

DOUBLE MASKS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST OF AMERICA
IN MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

By

LORNA ANDERSON

B.A., The University of British Columbia, 1985

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Anthropology)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

June 1989

© Lorna Anderson, 1989

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of ANTHROPOLOGY

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date JULY 6, 1989.

ABSTRACT

Supervisor: Dr. J. E. Michael Kew.

Sixty masks that open to reveal another mask inside have been examined and are described in detail. Colour photographs and sketches illustrate these "double masks", which were made by native people of the Northwest Coast. The sample described here represents approximately 60% of the double masks in museum collections. Such a substantial number of double masks has not been described previously. These data help fill an existing gap in our knowledge of Northwest Coast masks.

The main sources of data for this thesis are museum records, collectors notes, and ethnographies. There is little specific information about the ceremonial use of double masks. Literary sources suggest that double masks were probably used in a similar way to most single masks.

Analysis of form and style shows that double masks are carved and painted in the specific style of each Northwest Coast group. However, although the styles of the double masks vary, the basic form is consistent. Eighty-five percent of the masks have a human image inside and the image of another creature outside. This observation supports the idea that Northwest Coast native people consider there is a close relationship between humans and other creatures.

Recently, this type of mask has often been classified as a "transformation mask", but older records and ethnographies do not use

this term. The word "transformation" is complex, and the recent term "transformation mask" may be misleading. This thesis serves to remind anthropologists that we should be cautious in our use of language. We should be careful to speak of other cultures and societies in ways that reflect their ideas and meanings.

The essential feature of double masks is that they open up to reveal another mask inside. For this reason double masks are versatile and dramatic. They provide an innovative masking technique for ceremonial dances.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT	ii
LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
LIST OF MAPS	xi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xii
MUSEUM ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
MAP	xiv
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2. METHODS	11
CHAPTER 3. DESCRIPTIONS OF THE DOUBLE MASKS	34
West and East Kwakwaka'wakw	38
Nuu-Chah-Nulth	110
Nuxalk	121
Haida	130
Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan	141
Haisla	150
Heiltsuk	153
CHAPTER 4. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE PATTERNS INSIDE THE CHEEKS OF DOUBLE MASKS	172
CHAPTER 5. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF OUTER MASK FORMS	184
CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	195
BIBLIOGRAPHY	209

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Museum Abbreviations	xii
2. Museums visited and number of double masks examined	9
3. Probable origins of double masks--grouped according to language and geographic location	15
4. Attribution of the double masks according to museum records and stylistic characteristics	28
5. Distribution of double masks in Museum Sample.....	31
6. Attribution changes	32
7. Attribution changes (summary)	33
8 a. Frequency of Double Mask Images (continued on next page)	199
8 b. Frequency of Double Mask Images (continued from previous page)	200

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig.		Page
1.	Anatomical terminology	17
2.	W. Kwakwaka'wakw frontal view	18
3.	W. K. lateral view	18
4.	E. Kwakwaka'wakw (a)	20
5.	E. K. (b)	20
6.	Nuxalk frontal view	21
7.	Nuxalk lateral view	21
8.	C. Tsimshian frontal view	23
9.	C. Tsimshian lateral view	23
10.	Haisla frontal view	25
11.	Haisla lateral view	25
12.	Heiltsuk frontal view	26
13.	Heiltsuk lateral view	26
14.	Front of closed mask	37
15.	Front of open mask	37
16.	Mask # 1 closed	38
17.	Mask # 1 open	38
18.	Mask # 2 closed	42
19.	Mask # 2 open	42
20.	Mask # 3 closed	45
21.	Mask # 3 open	45
22.	Mask # 4: outside view.....	47
23.	Mask # 4 open	47
24.	Mask # 5: outside view.....	50
25.	Mask # 5 open	50
26.	Mask # 6 closed (partially)	52
27.	Mask # 6 open	52
28.	Mask # 7 closed	54
29.	Mask # 7 open	54
30.	Mask # 8 closed	56
31.	Mask # 8 open	56
32.	Mask # 9 closed	58
33.	Mask # 9 open	58

Fig.		Page
34.	Mask # 10 closed	60
35.	Mask # 10 open	60
36.	Mask # 11 closed	63
37.	Mask # 11 open	63
38.	Mask # 12 closed	65
39.	Mask # 12 open	65
40.	Mask # 13 closed	67
41.	Mask # 13 open	67
42.	Mask # 14 closed	69
43.	Mask # 14 open	69
44.	Mask # 15 closed	71
45.	Mask # 15 open	71
46.	Mask # 16 closed	74
47.	Mask # 16 open	74
48.	Mask # 17: outside view	78
49.	Mask # 17 open	78
50.	Mask # 18 closed	79
51.	Mask # 18 open	79
52.	Mask # 19: outside view	81
53.	Mask # 19 open	81
54.	Mask # 20 closed	83
55.	Mask # 20 open	83
56.	Mask # 21: outside view	85
57.	Mask # 21 open	85
58.	Mask # 22: outside view	87
59.	Mask # 22 open	87
60.	Mask # 23 : outside view	89
61.	Mask # 23 open	89
62.	Mask # 24: outside view	91
63.	Mask # 24 open	91
64.	Mask # 25: outside view	93
65.	Mask # 25 open	93
66.	Mask # 26: outside view	95
67.	Mask # 26 open	95
68.	Mask # 27 closed	97
69.	Mask # 27 open	97
70.	Mask # 28 closed	99

Fig.		Page
71.	Mask # 28 open	99
72.	Mask # 29 closed	101
73.	Mask # 29 open	101
74.	Mask # 30 closed	103
75.	Mask # 30 open	103
76.	Mask # 31 closed	106
77.	Mask # 32	107
78.	Mask # 33 closed	108
79.	Mask # 33 open	108
80.	Mask # 34 closed	111
81.	Mask # 34 open	111
82.	Mask # 35 closed	114
83.	Mask # 35 open	114
84.	Mask # 36 closed	117
85.	Mask # 36 open	117
86.	Mask # 37 closed	119
87.	Mask # 37 open	119
88.	Mask # 38 closed	121
89.	Mask # 38 open	121
90.	Mask # 39 closed	124
91.	Mask # 39 open	124
92.	Mask # 40	126
93.	Mask # 41 closed	128
94.	Mask # 41 open	128
95.	Mask # 42 closed	130
96.	Mask # 42 open	130
97.	Mask # 43: outside view	133
98.	Mask # 43 open	133
99.	Mask # 44 closed	136
100.	Mask # 44 open	136
101.	Mask # 45 closed	137
102.	Mask # 45 open	137
103.	Mask # 46: outside view	139
104.	Mask # 46 open	139
105.	Mask # 47 closed	141
106.	Mask # 47 open	141

Fig.		Page
107.	Mask # 48 closed (partially)	144
108.	Mask # 48 open	144
109.	Mask # 49 closed	146
110.	Mask # 49 open	146
111.	Mask # 50 closed	148
112.	Mask # 50 open	148
113.	Mask # 51 closed	150
114.	Mask # 51 open	150
115.	Mask # 52 closed	153
116.	Mask # 52 open	153
117.	Mask # 53 closed	156
118.	Mask # 53 open	156
119.	Mask # 54 closed	158
120.	Mask # 54 open	158
121.	Mask # 55 closed	160
122.	Mask # 55 open	160
123.	Mask # 56 closed	162
124.	Mask # 56 open	162
125.	Mask # 57 closed	164
126.	Mask # 57 open	164
127.	Mask # 58 closed	166
128.	Mask # 58 open	166
129.	Mask # 59 closed	168
130.	Mask # 59 open	168
131.	Mask # 60 closed	170
132.	Mask # 60 open	170
133.	Inside the upper part of mask # 56	172
134.	Inside mask # 40	172
135.	Inside mask # 51	173
136.	Inside mask # 59	173
137.	Inside mask # 48	173
138.	Inside mask # 38	173
139.	Inside right cheek of mask # 50	174
140.	Inside mask # 29	174
141.	Inside mask # 17	175

Fig.		Page
142.	Inside mask # 31	175
143.	Sisiutl: inside mask # 16	176
144.	Whale: inside mask # 16	176
145.	Bird: inside mask # 16	176
146.	Inside mask # 14	177
147.	Inside mask # 45	178
148.	Inside mask # 46	178
149.	Inside mask # 42	179
150.	Inside mask # 3	179
151.	Inside mask # 53	180
152.	Inside mask # 54	180
153.	Inside mask # 2	181
154.	Inside mask # 25	181
155.	Inside mask # 23	182
156.	Frequency of Forms of Outer Mask Images	196
157.	Frequency of Forms of Inner Mask Images	197
158.	Frequency of Combinations of Outer/Inner Mask Forms ...	198

LIST OF MAPS

	Page
Map 1. Map of the Northwest Coast: showing areas where double masks were collected.	xiv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the debt I owe to native people responsible for the production of the double masks I have studied in this thesis.

I would like to thank the people who work at the 12 museums I visited, for their cooperation and assistance in helping me to examine and photograph the double masks in museum collections.

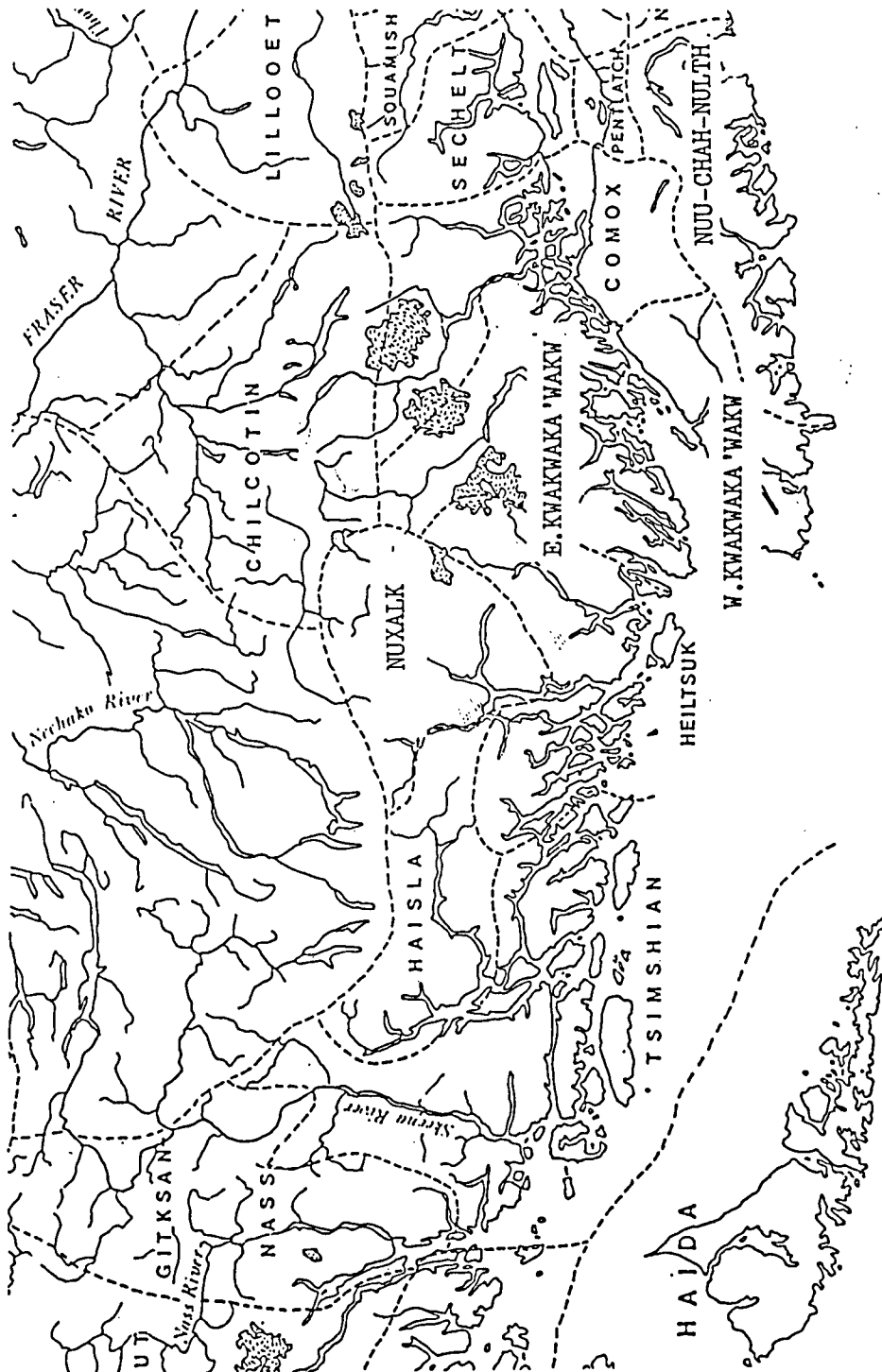
I would like to thank the members of my M.A. committee, especially Dr. Michael Kew, who guided me through the process of writing this thesis. Dr. Margaret Stott has encouraged me academically for several years, and Dr. John Barker has given me valuable practical advice for my thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband Terry Anderson, who has always given me cheerful support.

Table 1MUSEUM ABBREVIATIONS

AMNH	American Museum of Natural History, New York, U.S.
BM	Burke Museum, University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.
BMM	British Museum of Mankind, London, England.
CM	Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge, England.
CMC	Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa, Canada.
GM	Glenbow Museum, Calgary, Canada.
LM	Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Germany.
MAI	Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York, U.S.
MOA	Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.
PRM	Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, England.
RBCM	Royal British Columbia Museum, Victoria, Canada.
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada.
VM	Vancouver Museum, Vancouver, Canada.

Map 1. Map of the Northwest Coast: showing areas where
double masks were collected.



Adapted from a map by Cameron Suttles, 1978.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with a group of masks made by the native people of the Northwest Coast of America. The masks are unusual, because the outer mask splits open to reveal another mask inside. I describe and analyse the form and style of 60 masks in order to establish a foundation of data about this class of artifact. Comprehensive information about these masks has not been assembled previously. It is presented here as a first step in advancing our knowledge about this category of Northwest Coast mask.

In recent books and catalogue notes, the masks are most frequently referred to as "transformation masks" (Hawthorn, 1979, pp. 238-243; Holm, 1972b, p. 48; Waite, 1966, pp. 266-295; Duff, 1967, Catalogue for *"Arts of the Raven"* Exhibition; Guédon and MacDonald, 1972, Catalogue for *"Ksan, Breath of our Grandfathers"* Exhibition). However, early ethnographies and original museum notes translate the native term for this type of mask as a "double mask", a "folding out mask", or an "opening mask" (Boas, 1897a, Fig. 5, p. 357; Boas, 1909, p. 521; CMC museum notes; MOA museum notes; BM museum notes).¹

I argue that this type of mask is more properly called a "double mask" rather than a "transformation mask". The word "transformation" has complex meanings--it describes a change in form, but can also imply a spiritual change. Therefore, the classification "transformation mask" is ambiguous, and the use of the term may be

1. Page xiii lists the museum abbreviations.

misleading. Also, the recent term "transformation mask" does not appear to reflect native terminology. Thus, in using the term "transformation mask", we project our own terms--and possibly our own ideas-- onto people of another culture. I suggest the term "double mask" is closer to native terms than "transformation mask", and that it is more precise. Furthermore, all masks transform the wearer, therefore the term "transformation mask" is redundant.

The argument is supported by information I have collected about double masks. Sources of information include ethnographies, museum records, catalogue notes and books concerned with artifacts from the Northwest Coast. The actual double masks themselves are also a valuable source of knowledge. A detailed description and an analysis of their form and style supports the view that the native terms for these masks are more appropriate than the term "transformation mask".

The double masks I describe and analyse in this study are in museum collections. Therefore, this study is only one of several studies based on museum artifacts from the Northwest Coast. Earlier studies examined different aspects of Northwest Coast artifacts-- some focused on description and formal analysis, while others focused on the implicit meanings of an artifact.

In an early study of Northwest Coast art, Boas described the designs that were carved and painted by the people who lived on the Northwest Coast. The designs had not previously been described in such detail (Boas, 1897b). In 1951, Wingert focused on northern style. He described and analysed the stylistic characteristics of Tsimshian sculptural forms. Drawing on examples from Tsimshian masks he showed that "tribal styles can be recognized on the basis of preferred

design elements, a sensitivity of certain forms, and the rendering of specific details" (Wingert, 1951, p. 76).

From a study that described and analysed two-dimensional form and style in fine detail, Holm recognized and listed the set of general principles on which traditional northern design is based. This study contributed enormously to our understanding of Northwest Coast art in general (Holm, 1965). Following this, Holm described and analysed Northwest Coast humanoid masks, in a similar way to that set forth by Wingert. Sawyer developed the same idea further, providing a set of criteria through which Haisla masks can be recognized (Holm, 1972a and 1983a; Sawyer, 1983). These studies are important contributions, because they confirm the cultural provenance of masks. Also, although they focus on formal elements, this type of study often includes information about the cultural background (Holm, 1983c).

Wilson Duff, his students and associates, looked beyond the formal elements and the cultural context. They considered a solid description and an analysis of form and style to be necessary steps in understanding Northwest Coast objects and designs. However, they also sought the essential or deeper meanings of an artifact, especially in the form of the object and the ideas surrounding it (Duff, 1981, p. 209; Halpin, 1973; Gould, 1973; McLaren, 1977). Other studies have also sought the essential meanings of Northwest Coast art, and they have provided additional perspectives on the meaning of Northwest Coast artifacts (Jonaitis, 1981; Waite, 1966).

This thesis is closest in its content to the studies by Holm and Sawyer. First, it contains a detailed description and an analysis of the formal elements of the masks, since this is the first time a large

sample of double masks have been systematically examined. Second, the method I use to help establish provenance is based on the work by Holm and Sawyer. In particular, it is developed from Sawyer's essay "Toward More Precise Northwest Coast Attributions: Two Substyles of Haisla masks" (Sawyer, 1983, pp. 143-147).

The method I use to establish provenance is based on stylistic criteria as Sawyer suggests, and on museum records. This method has helped me to locate the probable area of origin for most of the masks studied. However, some masks cannot be attributed to a specific area because of overlapping styles.

Although this study emphasises description and analysis of form and style, I also include suggestions for the interpretation of double masks, since I consider that the underlying meaning of Northwest Coast objects and designs is an important aspect. In chapter 6, I discuss the significance of the relationship between the outer and inner images of double masks.

Cultural background

As I have suggested, information on the cultural background is important. Unfortunately, a thorough search of the literature reveals that very little has been written about the ceremonial use of double masks. Ethnographic data are limited to a description by Boas of a ceremony where double masks were used (Boas, 1897a, pp. 621-632); notes on double masks in stories collected by Hunt (Boas and Hunt, 1905, 1906); and museum notes recorded by Sapir and Barbeau (CMC museum notes). Museum records about the use of specific double masks are scarce.

Therefore, to provide a picture of the way double masks were probably used, I have also drawn on information about the general use of single masks in ceremonies. The ceremony I describe is an example based on the reports of Kwakwaka'wakw, Heiltsuk and Haisla ceremonies (Boas, 1897a, pp. 431- 621; Drucker, 1940, pp. 201-230; Olson, 1954a, pp. 239-249). I have found no evidence in the literature to suggest that double masks were used in ceremonies of different kinds, or with different functions, than ceremonies with single masks.

Masks of many kinds were part of the ceremonial regalia used by dancers and players in Northwest Coast theatrical performances. The mask and costume transformed the performer into another being -- often a mythical ancestor or supernatural creature. Masks were a materialization of these characters and the ideas associated with them. They contained a spirit of their own which became part of the performance (Boas, 1897a, p. 626).

Masks and other ceremonial paraphernalia were usually transferred from one individual to another, either as a family inheritance, or as a marriage gift. Therefore, masks were probably associated with significant personal relationships (Boas, 1897a, p. 622). Also, ritual knowledge was transferred with a mask (Drucker, 1940, p. 202 and p. 215). Thus, personal and ritual intangibles became part of the presence of a mask.

Ceremonial performances were usually held in winter, when spirits were thought to come closer to the village. Then "a great fire is built in each house and people go to the stream or lake and take a ceremonial bath" before the ceremonies begin (Olson, 1954a, p. 229).

A feast, organized by the chief of a house and prepared by his

household, was given for invited guests. During this time, some members of the chief's household -- often young people-- were hidden away in the forest or in a special room at the back of the house. There they were taught ritual secrets, and the song and dance associated with the mask they inherited (Drucker, 1940, pp. 210-211).

After the feast was finished, the theatrical performance began. Whistles were heard outside in the forest, and a drummer in the house beat out a rhythm on a hollow log. The audience, seated around the sides of the house, joined in the music by beating time with wooden batons. Eagle down was spread onto the heads of the people in the house, as a sign of peace (Boas, 1897a, pp. 430-433).

A talented singer, or a group of singers, began to sing the story of a mask. Then a dancer leapt into the room through the doorway, or came from behind a ceremonial screen, wearing a mask. Using special steps, the dancer circled the fire, dancing in time to the music. The mask was shown off in the firelight, perhaps highlighting the profile, or demonstrating some mechanical feature such as moving eyes or wings. The audience might be frightened or amused by the performance, but they participated in the action. When the song of the mask ended, the dancer disappeared behind the painted screen.

When all the masks had been displayed, the chief presented the dancers to the audience, and often gave the dancers a new name. Then gifts were distributed to the visitors, according to their rank (Boas, 1897a, p. 626).

Through accepting gifts, visitors acknowledged that they witnessed the use of masks and other ceremonial objects. In this way the ownership of the mask, and the privileges associated with it, were

validated. The theatrical performance entertained visitors and players, and at the same time the social structure of their ranked society was reinforced.

It is most likely that double masks were used in the type of ceremony I have described. These complex masks are capable of expressing powerful and versatile characters in such ceremonies. The double mask opens in a sudden and dramatic way when one set of strings are pulled-- revealing the inner face--while another set of strings close the mask. For example, a dancer could display a mask representing a thunderbird and/or a sisiutl. As he circled the fire, the dancer could change from one supernatural being into another as he opened and closed the painted faces. Such a ceremony would provide an exciting and spectacular performance for the audience.

Sample of double masks

The sample of double masks that I describe and analyse consists of 60 masks. I estimate that there are approximately 100 double masks in museum collections. This estimate is based on a library search of books concerned with Northwest Coast museum collections, as well as on correspondence with North American and European museums.

Permission to photograph and examine the masks in 12 museums was obtained. All the museums were helpful in making arrangements for me to have access to their collections. The museums I visited were chosen mainly because they had a large number of double masks, or because they were the most convenient museums to visit.

Table 2 lists the museums and the number of double masks seen

at each museum. I photographed 59 masks and examined 46 masks in detail. The other 13 masks were on display and therefore access to them was limited, although in many cases I was allowed to enter display areas and look at the masks closely. While examining the double masks, I made notes and sketches and determined how they worked. I copied museum accession records and catalogue notes, and in some cases obtained further information from collectors' notes and letters.

One mask is included in the sample that I have not seen. It is in the Linden Museum, Stuttgart, Germany, and it is included because it is similar to another mask in the sample. These two masks are quite unusual, and it is useful to compare them. A photograph of this mask is included in chapter 3.

