watery dissolution of the river and aquatic time.

The dreamtime also envisions cosmic creation through idioms of gender and everted human sexuality (Munn 1970:153–156; Morton 1989; Rose 1992:42; Morphy 1995:197; Weiner 1995a:54–57). Alimentary images of swallowing and regurgitation are common (Munn 1969; Hiatt 1975), as are notions of arboreal phalli and chthonic wombs (Morton 1987:106). Aboriginal Australians, too, often define masculinity in terms of disembodied female reproductive powers, which are claimed by men and incorporated into their somatic, mythic, and ritual bodies (Hiatt 1971; Morton 1987; Shapiro 1989). But as Morton (1987:115–116) argues, largely after Munn (1970), Aboriginal cosmologies also cycle bodies between various states of being—corporeal and ancestral, female and male, ritual and parturient.

Likewise, Aboriginal cosmologies inscribe androgynous procreation onto the landscape. In the Roper River area, for example, defloration formerly occurred with a ritual boomerang, "its shape so elusively suggestive of both phallus and vagina, each imperceptibly turning into the other as result of the obtuse open curves of the boomerang" (Weiner 1995a:55–56). These androgynous sexual and procreative objects, incorporated within the human body, were also etched with cartographic designs that traced the dreamtime journeys of beings who created the landscape.

Aboriginal cosmological time, much like totemic temporality in the Sepik, juxtaposes masculine land with feminine water, erosion, and undifferentiation (Stanner 1963:270; Myers 1986:52). Indeed, time is embodied. Munn (1969) identifies conceptual linkages between death, menstruation, sexuality, seaward flood waters and inland river tides, and "the alternation between the wet season (swallowing) and the dry season (vomiting)." In the end, as it were, it often appears that the feminine prevails, much as it does in the Sepik. In Yarralin cosmology, where death is likened to a feminine "washing out" (Rose 1992:209), seasonal rains cleanse the maternal earth by "erasing" the traces of temporal events, and vast cycles of cosmological dreamtime floods wash over ordinary temporality with eternity (Rose 1992:217 and chapter 5 above).

Swain (1993:46–48), too, suggests a form of embodied Aboriginal time that is rooted in menstrual and lunar rhythms. Yet I disagree with Swain that Aboriginal ritual foregrounds the body in order to subsume it under the fecundity of place (see also Lattas 1996; Munn 1996). Rather, space and body interpenetrate through a mode of embodied thought wherein, as Weiner (1995a:29) suggests, the prevailing image is of "flows which are contained, halted, or momentarily encapsulated," from which new forms—persons, groups, ancestors—"emerge which swallow, halt, or encapsulate the other ones."

Knowledge Disclosed and Concealed

In Tambunum, the esoteric nature of totemism is maintained by the sheer number of polysyllabic names—estimated by Bateson (1936:222) to be in the tens of thousands—and a highly metaphoric language known only to ritual specialists (Bateson 1932:404, 417; Wassmann 1991:63–67). Semantic complexity is locally understood through a stratigraphic metaphor. Each totemic name actually consists of a "large name" *(numa tsa)* linked to a "little name" *(mak tsa)*. For the most part, Eastern Iatmul are hesitant about uttering the names of other descent groups without express permission. But while most "large names" are nonetheless public knowledge, the public disclosure of "small names" is carefully moderated, since they often embody considerable magical potency.

Public names and knowledge are known as *aiwat nyangiit* or "external speech," while esoterica is *attndasiikiit nyangiit* or "underneath/hidden speech." In this spatial ontology, the surface of knowledge and reality appears to be largely epiphenomenal when compared to the underlying realm of mystical secrets, occult spirits, and hidden relationships between seemingly disconnected totemic entities (see also Bateson 1936:237; Wassmann 1991:222–223; Silverman 1997a:109). On the surface, as Wassmann (1991:169, 171–173) claims, each clan's chants and songs denote a bewildering variety of totems. Yet these outer forms are merely protean "envelopes"—a deceptive "non-reality" (Wassmann 1991:170)—for a small number of elementary primal beings (see also Harrison 1990:56). In the neo-Platonism of Iatmul thought, differences in form often pertain to the world of appearances rather than to the underlying world of totemic essences.[7]

In Tambunum, totemic memory is likened to a basket that, like knowledge itself, exhibits an outer surface that conceals an inner "truth." Indeed, totemic specialists may chant the names of a descent group's ancestral basket *(kumbi)* at the beginning of funerary rites in order "to open" their collective memory, thus ensuring the melodious and unerring "flow" of names during the ceremony (see also Wassmann 1991:65). These metaphors for memory and knowledge resemble somatic images of the body—uterine enclosure, parturient flow, surface and interior, and, in the case of totemic chants, an outward phallic penetration of sonic space that assures the internal fecundity of social groups and female bodies.

A layered conception of names and occult knowledge is common in Papua New Guinea. Each grade of the male cult in Telefolmin, for example, reveals knowledge that calls into question the "doxa" of earlier stages (Jorgensen 1980, 1990a, 1990b). This is similar to the inside/outside arrangement of knowledge in many Australian Aboriginal cultures (e.g., Morphy 1991; Keen 1994), a distinction that is also glossed as subject/object (Munn 1970; Morton 1989), proximal/distal (Munn 1964:97, 1973b), noumenal/phenomenal (Myers 1986:49; Meggitt 1987:120), and Dreaming/"sensory presence" (Myers 1989:168–169).

In many Aboriginal and Melanesian cultures, the epistemic contrast between layers of knowledge is often relational rather than absolute. Any "truth" or conventional meaning is defined in accordance with other "truths" or "facts," some of which may not yet be known but which are anticipated to exist in the very structure of knowledge itself.

New stories continuously encompass—or "swallow," to invoke Weiner—former myths and ritual secrets. Bodies of knowledge have transforming, procreative contours, such that any disclosure can be only partial since "the supremely creative act" (Weiner 1995b:6) is to reveal ruptures in social life rather than to forge continuous and cumulative descriptive narratives.