Forty-two out of the 60 masks in the sample were collected between 1870 and 1920, after contact with Europeans, but at a time when some masks were still being used in ceremonies. The masks were made by the Kwakwaka'wakw², Nuuchah-Nulth, Haida, Tsimshian, Gitksan, Nuxalk³, Haisla and Heiltsuk people.

2. The name "Kwakwaka'wakw" is the name for the people previously known as "Kwakiutl" (Webster, 1988).

3. The name "Nuxalk" is preferred by the people previously known as "Bella Coola". (Stott, 1989, personal communication).

Table 2Museums visited and number of double masks examined

<u>Museum</u>		<u>Number</u>
AMNH	American Museum of Natural History.	8
BM	Burke Museum.	4
BMM	British Museum of Mankind.	3
CM	Cambridge Museum	1
CMC	Canadian Museum of Civilization.	12
GM	Glenbow Museum.	3
MAI	Museum of the American Indian, The Heye Foundation.	5
MOA	Museum of Anthropology.	8
PRM	Pitt-Rivers Museum.	2
RBCM	Royal British Columbia Museum.	6
ROM	Royal Ontario Museum.	1
VM	Vancouver Museum.	6
LM	Linden Museum. (Not visited).	1

Total 60

In my description of double masks it is possible I may not have "seen" some important feature of form or style, or I may have "read" too much or too little into some features. For this reason, the photographs are reproduced in the thesis, allowing for critical review by the reader. Because of the importance of colouring, colour photographs have been used.

My thesis is based on the double masks themselves, and on the historical literature about them. Unfortunately, I have not had an opportunity to collect information from native people who own double masks or who continue to carve and use double masks today. However, I consider this to be an important perspective, and I hope that this information can be gathered at some time in the near future.

In chapter 2, I describe how I establish provenance of the masks. In chapters 3 to 5, I describe and analyse the form and style of the masks.

In chapter 6, I present an argument to support my conclusion that the term "double mask" is more correct than "transformation mask". I also suggest that the double mask form may express an underlying belief in the close relationship between man and other creatures.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS

In order to compare and analyse this sample of double masks, I have classified them into groups according to the area of their probable origin. However, the provenance of some masks is doubtful because the museum records are sparse. Therefore, in this chapter I describe the limitations of the museum sample, and I describe the method used to establish the probable area of origin. Double masks in the sample are then classified accordingly.

Limitations of the museum sample

The museum sample I obtained may not represent all the different kinds of double masks made on the Northwest Coast. Masks were destroyed for several reasons, including the influence of missionaries, and those destroyed may have included some of the most powerful masks. Also, native people might have kept the most important masks for themselves and their families. Therefore, my comparison and analysis is based on a biased sample, obtained only from museum collections.

The sample includes six recent masks carved by native artists. Most of these masks are apparently based on the designs of older double masks. The inclusion of these masks adds to our appreciation of double masks, since many of them have bright and fresh decorations

Museum records regarding provenance may be misleading. For example, a mask made in one area may be taken to another area--for trade or marriage purposes. The collector of that mask may then

record where the mask was acquired, but not where it was made.

Also, the area of origin may be uncertain because native people sometimes moved from isolated villages to larger villages. People moved because of drastic decreases in population, due to diseases introduced by western people, or in order to be near a trading post. Thus, a mask collected in Bella Bella may have been made somewhere else.

Museum notes based on collectors' records are often brief. A double mask may simply be recorded as a "Northwest Coast mask"--and a more specific area of origin is not given. Museum notes may even be incorrect. For example, it is possible that double masks collected by Powell in 1879 were labelled incorrectly (see page 104).

Fortunately, finding the probable area of origin is not dependent on written records alone--provenance can also be established by studying the stylistic characteristics of specific artifacts (Vastokas, 1986, p. 24).

Method of establishing the area of probable origin

The method I have used to identify as precisely as possible the most likely area of origin, is based on a system developed by Sawyer (Sawyer, 1983, p.143-7). It is founded on the observation that each Northwest Coast group of native people constructed masks with a traditional set of stylistic characteristics. A mask can thus be identified through form and style as belonging to one particular group. In this thesis I have sought to establish the provenance of all the double masks in the sample through a combination of their museum records and their stylistic signature.

Fundamental contributions about the form and style of different Northwest Coast groups have been made by Wingert, Holm and Macnair. In particular, Holm's work in this area is invaluable (Holm, 1983b, p. 32-4 and elsewhere; Macnair, 1980, p. 27-62; Wingert, 1951, pp. 73-94). Sawyer's contribution towards a more precise attribution of Northwest Coast masks is a list of the stylistic criteria through which Haisla masks can be more accurately attributed to Haisla subgroups. Using a similar format, I have constructed a list of the stylistic criteria for the humanoid masks of six Northwest Coast cultural groups. Eighty-five percent of double masks in the sample have a humanoid component.

Characteristics included as criteria are: mode⁴; shape; carved style of anatomical features; painted style; and colour use. I include a sketch of a typical mask for each of the six groups, and call each list and sketch a "mask profile". The stylistic criteria for each mask profile are based on several masks of established provenance. References for these masks are provided with each mask profile.

Each double mask in the sample is compared to mask profiles based upon established provenance. Through using this method, the mask profiles confirm the recorded attribution of 47 masks, and in nine cases suggest a more specific attribution. I suggest a different

4. Sawyer uses the term "mode" to distinguish between masks that are naturalistic or abstract (Sawyer, p. 145). I have expanded the classification from two to four categories, since there are varying degrees of naturalism and abstraction in these masks. The four terms I use are: naturalistic, realistic, stylized and abstract.

attribution for four masks on stylistic grounds. These four masks are #30, #48, #53 and #55 (see Table 4), and they are discussed individually in chapter 3.

It should be noted however, that it is not always possible to suggest a specific area of origin, because some masks have characteristics that overlap from one group into another. This situation is not unexpected since relationships between different Northwest Coast groups existed in many forms. For example, a carver born in one village may go to live in another village, and his work might then reflect the styles associated with two groups of people.

The method is based on the style of humanoid features. In this sample, 51 out of 60 masks have a humanoid inner mask. Of the nine masks that do not have a humanoid image, seven have a well established provenance (for example, the carver is known). Two masks (#53, and #54) have an uncertain record, and they are discussed in chapter 3.

Although I have attributed all the double masks to particular areas I make no claim that these suggestions are final or even correct. Further work on particular styles or traits may clarify uncertain provenance; for example, the presence of metal eyes may be linked with a specific area or with a craftsman. Also, a few masks have complex styles, and in these cases it is only possible to suggest a tentative attribution, based on style and through studying many masks.

Tabulation of masks begins with Table 3, listing the cultural groups who made the double masks in this study.

Table 3Probable origins of double masks--grouped according to language and geographic location

<u>Language Group</u>	<u>Geographic Area</u>
<u>West Kwakwaka'wakw</u>	
a) Newetsee	Cape Scott and Hope Island
b) Go'sg.imEx ^u	North Vancouver Island
c) Gwa'tslenox ^u	Quatsino Sound
d) Kwa'g.ul	Fort Rupert
e) ʔnE'mgis	Nimkish River and Alert Bay
f) Mā'maleleqāla	Village Island
g) Maldilbe	Turnour Island
<u>East Kwakwaka'wakw</u>	
a) GwaʔsEla'	Smith Inlet
b) ʔna'k!wax.dəʔx ^u	Seymour Inlet
c) Gwa'wāe'nox ^u	Drury Inlet
d) Dza'wadEenox	Kingcome Inlet
e) AʔwāiLEla	Knight Inlet
<u>Nuu-Chah-Nulth</u>	Cape Cook to Nitinat
<u>Nuxalk</u>	Dean and Burke Channels and South Bentinck Arm
<u>Haida</u>	Queen Charlotte Islands
<u>Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan</u>	North of Milbanke Sound and inland along the Skeena River
<u>Haisla</u>	Kitimat and Kitlope
<u>Heiltsuk</u>	Bella Bella

I have divided the group of people who are often classified as "Kwakiutl" into two groups: " West Kwakwaka'wakw " and "East Kwakwaka'wakw". According to this classification the West Kwakwaka'wakw native people live on Vancouver Island, from Cape Scott to Cape Cook, from Hope Island to Campbell River, and on islands to the west of Queen Charlotte Strait. The East Kwakwaka'wakw people live south of Smith Inlet to Bute Inlet on the mainland, and on islands to the east of Queen Charlotte Strait. I divided the Kwakwaka'wakw into these two divisions because my study of the double masks shows that there are some stylistic differences between the two groups. However, the sample of double masks also includes 16 masks with a style having traits from both the West and East Kwakwaka'wakw, and they are listed in a separate group.

Figure 1 indicates the designation used for the different anatomical features of the mask profiles. Figs. 2 -13 present the mask profiles for the following groups: West Kwakwaka'wakw, East Kwakwaka'wakw, Nuxalk, Tsimshian and Gitksan, Haisla, and Heiltsuk.

Mask profiles for the Nuu-Chah-Nulth and Haida have not been produced. All the double masks coming from these two groups have a reliable provenance combined with traditional form and style. The outer masks of the four Nuu-Chah-Nulth double masks have a typical Nuu-Chah-Nulth style. One Haida mask was made recently by Jim Hart, one was made by Edenshaw, and the others have a typical Haida style combined with good museum records.

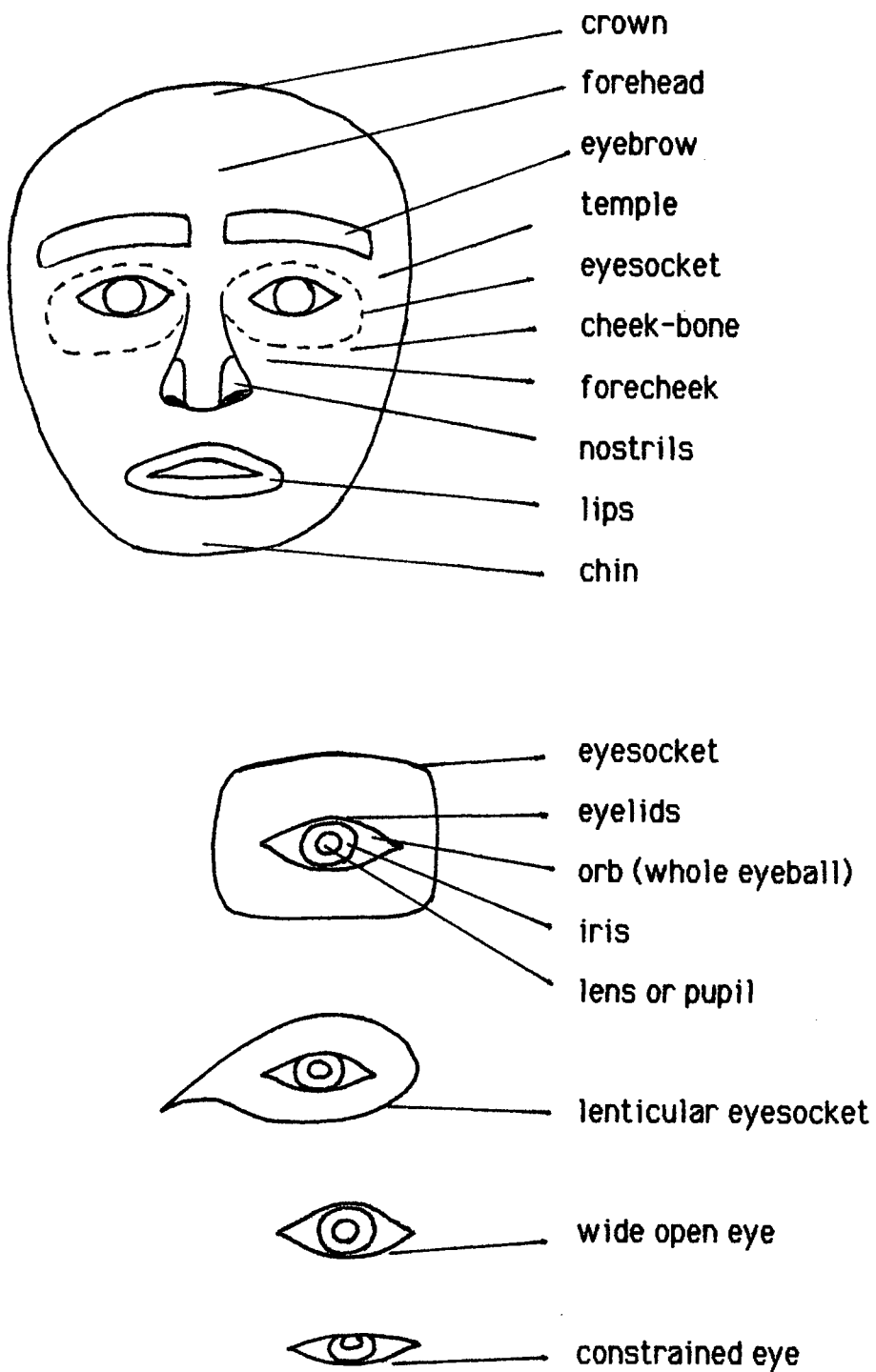


Fig. 1. Anatomical terminology

Mask Profiles

West Kwakwaka'wakw

Note: This area has many masks which represent different mythical beings, but most of the humanoid masks in the study group are based on the following form and design.

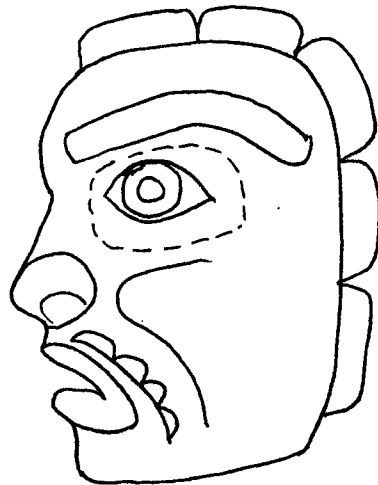
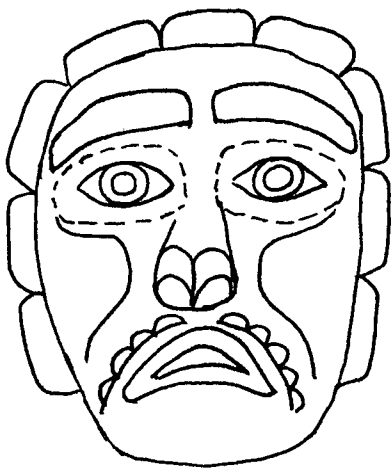


Fig. 2. W. Kwakwaka'wakw frontal view. Fig. 3. W. K. lateral view.

Mode: Stylized representation of a mythical or legendary being.

Frontal form: Angular rather than oval, may have a scalloped corona.

Lateral view: A deep half cylinder.

Forehead: Squarish.

Eyebrows: Wide, with a bend. Elongated to the temple.

Eyesockets: Definitively carved and moulded in an ovoid shape. Large in area and deeply inset.

- Eyelids:** Eyelids are defined by the inset orb, and painted.
Constrained eyelids produce eyes of different shapes.
- Orbs:** Large, carved into a truncated cone shape, with a flat iris and pupil that are often pierced, and eccentric.
- Cheeks:** Carved in high relief with sharp edges. Cut away down the sides of the nose and mouth, and along the lower orbital rim, leaving an angular raised cheek.
- Nose:** Large straight nose, with medium flared nostrils.
- Mouth:** Typically a down-turned mouth, partly open and projecting forwards.
- Chin:** Short and straight.
- Ears:** Usually no ears.
- Decoration:** Often painted all over. May have a white background.
Polychrome decorations define the sculptural outline and do not cross contours.
- References:** Hawthorn, 1979 ; Holm, 1983a, p. 35; Holm, 1983b, p. 40;
Macnair, 1980, p. 59.

East Kwakwaka'wakw

Note: Although there is one basic form in this group there are two lines of development (a) and (b).

Mode: (a) is abstract, (b) is realistic.

Frontal form: Both are round to oval.

Lateral view: Rounded.

Forehead: Round.

Eyebrows: Arched and of medium thickness. They may be raised in low relief.

Eyesockets: (a) Eyesockets have a carved outline.
(b) Naturalistic, not sharply defined through carving.

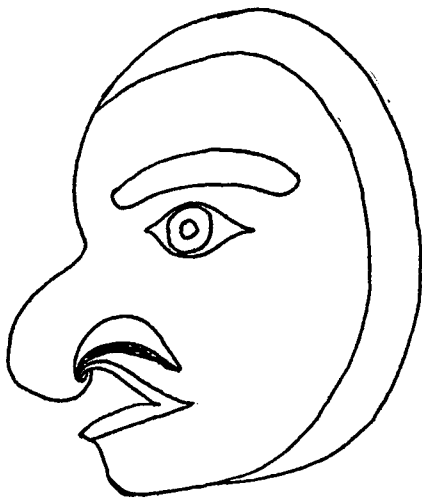


Fig. 4. E. Kwakwaka'wakw (a)

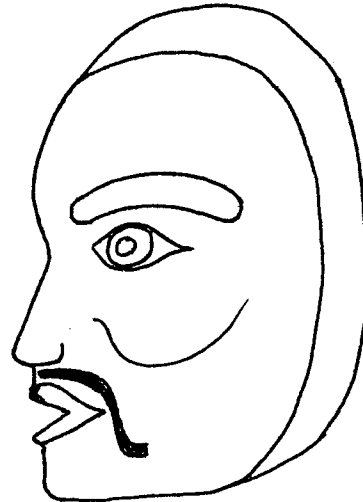


Fig. 5. E. K. (b)

Eyelids: Eyelids are defined by the carved orb, and painted.
Eyelids are not incised on the outer edge. The eye is usually wide open.

Orbs: Rounded, except for iris and lens which are flat.
Rounded metal is sometimes used.

Cheeks: Smoothly rounded. Type (a) tends to have flattened cheek planes. Type (b) has fleshy cheeks bulging slightly over the cheek-bone area.

Nose: Type (a) has a projecting hooked nose which may turn into the mouth. Mask also has wide nostrils. Type (b) has a naturalistic nose.

- Mouth: Down-turned, slightly open.
- Lips: Definitively expressive. Rounded and fleshy, often curled. Tapering at the corners.
- Chin: Type (a) recedes from just below the mouth. Type (b) is strong and straight.
- Ears: None.
- Decoration: Plain wood background. Prominent use of blue, dark green, vermillion red and black. "Dashes" of paint are frequently used.
- References: Hawthorn, 1979, p. 214, and Plate XXI;
Jonaitis, 1988, p. 179.

Nuxalk

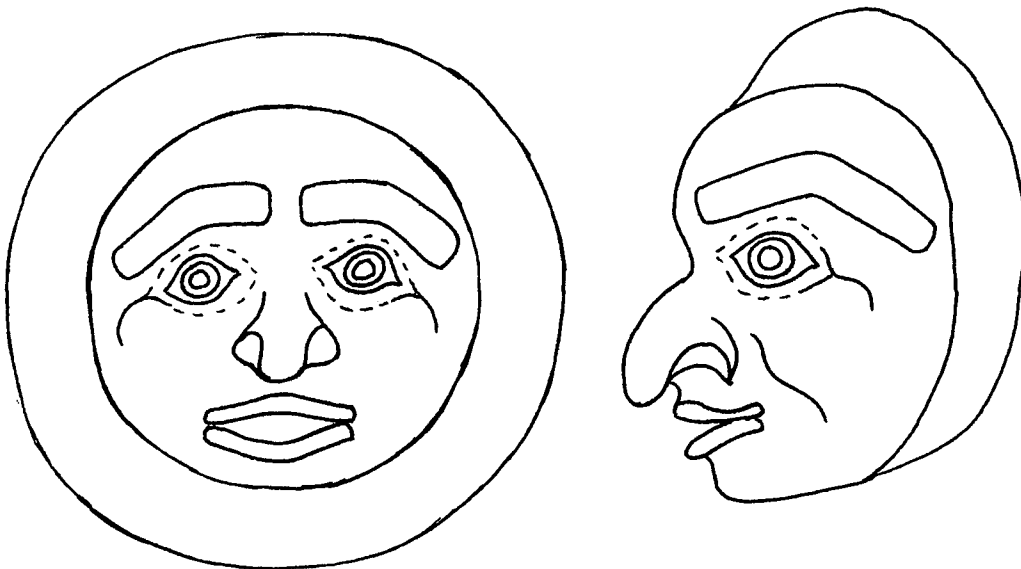


Fig. 6. Nuxalk frontal view. Fig. 7. Nuxalk lateral view.

- Mode:** Stylized.
- Frontal form:** Round, often with a circular corona.
- Lateral view:** Hemispherical.
- Forehead:** Strongly rounded, receding.
- Eyebrows:** Broad eyebrows in low relief. Bent sharply over the temple.
- Eyesockets:** Orbital area rather small, often defined in a leaf shape. Area around the orb may be moulded into a convex shape.
- Eyelids:** Eyelids are defined through inset orbs.
- Orbs:** Bulging outwards, with a flat iris and lens which may be pierced.
- Cheeks:** The modelling of the cheeks is distinctive. The fleshy and rounded bulge over the cheek-bone is a style characteristic. There is often a crease in the cheeks from nostrils to outer lips.
- Nose:** Projects boldly, and may be broad or hooked. Large and well defined flaring nostrils.
- Mouth:** Projects forward, is often open and rather fleshy.
- Lips:** Distinctive lips. May taper together at corners or remain two broad separate forms, with a soft expression.
- Chin:** Short and receding.
- Ears:** Sometimes ears are present.
- Decoration:** Distinctive Nuxalk blue and vermilion red. Development of U-shapes. Painted designs cross carved contours, and do not emphasize the sculptural form.
- References:** Holm, 1983a, p.40; Holm, 1983b, p.40-41; Holm, 1987,

p.122; Jonaitis,1988, p.164; Macnair,1980, p.49-50;
Stott,1975, p. 56-89.

Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan

- Mode: Realistic/naturalistic.
Frontal form: Square to oval with straight sides.
Lateral view: Oval.
Forehead: Rounded.
Eyebrows: Slender, arching, with tapering and rounded ends.

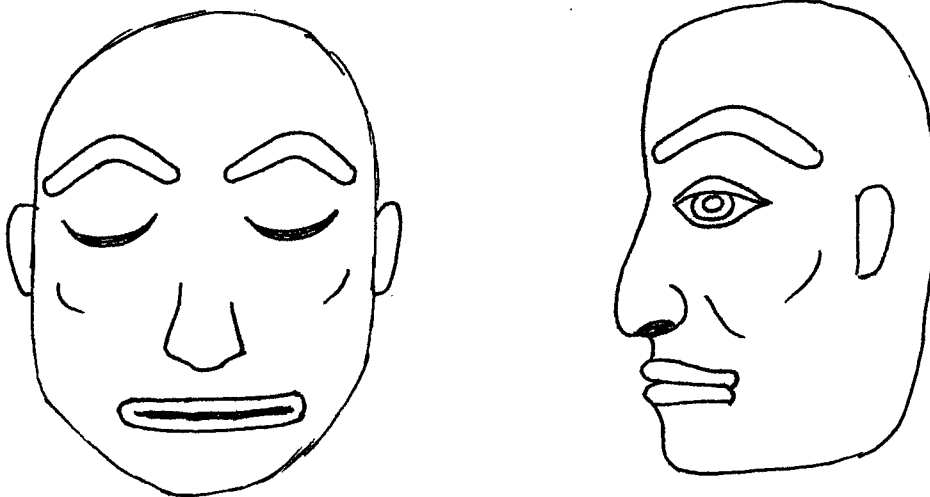


Fig. 8. C. Tsimshian frontal view. Fig. 9. C. Tsimshian lateral view.

- Eyesockets: The smoothly rounded and slightly bulging area over the orb, and the shallow scooped out area under the eye are style characteristics.
- Eyelids: The eye may be wide open or closed. If closed the eyelids may form a crescent shape above the eye or below the eye.

- Orbs:** The whole orb is convex in shape. If the eye is closed the area over the eye is moulded in a convex shape.
- Cheeks:** Three facial planes converge over the cheek-bone, forming a definitive pyramid arch. The lower cheek may have a crease running from the nostrils to the outer lips.
- Nose:** Aquiline.
- Mouth:** Often partly open, straight and wide.
- Lips:** Rounded lips, tapering at the corners.
- Chin:** Chin is firm and thrusts forward.
- Ears:** Ears may be present.
- Decoration:** Asymmetrical bold designs, or two-dimensional northern Northwest Coast designs, with classical ovoids, U-shapes and S-shapes
- References:** Duff, 1967, p.32; Holm, 1983b, p.43; King, 1979, p.76-80; Macnair, 1980, p.51-4; Wingert, 1951, pp. 75-80).

Haisla (Kitimat area)

- Mode:** Naturalistic.
- Frontal form:** Oval, slightly flat sides.
- Lateral view:** Hemisphere, curved at the back.
- Forehead:** Rounded.
- Eyebrows:** Arched, tapering to round ends at the temple.
- Eyesockets:** Ovoid, with soft transitions over the bony socket ridge.
Moulding over the eye area suggests skin and flesh.

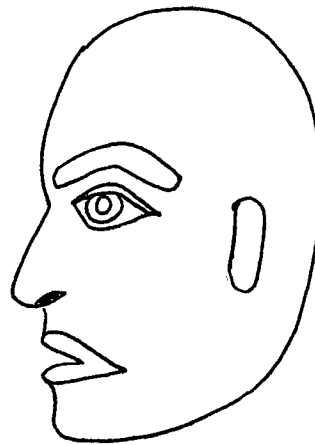
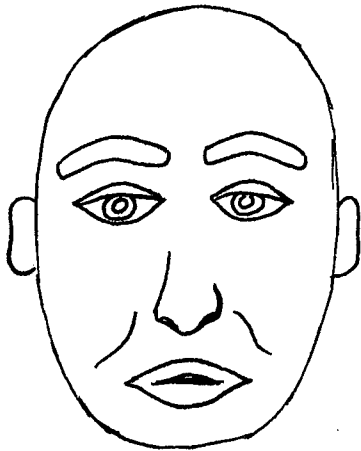


Fig. 10. Haisla frontal view

Fig. 11. Haisla lateral view

- Eyelids:** Incised and carved. Naturalistic.
- Orbs:** Eyes look downwards and may be half closed.
- Cheeks:** Curved, with rounded transitions between planes.
Moderate cheek pyramid over cheek-bone.
- Nose:** Slightly aquiline, nostrils defined but not widely flared.
- Mouth:** Half open. Often has a slender, drooping moustache.
- Lips:** Smooth and rounded with tapering corners.
- Chin:** Rounded. Sometimes has a small goatee beard.
- Ears:** Usually present, simply carved.
- Decoration:** Plain wood background, northern formline designs may be present in red and black.
- References:** Holm, 1983a, p.41; Sawyer, 1983, p.144-7.

Heiltsuk

Mode: Stylized.

Frontal form: Oval.

Lateral view: Hemispherical

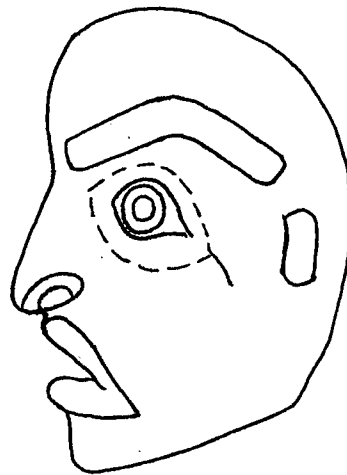
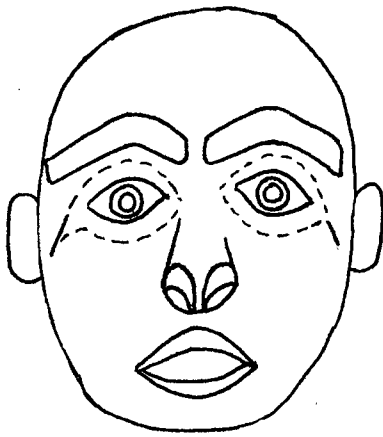


Fig. 12. Heiltsuk frontal view.

Fig. 13. Heiltsuk lateral view.

Forehead: Rounded.

Eyebrows: Bold, and bent into a strong arch.

Eyesockets: Distinctive, large and well defined, often in a leaf shape.

Eyelids: Carved orbs define the eyelids, which may not be painted.

Orbs: Large orb, often carved in a slight convex shape. Round eyes wide open.

Cheeks: Smooth planes from outer cheekbone to chin.

Nose: Straight nose with moderately flared nostrils. A slender band may define the medial length of the nose.

- Mouth:** Projects forward, is often open. Lower lip is straight, the upper lip is arched.
- Lips:** Medium thickness, in a continuous band with tapering corners.
- Chin:** Firm, naturalistic, not receding.
- Ears:** Often has carved ears.
- Decoration:** Plain wood background, with blue, green, red and black designs. Development of U shapes.
- References:** Holm, 1983b, p. 41-2; Holm, 1987, p. 126-7; King, 1979, p. 36; Macnair, 1980, p. 37, p. 49, p. 56.

Attribution of the double masks

Table 4 lists the double masks according to probable origin. It will be noted that some masks have characteristics that overlap from one group into another. Table 5 shows the frequency of double masks amongst the different Northwest Coast groups in a more condensed form.

Table 6 shows which masks I have attributed to different groups and those that were attributed to a more precise location. Table 7 is a condensed version of the attribution changes.

Table 4

Attribution of the double masks according to museum records and stylistic characteristics

<u>List #</u>	<u>Museum</u>	<u>Cata #</u>	<u>Collection Date</u>	<u>Represents</u>
<u>West Kwakwaka'wakw</u>				
1	BM	25.0 212	1896	Bear/Man
2	BM	1-1446	1920	Heron/Man
3	BM	1-1481	1920	Eagle/Man
4	AMNH	16/2358	1897	Thunderbird/Man
5	MAI	11/5226	c1910	Sun/Man ?Sun
6	BMM	1944-Am-2-146	1915	?-/Man?Sun
7	RBCM	13848	1970	Sea Raven/Moon
8	CMC	V11-E-784	1970	Thunderbird/Man/Sisiutl
9	CMC	Acc 1987-16-2B	1980s	Thunderbird/Man/Sisiutl
<u>East Kwakwaka'wakw</u>				
10	AMNH	16/6835	1899	Raven/?Sun (Humanoid)
11	AMNH	16/2381	1897	Raven/?Sun (Humanoid)
12	AMNH	16/6770	1899	Bird/Humanoid
13	MAI	8/1638	c1910	Bird/Man
14	VM	AA 2002	c1900	Man/Man/Sisiutl
15	RBCM	1952	1914	Eagle/Man
16	AMNH	16/8532	1901	Raven/Man
17	AMNH	16/8410	1909	Man/Man
<u>East and West Kwakwaka'wakw overlap</u>				
18	CMC	V11-E-604	1900	Eagle/Man
19	GM	AA 1684	1955	Thunderbird/Man

20	VM	AA 106	c1900	Thunderbird/Man
21	MOA	A17140	1973	Man/Man
22	MOA	A4497	1960	Eagle/Man/Sisiutl
23	MOA	A7879	1961	Raven/Man
24	MOA	A6373	1890	Animal/Humanoid
25	MOA	A6256	c1890	Raven/Qolus
26	VM	AA 140	c1900	Whale/Whale
27	GM	R180.219	c1930	Salmon/Man/Sisiutl
28	BM	1-1667	1954	Sculpin/Man
29	RBCM	2363	1912	Bird/Humanoid
30	CMC	V11-B-23	1879	Whale/Man
31	MAI	19/8963	c1910	Whale/Man
32	VM	AA 1644	1926	Man/Man
33	MOA	NB 3.1357	1983	Bird/Man/Corona design

Nuu-Chah-Nulth.

34	CMC	V11-F-405	1890	Wolf?Serpent/Bird
35	CMC	V11-F-428	1913	Wolf?Serpent/Man
36	MOA	A 7968	1962	Wolf?Serpent/Bird
37	BMM	1976-Am-3.50	1950	Wolf?Serpent/Man

Nuxalk

38	AMNH	16/1416	1897	Bear/Man
39	LM	19178	19c	Bird/Man/Corona design
40	AMNH	16/1493	1897	?Salmon/Man
41	RBCM	6386	c1870	Sea-creature/Bear

Haida

42	CMC	V11-B-1440	1900	Raven/Man
----	-----	------------	------	-----------

43	PR	1891-49-8	1891	Raven/Women
44	MOA	A 1107	1986	Raven/Humanoid
45	RBCM	1420	1911	Bird/Human/ Corona design
46	PR	1891-49-9	1981	Bird/Human/ Corona design

Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan

47	CMC	V11-C-1056	1923	Man/Man
48	VM	AA 99	1890	Raven/Man
49	GM	R 2065.9	1964	Hawk/Man
50	CMC	V11-X-643	1955	?Wolf/Man

Haisla

51	ROM	HN 628	1923	Owl/Owl
----	-----	--------	------	---------

Heiltsuk

52	CMC	V11-B-20	1879	Bird/Man/Corona design
53	CMC	V11-B-24	1879	Wings/Hawk

Heiltsuk and Kwakwaka'wakw overlap

54	CMC	V11-E-667	1900	Raven/Mosquito
55	VM	AA 98	1900	Eagle/Man
56	RBCM	11	1893	Eagle/Man

Heiltsuk and Nuxalk overlap

57	MAI	5/7964	c1910	Thunderbird/Man
58	MAI	9/2207	c1910	Seamonsster ?Shell/Man

Heiltsuk and Haisla overlap

59	BMM	1944-Am-2-195 a,b.	1915	Bear/Bird
60	CM	42-207	1877	Hands/Man

Table 5Distribution of Double Masks in Museum Sample

<u>Cultural group</u>	<u>Number</u>
West Kwakwaka'wakw	9
East Kwakwaka'wakw	8
W. and E. Kwakwaka'wakw overlap	16
Nuu-Chah-Nulth	4
Nuxalk	4
Haida	5
Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan	4
Haisla	1
Heiltsuk	2
Heiltsuk and Kwakwaka'wakw overlap	3
Heiltsuk and Nuxalk overlap	2
Haisla and Heiltsuk overlap	2
<u>Total</u>	<u>60</u>

Table 6
Attribution changes

<u>#</u>	<u>Museum*</u>	<u>Change from:</u>	<u>Change to:</u>
30	CMC V11-B-23	Haida	Kwakwaka'wakw**
39	LM 19178	N.W. Coast	Nuxalk*
48	VM AA 99	Kwakiutl	Coast Tsimshian**
50	CMC V11-X-643	N.W. Coast	Coast Tsimshian*
52	CMC V11-B-20	Haida or Bella Bella	Heiltsuk*
53	CMC V11-B-24	Haida	Heiltsuk**
54	CMC V11-E-667	Kwakiutl	Heiltsuk and Kwakwaka'wakw overlap*
55	VM AA 98	Haida	ditto**
56	RBCM 11	N. Wakashan	ditto*
57	MAI 5/7964	Bella Bella	Heiltsuk and Nuxalk overlap*
58	MAI 9/2207	Bella Bella	ditto*
59	BMM 1944 Am2-195	Bella Bella	Heiltsuk and Haisla overlap*
60	CM 42-207	N.W. Coast	ditto*

* Change to a more precise attribution.

** Change to a different attribution.

Table 7Attribution changes (summary)

No change in attribution	47 (78%)
--------------------------	----------

Double mask attributed to a different group	4 (7%)
--	--------

Revised attribution is more precise but supports museum records	9 (15%)
---	---------

<u>Total Masks</u>	<u>..... 60</u>
--------------------	-----------------

CHAPTER 3

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE DOUBLE MASKS

In this chapter I describe 60 double masks in detail, in order to provide a comprehensive record of these masks. I present this full description because students of Northwest Coast art, and especially native artists, may be interested in particular masks and their details. Many of the masks in the sample are usually in museum storage, and are not available for the general public to see. This thesis provides an opportunity for double masks to be viewed more widely.

However, as I explained in chapter 2, since this group of double masks is drawn only from museum collections, it is a biased sample. It is possible that other types of double masks were made, but they are not represented in this sample because they were not collected.

I present my descriptions of the 60 double masks in order, according to their probable cultural origin. The parameters for my descriptions are as follows:

First, the written description supplements the photographs. Referring to the photographs, I have described the first double mask in each cultural area in detail, partly in order to point out the specific stylistic characteristics of that area, and partly as an example of the way in which the later photographs in that group can be viewed. Using this method I aim to focus the description on the differences and similarities between masks. This is useful in locating a mask's likely place of origin. I have not described in detail the complete form and style of every mask in each cultural group, but have pointed out unusual features.

Second, a description of the basic structure of double masks, and a description of the mechanical way they open and close, is given at the beginning of this chapter. I have not described how individual double masks work unless the mechanics are unusual. The mechanical features of the double masks are basically similar.

Third, the themes of the designs on the inside parts of the outer mask are discussed in detail and analysed in chapter 4. They are not fully described in this chapter.

Fourth, I have included a section on the ceremonial context for each mask when information is available. The ceremonial use of specific masks is provided when this is known. A general background of ceremonial information is given for some masks when specific details are not known. When no records of ceremonial use can be located I have omitted the section on ceremonial context. Information is drawn from ethnographies, museum notes, and comments by owners and collectors.

Fifth, in 13 cases I have changed or clarified the attribution of a mask. In the descriptions I have said why the form and style of these masks suggests such a change.

The structure of double masks and the mechanical methods of opening and closing them

The masks are usually made of red cedar, yellow cedar, or alder. Yellow cedar and alder are denser woods than red cedar, and they are more suitable for the sculptural carving and moulding of the inner mask, which is the foundation on which the rest of the mask is built. Protruding struts are often a part of the inner mask, and these assist in opening and closing the outer mask. Red cedar is lighter in weight,

and is particularly useful for large outer masks.

The outer mask is attached to the inner mask with hinges. The hinge may be made of skin, sewn on to both parts with sinew, or the skin may be nailed on. Some hinges are made of wood, with a wooden peg that holds the two pieces together. Many masks have metal hinges, nailed or screwed on.

The outer mask opens up to reveal the inner mask. The simplest type of outer mask consists of one part, which is raised and lowered over the inner mask. Some outer masks consist of two parts that open vertically upwards and downwards, or two parts that open sideways. More complex masks open outwards in several sections around the inner mask.

The mask is opened and closed by strings attached to the outer mask. The strings go to the back of the inner mask, and the dancer pulls on one set of strings to open the mask and another set to close it. Very often the strings that open the mask pass through holes in projecting struts, or through the corona, and this technique provides more leverage. The strings that close the mask may go through the eyes, nose or mouth of the inner face, or extra holes may be made through the cheeks and forehead. The string may be fastened to the mask with a nail or screw, but often the string is pulled through the mask, and a knot is tied there to prevent it from slipping back. Figures 14 and 15 show how the strings and levers work.

The double mask is usually worn in front of the face, and is held on the head by a harness. The harness sometimes consists of fabric or leather straps that fasten around the back of the head. The more elaborate double masks have a harness made out of a combination of wooden parts and leather, which fits on the head like a hat, with the

mask in front. It is not clear how some of the simpler masks were held in place, because there are only remnants of supporting material left. Some masks have a strut across the lower part of the back of the mask, and the dancer may have held the mask by hand. Very large whale or fish masks were supported on the back of the dancer, and he bent forward as he danced so that the mask was horizontal.

Many masks have holes in them and extra nails. These are signs of other parts that were once added on. Remnants of shredded cedar bark, feathers, down, fur, leather, wool, whiskers, and small pieces of extra wood, suggest that originally the masks were much more decorative than they are now.

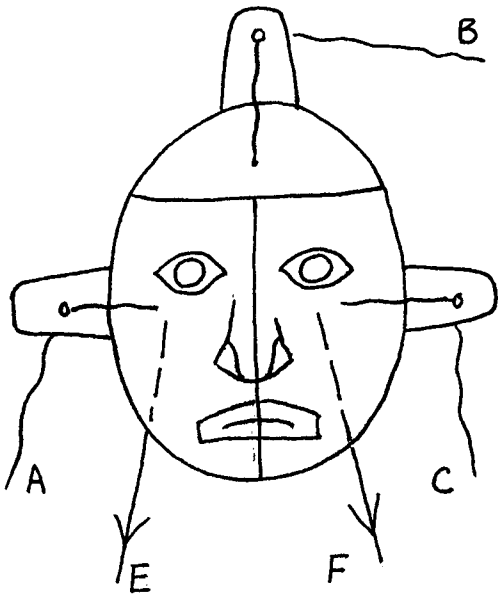


Fig. 14. Front of closed mask.

Strings A, B and C are slack.
Strings E and F inside the mask
are pulled tight.

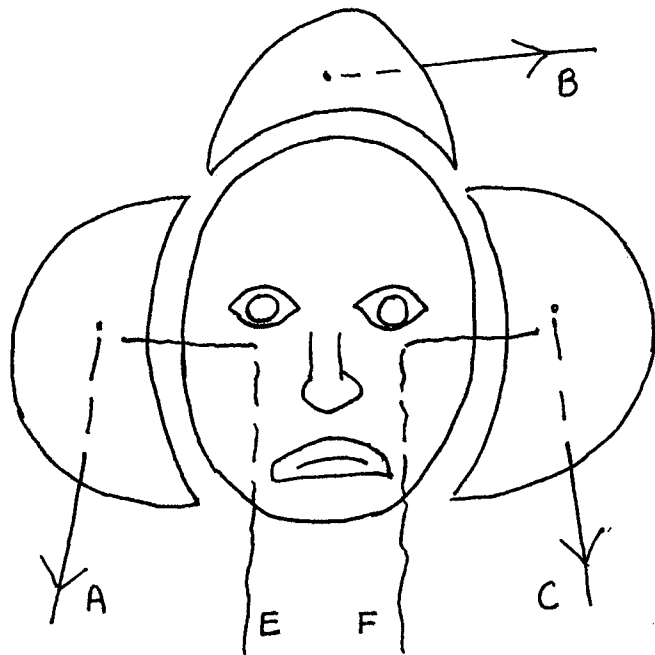


Fig. 15. Front of open mask.

Strings A, B and C are pulled
tight. Strings E and F are
released.

Descriptions of Double MasksWest Kwakwaka'wakw culture areaMask identification *1 BM 25.0 212 Bear/Man 5 (See page 39)Fig. 16. Mask # 1 closedFig. 17. Mask # 1 open

Museum notes. This double mask is Kwakiutl⁶ in origin. It has the date 1896 on the back, also the name "Yaklan", which probably refers to the owner. It was donated to the Burke Museum in 1969 with the Gerber collection.

Dimensions. Height 36 cm; width closed 42 cm; width open 110 cm; depth from front to back 55 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a grizzly bear: it opens sideways in two parts. The bear is carved and painted in the form and style typically found in West Kwakwaka'wakw double masks. It is sculptured in the round, and on the whole is naturalistic. It has a large deeply carved nose, realistic teeth, and ears on top of the head. The eyesockets are emphasized as a shallow concave area in low relief. The eyes are painted with a eccentric pupil. There is a line of carved and painted U-shapes between the lips and the eyesocket. This is a characteristic feature of West Kwakwaka'wakw masks. The mask is painted all over in a realistic manner, except for the eyesockets which are defined in dark green. The mask has two projections at the sides of the mask which act as levers for the strings that open it. These projections are often found on Kwakwaka'wakw masks.

5. "Mask identification" includes: "mask #1"--the number I have given this mask. "BM 25.0 212"-- abbreviation for the museum where the mask is located, and the museum catalogue number. "Bear/Man" -- the creatures represented on the outside and inside masks.

6. In "Museum notes" I have used words taken from museum records, thus the words Kwakiutl and Bella Coola are used.

Inner mask. Represents a man in stylized form. The mask is angular in shape, with a short, straight chin. The medium width eyebrows extend to the temples. The eyesockets are carved in a well defined ovoid shape, the orb is large and cone-shaped, with flat pupils that are pierced open. The area down the sides of the nose and mouth is deeply carved out, leaving angular raised cheeks, and a protruding mouth. The nose is rather flattened, with wide nostrils. The mouth is open and downturned, with lips that do not taper at the corners.

The inner mask is painted in typical West Kwakwaka'wakw style. It has a white background, and the colours follow and emphasize the carved contours of the face. The lines down the side of the nose and mouth are a West Kwakwaka'wakw feature, especially the scalloped line which suggests a moustache.

Decoration inside the cheeks. Represents a stylized version of the inside of the bear's head, showing the eyes, nose and teeth.

Mechanics. The strings that open the mask are fastened to the outer mask just underneath the eye, go through a hole in the projecting part on the side of the head, and then inside the head of the mask.

The strings that close the mask are fastened to the inside cheek of the bear just above the eye, go through a hole between the eyes, and then to the back of the mask. There is an extra string which is connected to the inside cheeks of the bear and to the forehead of the inner mask. This prevents the mask from opening too far.

The hinges are made of leather, and the double mask opens and closes efficiently. There are pieces of canvas and some nails at the back of the mask, but no remaining harness for the dancer's head. It is

possible for the dancer to see through the mouth of the inner mask and the holes in the bear's nose.

Ceremonial context. Museum notes say that the mask was worn "in the dramatization of a specific myth", and that the inner image is the "possible mythical ancestor of the mask's owner".

In *Smoke From Their Fires*, Chief Kwekas, Charles James Nowell, says that he danced in a grizzly bear double mask when he was a young man (Ford, 1941, p. 117).