Writing, Knowledge, and Artistic Innovation

Next, I shift from localized realms of identity and knowledge to the broader spacetime of modernity and its transcultural encounters. I begin with literacy, which, as discussed by Gewertz and Errington (1991, chapter 5) and Kulick and Stroud (1990), is a "modern" practice in the Sepik that is nonetheless unable to write over the traditional politics of knowledge.

In Tambunum, reading is a source of cultural instauration through books such as Mead's *Letters from the Field* and Bateson's *Naven*. Writing is understood to entail a sense of permanence and authority that is lacking in oral modes of knowledge and memory. In an ongoing land dispute with another village, for example, Eastern Iatmul introduced into the court a letter written by Mead in the 1960s as formal "evidence." Literacy is also linked to national educational goals and thus citizenship in the nation-state. But while there are no efforts to thwart the literate preservation of magic, genealogies, and names, these inscriptions can prove contentious when the written—hence, durable—document is understood to be a potential form of public memory that could silence rival claims to, say, totemic prestige. In part, this accounts for the dispute over the guesthouse contract already discussed and, for that matter, the "accuracy" of my own ethnographic writings.

Literacy is not restricted solely to alphanumeric writing. Broader instances of "graphicalization" (O'Hanlon 1995) are particularly evident on what, for heuristic purposes, I call tourist art. Both traditional and touristic motifs evoke general, often ambiguous, cultural themes—layers of meanings, as it were—rather than specific denotata. But contemporary art often incorporates words and graphic marks that have a narrower range of meanings. For example, young men in 1994 dipped their hands into paint and imprinted bodily signatures throughout the interior of a new men's house in Timbunke, the elder-brother

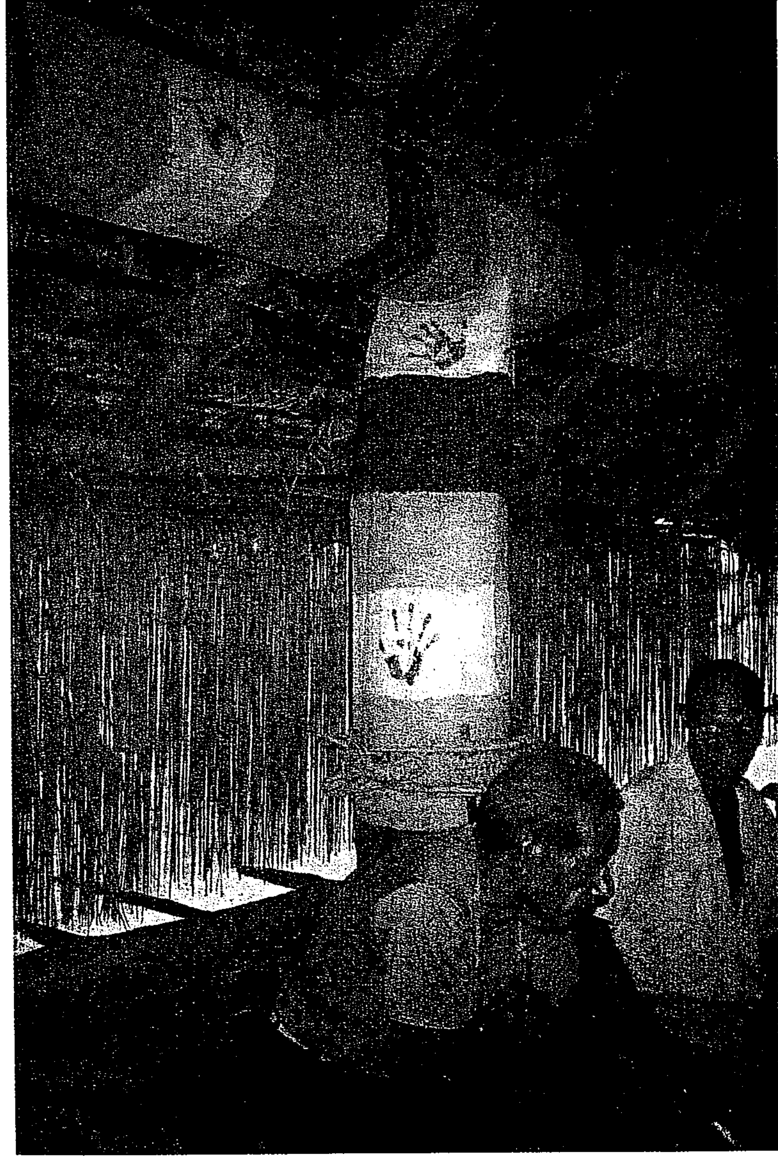

Figure 9-1. Sepik River men's house. (Photograph courtesy of author)

village of Tambunum (figure 9-1). Elder men attributed these graphic designs to a wider shift in the aspirations and outlook on the part of their juniors. As such, these decorative motifs seemed to express an emergent yet muted sense of individuality. Previously, cult house ornamentation evoked the totemic and mythic patrimony of descent groups. Yet these graphical inscriptions connoted anonymity *and* unique, bounded selfhood.

Literate and graphic inscriptions on Iatmul tourist art often express (post)colonial regional and national identities (Silverman 1999). Women weave "PS" into their baskets, an acronym for the Melanesian Pidgin (Tok Pisin) phrase "Pikinini Sepik" or "Child of the Sepik." Men craft variations of the national emblem, beneath which they often engrave biblical slogans. This way, tourist art uses literacy to denote citizenship, regionalism, and Christianity. Commercial recordings of popular music, too, often express regional ethnicity and a Christian sense of national identity (Webb 1993a).

Eastern Iatmul also inscribe their baptismal names on tourist works that, unlike totemic monikers, betoken "modern" individuality. As readers, too, no less than as writers, Eastern Iatmul express egocentric personhood when they browse art catalogs published by museums, galleries, and tourist agencies in the pursuit of novel and individualized artistic innovation. This way, a long-forgotten mask style, when espied in a museum guide, reappeared in the village repertoire, now in the context of tourism. The cultural instauration of tourist art through literate practices thus poses interesting questions about authenticity (see Steiner 1994; Silverman 1997b).

An elegant testimony to transnational routing in the Sepik can be seen in the two T-shirt designs drawn by village men.[8] In the first design (figure 9-2), carvers in Tambunum are "diwai man," a phrase that, in its literal translation as "wood men," ties contemporary Eastern Iatmul identity to literacy, the Tok Pisin lingua franca, and tourist art. The latter is also evident, in embodied crocodilian form that recalls the local cosmology, on the second design (figure 9-3), where a crocodile, appropriately clad in a woven *laplap*, grasps premodern carving tools affixed with steel blades. On second reflection, the literate phrase "wood men" evokes totemic polysemy through subtle reference to the arboreal symbolism of patriliny and male bodies (see above). These T-shirts, then, signify hybrid identity by juxtaposing a totemic tradition and a literate modernity.

There are many similarities between Eastern Iatmul tourist art and Aboriginal acrylic paintings. Both, for example, emphasize individual innovation and style (Myers 1989:183–184). Yet there are also key difference. Yirrkala artists, when they model their bark paintings after book reproductions, are drawn to "works by men who have gained repute" (Williams 1976:281). Sepik carvers, however, do not have widespread reputations, since the connoisseur's gaze neglects tourist art.[9] Second, while Yirrkala people have learned from missionaries that Euro-Australians desire paintings that "have a story" (Williams 1976:

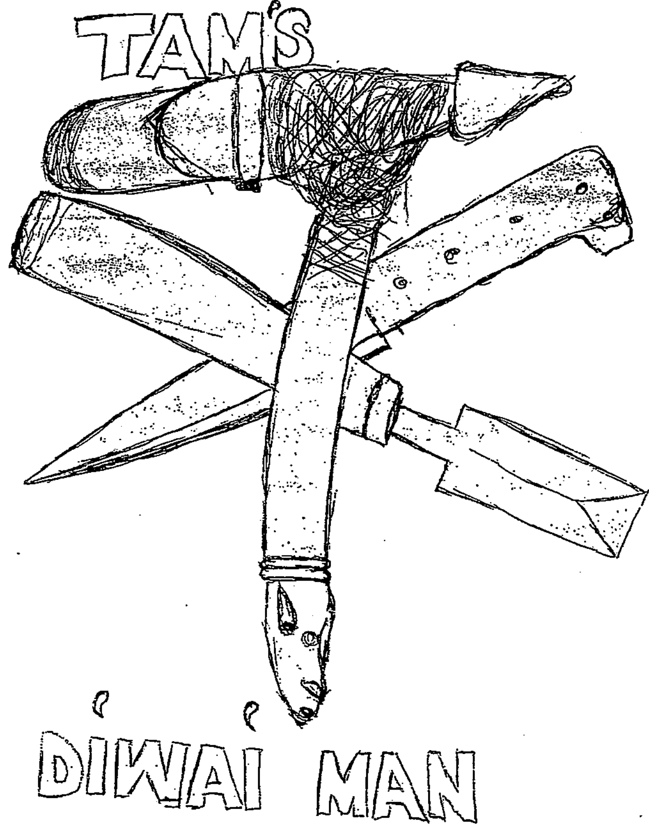

Figure 9-2. Tam's Diwai Man. (Drawing by Simon Nagu. Reproduced with permission)

277), no set of cross-cultural aesthetic criteria has emerged for Sepik tourist art. Third, Yirrkala people restrict the use of reproductions as templates for new paintings to kin groups in accordance with custodial rights over myth (Williams 1976:281). Yet, for Eastern Iatmul, artistic form is subordinated by totemic name, and thus different groups rarely

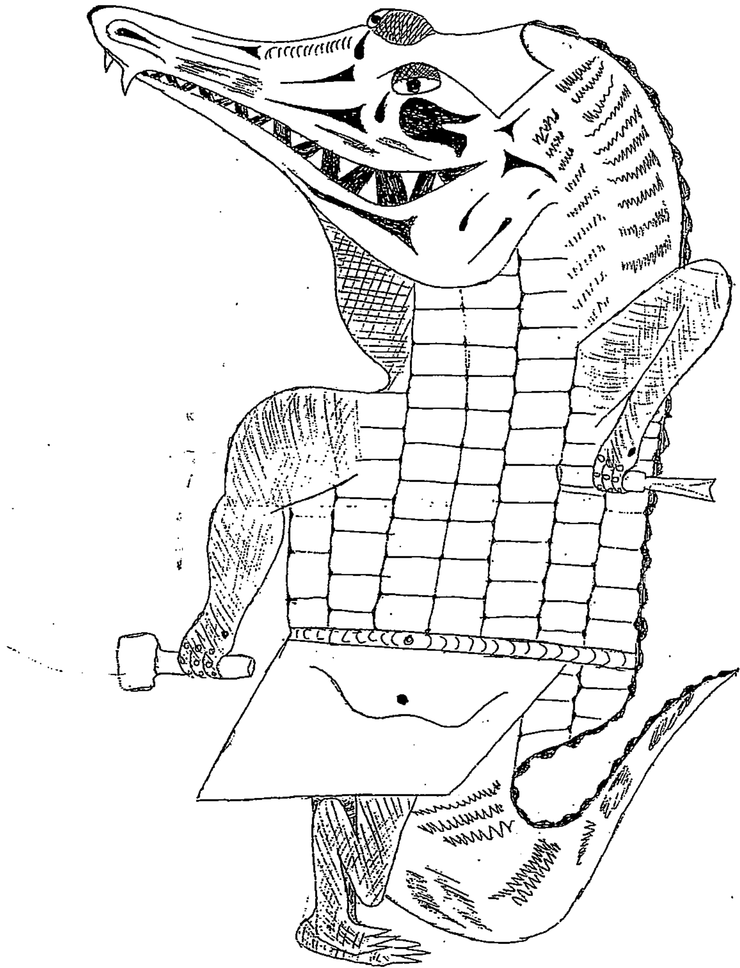

Figure 9-3. Crocodile in *laplap*. (Drawing by Simon Nagu. Reproduced with permission)