Fig. 18. Mask # 2 closed

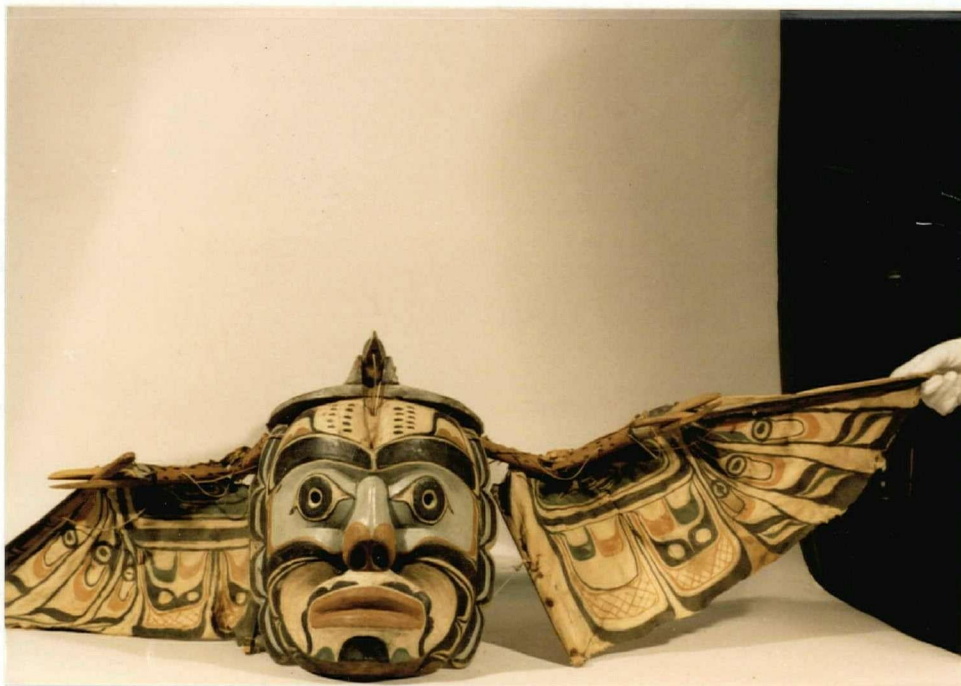


Fig. 19. Mask #2 open

Museum notes. Collected from the Kwakiutl in the 1920's by Walter Waters. This mask was owned by Chief Lagius in Fort Rupert.

Dimensions. Height 38 cm; width closed 36 cm; width open 130 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a heron. Catalogue notes say it is a "crane", but Bill Holm, Curator Emeritus at the Burke Museum, considers that name to be a mistake (Holm, 1987, p. 114).

The two canvas wings of the heron open sideways, and when closed the wings cover the face of the inner mask. The wings are supported by elegant wooden pieces, carved with heads of herons. These pieces represent the heron's wing-bones, and the wings unfold when strings are pulled.

The neck of the heron extends when a string is pulled, and the beak closes. The head and the neck of the heron pivot on wooden pegs. The string goes around a pulley at the base of the neck.

Inner mask. Has typical West Kwakwaka'wakw characteristics including a scalloped corona. The ovoid shape formed from the bony ridge of the optical area or eyesocket is clearly illustrated.

Mechanics. The mask has an oval shaped wooden part on top of the mask that represents the heron's body. It also acts as a flat cap for the dancer, helping to support the mask on the dancer's head.

Ceremonial context. Although the story connected with this specific mask is not reported, there is a Koskimo origin story about Qla'neqe'lak^u (Qla'neqe'lak)⁷ the Transformer, who changed his father into a heron because his father refused to feed his children (Boas, 1935, pp.1-12).

7. Native names are written first as they appear in the original literature, followed in brackets by the word I have used throughout the rest of the thesis.

According to the traditions of the Mă'maleleqăla (Ma'maleleqala) the heron was one of the mythical birds who lived at Crooked Beach, and was an ancestor of the village (Boas and Hunt, 1905, p. 295).

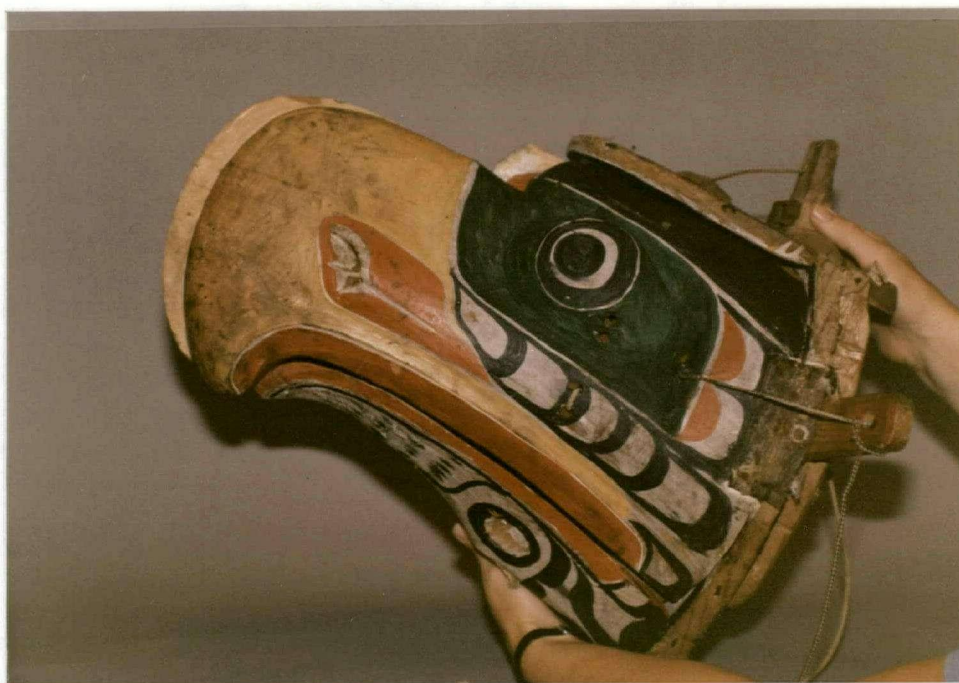


Fig. 20. Mask # 3 closed



Fig. 21. Mask # 3 open

Museum notes. Kwakiutl in origin, this double mask was collected by Walter Waters in the 1920's.

Dimensions. Height 45.5 cm; width closed 35.5 cm; width open 127 cm.

Outer mask. Represents an eagle. The mask is realistic in shape, with a strong curving beak. The painted eagle face is highly stylized--emphasizing the nostrils. There is a progressive U-shaped design under the eye which is a Kwakwaka'wakw feature. The eye is unusually round, but the pupil is typically eccentric.

Inner mask. The planes of the face are rounded, and do not have the deeply carved areas typically found in West Kwakwaka'wakw masks. However, the painted design is characteristically West Kwakwaka'wakw, with a scalloped moustache and beard against a white background.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The design is a stylized representation of inside the eagle's head, showing the eye, nose and mouth of the eagle. The eyes appear to be closed.

Mechanics. The mask opens and closes efficiently in four ways with strings and leather hinges.

Ceremonial context. No story is recorded for this specific mask, but according to the traditions of the Ma'malelegala, the eagle was one of the chiefs of all the mythical animals and birds at Crooked Beach, and as such can be considered an ancestor (Boas and Hunt, 1905, p. 295).

The Bella Bella have an eagle clan and according to one origin story a man came to earth as an eagle, took off his mask and became human. When dancing at the Lewe'laxa ceremony "he wore an eagle head dress" (Boas, 1932, p. 64). Boas notes that "The Kwakiutl state that they obtained (their) Lao'laxa ceremonies from the Heiltsuq" (Boas, 1897a, p. 630).



Fig. 22. Mask # 4: outside view

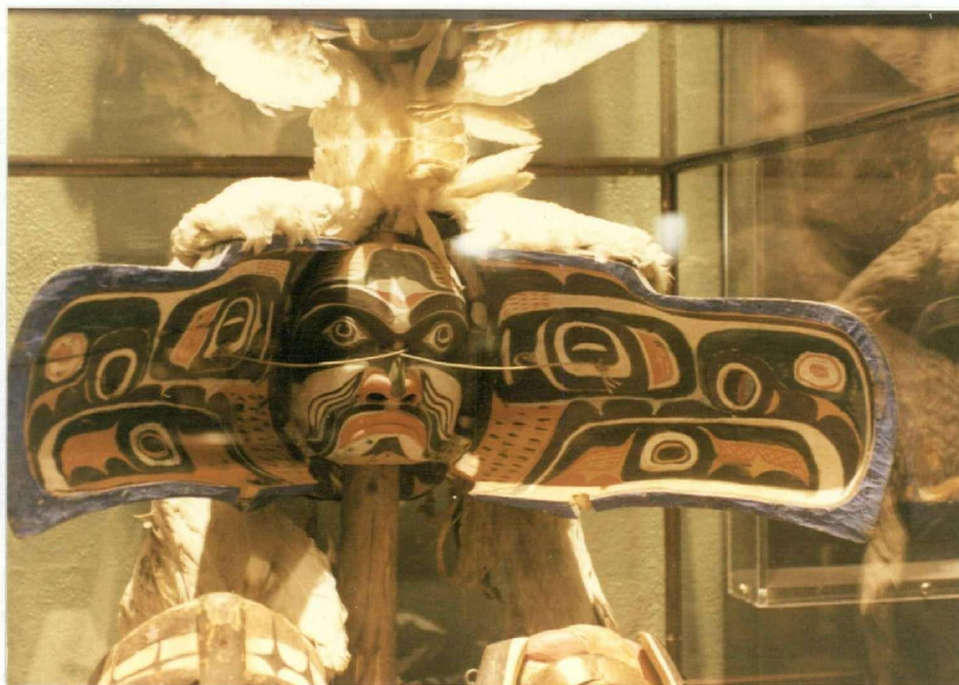


Fig. 23. Mask # 4 open

Museum notes. Collected from the Kwakiutl by George Hunt in 1897.

This mask is on display inside a glass case.

Outer mask. The mask represents the thunderbird⁸. It opens sideways in two parts. The curved beak is black, and the nostrils are linked unnaturally to the mouth. There is a decorative line of red and black U-shapes between the mouth and the eye. The pupil of the eye is eccentric, so that the eye appears to be looking forward. On top of the head is a large wing of a swan. This mask has a presence that suggests the power and mystery of the thunderbird in a way that is difficult to describe.

Inside mask. Represents a man in characteristic Kwakwaka'wakw style. It is painted in black, red and white.

Decoration inside the cheeks. Represents the inside of the thunderbird head showing the eyes, nose and mouth. The eyes are closed.

Ceremonial context. George Hunt's notes at the American Museum of Natural History say that this mask represents Matagila. The story about Matagila is told in *Kwakiutl Tales Part I* (Boas, 1935, pp. 55-57). Matagila is a seagull ancestor, who took off his mask and became a man in the Fort Rupert area. His son became a cannibal dancer and a chief. This mask is interesting because it appears to be a thunderbird dressed-up as Matagila the seagull.

The thunderbird is an important Kwakwaka'wakw culture hero and ancestor. He was the chief at Thunder-Bird-Place, where the birds who came down from the upper world lived. These birds were "the first in our world" (Boas and Hunt, 1905, p. 295). The thunderbird and

8. I have not capitalized the names of creatures unless referring directly to ethnographic data. I have used the grammatical article to precede the names as suggested by Reid (Reid, 1984, pp. 63-65).

his younger brother Qo'los (Qo'los) were the ancestors of the Ma'maleleqala, the ^εnE'mgis (Nimkish), and the Gwa^εsEla' (Gwa'sela) (Boas, 1935, p. 33 and pp. 85-90). According to the Le'kwiltoq traditions of Kingcome Inlet, the thunderbird came to earth from heaven as the ancestor Ǿ'a'mtalal (G'a'mtalal), who brought the oulachon to the Inlet (Boas, 1897a, pp. 414-8).

Stories describe the thunderbird by saying that he ate whales and double-headed serpents, that he made thunder and lightening to frighten and kill his enemies, and that he had talons powerful enough to lift a whale out of the sea (Boas and Hunt, 1905, pp. 295-31).

Masks and housefront paintings show the bird as similar to the eagle, but with ears or horns, a beak that is curved more rapaciously than an eagle's beak, large nostrils which are too close to the mouth, large spreading wings and large talons. His beak is often painted black, although other colours may be used.

Mask Identification #5 MAI 11/5226 Sun/Man?Sun

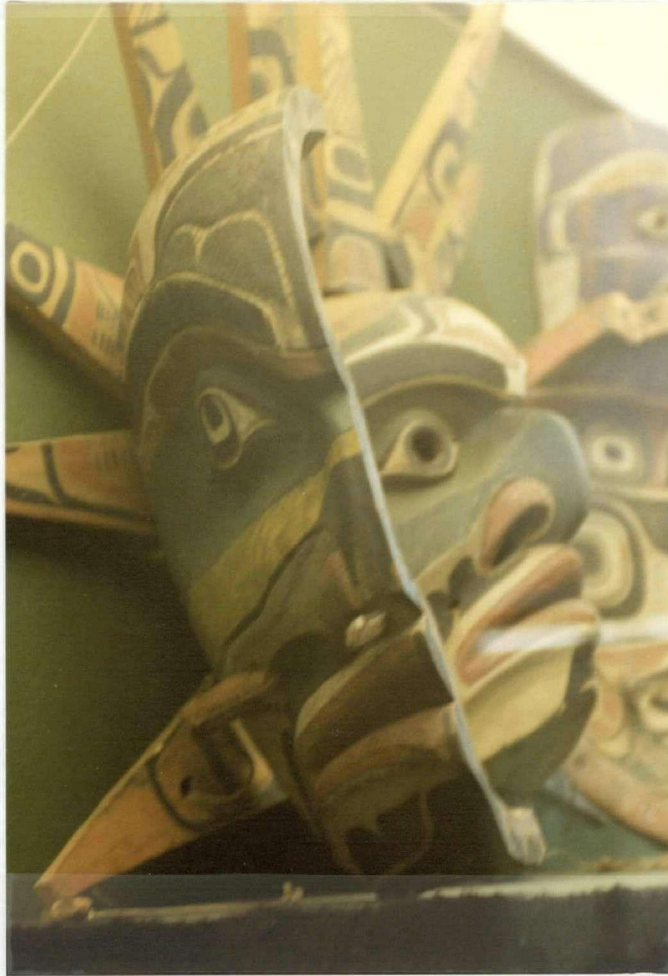


Fig. 24.

Mask # 5: outside view



Fig. 25. Mask # 5 open

(This double mask was in a glass case and could not be closely examined).

Museum notes. Kwakiutl, from Alert Bay. Collected by George Heye, ca. 1910

Dimensions. Height 45.5 cm; width closed 40.5 cm; width open 101.5 cm.

Outer mask. The outer mask could not be clearly seen, but it represents a humanoid sun, with 12 sun-rays.

Inner mask. The face is carved in West Kwakwaka'wakw style. It has a large hooked nose which is characteristic of sun masks. The corona is painted with red U-shapes.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The design has elements of Northwest Coast style but is complex and unclear.

Mechanics. The outer mask opens sideways in two parts, and there is a string that prevents the mask from opening too far. The outer rays can be drawn together at the top of the outer mask.

Ceremonial context. There are no museum notes about this specific mask. The sun is the crest of the $S\bar{i}'s\hat{i}nLae^E$ (Si'sin'lae) clan. An ancestor descended from heaven wearing the sun mask (Boas, 1897a, p. 337).

Mask identification. #6 BMM 1944-Am-2-146 ?/Man?Sun



Fig. 26. Mask # 6 closed (partially)



Fig. 27 Mask # 6 open

This double mask was being repaired, and could not be seen fully closed.

Museum notes. Kwakiutl. Collected by H. G. Beasley about 1915.

Dimensions. Height 42 cm; width closed 24 cm; width open, approximately 40 cm.

Outer mask. The outer mask is smoothly carved and hemispherical in shape. It has a black background, with eyes, nose and large round mouth painted on. The mask opens in 10 rays.

Inner mask. May represent the sun or a man. It is carved and painted in typical West Kwakwaka'wakw style.

Ceremonial context. There are no specific notes about this double mask. It is similar to a mask illustrated in Boas (Boas, 1897a, p. 630).



Fig. 28. Mask #7 closed



Fig. 29. Mask #7 open

Museum notes. Kwakiutl, carved by Tony Hunt in 1971.

Dimensions. Height 65 cm; width open 128 cm; depth 65 cm.

Outer mask. This is a supernatural bird⁹ with ears and copper teeth. The pupil of the eye is eccentric, nose and eyelids are outlined in red and black. The nose is deeply carved and elaborately painted.

Inner mask. The face is not deeply carved, but is decorated in West Kwakwaka'wakw style, with a white background. When fully open the moon is surrounded by an oilskin corona.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The rather loose design is representative of the inside of the sea raven head, showing the eyes, nose and teeth. There is also a bear motif.

Ceremonial context. Legends say a mask of the sea raven was obtained by Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World from Chief Copper-Maker who lives in a supernatural house at the bottom of the sea (Boas and Hunt, 1906, pp. 60-79). A mask of the sea raven was collected by George Hunt from the Gwa'wae'nox for the American Museum of Natural History (Boas, 1909, p. 521 and Plates XXXV111 and XL1X). His notes say it was used to illustrate the origin story of the ancestor Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World. This mask by Tony Hunt appears to be associated with the legend, although the mask is not very similar to that one collected by George Hunt.

9. Supernatural creatures are mythological. They have features which do not exist in the natural world, including birds with horns and serpents with two heads.

Mask identification #8 CMC V11-E-784 Thunderbird/Sisiutl



Fig. 30. Mask #8 closed



Fig. 31. Mask # 8 open

Museum notes. Kwakiutl, carved by Lloyd Wadhams in the early 1970's. (The catalogue notes that this mask is called "Raven and Sun", but the catalogue refers to the bird as "Thunderbird" in the description).

Dimensions. Height 32.5 cm; width closed 41.5 cm; depth 64.5 cm.

Outer mask. The concave eyesockets are smoothly carved in low relief. There is a U-shaped design around the eyesockets, nose, and mouth, which is deeply carved. The eye is carved and moulded within the eyelids. The bird is painted black and green, and the head is decorated with shredded cedar bark in red and white colours. It is a supernatural bird rather than a naturalistic bird.

Inside mask. The inner face is part of the sisiutl complex, with the two serpent bodies and serpent heads painted on the inside cheeks of the outer bird. Two horns spring out when the mask opens. The inner face is West Kwakwaka'wakw in style.

Mechanics. The mask is not strung for opening, and does not appear to have been used. It is made to be worn on top of the head, which is unusual for a Kwakwaka'wakw mask. There is a sheepskin lining in the mask to cushion the head.

Mask identification. #9 CMC Acc #1987-16-2B Thunderbird/Sisiutl



Fig. 32. Mask # 9 closed



Fig. 33. Mask # 9 open

Museum notes. Kwakiutl, a mask carved by Beau Dick and others, ca. 1986.

Outer mask. The thunderbird has large curled horns, roundly sculptured cheeks and large nostrils. There are no U-shaped lines of decoration either carved or painted. Shredded cedar bark and feathers are attached to the head. The beak is painted orange.

Inside mask. The face is carved and painted in West Kwakwaka'wakw style. A line of octopus-type suckers are painted around the mouth. A sisiutl is painted in many colours, on the inside cheeks of the bird.

Mechanics. The mask is very large and heavy.

Ceremonial context. There is no specific information about this mask, but according to Newitsee tradition, Qla'neqelak the Transformer caught the double-serpent swimming in the river. He shot it with his bow and wore it as a belt (Boas and Hunt, 1906, p.192). The Dza'wadEenox (Dza'wade'nox) of Kingcome Inlet and the Kwa'g.ul (Kwa'gul) of Fort Rupert describe how the double-headed serpent could turn people to stone or could twist their bodies around (Boas and Hunt, 1905, pp. 60-61; Boas and Hunt, 1906, pp. 105-113). The image of the mythical sisiutl is found on the inside of several Kwakwaka'wakw double-masks. The reason that it is shown seems to be related to the adventures of an ancestor and the power he controls through the sisiutl.

East Kwakwaka'wakw culture area

Mask identification #10 AMNH 16/6835 Raven/?Sun



Fig. 34. Mask # 10 closed



Fig. 35. Mask # 10 open

Museum notes. Collected in 1899 by George Hunt. This mask is called "gwaidzewe" (Raven-in-the-Sky).

Dimensions. Height 26 cm; width closed 18 cm; height open approximately 60 cm; width including the corona 55 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a raven with a long straight beak painted black. The nostrils are carved close to the mouth, and this is characteristic of a supernatural bird. The head is smoothly carved with incised lips. The orb is rounded within the eyelid but the iris and pupil are flat. The pupil is eccentric, so that the eye appears to be looking forward. Painted decoration around the eyes consists of a band of blue colour rather than two ovoid shapes around the eyes. Feathers are tied to the top of the head with cedar twine. The wide corona is a separate piece of flat wood.

Inner mask. Represents a humanoid sun in an abstract form. The mask is oval in shape with a receding chin. The eyebrows are raised in low relief and taper at the temples. The carved eyesockets area is roughly almond shaped, and moulded in such a way that it gives the appearance of flesh and skin around the bony eyesocket ridge and the eye itself. The orb is rounded but has a flat iris and pupil. The pupil is eccentric and the eye appears to look upwards. Planes of the cheek are flattened, and there are no sharply carved edges. The nose is large, narrow, and shaped like a hook: the tip of the nose curls into the mouth. The nose is painted a bright blue and the wide nostrils are vermilion red. The lips are rounded in shape, the mouth open and turned down.

Decoration inside the beak. The red, blue and black design is painted loosely. Dashes of paint are often used. The bright blue colour is

probably based on a solution of Ricketts Blueing Powder. On the back of the corona there is a design of two ravens and the sun.

Mechanics. The mask opens in two parts, upwards and downwards. The hinges are made of leather that are sewn on with sinew. There is also a metal hinge for the top part. The string that opens the top section goes around a small wooden pulley at the top of the corona. The string that closes the lower half has a complex arrangement in which the string is threaded through a metal loop in the mouth of the sun.

Ceremonial context. Hunt calls this mask "Raven-in-the-Sky". The story related to this mask is told in *Kwakiutl Texts* (Boas and Hunt, 1905, p.76). It is an origin story belonging to the Gwa'wae'nox in which the hero is given a mask of Raven-in-the-Sky by his father-in-law, who also gives him the winter-dance name of Flying-about-the-World.

Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet origin stories tell how The Chief Above made the world, but he made the sun too close to the earth and it was too hot. The raven warned other creatures that the sun was too low, and when they all appealed to The Chief Above he raised the sun to the right place (Boas, 1932, pp.1-2).

Mask identification #11 AMNH 16/2381 Raven/Sun



Fig. 36.

Mask # 11 closed



Fig. 37. Mask # 11 open

Museum notes. Collected from the No'lowidox tribe at Knight Inlet in 1897. This is a Ga'we double mask (Raven) used in the Lao'laxa Dance (Boas, 1909, p. 521).

Dimensions. Height closed 25 cm; height open 84 cm; width 25 cm; beak from front to back 50 cm.

Outer mask. Represents the raven. The beak is straight and black. There is a simple incised nostril painted red. The whole mask is smoothly carved, with a shallow concave eyesocket area. A wide green band is painted across the eyes. The eye is red, outlined with black eyelids. There is a tuft of down on the forehead.

Inner mask. May represent a humanoid sun. It is hemispherical in shape with a receding chin. The hooked nose goes into the mouth and has copper nostrils. The eyesockets are almond shaped, and pieces of copper are fastened to the rounded orbs, suggesting wealth. The planes of the cheeks are flattened, and the mouth is open and downturned. There are tufts of down on the cheeks and forehead.

The mask is painted with red, green and black colours on a plain wood background. Red paint can be made from red ochre found in Knight Inlet. Also, green paint can be made from a copper salt found at Knight Inlet (Boas, 1909, pp. 402-3).

The corona has been made separately from the rest of the mask, and has a wide band of red scallops and a black ring.

Decoration inside the beak. The background is painted red with a loosely painted black design.

Mask identification #12 AMNH 16/6770 Thunderbird/Man



Fig. 38. Mask # 12 closed



Fig. 39. Mask # 12 open

Museum notes. This mask was collected by George Hunt from the Tsletsa'lwalagemi family at Nimkish in 1899.

Dimensions. Height 31 cm; width closed 28 cm; depth from front to back 41 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a bird, probably a thunderbird. It has a broad curved beak, and is painted dark blue and white. The nostrils are close to the mouth. It has white feathers on top of the head.

Inner mask. The mask is hemispherical in shape with a large hooked nose that goes into the mouth. Bulging eyes with flat irises and pupils look out sideways. The pupils are pierced open.

The eyebrows are raised, with an incised line above them. There are seven short vertical lines between the eyebrows. The mouth is open, the lips are rounded but have sharp square corners. The mask is painted red, blue, black and white.

Decoration inside the cheeks. A carefully painted design includes some cross-hatching.

Mechanics. This mask has an unusually well formed structure that fits over the head and supports the mask.

Attribution. Hunt relates this mask to the Nimkish of West Kwakwaka'wakw. However, the form and style of the inner mask is similar to #11 and #12 masks which were collected from people living in the East Kwakwaka'wakw area, and it is possible the mask was made there. The colours used are also more like those that are found on the Eastern side of Queen Charlotte Strait. For these reasons I have grouped this mask with the East Kwakwaka'wakw masks.

Mask identification. #13 MAI 8/1638 Bird/Man



Fig. 40. Mask # 13 closed



Fig. 41. Mask # 13 open

Museum notes. A mechanical mask which opens in four parts, disclosing a human mask. Kwakiutl in origin, this double mask was purchased from Fred Harvey (no date).

Dimensions. Height 40 cm; width closed 38 cm; depth from front to back 50 cm.

Outer mask. Probably represents a bird with a straight black beak, although it could be an animal. Smoothly finished, the only carved area is around the eyes, which is carved in a shallow concave shape. The eye is similar in shape to masks #10, #11 and #12. A white decoration has been added to this mask later.

Inner mask. The face of the man is naturalistic. The cheeks are realistically rounded, and the eyesockets are not defined by sharp edges. The lips are rather soft, and taper at the corners. A drooping narrow moustache is painted on the face, which has a white background. There is a red scalloped line running from the nose to the neck which is similar to West Kwakwaka'wakw style.

Decoration inside the cheeks and head. The design on the upper section is similar to #10 and #11.

Attribution. Museum notes record this mask as Kwakiutl. Referring to the mask profiles on pages 18-21 think this mask resembles East Kwakwaka'wakw form and style rather than West Kwakwaka'wakw. The double mask is not deeply carved, the inner mask is naturalistic in style, and the interior designs and colours are similar to East Kwakwaka'wakw masks.

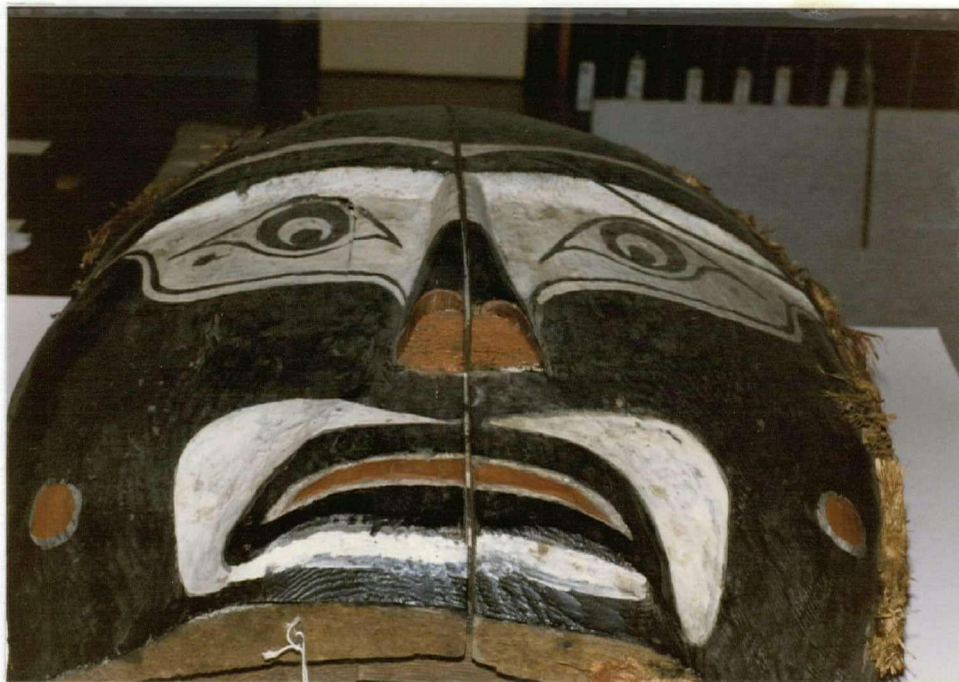


Fig. 42. Mask # 14 closed



Fig. 43. Mask # 14 open

Museum notes. This double face mask comes from Kingcome Inlet, it was carved by Albert Dawson ca. 1900. It represents Hayleekilahl.

Dimensions. Height 56 cm; width closed 55 cm; width open 110 cm.

Outer mask. A large round mask of red cedar, the outside mask is carved to a very thin shell. Adze marks add texture, although the mask is moulded into smooth curves around the cheeks and mouth. The nose is narrow and straight. The eyes look downwards. It has a black background with white and red decorations. Shredded cedar bark tufts surround the face.

Inner mask. The carved form inside is very similar to the outside, except that the eyes are carved in low relief, and the eyes look upwards. The background of the mask is painted white, in contrast to the black outside. Pieces of silver paper have been stuck on the lips and chin.

Decoration inside the cheeks. A motif representing the sisiutl and the thunderbird is painted in black and red on the white background.

Mechanics. There are two vertical struts at the back for holding the mask.

Ceremonial context. There is no specific story associated with this mask. Legends say that He'lig.iliquala (Hayleekilahl) and his sister came down from heaven, they wore red cedar rings on their heads and could throw power from one to the other (Boas, 1935, pp. 74-75).

Mask identification. #15 RBCM 1952 Thunderbird/Man



Fig. 44. Mask # 15 closed



Fig. 45. Mask # 15 open

Museum records. This double mask was collected in Alert Bay by C. F. Newcombe in 1914. Originally there was a small figure of a bear on top of the mask but it is now missing. Records note that "this Thunderbird mask went in marriage".

Dimensions. Height 50 cm; width closed 33 cm; width open 108 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a bird, probably a thunderbird. The beak curves downwards strongly, it is painted yellow. The head is smoothly carved and finished, with a concave area around the eyes. The line of the upper lip is incised, and a copper nostril is adjacent to the lip. A scalloped line is painted around the eye.

Inner mask. Represents a man's face carved realistically. The face is moulded smoothly over the underlying bones. The face has a natural wood finish with a green, blue, red and black decoration. The chin is straight and carved with an unusual edge under the chin which looks like the jaw bone. The rounded orbs and nostrils are made of copper. There is a corona around the face.

Decoration inside the cheeks. A bear motif fills the space painted in black on a red background.

Ceremonial context. Museum notes by Newcombe and George Hunt relate this particular mask to the origin story of the Nimkish. The thunderbird descends from heaven and helps a man to build the first house by lifting the huge beams in his talons. He takes off his thunderbird mask and costume, and they fly back to heaven. The thunderbird becomes a man and builds another house for himself (Boas, 1935, p. 33; also Boas, 1910, p. 84-5).

Attribution. Although this mask was bought in Alert Bay and refers to the story about the Nimkish it has a form and style similar to the

profile masks from East Kwakwaka'wakw.

The mask is not as deeply carved as most West Kwakwaka'wakw double masks. The plain wood background with blue and green coloured decorations is similar to East Kwakwaka'wakw masks. The copper eyes and nostrils are similar to East Kwakwaka'wakw #11 .

Mask identification #16 AMNH 16/8532 Raven/Man



Fig. 46. Mask # 16 closed



Fig. 47. Mask # 16 open

Museum notes. A double mask collected from the Gwa'wae'nox at Knight Inlet by George Hunt in 1901. Notes say, "the mask represents nalanokomgela kwenxwomt (Thunderbird mask of Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World)" (Boas and Hunt, 1906, p. 65).

Dimensions. Height 35 cm; width closed 30 cm; width open 108 cm.

Outer mask. The bird has a broad curving beak painted black. Shredded cedar bark is attached to the top of the head. The mask is smoothly finished with incised nostrils and lips. Gaps in the mouth suggest teeth. The eyesocket is painted blue, and the whole orb is rounded. Seven fixed wooden rays surround the outer mask.

Inner mask. The mask shows a man carved in a natural fashion with a corona. The wood is moulded with fleshy contours over the bony structure, although the portrait is essentially unexpressive. The eyebrows taper at the temples and the rounded lips taper at the corners. The mask is oval in shape with a rounded chin.

Decoration inside the cheeks. Seven rays open, covering the ones on the outside mask. Although the freehand decoration may appear to be rough because of the background paint, the lines are precisely painted with excellent control. The motifs represent a raven, a sisiutl, and a killerwhale. The top ray is sharply curved, with a small leather figure of a man attached to it. There is a band of bright blue across the eyes, similar to the painted face of the inner mask.

Mechanics. This is a complex mask. The hinges are made of leather and they are nailed onto the seven inner rays, these are pulled open by strings that go through the outer rays, and then to the back of the mask. The mask works well.

Ceremonial context. In museum records Hunt says this mask

represents nalanokomgela (Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World). In the traditions of the Gwa'wae'nox, ^hna'lanōkumē^g.^flakwē (nalanokomgela) gained supernatural power from Qlo'mogwa^fya (Qlo'mogwaya), chief of the world under the sea. Later, nalanokomgela displayed the masks at a winter-dance for the people, and distributed coppers after the treasures were seen. He became an ancestral chief of the Gwa'wae'nox (Boas and Hunt, 1906, p. 60–79).

Mask identification. #17 AMNH 16/8410 Man/Man

Museum notes. Collected by George Hunt in 1902 from the Gwa'wae'nox. The double mask represents "nalanokomgilaget". (The names nalanokomgilaget and nalanokomgela are both interpreted in notes and in the text to be the same person, "Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World").

Dimensions. Height 42 cm. (This information is from museum notes. The mask was on display and could not be examined).

Outer mask. Represents a man carved in a realistic style. Smoothly finished, without any sharp edges, the mask has realistic contours. The lips are expressive, but the eyes are static and unnaturally wide open. The nose is narrow and straight, and the chin is large and firm. The mask is painted green, black and red on a natural wood background. It is decorated with shredded cedar bark on top of the head.

Inner mask. The face is similar in every way to the outer mask, except that the corona is visible, and the band over the eyes is black instead of green.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The motif is a man's hand.

Ceremonial context. This double mask is illustrated in *The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island* on Plate L1, and is described on page 521 in the

same book as illustrating "two faces (that) are supposed to represent the person in different moods" (Boas, 1909). The caption does not describe the mask sufficiently, since the faces are so similar. It is possible that the outer mask represents nalanokomgilaget as a supernatural person with cedar bark, and this mask opens to reveal nalanokomgilageta as an ordinary man who becomes an ancestor of the Gwa'wae'nox. However, there is no evidence to support this speculation.

In my opinion, the faces on this mask are very similar to the inner mask of #16, and they were collected from the same area at about the same time. I would speculate that these masks may be part of a winter-dance sequence or story to illustrate the adventures of the ancestor nalanokomgilaget.

Mask identification. #17 AMNH 16/8410 Man/Man



Fig. 48. Mask # 17: outside view



Fig. 49. Mask # 17 open

East Kwakwaka'wakw and West Kwakwaka'wakw Overlap

Mask identification. #18 CMC VII-E-604 Eagle/Man



Fig. 50. Mask # 18 closed



Fig. 51. Mask # 18 open

Museum notes. This mask was collected in Alert Bay by A. F. Sladen in 1900.

Dimensions. Height 40 cm; width closed 33 cm; width open 127 cm.

Outer mask. Represents an eagle, and opens in four parts. The beak is broad and strong, curved downwards at the tip. It is painted yellow. Large supernatural nostrils are painted on the beak, they are not carved. The eyesockets are a shallow concave shape, the orb is a truncated cone-shape. A series of loosely painted U-shapes behind the eye probably represent feathers. The blue eyesockets and generally smooth finish indicate an East Kwakwaka'wakw influence.

Inner mask. Represents a man in a relatively realistic form. The face is not deeply carved except for two raised sections down the sides of the lower cheeks which are painted brown. The carved eyes look upwards. The nose is relatively narrow. The eyebrows are carved in low relief, with an incised line that joins the eyebrows together over the nose. The face is surrounded by a corona.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The design is a stylized version of the features of the outer bird. The eye is in a similar position and is the same shape as the outer eye. The line of U-shapes also corresponds to the outer decoration.

Mask identification. # 19 GM AA1684 Thunderbird/Man



Fig. 52. Mask #19: outside view

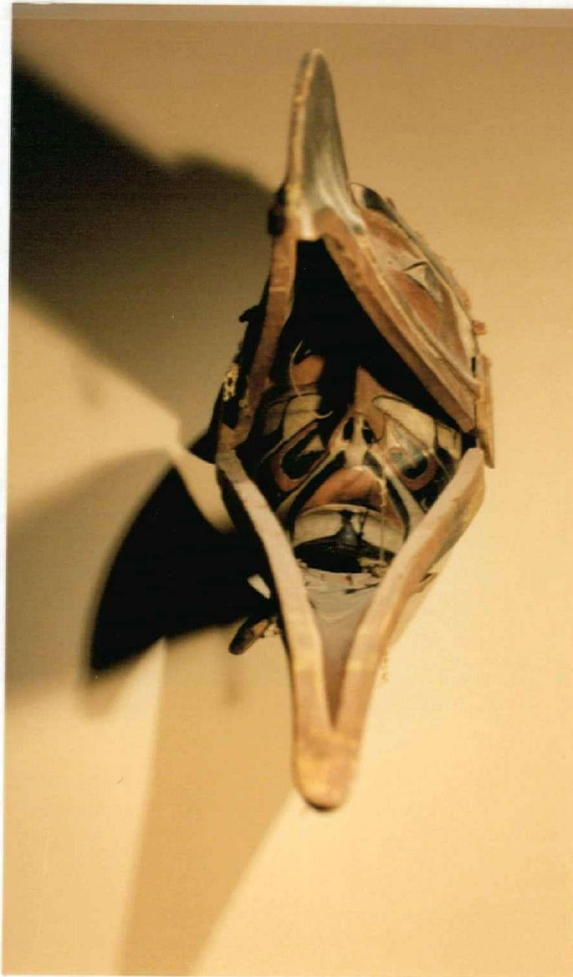


Fig. 53. Mask # 19 open

The mask was on display and could not be examined closely.

Museum notes. A Kwakiutl mask acquired by the museum in 1955 from Frank Smith.

Dimensions. Height 33 cm; width closed 21 cm; length 51 cm.

Outer mask. The bird has a narrow black beak with nostrils carved next to the mouth. The shallow eyesocket area is painted red, which is unusual. The moulding around the eye is realistic, and the shape of the eye is similar to mask # 18.

Inner mask. Represents a man in a comparatively realistic form. The face is similar to masks # 15 and 18. Planes of the face are flattened, and transitions between eyesockets and cheeks are not sharply defined. The shape of the eyes is similar to that of the outer mask. Painted decorations on the mask probably represent facial painting, based on split-U designs.

Decoration inside the upper and lower sections. These could not be seen clearly.

Mask identification. #20 VM AA106 Thunderbird/Man



Fig. 54. Mask # 20 closed



Fig. 55. Mask # 20 open

The mask was on display and could not be examined closely.

Museum notes. The mask was sold to the museum by the owner Maggie Clair in 1946. She lived in Quatsino and said: "This is my thunderbird head. I was just a child when they made me this one. There is a human face inside its mouth".

Outer mask. The outer mask consists of the upper beak of a bird which lifts up like a visor. The narrow curving beak is painted yellow. Large crescent-shaped nostrils are carved in the beak, and there is a carved line of U-shapes behind the nostrils. The shape of the eye, and the moulding of the flesh around it, is similar to mask # 19. A length of manufactured rope is curled on top of the mask.

Inner mask. The man's face is naturalistic, although the chin is flat and wide, and the open mouth protrudes forwards. Paint has been applied over the original decoration.

Ceremonial context. Museum notes say this is a mask of "Gamtalal as Thunderbird", but it is not clear who said this. According to Boas, "Gamtalal came down in the shape of a thunderbird from heaven, took off his bird mask, and became a man" (Boas, 1897a, pp. 416-18).

Mask identification. # 21 MOA A17140 Man/Man



Fig. 56. Mask # 21: outside view



Fig. 57. Mask #21 open

Museum notes. A Kwakiutl mask acquired by the museum in 1973.

Dimensions. Height 33 cm; width closed 32 cm.

Outer mask. The man's face is smoothly carved, and the nose is narrow and slightly flattened. The eyesocket areas are relatively small, and contain large round eyes which looks upwards.

The carved head of a bear with very large eyes surmounts the mask. Both man and bear have cedar bark decorations.

Inner mask. The face is almost identical to the outer face in form and style. The inner mask has round eyes which are pierced open and look forwards. The face is surrounded by a corona, which is painted around the top with a black scallop decoration.

Decoration inside the cheeks. A man's hand and arm is painted inside.

Ceremonial context. There are no notes about the ceremonial role of this mask. However, the mask is similar in some ways to one illustrated on page 357 of *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* by Boas. Boas says the mask with a bear on top illustrates a story about a Fort Rupert family ancestor. The bear breaks a dam which has prevented the chief's property from going up the river. This is the song that goes with the mask:

A bear is standing at the river of the Wanderer who travelled all over the world.

Wild is the bear at the river of the Wanderer who travelled all over the world.

A dangerous fish is going up the river. It will put a limit to the lives of the people.

Ya! The sisiutl is going up the river. It will put a limit to the lives of the people.

Great things are going up the river. It is going up the river the copper of the eldest brother of our tribes (Boas, 1897a, p. 358).

Mask identification. # 22 M0A A4497 Eagle/Man/Sisiutl



Fig. 58. Mask # 22: outside view



Fig. 59. Mask # 22 open

Museum notes. A *dahdalthamh* mask (the native term for this mask), acquired by the museum in 1960 from the Gwa'yi band at Kingcome Inlet. The mask belonged to Sam Webber.

The word "*dāldala*" (*daldala*) is translated as "folding" in *Kwakiutl Texts* (Boas and Hunt, 1905, p. 233).

Dimensions. Height 43 cm; length from front to back 107 cm.

Outer mask. The mask has a long beak, curved into the shape of an eagle's beak, and painted yellow. Carved nostrils are formed from a split U-shape, and placed next to the mouth. A carved line of U-shapes decorate the lower eyesocket, which is moulded to suggest the volume of the orb. The eye looks upwards.

Inner mask. Represents a man, which becomes part of the *sisiutl* complex when combined with the designs of the serpents inside the cheeks.

The face has smooth contours and is not deeply carved. The orb is formed in a truncated cone-shape, and the eyes look upwards. The mouth is slightly open and down-turned, but not aggressively so. The face painting is elaborate, and the design is diffusive.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The image of the *sisiutl* fills both sides of the mask. Teeth and backbone are illustrated by an innovative pattern of short cross-strokes. A series of blue and white dashes may represent water.

Ceremonial context. There are no notes about how this mask was used. Possibly it was used by the Dza'wade'nox people of Kingcome Inlet, to illustrate an origin story about an ancestor and the *sisiutl*.

Mask identification. #23 MOA A7879 Raven/Man



Fig. 60. Mask # 23: outside view



Fig. 61. Mask #23 open

Museum notes. Collected from an Alert Bay family in 1961. The mask was used in local ceremonies before it was collected.

Dimensions. Height 35.3 cm; width closed 30.5 cm; length 76 cm.

Outer mask. The raven has a very long black beak, with deeply carved nostrils formed from a U-shape and a circle. The eyesocket is surrounded by an elaborate scallop design which is carved and painted. Lines of painted dashes also decorate the bird. Feathers are attached to the head.

Inner mask. The oval face is not deeply carved except for the nose, which has flaring nostrils. A green band is painted across the eyes and decorated with white U-shapes.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The design represents wings. Ovoid shapes and U-shapes are developed in several colours, and these seem to represent the bony structure of the wings. S-shaped strokes and lines of dashes may represent feathers.

Ceremonial context. Museum notes say : "Represents Raven and man, depicting an origin myth in which Raven became human". It is not clear if these comments were made by the owner of the mask.



Fig. 62. Mask # 24: outside view



Fig. 63. Mask # 24 open

Museum notes. Carved by Charlie George Senior of New Vancouver, Harbledown Island. Collected from Mike Jacobson in 1954, who said the mask was 90 years old.

Dimensions. Width 27 cm; length from front to back 42 cm.

Outer mask. Catalogue notes say this mask represents a wolf's face which opens to reveal a man's face inside. The outer mask does not clearly represent a specific animal, although it has long ears. The features are outlined with a white line which may be an artistic characteristic of Charlie George Senior.

Inner mask. The face is almost square, and has a smiling mouth. The long ears of the outer mask become ears for the inner mask. The double-mask may have represented a comic episode in a Kwakwaka'wakw drama.

Decoration inside the cheeks. A man's hand is painted in red on a white background.

Mask identification. # 25 MOA A6256 Raven/Qolus



Fig. 64. Mask # 25: outside view



Fig. 65. Mask # 25 open

Museum notes. The mask was carved by Charlie George Senior. It was collected from the Ma'maliliqala band, Village Island in 1953, from the owner Alice Mountain. The native term for this mask is Gwaxxwamlh, it represents "gwa'wina, younger brother of thunderbird, Qolus".

Dimensions. Height 25 cm; width closed 30.5 cm; length 58.5 cm.

Outer mask. The raven has a smoothly carved straight black beak with large nostrils painted on. The round eyes are set in a slightly carved eyesocket. The features are outlined in white.

Inner mask. The bird has a white face with a dark green eyeband. The broad beak curves downwards. The mask is smoothly finished, only the nostrils and mouth are carved. Round eyes are painted on, and look forwards.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The design, painted on a white background, probably represents wings. Loose shaped ovoids suggest wing bones, while S-shaped strokes develop the idea of feathers and flight.

Ceremonial context. No records concerning the specific use of this mask have been located. But according to the traditions of the Ma'maleleqala, Qolus the Listener is the younger brother of the thunderbird, and he lived at Thunderbird Place in the upper world. The double mask could have been used to illustrate an origin story, a saga in which the mythical people of Crooked Beach (who are ordinary birds), fight with the supernatural birds of the upper world (Boas and Hunt, 1905, pp. 295-317).