compete for rights to carve the "same" objects. Finally, some Aboriginal communities also restrict reproductive rights over paintings of nocturnal dreams (Price-Williams and Gaines 1994:384; Kimber 1995). But this, too, does not occur in Tambunum, where nearly everybody seems to carve a popular mask that derived from one man's oneiric imagery in the 1970s.[10] Non-urban Aboriginal artists tend to paint over the disjunctions and accoutrements of modernity. "Despite the fact of living in such close proximity to the dominant white world . . . Pintupi painting is remarkable in that it incorporates very little of the immediate world that is shaping their lives" (Myers 1989:165; Williams 1976:283). Conversely, Sepik River dwellers have enthusiastically integrated endogenous motifs into their art. In the early twentieth century, crucifixions and Kaiser Wilhelm were incised in the Upper Sepik on bamboo containers (Abramson 1976). Similarly, Iatmul often display European plates instead of shells on funerary effigies and spirit costumes (Bateson 1936, plate 27; Silverman 1999). These incorporations recall the prevalence of bodily encompassment in the local cosmology, no less the subordination of form to name, and Mead's (1970:20) comment that Iatmul villages have "an absorptive and retentive ability in excess of their powers of integration."

I have suggested that, while Eastern Iatmul tourist carvings retain aesthetic ambiguity, they also display a semantic shift toward specificity through literacy, "graphicalization," and onomastic and stylistic signatures. In Pintupi painting, by contrast, increased regularity in the distribution of design elements, a response to Western notions of "beauty," corresponds to "a reduction in overt semanticity" (Myers 1989:185). Nevertheless, Pintupi paintings continue to refer to dreamtime locations, which is an important aesthetic criterion both for the artists as "truth" and for Western connoisseurs as authenticity. In a sense, then, Pintupi paintings represent an aesthetics of miscommunication between local artist and European viewer.

Similarly, Dunbar-Hall (1997) argues that the Western appreciation of Aboriginal rock music focuses on individual songs. But each album/CD as a whole is a unit of meaning that is unable to be "heard" in the absence of knowledge about local groupings and the vernacular.[11] In this sense, contemporary Aboriginal music resembles yet "sounds" against the dominant aesthetic. Likewise, Biddle (1996) argues that *kuruwarri* motifs in Warlpiri acrylic paintings are a form of "redressive writing" rather than protoliteracy (Munn 1973a). They ensure

"against an undifferentiated writing subject" (Biddle 1996:26), which is assumed by European-style literacy. Furthermore, "the writing of *kuruwarri* may be having as silencing an effect on Europeans as print literacy has had on Aborigines" (Biddle 1996:30). If Eastern Iatmul write literacy on tourist art in order to incorporate modernity, Warlpiri "write" anti-literacy on acrylic paintings in order to resist modernity.[12]

Copyrighting Art, Controlling Knowledge

The control of "traditional" knowledge in the context of "modernity" is not, for Papua New Guineans and Aboriginal Australians, simply a matter of writing. In Papua New Guinea, the question of legal copyright has been posed mainly for commercial recordings of music and songs (Niles 1996). This extends to the use of localized instruments such as bamboo beaters by musicians from other regions of the country (Niles 1996:52). But if the political and legal apparatus of Papua New Guinea has displayed limited explicit concern with visual art,[13] jural entitlement to motifs and forms is salient on the local level. Many men in Tambunum draw on the aesthetic traditions of non-Iatmul and even non-Sepik cultures in order to create novel carvings (Silverman 1999). In most cases, geographic distance militates against any potential dispute. One man, however, requested and received express permission from non-Iatmul (Biwat River) affines to reproduce their characteristic masks for tourists. Within the village, "copyright" infringement occasionally occurs when someone carves and sells a mythic-historic personage from another group. But these disputes, which are unceremoniously resolved by cash remuneration, are infrequent, since names rather than visual forms generally differentiate between totemic beings.

In Australia, the legal status of Aboriginal art under copyright law is a crucial and ongoing quandary. The non-Aboriginal dissemination and commercialization of Aboriginal artistic styles is accelerating and hugely profitable (Puri 1992:5). "Mechanical reproduction," to use Walter Benjamin's felicitous phrase, now includes the World Wide Web. For some, Aboriginal control over this traffic in images will enable economic autonomy and curb the "trivialization" of local cultures (e.g., Golvan 1992a). For others, though, any public dissemination of Aboriginal art is tantamount to religious ethnocide.[14]

The legal debate over the status of Aboriginal and Aboriginal-like

images is tied to the wider dispute over land. Formerly, a sense of aesthetic *terra nullius* prevailed. Aboriginal art was timeless and anonymous. Artists were "conduits" for tradition rather than "fonts" of creativity. Consequently, Aboriginal art and artists did not meet the requisite notions of psychology, personhood, and originality that were the basis for Western copyright law (Sherman 1994). The *Mabo* decision, however, suggested the legal recognition of Aboriginal forms of intellectual "property" (see Puri 1993; Pannell 1994). Nevertheless, common law protection of Aboriginal art and knowledge will require modification of existing concepts that are central to copyright law—e.g., ownership, authorship, originality (Puri 1993), universality, and Enlightenment rationality (Gray 1995)—or comprehensive *sui generis* legislation (Blakeney 1995).[15]