Mask identification. # 26 VM AA140 Whale/Whale

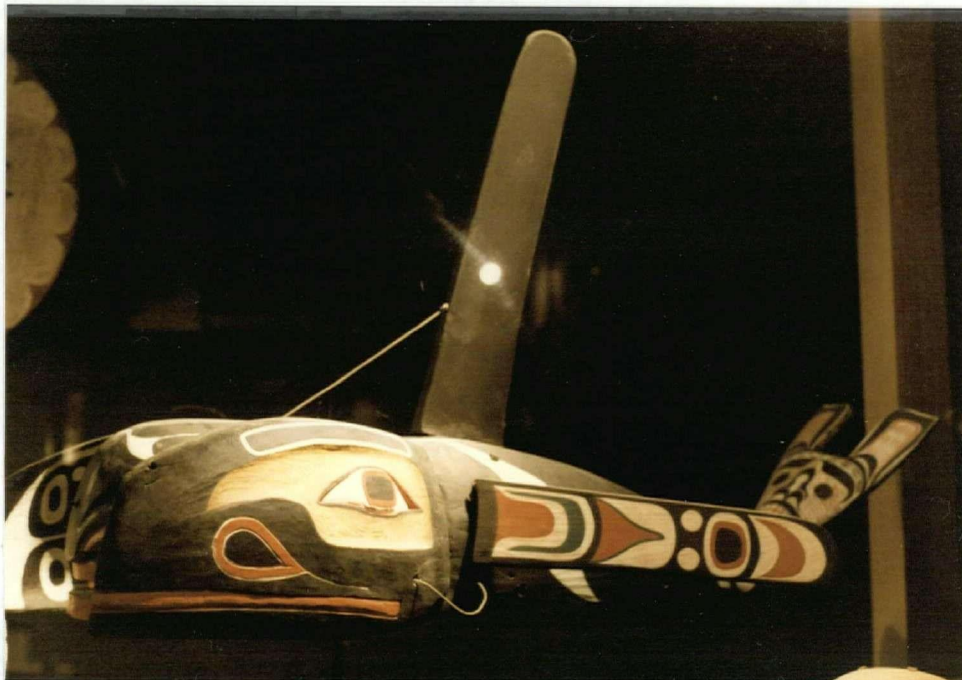


Fig. 66. Mask # 26: outside view

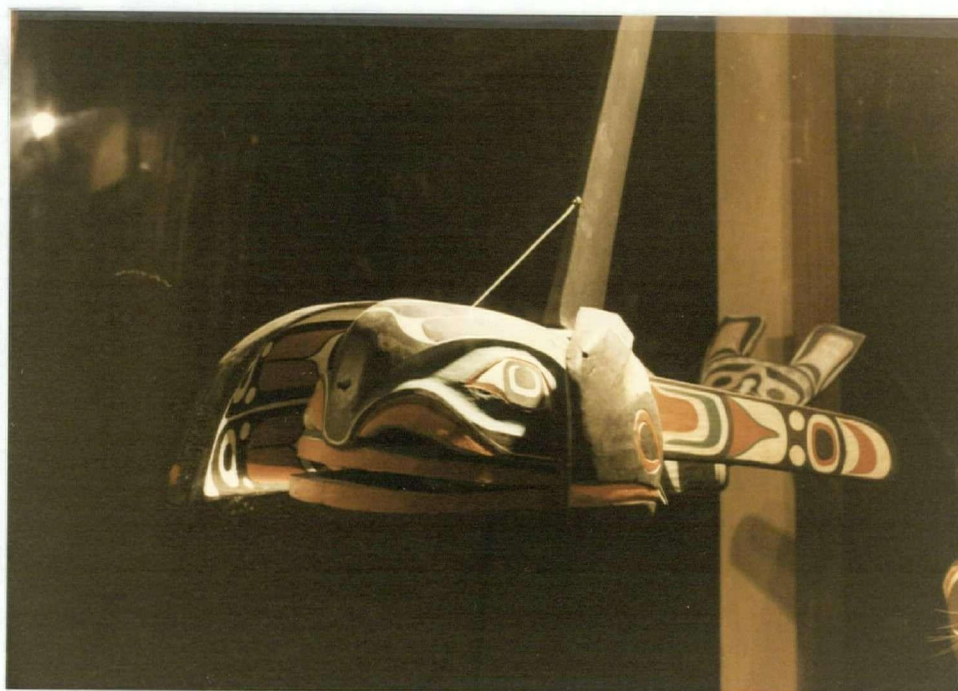


Fig. 67. Mask # 26 open

This mask was on display and could not be examined closely.

Museum notes. A Killerwhale mask ca. 1900, restored in 1971.

Dimensions. Height 75 cm; length 132 cm.

Outer mask. This large mask of a whole killerwhale has moveable fins and flukes. The outer part of the head opens to reveal the face of a whale inside. The outer face has incised nostrils and mouth. The eyesocket area is carved in low relief. The large eyes are wide open.

Inner mask. The inner mask is more deeply carved in all respects, and the lower jaw opens and closes. The large flaring nostrils are painted red. The eyesocket area is deeply carved, and the eyes look upwards.

Decoration inside the cheeks. A red and black painted decoration is based on ovoids and split U-shapes.

Ceremonial context. No specific story was located for this mask.

However, a killerwhale mask is mentioned in an origin story of the Gwa'sela people of Smith Sound. A young chief called ya'g.is (Yagis) travelled north to find a wife. A marriage was arranged to a princess, and her father gave Yagis several gifts, including a killerwhale mask (Boas, 1935, p. 88). Boas then refers the reader to an illustration of a killerwhale mask in his book *The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, and the illustration is very similar to double-mask * 26 (Boas, 1897a, fig 195).

The killerwhale mask may also have been used to illustrate a Kwakwaka'wakw story about a killerwhale made of wood and covered with gum from various trees. In the story it was used to capture and kill thunderbirds (Boas and Hunt, 1905, pp. 309-315).

Mask identification. * 27 GM R180.219 Salmon/Man/Sisiutl



Fig. 68. Mask # 27 closed



Fig. 69. Mask # 27 open

Museum notes. A Kwakiutl mask collected at Echo Bay by R. Martineau from the Scow family. Purchased by the museum in 1968.

Outer mask. Represents a stylized salmon with a tail that moves. A fish-scale design is painted on the body. The mouth is carved in low relief, and crescent gills are carved behind the mouth. A short length of wood thrust behind the head probably represents a harpoon. A curled horn on top of the head becomes the horns of the inner face.

Inner mask. The man's face is smiling, and painted in several colours.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The sisiutl, a double-headed Kwakwaka'wakw serpent, is painted inside the mask. It is combined with the man's face in the centre to form the image of the sisiutl complex, two serpent heads and a man's head. The sisiutl is loosely painted, and the result is a complex type of painting with different kinds of paint strokes. It is a narrative type of painting rather than a motif or a typical Northwest Coast design.

Mechanics. These large masks are worn on the back of a dancer as he crouches forward.

Ceremonial context. Bill Holm, Curator Emeritus of the Burke Museum, provided the following information. Bill Scow was the owner of the double mask, and it was carved by Mungo Martin, probably in the 1930s. The mask represents the sisiutl which dresses up to become a silver salmon. During the song and dance it is struck by a harpoon, and opens up to reveal its true nature, the sisiutl. It was used in a 1950s potlatch.

Mask identification. # 28 BM 1-1667 Sculpin/Man



Fig. 70. Mask # 28 closed



Fig. 71. Mask # 28 open

Museum notes. This Kwakiutl mask became part of the museum collection in 1954.

Dimensions. Length 200 cm.

Outer mask. This very large sculpin mask has a tail and dorsal spines that move when different strings are pulled. The head is surrounded by shredded cedar bark, which hides two pulleys that help to open the mask. A red harpoon pierces the sculpin behind the head. The mask is smoothly carved except for large round nostrils.

Inner mask. The face is not deeply carved. The eyebrows and the nostrils are incised. Painted decorations on the mask look like a type of facial painting. The mouth is closed and turned down slightly.

Decoration inside the upper and lower jaws. The upper decoration is painted on a separate piece of thin wood which was probably attached at a later date. A face with large teeth is painted on a white background, the upper face has open eyes, while the lower face has closed eyes.

Mask identification. # 29 RBCM 2363 Thunderbird/Humanoid



Fig. 72. Mask # 29 closed



Fig. 73. Mask # 29 open

Museum notes. Collected in Comox by C. F. Newcombe in 1912. It illustrates a Fort Rupert story, and came from the Kwakiutl by intermarriage. Mrs Mary Clifton remembers the mask from her old home, it went with her older sister when she married Johnny Dick of Cape Mudge. It originally came with Mrs Clifton's mother's mother, who was from Gilford Island-Kingcome Inlet, and Blunden Harbour.

Dimensions. Height 35 cm; width closed 29 cm; width open 64 cm.

Outer mask. The bird is smoothly carved, with a rounded hooked beak; there are no deeply carved or incised features. It has a concave corona, decorated with a scalloped design, which comes to a point at the top and bottom. The curled horns of the thunderbird are broken.

Inner mask. The face is oval-shaped, and slightly pointed at the top and bottom: it is deeply carved around the eyes, nose and mouth. The cheeks are well rounded, and the bulging eyes are set in deep round eyesockets. The pupils of the eye are made of hemispherical pieces of metal. The nose curves into the mouth, in a similar way to masks #10, #11, and #12. The mouth is curled and expressive.

The mask is painted dark blue over the eyes, and has a red and green corona. The unusual black and white design on the lower cheeks follows the contours of the sculptured form. This curious face projects an image that could be a bird, fish or mammal.

Decoration inside the cheeks. Represents a bear's face and claws.

Mechanics. The lower section is moved with a string that goes through a wire loop in the end of the curved nose, this is similar to mask #10.

Attribution. Although collected in Comox, the museum records say the mask came from the Kwakiutl. The style of this mask is unusual, but I think it can be attributed to the Kwakwaka'wakw.

Mask identification. #30 CMC VII-B-23 Whale/Man



Fig. 74. Mask # 30 closed



Fig. 75. Mask # 30 open

Museum notes. Collected by I. W. Powell in 1879 in the Queen Charlotte Islands.

Notes on attribution. Three double masks, (masks # 30, 52, and 53), were collected by Powell in 1879, and are now in the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa. Records say they were collected in the Queen Charlotte Islands, but there are some doubts about this attribution for historical and stylistic reasons. Douglas Cole has written in *Captured Heritage* that in 1879 Powell went on a five-week tour of Northwest Coast villages, "he visited virtually all the major native centers of the British Columbia coast" (Cole, 1985, p. 78). It is possible that some masks were made in a different place from the village where they were acquired, or that some masks collected on this trip were mislabelled.

Bill Holm has written "there are a number of pieces in that collection that are very clearly from parts of the coast other than those in which they were said to be collected. This certainly could occur, as pieces did make their ways from their points of origin before being collected, but there is an unusual number of such pieces in this group, and some of them would have been very unlikely to be found where Dr. Powell said they were" (Personal communication).

Dimensions. Height 56 cm; width closed 33 cm.

Outer mask. The dorsal fin identifies the mask as a killerwhale. The smoothly carved face has a shiny graphite finish. Copper eyebrows, lips, and discs on the cheeks, are nailed on with copper nails. The hinge is also copper. The face has a narrow nose, and large teeth which are carved out. The eyelids are raised and painted red.

The bird on top of the whale may be an eagle or a thunderbird. It has a blue beak which opens wide to show a red tongue.

Inner mask. The man's face is somewhat similar to mask # 15. It is not deeply carved, the transition from eyesocket to cheek is naturalistic. The mask is painted with a green band across the eyes on a plain wood background. The form and style is more typical of East Kwakwaka'wakw than West Kwakwaka'wakw.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The painting is narrative in style , it represents a whale, spouting through its blow-hole. There are unusual decorative elements including dashes and dots in different colours.

Mechanics. The headgear is unusually well finished.

Ceremonial context. There are no notes about how the mask was used. However, it would fit into stories about ancestral adventures with killerwhales and thunderbirds.

Attribution. This double mask is recorded as having been collected in Queen Charlotte Islands, but I have attributed it to the Kwakwaka'wakw group on stylistic grounds. The inner face in particular has Kwakwaka'wakw characteristics, corresponding to the Kwakwaka'wakw mask profiles on pages 18-21. The addition of extra pieces such as the bird and the whale fin, are more typical of Kwakwaka'wakw carving style than Haida style.

Mask identification. * 31 MAI 19/8963 Whale/Man Fig. 76.

The mask was on display, and I could not examine it closely.

Museum notes. This "double-mechanical mask" was collected by George G. Heye. It is a Kwakiutl mask from Cape Mudge.

Outer mask. The mask is similar to mask * 30, but it does not have copper decorations. The sculptured face defines the eyesockets and cheekbones. A white seagull is attached to the top.

Inner mask. (This information comes from *A World of Faces* by Edward Malin, 1978, Plate 28). The mask is similar to a double mask in the Royal Ethnographic Museum in Berlin, illustrated in Boas (Boas, 1897a, p. 357). The man's face is carved and decorated in typical Kwakwaka'wakw style, with truncated cone-shaped orbs.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The motif combines a bear's claw and a man's hand.

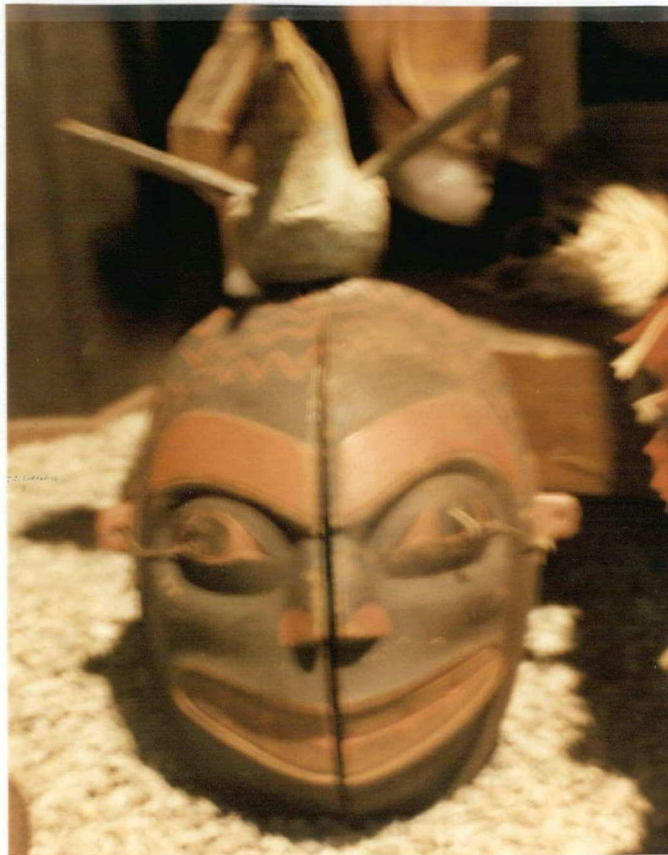


Fig. 76. Mask * 31 closed

Mask identification. # 32 VM AA1644 Man/Man

This mask was on display and I could not see it clearly or examine it.

Museum notes. A Kwakiutl mask collected in the Salmon River area (Cape Mudge). It was part of the Lipsett collection, and the date 1926 is written on the back.

Unfortunately I can provide no further information about this interesting mask.



Fig. 77. Mask # 32

Mask identification. # 33 MOA NB 3.1357 Bird/Man/Corona design



Fig. 78. Mask # 33 closed

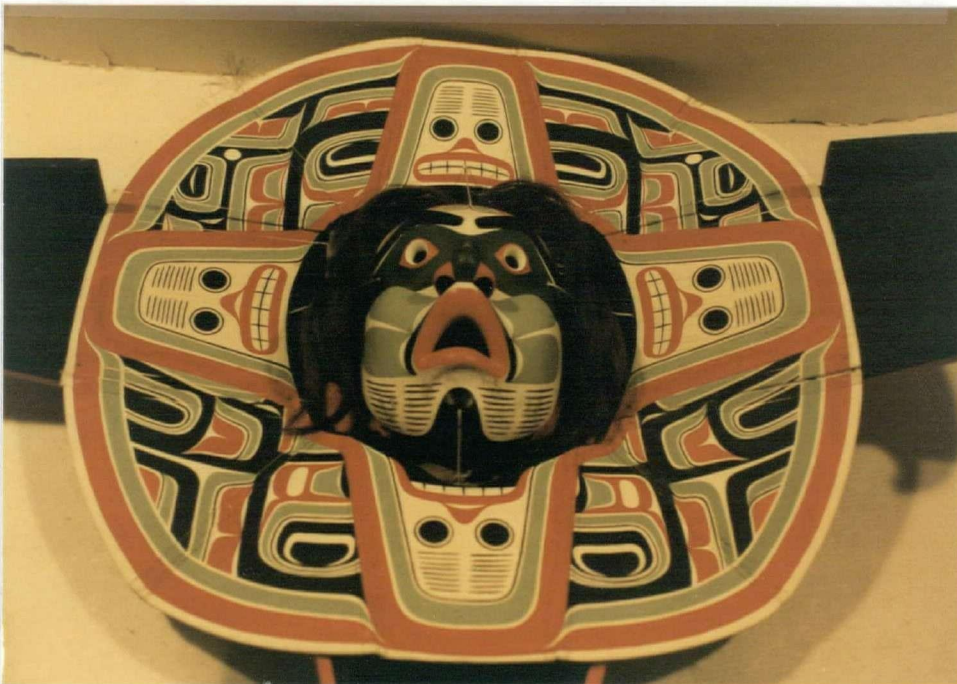


Fig. 79. Mask # 33 open

Museum notes. Carved by Beau Dick in 1983. It is similar to mask #52.

Dimensions. Height 40 cm; width closed 23 cm; width open 86 cm.

Outer mask. The bird is probably a thunderbird. It has a strongly curved black beak, and the carved nostrils are placed next to the mouth. The eyes look upwards.

Inner mask. The central face is surrounded by a wide canvas and wood corona. Round pupils are pierced open and stare out from a red orb. The nose is bulbous with large red nostrils. The mouth is wide open and down-turned. The face is decorated in green on a white background.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The basic design resembles mask # 52. The four shapes may be dogfish or ghost motifs. The Northwest Coast design is distributive in style; that is, elements of Northwest coast design are split up into a decorative pattern.

Ceremonial context. The mask has been used in ceremonies but I have no record of its specific use. Further information about double masks is needed from modern native carvers and dancers.

Nuu-Chah-Nulth culture area

Nuu-Chah-Nulth masks that open to reveal another face are headdresses worn on top of the head, rather than masks which cover the wearer's face. I have called them "double headdresses".

Museum notes say the outer masks of these double headdresses represent wolves, but it has been suggested that the masks may represent serpents. It is possible that the masks represent either stylized wolves or serpents--or a synthesis of both.

Drucker describes single masks of this type as "made of kerfed and bent cedar board, carved on the outside to represent the Plumed Serpent" (Drucker, 1951, p. 102). And Boas wrote, "another dance is that of the hi'nEmix, a fabulous bird-like being. The dancer wears the head mask shown in Plate 48" (Boas, 1897a, p. 634). Plate 48 illustrates a single mask resembling the outer masks in this sample of headdresses.

Inverarity collected double headdress # 37. In museum notes he says he doubts if the mask represents a Plumed Serpent as Drucker has suggested. He continues: "I have always been told by my informants that this mask represented the wolf, and in some cases the sea-wolf" (BMM Museum notes).

This information suggests there is an ambiguousness in the wolf and/or serpent image. It is worth noting that Drucker said Nuu-Chah-Nulth wolves are known to be "friendly"--and that these masks are remarkable because they do not have the sharp teeth of a normal wolf or serpent. On the other hand, the masks do not seem to have a wolf's ears. This intriguing situation requires further study.

Mask identification #34 CMC V11-F-405 Wolf?Serpent/Bird



Fig. 80. Mask # 34 closed



Fig. 81. Mask # 34 open

Museum notes. Collected at Alberni in 1913 by Edward Sapir. His notes say that this is "a folding mask (hinIkitsim)", and was probably made before 1900.

Dimensions. Height 24 cm; width closed 20 cm; length from front to back 55.5 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a wolf?serpent in typical Nuu-Chah-Nulth style. The outer mask consists of two almost flat boards of cedar, one centimeter thick, which fold over the bird face inside. The two pieces of the snout come together at the front, so that the mask is almost a triangle.

Open-work carving on top and at the back of the head is characteristic of Nuu-Chah-Nulth masks. The cut-out shapes suggest both fur and feathers. A large round nose protrudes above the snout. The teeth are set back in the mouth, with spaces between them. The teeth all have flat edges, there are no pointed teeth.

Eyes and eyebrows are painted on, the eyebrows are slender and slightly arched. The eyesocket is an elongated ovoid painted on in red. The eye is elongated, and the orb is perfectly round. Small red and black designs on the plain wood background are used sparingly; there is no attempt to fill the space with decoration.

Although the mask is flat, the open-work carving and painted design suggest a three dimensional moving form. Thin strips of cedar clustered on the head look like moving fur.

Inner mask. Represents a bird, probably a thunderbird. The curved upper beak is made in three parts fitted neatly together. The head is smoothly rounded, but retains a narrow shape. The separate lower beak, which has a spring to keep it open, can be closed by pulling on a string.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The teeth of the outer wolf are also part of the creature shown inside the cheeks. The design looks like a serpent or snake. Sapir calls it a "*he'lik*".

Mechanics. The headgear is constructed from a combination of wood and lengths of baleen from the whale. One strand of wood is bent to fit around the head: three lengths of baleen are then attached to the front and back of this piece of wood making a rounded cap that fits on top of the head. Four cloth strings loop through holes in the bottom of the mask and tie under the chin.

Ceremonial context. No record of the specific use of this mask has been located. According to Drucker, supernatural treasures such as this mask were displayed at potlatches, given when a chief transferred privileges to his children: "When the privilege had been displayed and its dances danced, the host 'thanked his guests for looking at his supernatural treasure', then he sang his wealth song, and gave out his property " (Drucker, 1951, pp. 377-9). Although this description probably applies to single masks, I would infer that it also probably applies to double masks.

Mask identification #35 CMC V11-F-428 Wolf?Serpent/Man



Fig. 82. Mask # 35 closed



Fig. 83. Mask # 35 open

Museum notes. Collected in Alberni by Edward Sapir in 1913. His notes say this mask belonged to Aleck and it "illustrates what *Hisamist'ath*, ancestor of Aleck, saw in dream while up in mountains, *osiml'tcing* for wealth. Man on central part of folding mask is *tcimlmis*, being who gives wealth. On inside of outer part of mask are shown male and female *hayalin*, another supernatural being that gives wealth" (CMC Museum notes).

Dimensions. Height 23 cm; width closed 20 cm; length from front to back 53 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a wolf?serpent. The sculptured form is unusual because the back part of the mask is the same piece of wood as the inner mask. The snout is attached to this piece of wood by copper hinges. The eyebrows, eyes and teeth of the creature are carved in low relief. The length of the snout is curved slightly rather than being a flat board.

The eyebrows are slender and taper at the corners. Ovoid eyesockets are raised slightly from the cheeks, and the eyelids form a rounded diamond shape inside the eyesocket. The cut-out shapes around the head, and the painted shapes, are curved designs rather than hard-edged geometric figures. The green, red, and yellow shades of colour are muted.

Inner mask. The man's face is oval shaped, with a flat top. This is characteristic of Nuu-Chah-Nulth inner masks. It is carved in high relief from a block of wood which fits over the dancer's head like a hat. The cheeks are moulded over high cheek bones, and the downturned mouth protrudes forwards. The face is roughly finished, and the painting is imprecise and smudged: the resulting face has strength and power.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The freehand paintings, which Sapir describes as supernatural *hayalins*, fill the spaces inside the cheeks. They resemble sea creatures.

Mechanics. This double headdress opens in two stages. Two brass springs make the mask open suddenly when a string is released, and the supernatural *hayalins* are seen at the sides the man's face.

Another string folds back the outer mask still further, and the *hayalin* seems to become part of the open fretwork design. The mask fits on the head like a hat, with a solid piece of wood on top of the head.

Struts for the strings that open and close the mask are part of the hat structure, and there are no lengths of whalebone in this mask.

Mask identification #36 MOA A 7968 Wolf?Serpent/Bird



Fig. 84. Mask # 36 closed



Fig. 85. Mask # 36 open

Museum notes. This is a Ahousat double headdress bought in 1962 by H. R. MacMillan from Wilhelm Helmer.

Dimensions. Height 23.5 cm; width closed 20 cm; length from front to back 57 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a wolf?serpent. The outer mask has a snout which is five centimeters wide at the front, forming a triangular mask. The sides of the mask are very thin, and the resulting headdress is light-weight and easy to wear. The carved teeth are flat-edged, which is characteristic of the Nuu-Chah-Nulth headdresses. The rounded nose, with a hole cut out of the centre, has broken off. The mask has been repainted a grey-white colour.

Inner mask. Represents a bird. The upper beak is made of three sections--a central core with two extra pieces fastened onto the sides with metal pegs. The lower beak is separate, and hinged with a metal peg. The beak closes with a loud click when a string is pulled, partly because the upper beak is hollow. The bird has round black eyes painted onto a white background.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The design has been painted over.

Mechanics. Three wires are fastened to the mask above the bird, they arch over the crown of the headdress and are fastened down at the back of the mask. A profusion of feathers is attached to the wires. A piece of leather curves underneath the wires and feathers, acting as a cap for the headdress. Strings to open and close the mask are hidden by the feathers.

Mask identification #37 BMM 1976-Am-3.50 Wolf?Serpent/Man

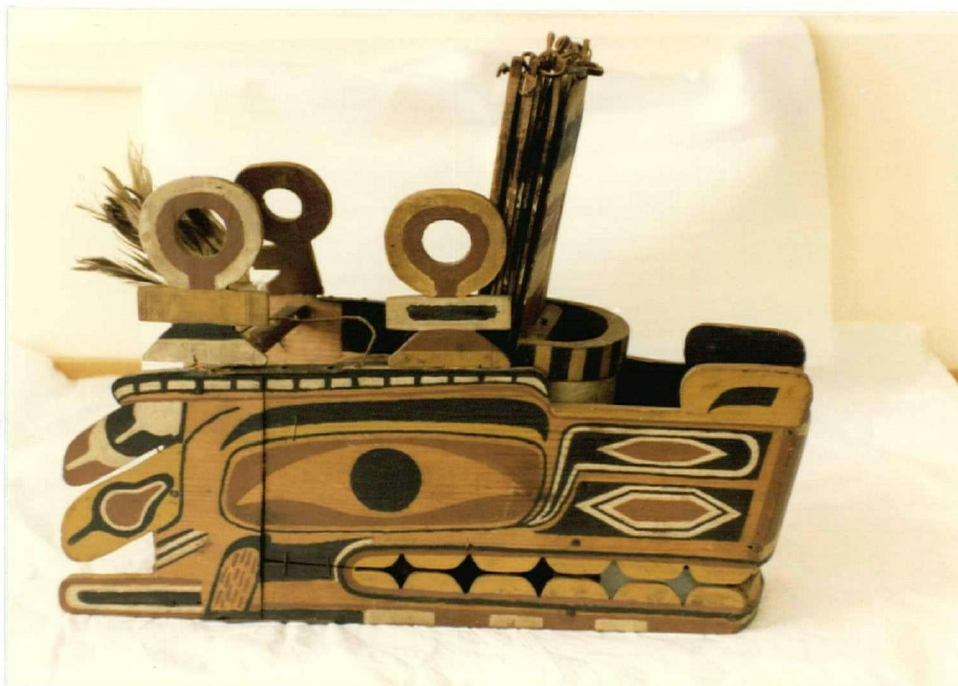


Fig. 86. Mask # 37 closed



Fig. 87. Mask # 37 open

Museum notes. R. B. Inverarity purchased this mask in 1950, and he refers to it as a: "Mask headdress, Revealing, Makah or Nootka." It is now in the collection of the British Museum of Mankind.

Dimensions. Height 18.5 cm; width closed 21 cm; length from front to back 50 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a wolf?serpent. It has flat sides except for the carved teeth. The painted ovoid eyesockets and eyes are elongated. The nose area is decorated with a black, white and dark red geometric design. The painted fretwork at the back of the head resembles feathers; real feathers are attached to the back of the headdress.

Inner mask. Represents a man. The long oval-shaped face has a typical flat top. The face is similar to #35, especially around the eyes, although the cheeks are not so rounded. The face is painted an unusual pale yellow.

When the mask is opened, a cedar fan appears, painted dark red, pale yellow and black.

Nuxalk culture area

Mask identification. #38 AMNH 16/1416 Bear /Man



Fig. 88. Mask # 38 closed



Fig 89. Mask # 38 open

This mask was on display in a glass case and I could not see the outer image clearly. A drawing of the mask is shown in fig. 89 from the book *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, Plate V11, figure 7 (Boas, 1898).

Museum notes. Collected from the Bella Coola in 1897 by George Hunt. The double mask represents Nusne'neq'als.

Dimensions. Height 36 cm.

Outer mask. The drawing shows a creature with a large squashed nose and a wide mouth with many teeth. The face is painted black. The image is similar to the photograph of a Bella Coola Bear mask in *Bella Coola Ceremony and Art* (Stott, 1975, p. 61).

Inner mask. The oval mask is slightly concave, so that the chin thrusts forward. It is surrounded by a corona. The face has natural features, in a stylized form. The forehead is short, rounded and receding. The eyebrows are broad bands carved in high relief, with a crease between them. The eyesockets are small and rounded -- they are not ovoid in shape, and the eyes, which appear to look out sideways, are pierced open. The bulging cheeks stand out beneath the sharp edges of the eyesockets. The nose and the lips are wide and fleshy, the lips are straight at the corners, not tapered. An area down the side of the mouth is deeply carved out. The expressive face has a vermilion red band across the eyes, and the cheeks are painted with cobalt blue U-shapes. These colours are characteristic of Nuxalk masks. Shredded cedar bark is draped over the head.

Decoration inside the cheeks. A bear motif fills the whole area. The eyes appear to look upwards, in a similar way to the eyes of the outer bear.

Ceremonial context. In *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians*, Boas

says: "Nusne'neq'als, of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one corner of the house. He prevents those who are not initiated in the secrets of the Ku'siut from approaching the house" (Boas, 1898, pp. 30-31).

The Ku'siut dancers imitate the supernatural beings who live in the House of Myths, or Nusmat'a (McIlwraith, vol. I, p. 295), so possibly this mask of Nusne'neq'als was used in a Ku'siut ceremonial dance to illustrate a story about the deities.

It is also possible that the mask was used in Sisoak rituals, being associated with a family's ancestry and origin myths (McIlwraith, 1948, p. 180). However, because there is so little ethnographic information about Nuxalk double masks, these are speculative suggestions.

Mask identification #39 LM 19178 Thunderbird/Sun/Corona design

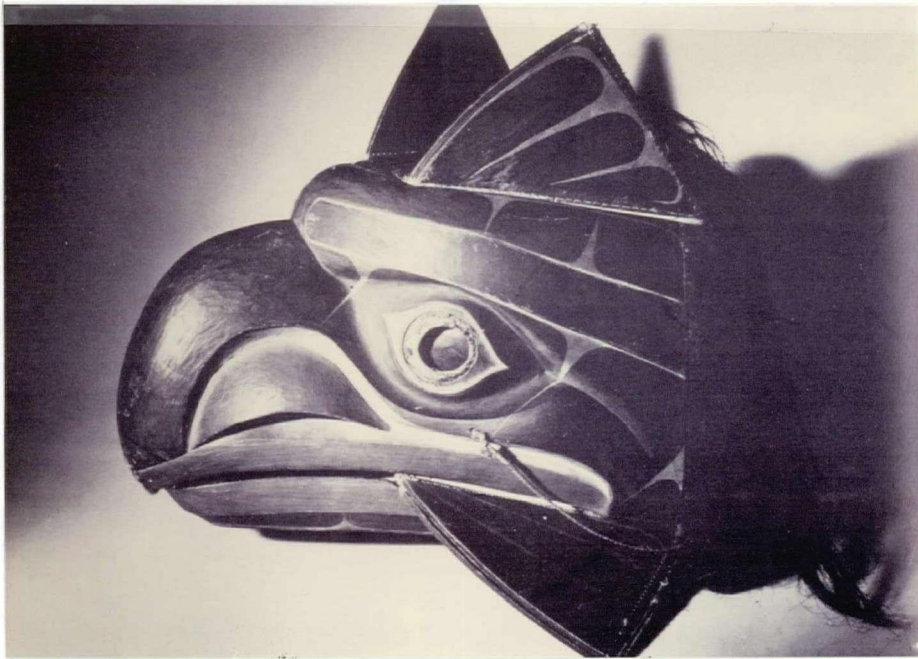


Fig. 90. Mask # 39 closed



Fig. 91. Mask # 39 open

Photographs reprinted with the permission of Christian Verlag,
Hamburg, Germany.

Museum notes. Collected from the Northwest Coast in the 19th century.

Outer mask. Represents a bird, probably a thunderbird. Round eyes are set in small eyesockets, and the bird has a broad slightly hooked nose, with wide bulging nostrils, and puffed-out cheeks. The lips are broad and fleshy in Nuxalk style. Because of the unique way that the mask opens, the bird appears to have two plumes on its head. Most of the bird is painted black, but it also has some fine U-shapes painted across the carved contours.

Inner mask. The central face is almost round, with bulging cheeks. Round eyes are set in small round eyesockets. The hooked nose has wide nostrils. The open mouth is fleshy and has a benign smile. Most of the face is painted sky-blue, with two decorative split U's on the forehead. The nostrils and mouth are vermilion.

Decoration on the corona. The corona unfolds when the mask opens out. A two-dimensional northern design, with formlines, complex ovoids, and U-shapes, fills the whole area. The formlines are painted vermilion red, and cobalt blue is used extensively.

This mask was in an exhibition in Hamburg, Germany, and Haberland has written that although the design is difficult to interpret, it is his opinion that the design might represent killerwhales. The ornaments at the top and bottom would then represent whale flukes. This interpretation is linked with the thunderbird image of the outside mask (Haberland, 1979, p. 73).

Although I am not confident about any interpretation, and although it is possible that the design is pure decoration, it is my opinion that the design probably has some meaning.

I think it is possible that the decorative corona-- which in

itself suggests the sky around the sun--includes several bird images. In origin myths, birds were sent to earth by Senx the sun, to become humans. Therefore, the mask may have been used in the Sisoak ceremonials, associated with stories concerned with the origins of man (McIlwraith, 1948, p.180). However, I have not located any specific information about the ceremonial use or meaning of this mask, therefore my suggestions are speculative.

Attribution. The inner face of this mask has the same stylistic characteristics as the Nuxalk mask profile on pages 21-23. Therefore I have attributed this mask to the Nuxalk.

Mask identification #40 AMNH 16/1493 Salmon/Man



Fig. 92. Mask # 40

This double mask was on exhibition in a glass case, and it could not be seen clearly or examined. Plates 9A and 9B in *A World of Faces* by Edward Malin illustrate the mask (Malin, 1978).

Museum notes. Collected from the Bella Coola by George Hunt in 1897.

Notes say, "mask represents moon and sun".

Outer mask. The face is painted black, with large red nostrils and red lips. Malin's photograph shows that the face resembles a humanoid salmon, especially about the lips. The mask has a red and white cloth twisted around its head suggesting a red and white cedar bark ring.

Inner mask. The face is round and looks like the sun.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The design of vertical and horizontal lines could be purely decorative, or could represent a fish net.

Mechanics. This is a very complex mask, but it looks as if it works.

When closed, the four axes and the fish lying along them may represent different rivers flowing towards the sea.

Ceremonial context. No records have been located concerning this mask. Hunt called the mask "moon and sun", yet the outer mask looks like a salmon. The mask may be making a connection between the changing tides caused by the phases of the moon, and the arrival of salmon in rivers.

Mask identification #41 RBCM 6386 ?Sea Creature/Bear



Fig. 93. Mask # 41 closed

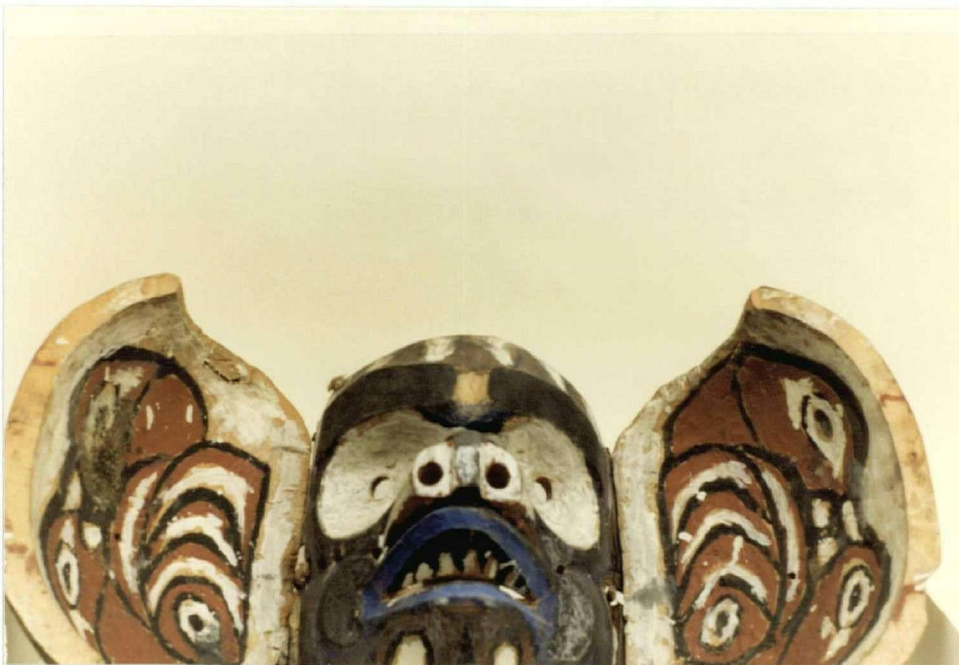


Fig. 94. Mask # 41 open

Museum notes. Collected at Bella Coola by John and Elizabeth Clayton between 1867 and 1933. They ran the Hudson Bay Post at Bella Coola.

Dimensions. Height 34 cm; width closed 24 cm; width open 54 cm.

Outer mask. There are no notes concerning the beings that this double mask may represent. The very smoothly carved outer form looks like a water creature, possibly an otter or a seal. The voracious otter is mentioned in stories, but the seal isn't. Rough white lines around the eyes, nose and teeth have been added later. The black exterior has a shiny graphite finish.

Inner mask. Represents a bear. The carved form has bold curves and strong features. The large blunt nose, small eyes and large teeth are the particular features of a bear.

Both the outer and inner masks have holes along the top--evidence of extra decorations that are now lost.

Decoration inside the cheeks. Free-hand paintings decorate the area inside the cheeks. I think the designs could represent supernatural creatures from the sea.

Mechanics. Leather hinges are nailed on.

Haida culture area

Mask identification #42 CMC V11-B-1440 Raven/Man



Fig. 95. Mask # 42 closed



Fig. 96. Mask # 42 open

Museum notes. Collected in Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands, by Lord Bossom about 1900. The Bossom catalogue says: "It was worn in winter theatrical performances. A head chief at Skidegate owned it."

Dimensions. Height 23 cm; width closed 23 cm; length of beak 69 cm.

Outer mask. The raven has a long slender beak smoothly rounded and finished. The eyesocket is carved in low relief. The eyelids are incised, and are elongated into a humanoid shape. The large orb is carved into a naturally rounded form--which is a Haida characteristic. The mouth is incised and painted red, but there are no nostrils.

Inner mask. The face on the square central board is carved in high relief. The shape of the face is oval, and the planes of the forehead, cheeks and chin are moulded into a life-like image. The eyebrows are slender and slightly arched, the eyes are well-shaped and in proportion to the rest of the face. The nose is rather narrow and straight. The tapered lips are closed, and there is a faint moustache. Hair is painted on top of the head, with an asymmetrical parting. The face is painted with two red shapes on each cheek. The inner mask is characteristic of Haida facial sculpture and style: naturalistic in form, with painted motifs.

The flat square board surrounding the face has a red and black design incorporating northern formline shapes and techniques. The split image is not clearly defined, but it could be the tail and head of a raven.

Decoration inside the cheeks. The composite design may represent the wing of a bird, and a bear motif.

Mechanics. The mask was not designed to be worn on the head. There are two deep round holes in the bottom edge of the raven's cheeks where poles were inserted. The mask was supported by the poles and

opened and shut by moving the poles.

Ceremonial context. Swanton says: "Of the scores of masks taken from the islands, only one or a very few are satisfactorily identified" (Swanton, 1905, p. 144). The same problem exists today, and there are no records about the use of double masks. My speculations concerning their role are based on general descriptions of Haida ceremonies provided by Swanton.

Swanton says that potlatches were "the great event upon which a Haida's social life turned," and dances were an essential part of every potlatch (Swanton, 1905, p. 155). It is possible that masks such as double mask #42 were used by a chief and his family at intervals throughout the ceremonies in a display of clan crests (Swanton, 1905, pp. 162-69). It is also possible that the masks were used in other ceremonial dances.

Mask identification. #43 PR 1891-49-8 Raven/Woman



Fig. 97. Mask # 43: outside view



Fig. 98. Mask # 43 open

This mask was on display and could not be closely examined. Figure 20 in *The Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida* shows this mask open and closed (Swanton, 1905, p.145).

Museum notes. Collected at Masset in 1891 by Rev. C. Harrison. It was carved by Charles Edenshaw.

Dimensions. Height 25 cm; width of inner face 15 cm; width open, approximately 150 cm.

Outer mask. The raven mask opens sideways in two parts. The bird cheeks are carved with a slight curve, and are about 1.5 centimeters thick. The eyesockets are ovoid, the eyelid lines are raised, and the orbs are convex. The raven's mouth appears to be slightly open because it is deeply carved. Designs on the bird's face are painted blue, and the head is covered with white down and feathers.

On top of the mask is a small wooden figure with long grey hair. Ribs are carved on the chest, suggesting death or a shaman--it has a red body and blue-green face. Swanton says this figure "indicates that the possessor of this mask, Charles Edensaw, was the greatest chief on the Queen Charlotte Islands" (Swanton, 1905, p. 145).

Inner mask. The face appears to me to represent a woman. It is rather long, with a deep chin. The crown of the mask is flat, which is unusual. She has a long narrow hooked nose which goes into her mouth, and the open mouth reveals teeth, which is characteristic of Haida portraits. The lower lip holds a large labret.

Decoration inside the cheeks. An elegant two-dimensional northern design fills the area, but the design is diffusive. Elaborate ovoids and split U's in red and blue are enclosed in the formline.

Mask identification. *44 MOA A1107 Raven/Humanoid

Figs. 99 and 100.

Museum notes. Made by Haida carver Jim Hart ca.1986.

Dimensions. Height 30 cm; width closed 28 cm; width open 130 cm.

Outer mask. A raven with black down and feathers. The ovoid eyesockets are plain wood, and the eyelids are carved in relief. The convex pupils are ovoid in shape, and the eyes looks upwards.

Inner mask. The face is almost round. It appears to be more supernatural than human. The orbs of the eyes are convex, and the eyes look upwards. The wide hooked nose goes into the mouth, and there is a small metal plug in the lower lip.

Decoration inside the cheeks. In my opinion, the red and black design is reminiscent of mask * 43.

Mechanics. The mask is attached to a headpiece, lined with foam rubber, which fits on top of the head. The mask has two handles, in the same places as the poles used with mask *42. They help to support the mask, and open and shut it. Black velvet is attached around the mask, and provides a decorative and useful addition--these parts of the costume are usually lost on older double masks.

Mask identification #44 MOA A1107 Raven/Humanoid



Fig. 99. Mask # 44 closed



Fig. 100. Mask # 44 open

Mask identification. #45 RBCM 1420 Bird/Man/Corona design

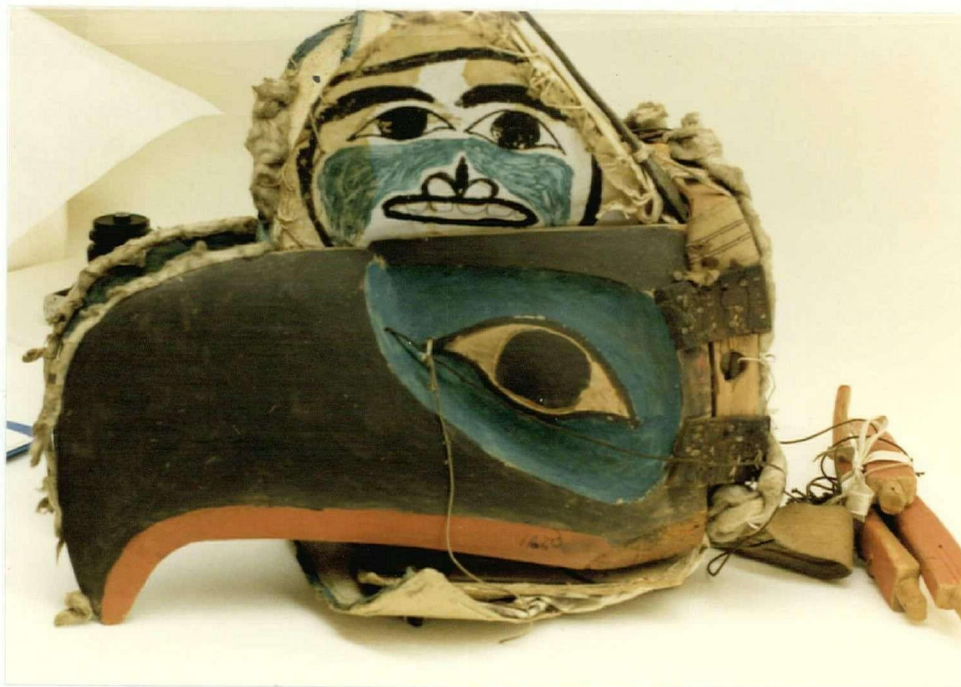


Fig. 101. Mask # 45 closed



Fig. 102. Mask # 45 open

Museum notes. Collected in Masset in 1911 by C. F. Newcombe. His notes say "beak opens out and discloses wooden face, and painted body of a man, and three dogfish heads painted on cloth".