The application of Australian copyright law to Aboriginal art is the result of several noted legal cases (see also Maddock 1988; Golvan 1992a, 1992b; Onus 1990a; Puri 1992:6–7; Johnson 1996).[16] In *Bulun Bulun v. Nejlam Pty Ltd.*, Johnny Bulun Bulun sought injunction against further reproduction and distribution of T-shirts that bore the unapproved reproduction of one of his paintings. Although the case was settled out of court, "unauthorised reproductions of authentic Aboriginal designs on garments, which had been endemic in 1988, ceased to be found in tourist shops" (Golvan 1992a:6). But if the right to reproduce "authentic" Aboriginal images for external consumption was henceforth authenticated by Australian law, ironically, "most tourist shops today are replete with examples of T-shirt designs which may appear to be works of Aboriginal art, but are in fact caricatures of such—namely, the x-ray koala!" (Golvan 1992a:6).[17]

Bulun Bulun's deposition cited the close relationship between art, "custom," and the land (Golvan 1992a:5). In fact, both traditional and contemporary Aboriginal artworks, visual and musical, are often categorized by Aborigines and non-Aborigines as the equivalent of legal deeds to land (Moyle 1983; Craig 1984; Megaw 1990; Pannell 1994). A famous example is the bark petition sent to the House of Representatives in 1963 by Yolngu of Yirrkala. The vernacular text and English translation are bordered by clan-specific designs that pertain to land that was threatened by mining operations. As Morphy (1983:115) writes:

> The genius of the bark petition was that it introduced an Aboriginal symbol into Parliamentary discourse, making it harder for Europeans to respond in terms of their own cultural precedents. Peti-

> tions framed in parliamentary language can be dealt with through parliamentary procedures. Petitions framed with bark paintings add a new element.

It was an element, too, as Morphy notes, "likely to be taken up by the media." Here, the public dissemination of "traditional" art, despite the "modern" context, was an intentional strategy that ensured an "authentic" continuity between persons and land.

Another prominent pre-*Mabo* copyright case was *Yumbulul v. Reserve Bank of Australia* (1991). This dispute centered on the reproduction of Terry Dhurritjini Yumbulul's funerary Morning Star Pole on the plastic 1988 bicentennial commemorative ten-dollar banknote. The Galpu descent group granted Yumbulul "traditional" rights to craft and paint one of these ceremonial objects, which he sold to the Australian Museum for public display. He also licensed reproduction rights to the Aboriginal Artists Agency, which was subsequently purchased by the Reserve Bank of Australia and depicted on the commemorative note. The local descent group censured Yumbulul for exceeding custodial rights over the design and for besmirching its sacred ethos with commercial rather than educational enterprise. As a result, Yumbulul brought suit against the Agency and Reserve Bank for copyright infringement, alleging that he would not have entered into the licensing agreements had he been counseled fully on the contractual implications. The court, in ruling for the defendants, judged Yumbulul's design to be sufficiently "original" for him to be its legal owner and thus fully entitled to enter into commercial licensing agreements —which, having done so, he was bound to honor. Furthermore, the court was unable to recognize the other traditional custodians of the design as rightful owners.

In this case, the courts evaded the issue of copyright. But as Golvan (1992a:6) noted, the court "was concerned that the traditional Aboriginal rights attaching to the reproduction of the art work were not protected under existing law." Golvan (1992a:7, 1992b) proposed "the creation of a right attaching to a tribe as represented by the relevant tribal custodians, being rights which might sit alongside the individual rights of artists." After *Mabo*, Golvan's suggestion gained legal currency. As a footnote to this case, Yumbulul's painted designs are now sold over the Internet on T-shirts.[18] The Web site, however, makes no mention of the Morning Star Pole controversy.

Authenticity and the World Wide Web

Many "urban" Aboriginal artists define themselves on the basis of a diffuse sense of Aboriginality. They "use imagery to which they had no right under traditional Aboriginal customary law; they felt that it was sufficient that they were Aborigines" (Ellinson 1994: 341; see also Rowse 1993, chapter 4). While this aesthetic hybridity violates a basic tenet of localized Aboriginal identity (Foley 1990; Croft 1990), it also betokens a wider sense of emergent Aboriginality that claims "ownership" over an otherwise enervating history of dislocation (Onus 1990b; Scott-Mundine 1990; Anderson 1990a; see also Fourmile 1994). This debate over identity recalls the "unauthorized" borrowing of traditional instruments across provinces in Papua New Guinea, and intersects with broader notions of cultural authenticity.

The relationship between cultural hybridity and the politics of cultural assertion is nicely framed by three recent musical events. *Tabaran* is a popular musical CD collaboration between the Melbourne band Not Drowning, Waving and musicians from Rabaul. The project, according to Webb (1993b), explicitly embraces the market allure of Tolai exoticism. Yet it also seeks to "instruct" listeners about an unfamiliar language, culture and musical tradition.[19] A similar combination of commercialism, didacticism, and self-representation also surrounded the reception of the popular Aboriginal group Yothu Yindi, which was "a strong indigenous Australian challenge to the appropriation of the didgeridoo by British and European World Music fusion groups" (Mitchell 1992:11). Yet these musical voices, too, both accede to hegemonic images of Otherness (and pan-Australian identity) yet define an authentic Aboriginal alterity (see Mitchell 1996, chapter 5). Indeed, Yothu Yindi's Web site[20] maintains links to sources of "authentic" Aboriginal culture and the Rainforest Action Network, while striving for indigenous autonomy. But it also sells Yidakis (didgeridoos) and painted "fine art prints."

For the most part, artistic forms from Papua New Guinea have not, like the didgeridoo (see Nuenfeldt 1993, 1997), been expropriated by the New Age movement. Nor have they been widely integrated in "alternative" musical works that seek to de-center dominant Euro-American genres. An important exception is *Voices of the Rainforest,* a 1991 CD/cassette issued by Rykodisc that records music and ambient

sounds from the Kaluli of Bosavi. This compact disc, the first devoted entirely to indigenous Papua New Guinean music, is part of the long-standing collaboration between Steven Feld, an anthropologist and ethnomusicologist whose work is doubtless known to readers of this volume, and Mickey Hart, a drummer of the former Grateful Dead. *Voices of the Rainforest* portrays an "acoustic ecology" that no longer exists for Kaluli, one devoid of the sonic encroachment of "modernity." But, according to Feld (1991), this seemingly "inauthentic" soundscape is increasingly incorporated into the nostalgic wonder of Kaluli themselves, no less himself and others concerned with cultural, environmental, and musical diversity, such as Hart's musical series "The World" and the Rainforest Action Network. The latter, we have seen, is also linked, at least in cyberspace, to Yothu Yindi. Ultimately, as Feld (1991:132) recognizes, *Voices of the Rainforest* is a soundscape of "various anxieties" that arise from the politics of cultural representation at the dissolving boundary between the global and local.

The same anxieties beset the enormously popular acrylic paintings of contemporary Aboriginal communities, works that have engendered a vast interdisciplinary corpus of theory (see Myers 1989, 1991, 1994).[21] One particular concern has been the notion of "authenticity." In what art category, specifically, should these works be assigned—modern, primitive, traditional, folk, tribal, and so forth? The issue is not merely academic, as several European gallery and museum exhibitions have refused to include contemporary Aboriginal paintings on the basis of categorical dissonance (Raabe 1995).

There is no such scholarly discourse for Sepik River tourist art, which, unlike Aboriginal paintings, remains largely confined to the moral categories "primitive" or "tourist." If the former is pristine yet extinct, the latter is inauthentic and degenerative. Hence, these works lie outside the spaces of lucrative connoisseurship *and* theory. As I intimated earlier, however, standardized categorization schemes, which are the object of ongoing critique in the discourse over acrylic paintings, are no less problematic for Sepik River tourist art. It is unclear, for example, how we should categorize, if at all, masks that are (re)discovered in museum catalogs.[22] Museums, too, shun these objects (but see Lewis 1990). The exhibition "Contemporary Art of Papua New Guinea," curated by Pamela Rosi for Monmouth College, mainly featured works created in association with the National Arts School.[23]

But, as I have suggested, Sepik tourist art evinces the same qualities that one reviewer (Dissanayake 1988:47) found so compelling about the exhibition: "deeply felt reactions to the difficulties and dissonances of clashing cultures and competing values."

The "high art" reception of non-touristic Aboriginal paintings has canonized the painted dot or "pointillist" style (Adams 1996). Yet tourists and buyers have fostered no comparable set of aesthetic principles for Sepik River art. Nonetheless, Eastern Iatmul are adept at conjuring images of artifactual antiquity, rarity, and ritual secrecy, fictions that are lent visual force by "aging" techniques such as smoking and soaking. The authenticating value of oldness derives solely from Western "taste" and, more recently, Papua New Guinean export regulations.[24] Furthermore, many buyers and tour guides implore Eastern Iatmul carvers, no less Aboriginal painters (Taylor 1996:41–47), to adhere strictly to their "traditional," localized repertoire. (But as I noted earlier, fidelity to images always was a fluid matter.) For the most part, however, these are minor concerns since there is no discursive space responsible for the "reception" of contemporary Sepik art on the order of Aboriginal acrylic paintings and music.

Both Aboriginal and Sepik River art is created today explicitly for external consumption. This motivation is often marked, in the case of the former, under the rubric of cultural revival and artistic innovation. But galleries that display Sepik River art often reproduce Hobbesian and Rousseauistic fictions of primitivism. (Some of these fictions, as I mentioned above, can admittedly be traced to the carvers themselves.) An apt example is the presence of Sepik art in a "trendy" New York City (SoHo) store called Evolution that otherwise specializes in skeletons and fossils. Many authenticating fictions for Sepik River art resemble the appropriation of the didgeridoo by New Age exponents. Contemporary Sepik River art is rarely presented as an expression of contemporary identity. Indeed, the evocation of "tribal ritual" to authenticate these works is paralleled by the widespread claim that Aboriginal art is the oldest artistic and cultural tradition on earth. But while the latter stresses temporal continuity, the former evokes timelessness.

The World Wide Web contains scores of online sites that sell Aboriginal and Sepik River art, as well as relevant bibliographies, media releases, organizations, museums, government agencies, and course syllabi. Aboriginal and Sepik art works are commonly legiti-

mated with phrases such as "fine tribal art," "authentic aboriginal art," "genuine," "high quality craftwork," "certificates of authenticity," depictions of the Aboriginal flag, and so forth. At the Web site for the Jungle Outpost, Black Hills Reptile Gardens, we are encouraged to "start your own 'Tribe' with a piece of Tribal Art from New Guinea." Elsewhere, we can purchase coasters, ties, and computer mouse pads decorated with "authentic" Aboriginal designs, even a Dreaming Swatch timepiece painted by Bridget Mutji.[25] Cyberspace is becoming simply the latest discursive space for contesting, asserting, creating, exploiting, falsifying, and experimenting with cultural authenticity.

Conclusion

Contemporary Aboriginal art is part of the wider negotiations over Aboriginality (e.g., Keefe 1988, 1992; Tonkinson 1990; Hollinsworth 1992; Lattas 1992a; Muecke 1992; James 1993). This contemporary debate, in its focus on space, place, and, according to Lattas (1992b, 1993), embodiment, transforms "tradition" into the discourses of modernity, which includes the World Wide Web. For some critics, commercial Aboriginal art delegitimates and negates Aboriginal identity through crass commodification. These works perpetuate "difference" within a nation-state regime that consigns assertions of Aboriginality to ethnic decor,[26] and erodes the integrity of Aboriginal religion through the unrestricted dissemination of sacred knowledge. They assent to the Euro-Australian usurpation of fictitious images of Aboriginality that, like the boomerang (Jones 1992), are circulated as signs of pan-Australian identity (see Lattas 1992a).[27] And, finally, the widespread admiration of these works enables Euro-Australians to absolve themselves of collective culpability for history—a history, moreover, that silences Aboriginal agency (Briscoe 1993).

There is, however, an opposing view of contemporary Aboriginal art that, in concert with my own interpretations of Sepik River tourist art, sees these works as engendering cultural identity. A splendid example is Taylor's (1990) analysis of contemporary transformations of the Rainbow Serpent in western Arnhem Land.[28] This dreamtime being has two manifestations: Yingara, who is associated with the first yet nonlocalized creative act, and Ngalyod, who is linked to specific

locations. Men who migrate to towns from their clan lands tend to paint Yingara rather than Ngalyod, thus fostering a novel, regional sense of "corporate unity" that is not, like Ngalyod and traditional identity, tied to specific locales.

Similarly, one can view market-oriented Aboriginal art as subversively "slipping" Aboriginal values and concepts past otherwise resistant white Australians (Taylor 1988), thereby contesting what Wendt (1996) called the "whitefication of the colonised by a colonial education system" (see also Anderson 1993:148). Contemporary works, too, lend Aborigines "voice" within the museum and heritage communities (Hemming 1994; Anderson 1990b) and become legal assertions of topographic custodianship (see also Faulstich 1993; Stratton 1994). Finally, the status and meaning of Aboriginal painting, by virtue of the discourse that it has generated, is itself a political statement on the centrality of Aboriginality in contemporary Australia. In many respects, I have tried to suggest a similar positioning for Sepik River tourist art, despite the lack of a corresponding body of theory. As such, these works can be "read" against wider, emergent constructions of Melanesian personhood and nation (e.g., Foster 1995; Errington and Gewertz 1996; Otto and Thomas 1997).

Sepik and Aboriginal art, by drawing on enduring tropes of primordialism as well as recent concepts of hybridity, will gain controversy no less imperative in the year 2000 when, with millennial import, Australia hosts the Olympic Games. This will serve as an apt stage for Australian Aborigines and South Pacific Islanders to continue to craft, and to have crafted for them, images of "traditional" and "modern" cultural identities. In many respects, the future of these images lies in transnational spectacles of bodies, myths, and artistry such as the Olympics and cyberspace.

Notes

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of a midwestern summer while I weathered cool antipodean breezes and warm collegiality.

1. Williams (1986, appendix 1) summarizes the history of the term "dream time," which was coined by Spencer and Gillen for the Aranda in 1896.

2. In other Sepik societies, such as Manambu (Harrison 1990:76–80) and Chambri (Errington and Gewertz 1985, 1986; Gewertz and Errington 1991), the totemic origin of Europeans is politicized.

3. The implications of these events, and the case-by-case specifics of "co-existence," are mired in litigation and debate, much of which is readily accessible on the Internet. See, for examples, the homepages of the Native Title Research Unit, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Studies (http://www.aiatsis.gove.au/ntru_abt.htm), Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (http://www.atsic.gov.au), and National Indigenous Working Group on Native Title (http://www.edime.com/nativetitle/main.htm).

4. See the companion volume, *Mining and Indigenous Lifeworlds in Australia and Papua New Guinea,* edited by A. Rumsey and J. Weiner.

5. Strathern's (1988) insights into Melanesian gender have yet to be fully applied to dreamtime androgyny—itself an unexamined topic, according to Swain (1993:193–194).

6. For gendered temporalities elsewhere in Melanesia, see Weiner (1984; 1988, chapter 3; 1995a) and the citations in Silverman (1997a).

7. This, according to Wassmann (1991:218), explains Bateson's (1932:444–447) observation that Iatmul totems are not discrete biological species.

8. No less in the actual "routes" of these shirts, which were made in the United States and shipped to the Sepik by way of the *Melanesian Discoverer* tourist ship.

9. Some galleries, however, in the hope (I suspect) of authenticating Sepik art for an emerging market of connoisseurs, do foreground individual artists (for example, Alcheringa Gallery, http://www3.islandnet.com/bema/museums/ag/ag_frame.html).

10. In Darling Harbor, one such carving was fantastically described as "Ancestral Mask, used as part of the animistic worship of ancestral spirits."

11. A similar difference in "ways of listening" is discussed by Browne (1990:118) for Aboriginal radio. An interesting project would be to compare images of "modern" identity in tourist art and new media technologies such as video, television, and advertising (see Sullivan 1993; Langton 1994; Michaels 1994; Hayward 1995; Errington and Gewertz 1996; Gewertz and Errington 1996; Foster 1996/1997; Dussart 1997). In this regard, Ginsburg (1993:571–572) mentions two paintings by a Warlpiri woman, Jeannie Nungarrayi Egan, that contrast "hegemonic" and "democratic" telecommunication linkages between Aboriginal communities and government centers.

12. Resistance, too, can be seen in "the refusal by Maruku Arts and Crafts at Uluru National Park to 'scale down' spears to make their art portable" (Puri 1992:8); for a Sepik contrast, see Gewertz and Errington (1991:49–54).

13. This may shortly change pursuant to Papua New Guinea having signed the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

14. In one noted case, Australian courts granted "breach of confidentiality" injunctions on behalf of the Pitjantjatjara Council against further publication of Mountford's 1940 book, *Nomads of the Australian Desert.* As an unintended result, the book is now a collector's item that fetches hundreds of dollars. See also Pockley (1998) for an interactive, online doctoral dissertation that focuses on the discourse of public images of Aborigines.

15. Golvan (1992c) suggests incorporating the protection of Aboriginal art under the 1984 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Act.

16. Vivien Johnson, author of the Copyrites exhibition catalog (Johnson 1996), maintains a "House of Aboriginality" Web site, now available on CD-ROM, that depicts instances of Aboriginal imagery in popular culture. This is part of a ongoing project to identify and halt images that violate Aboriginal custodianship and legal copyright. (http://www.mq.edu.au/house_of_aboriginality).

17. A similar condition prevails outside of Australia. A recent catalog by REI, a popular American outfitter for outdoor equipment, included a "Kirra Boomerang . . . Aussie-style . . . Colorfully hand-painted with legendary Australian images . . . Made in USA" (at the time of writing, it can be seen on the Internet at http://www.rei.com/shopping/store3/OUTDOOR_ACCESSORIES/GAMES/GAMES/bud/621398.html).

18. http://www.squirrel.com.au/business/yumbulul/designs.html.

19. Another example of transnational routing is the 1993 video documentary *Tabaran,* which was filmed by Mark Worth and screened on Australia's SBS-TV (see Hayward 1993). Worth was the first Australian manager of the tourist guesthouse in Tambunum!

20. http://www.yothuyindi.com.

21. See also Megaw (1982, 1990); Marrie (1985); Jones (1988); Michaels (1988); Fry and Willis (1989); Rubinstein (1989); Taylor (1989); Altman and Taylor (1990); Benjamin (1990); Megaw and Megaw (1993); ATSIC (1997).

22. Elsewhere, I discuss the concepts of authenticity and categorization by contrasting Sepik River tourist art with the "master carvings" of the Papua New Guinea Sculpture Garden at Stanford University (Silverman 1997b).

23. For a virtual gallery that displays some of these works, see http://www.pmc.edu/club.html. Relatedly, see Baker (1980); Simons (1993); Cochrane Simons and Stevenson (1990); and the October 1995 issue of Art and Asia Pacific.

24. In West Africa (Steiner 1994:102), "authentic art" is precontact for Europeans but postcontact for African traders.

25. See, respectively, http://reptile-gardens.com, http://www.larkfield.com.au, and http//www.swatch.com/gallery/gabrimut.htm.

26. A few days before the conference at which this research was first reported, I noticed the decorative placement of Sepik tourist art inside the front doors of David Jones department store in Sydney.

27. A case in point is the debate over the Aboriginal painter Eddie Burrup,

who was recently unveiled to be Elizabeth Durack, of Irish descent. Was this an outrageous and calculated act of cultural appropriation? Did it instead confirm the ascendance of the "work" over the artist? The debate is compounded by the fact that "Burrup" continues to paint.

28. The Rainbow Serpent is one cultural motif that has been compared between the Sepik and Australia (Mead 1933–1934; Brumbaugh 1987).

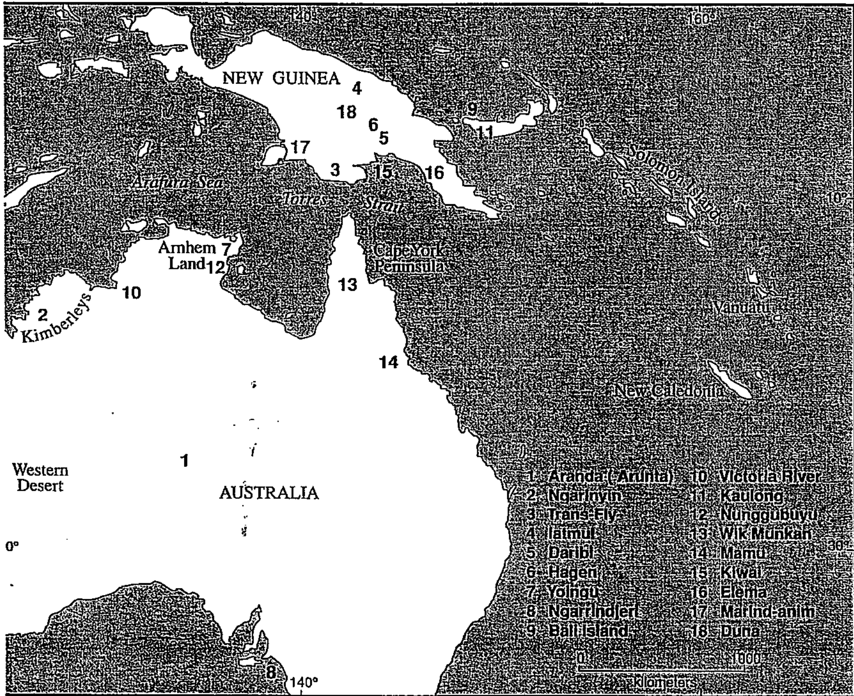
10
The Object in View
Aborigines, Melanesians, and Museums

Lissant Bolton

There is a cartoon by the *New Yorker* cartoonist Charles Barsotti that shows a man in a suit and tie standing before a glass display case, looking with respectful awe at the single small pot within it. The caption reads, "The wonder of it all" (figure 10-1). This cartoon sums up something that I greatly value about museums: the way in which objects can open horizons of knowledge and imagination that are rich and moving. Through the practices of collection and public exhibition, museums have developed a discipline of looking—a way of retrieving meaning from objects. This meaning is comprehended imaginatively by each viewer and often depends on the object as a conceptual opening through which the viewer can pass to apprehend another time or another place. Museums, in this sense, are about the pleasure of eye and mind, and as Barsotti suggests, such seeing and imagining often incorporate awe and wonder at the object, at other times and other places.

The discipline of looking is a particular cultural practice, one that has crossed many national boundaries but belongs to a specific Euro-American tradition. Its distinctive character is that it depends on the disconnection of objects from the contexts in which they were made and used. It is because the objects are disconnected that they can represent, and thus become a way to imagine, those contexts. The objects become, as Roy Wagner puts it, "strategic relics" (1981:28).

Different traditions of museology place different constraints on this



Map 1. Location of Areas and Groups. (Map courtesy of Department of Cartography, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University)

Emplaced Myth

Space, Narrative, and Knowledge in Aboriginal Australia and Papua New Guinea

Edited by Alan Rumsey and James Weiner

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