Dimensions. Height 26 cm; width closed 35 cm; length of beak 41 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a bird with a wide curved beak--there are no nostrils. The eyesockets are almost oval in shape: the pupil of the eye is solid black and almost round.

Inner mask. The double mask opens up so that the central face is surrounded by a fabric and wood corona. The oval face has natural contours, and the orbs are smoothly rounded. The nose has incised nostrils. The mouth is open, revealing teeth.

Decoration on the corona. Free-hand designs painted on the canvas resemble dogfish motifs. There is also an animal body with a rib-like design.

Mechanics. The mask is made in 12 pieces, and although it is complex, it works well. There is a harness made of webbing for the head, and two struts across the back, possibly to hold the mask while dancing.

Mask identification. #46 PR 1891-49-9 Bird/Man/Corona design



Fig. 103. Mask # 46: outside view



Fig. 104. Mask # 46 open

Museum notes. Collected in Masset by Rev. C. Harrison in 1891.

Dimensions. Height of inner face 21 cm; width of inner face 18 cm; circumference of open mask approximately 100 cm (from records).

Outer mask. The bird's head is similar to mask #45, and the eyes are almost identical to that mask. It is in very good condition, and does not look as if it has been used.

Inner mask. The face is oval with ears and a pointed chin. The nose is narrow and straight. The lips are thin and softly moulded. The resulting face resembles a young person rather than an adult.

Decoration on the surrounding circle of fabric. The fabric is canvas or linen, and although the painting is free-hand, it is precisely done. The design probably represents four dogfish, two birds' heads, and two human hands.

Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan Culture AreaMask identification. #47 CMC VII-C-1056 Man/ManFig. 105. Mask # 47 closedFig. 106. Mask 47 open

Museum notes. Collected at Kitwanga by Marius Barbeau in 1923.

Carved by Nagomwilgo.ks, a Nass River man who came to Kitwanga as a carver.

Dimensions. Height 28 cm., width closed 24 cm., width open 47 cm.

Outer mask. The face is a rounded oblong in shape with a square chin. It is carved with subtle contours, moulded to resemble a relaxed face. The eyes are closed with the eyelids in a downwards position, suggesting sleep or death. The carved flesh swells over the closed lids. The area beneath the eyes is scooped out slightly, and then rises over the cheekbones, in a style that is characteristic of Gitksan three dimensional carving. The mask is painted with black and red shapes on a plain wood background, the colours are reversed on opposite sides of the face.

Inner mask. The curving contours of the face, when compared to those of the outer mask, express the tightening of facial muscles that occurs when a person is awake. The cheeks are fuller and the mouth curves slightly in a smile. The wide open eyes have a convex roundness.

A light red and blue design painted on plain wood suggests warmth and light. The face has a moustache, and hair is painted on top of the head. There are small dashes of blue paint around the eyes.

Design inside the outer cheeks. This unusual design may be purely decorative or it may have some significance. I cannot interpret it with confidence.

Ceremonial context. Barbeau's museum notes say this naxnox mask was named ga'agesgotgemk , "broken in two" by "rays of the sun". The naxnox, (which includes both the person and the spirit mask), went around the ceremonial house opening and shutting the mask

"incessantly", while a singer sang his song: "The sun will shine on me and break through".

The naxnox spirit performed at potlatches to welcome visitors and to demonstrate the powers of the house. The hosts of a potlatch scattered eagle down on their visitors, and "in their joy at receiving you have shown you some of their naxnoxs, which belong to their house handed down to them generation after generation" (sic) (Beynon, 1945, Book 1, p. 3).

From the form and style of this mask, and from the museum notes, I think this naxnox may illustrate a sleeping or "unaware" person being "awakened" by the power of the sun, thus becoming enlightened and knowledgeable. Marjorie Halpin discusses this mask further in " 'Seeing' in Stone: Tsimshian Masking and the Twin Stone Masks", and suggests, amongst other thoughts, that the continual opening and shutting of the naxnox mask may express the idea of "seeing" in opposition to "blindness": so that enlightenment is continually defined by knowledge of darkness (Halpin, 1981, p. 286).



Fig. 107. Mask # 48 closed (partially)



Fig. 108. Mask 48 open

This mask was on display and could not be examined closely.

Museum notes. A Kwakiutl mask, collected by F. C. Wade c. 1890-1900.

Dimensions. Height 30 cm., width open 99 cm.

Outer mask. The mask opens in three sections, sideways and downwards. The parts that open sideways are carved and moulded into a thin shell-like bird's head, that fits closely over the cheeks and forehead of the inner mask. The bird's eyebrows and eyelids are incised, and the eyes have flat round irises and pupils which are pierced open. The bird is painted black all over, it has the remains of leather ears and shredded cedar bark on its head.

Inner mask. The eyelids of the man's face suggest that the eyes are rolled upwards, in a trance-like state. The eyebrows are incised and slightly raised. The nose is narrow and straight, with small incised nostrils. The mouth tapers at the corners, and a slender moustache is painted on. The moulding of the flesh over the closed eyes and the cheekbones, is characteristic of Tsimshian sculpture.

Decoration inside the cheeks. A bear or wolf motif fills the space.

Attribution. This mask has been classified as Kwakiutl; however, the inner face corresponds to the Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan mask profile on pages 23-24 in almost every way, including the treatment of the eyes and cheek bones. Therefore I have attributed this mask to the Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan area.

On the other hand, the outer mask has some Kwakwaka'wakw qualities, especially around the eyes, which have a round orb with a flat iris and lens. It is possible two carvers were involved, or that the mask was made further south in the Heiltsuk or Kwakwaka'wakw areas.

Mask identification. #49 GM R2065.9 Bird/Man



Fig. 109. Mask # 49 closed



Fig. 110. Mask # 49 open

Museum notes. This double mask was bought in Hazelton in 1974 from the 'Ksan Community Association. It was carved by Murphy Stanley, "a member of the wolf clan under the wolf crest".

Dimensions. Height 29 cm., width closed 26 cm., width open 55 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a bird with a sharp curved beak, and supernatural ears. Although the bird looks like a hawk, it may represent any raptor with supernatural connotations. It is carved in fine detail, and decorated with a northern formline design in red and black, on a plain wood background.

Inner mask. The face is almost round and may represent the sun or the moon (Boas, 1909, p. 417). Painted on the forehead is a small round face with fierce pointed teeth. The high cheek bones are carved in Tsimshian-Gitksan style.

Decoration inside the cheeks. A black hand is linked to a red claw.

Mechanics. The side hinges consist of wooden pegs. The unusual top hinge is fitted with copper wire pieces, and its main purpose is to prevent the mask from opening too far. The mask ties onto the head with lengths of soft leather. The mask opens and closes with strings attached to a decorative toggle made of wood and feathers.

Ceremonial context. No specific story connected with this mask has been located. However, in the catalogue for the exhibition " *'Ksan, Breath of Our Grandfathers*," there is a photograph of a similar mask being worn (MacDonald, ed., 1972, fig. 51). The accompanying text says: "Masks formed a dramatic bridge between mankind and the natural and supernatural worlds. The Gitksan carved and painted in intricate detail masks that represented human portraits, animals and spirits, thus representing the oneness of man, animal and spirit through a common medium" (MacDonald, ed., 1972, p. 77).

Mask identification. #50 CMC V11-X-643 Animal/Man



Fig. 111. Mask # 50 closed

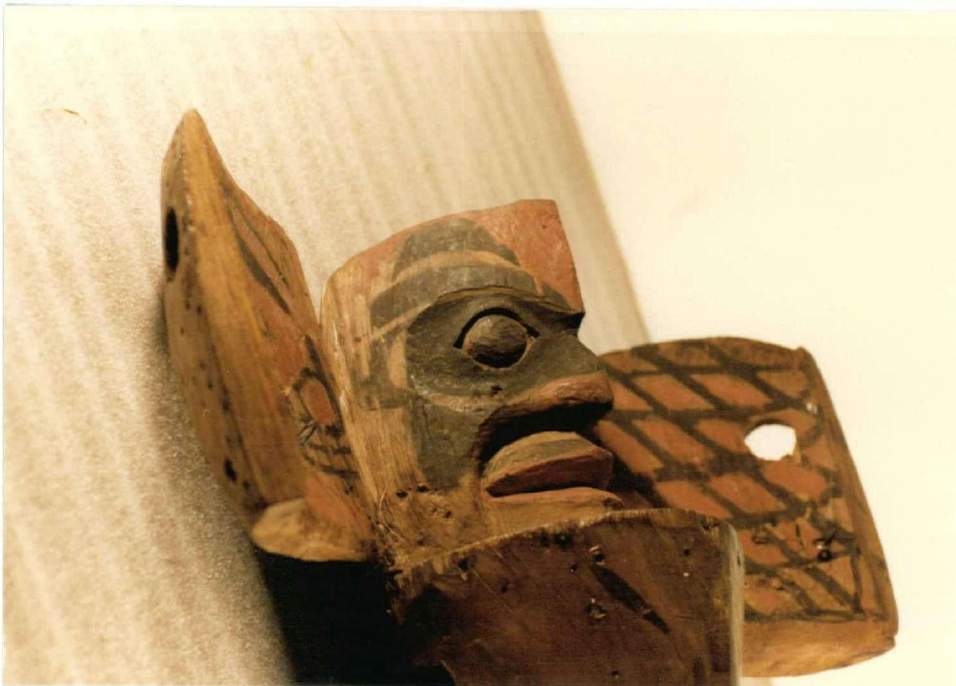


Fig. 112. Mask # 51 open

This headpiece was probably worn on top of the head.

Museum notes. Collected on the Northwest Coast by Lord Bossom ca. 1900.

Dimensions. Height 16 cm., width 20 cm., length 36 cm.

Outer mask. Consists of a smoothly rounded form, in the shape of a wolf or deer. The lower jaw can be opened and closed, but there are no teeth. Narrow strokes of black paint may indicate closed eyes.

Inner mask. When the outer mask is tipped forward two sections open in the forehead of the mask, displaying a man's face in realistic detail. The round eyes are carved into a convex shape. The eyesockets are almost round, and where the sharp lower edge of the bony eyesocket meets the planes of the cheek, a three-sided pyramid is formed. The mouth is wide and straight, very similar to mask #47. The face is painted with red and black designs on a plain wood background.

Decoration inside the forehead. One side has a bear motif, the other side has a red and black pattern.

Mechanics. Two wire loops are attached to the inner cheeks, probably the strings that opened and shut the mask were threaded through these loops. There is also a large round deep hole in the nose, and it is possible that the mask was carried on a pole inserted in this hole.

Attribution. The inner face has stylistic characteristics corresponding to the Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan mask profile on pages 23-24. I have changed the attribution from Northwest Coast to Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan for stylistic reasons.

Haisla Culture Area

Mask identification. #51 ROM HN628 Owl/Owl



Fig 113. Mask # 51 closed



Fig. 114. Mask # 51 open

Museum notes. This double mask was bought from Johnny Paul of Gitlawp (Kitlope) by Marius Barbeau ca. 1923.

Dimensions. Height 25 cm., width closed 26 cm.

Outer mask. Represents an owl. The outer part of this double mask consists of two flat boards which close at the centre front, making a triangular shaped mask. The painted eyebrows are slender and arched, and the round eyes look upwards. The beak and the mouth are also painted on in red and blue paint, the use of a series of curved lines presents the beak in an unusual way.

Inner mask. The three-dimensional owl's face on the inner mask reflects the outer image. It has slender eyebrows, large round eyes, deeply carved eyesockets, and a beak that juts out sharply, curving over the mouth. The face is smoothly finished, and has a faint white wash under the blue and red decorations. Although the outer and inner images are similar, the depth of carving on the inner face presents an interesting contrast with the outer mask.

Decoration inside the cheeks. Five lines radiate outwards on each cheek. The museum notes say this may be a Rainbow crest.

Mechanics. A strut across the back of the mask allowed the dancer to hold the mask over his face. Holes around the top of both masks may have held tufts of feathers and down.

Ceremonial context. No records concerning the specific role of this mask have been located. However, Olson notes that "the Haisla and Kitlope have a full-fledged maternal exogamic clan organization which is almost identical with that of their Tsimshian neighbors" (Olson, 1940, p. 169). The Eagle clan is one of the six clans that Olson lists, and the owl was one of their crests.

Olson suggests that a double mask may have been used in the

following way. A chief gives his nephew a new name, and the boy is "decked out in all the clan crests" (Olson, 1940, p. 178). He then dances and sings songs composed for him:

In the mitla he wears the mask of the dance spirit He is accompanied by several attendants and two jesters, who sing, blow whistles, and so on. When they change the rhythm of the song the lad manipulates the strings of the mask and opens it to show another mask within. In the meantime his clansmen have been giving out gifts in his honor. A feast follows (Olson, 1940, p. 179).

It is possible that the owl mask might have been used in this way. Even if the mask was not used by a chief and his heir, it was probably used during the mitla dances when young people displayed the masks of the spirits they had encountered in the heavens. The right to wear particular mitla masks was inherited from an older clan member (Drucker, 1940, p. 218).

Heiltsuk Culture Area

Mask identification. #52 CMC V11-B-20 Bird/Man/Corona design

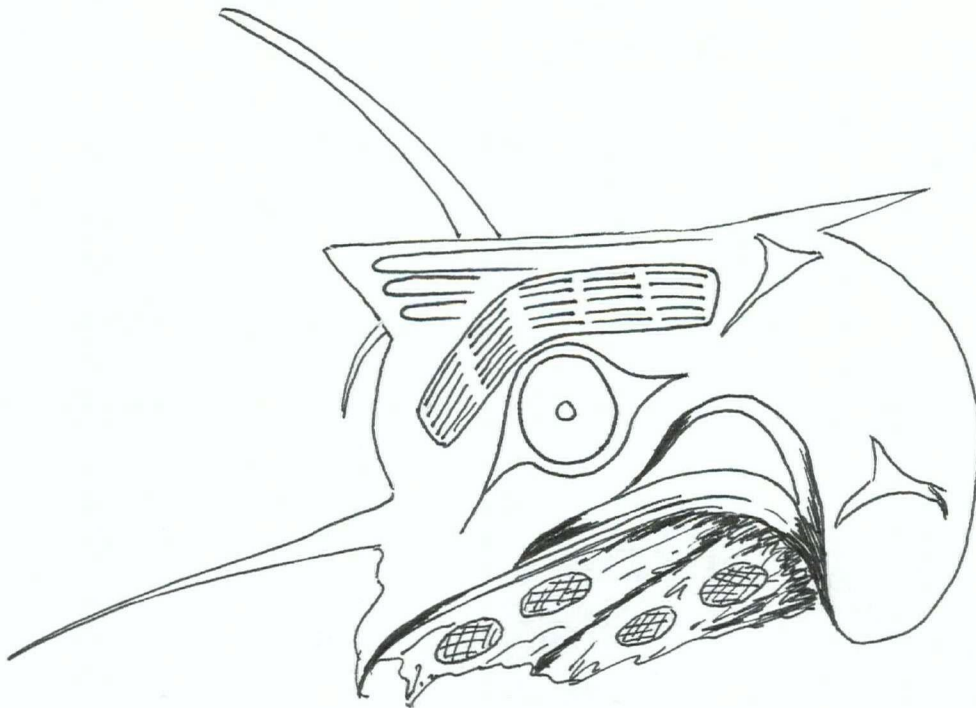


Fig. 115. Mask # 52 closed

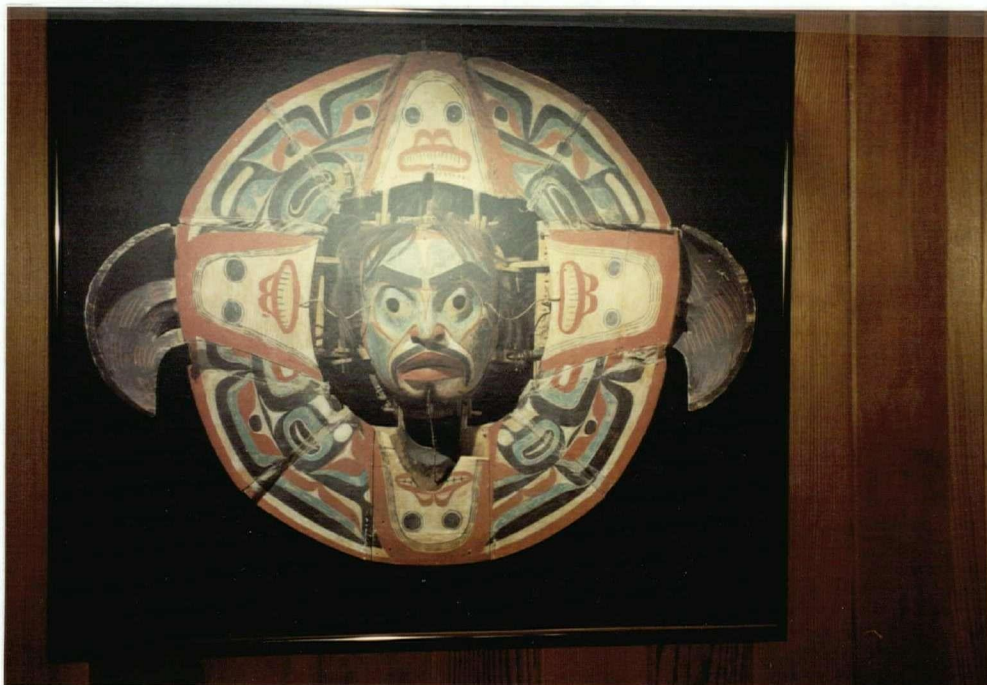


Fig. 116. Mask # 52 open

Museum notes. Collected in the Queen Charlotte Islands by I. W. Powell in 1879.

Dimensions. Height 25 cm., width closed 20 cm., width open 69 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a bird painted black. The bird has round eyes made of copper, set in small round eyesockets. The mask opens sideways down the centre of a strong curving beak, and then a corona opens out, made of canvas and wood. When the mask is closed, the folded corona looks like the ears or plumage of the bird. The mask probably represents a thunderbird.

Inner mask. The humanoid face is oval in shape. It has prominent black eyebrows over the eyes which are pierced open. The eyelids are constrained over the orb, so that the upper part of the pupil is covered by the eyelid. The large eyesockets are roughly leaf-shaped, and the planes of the cheeks are flattened. The hard, downturned mouth is outlined with a drooping moustache, and the mask has long, dark-brown hair. The inner mask and the corona are painted a green colour. This shade of green is frequently used in Heiltsuk masks.

Decoration on the corona. The wide corona has a well developed northern formline design painted on it. The design may be only decorative, or it may have significance--a view which I support.

Museum records say that the four motifs are dogfish, but no gills are shown, and dogfish are not mentioned in Heiltsuk stories. This mask is similar in structure to Haida masks * 45 and 46.

Ron Hamilton has suggested the shapes may represent ghosts. This interpretation is supported by the ethnographic information that the Heiltsuk have a ghost dance, where the dancer wears skulls around his waist (Drucker, 1940, p. 209). Although it is true that the shapes seem to be European in style, it is possible that they could represent

native impressions of skulls.

Michael Kew and Bill Holm have expressed the view that the dogfish or ghost motif might have been superimposed on top of the original design, and the difference in style supports that idea. If this is so, then it is possible that two craftsmen worked on the mask, or that one carver improvised from two ideas.

I think this mask is probably related to Nuxalk mask # 39, and a more extensive study of the structure and designs of the two masks might be rewarding.

Attribution. Museum notes say this mask was bought in the Queen Charlotte Islands by Powell in 1879, at the same time as masks #30 and 53. As I have explained on page 104, the provenance of the masks collected by Powell on that journey is doubtful. Macnair has suggested, on stylistic grounds, that this mask is Heiltsuk in origin (CMC Museum notes), and in my opinion the inner mask conforms most closely to the Heiltsuk mask profile on pages 26-27 of this thesis. Therefore I have changed the attribution of this mask from Haida to Heiltsuk.

The form and style, and possibly the cultural content of this mask, illustrates how different Northwest Coast groups influenced each other, so that it becomes very difficult to say exactly where some masks originated, and how they were used. At the same time, it is possible to point out overlapping styles, and overlapping influences. The eight remaining double masks contain such overlapping factors.

Mask identification #53 CMC V11-B-24 Wings and Face/Hawk



Fig. 117. Mask # 53 closed



Fig. 118. Mask # 53 open

Museum notes. Collected from the Haida in 1879 by I. W. Powell for the Geological Survey Department in Ottawa.

Dimensions. Height 18 cm., width closed 20 cm.

Outer mask. Two almost flat boards close loosely over the inner face. The wing-shaped boards are coloured black, with white eyes painted on and white teeth. Most of the rough decoration with red paint has been added later. The edges of the boards are drilled with holes, and some pieces of feathers remain in the holes.

Inner mask. Museum notes say the inner mask represents a mosquito hawk. The bird's face is carved in high relief, emerging from a square back-board. A deeply carved line from the back of the mouth to the nose and beak is similar to that in mask #52. The eyes are round brass cones set inside rounded eyelids. Remains of leather ears are attached to the head. The face is painted green and red.

Decoration on the inside of the outer mask. An elegant red and black design represents the underside of a hawk's wings.

Mechanics. The outer boards are sewn on with sinew. The mask is tied onto the head with lengths of soft leather. There are the usual strings to open and close the mask.

Attribution. This mask is one of three double masks said to be collected in the Queen Charlotte Islands by Powell in 1879. I have explained on page 104 why this provenance is doubtful. It is difficult to place the mask accurately, but it does not have Haida characteristics. From the general appearance of the bird I think it is most likely that it came from the Heiltsuk area. Unfortunately the mask profiles cannot be used since the mask is not humanoid.

Heiltsuk-East Kwakwaka'wakw Overlap

Mask identification. #54 CMC V11-E-667 Raven/Mosquito



Fig. 119. Mask # 54 closed



Fig. 120. Mask # 54 open

Museum notes. Part of the Lord Bossom collection, it is classified as Kwakiutl, collected in the Queen Charlotte Sound area ca. 1900.

Douglas Cole notes that the A. C. Bossom collection was bought by the National Museum of Canada, and Cole links the Bossom collection to George Emmons (Cole, 1985, p. 243).

Dimensions. Height 22 cm., width closed 23 cm., length from front to back 61 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a raven. The bird has a long, straight, uncarved beak, and the eye and mouth are painted on. The head is painted black, except for the area around the eye, which has a plain wood finish.

Inner mask. I think this mask represents a mosquito. The mask is fully rounded, with a central ridge that runs from the top of the head to the large curling proboscis. Round copper eyes are set in round-ridged eyesockets. The lower mandible opens, and it is lined with copper. The proboscis is carved out of the same piece of wood as the head of the inner mask--an unusual and skillful piece of carving.

Decoration inside the cheeks. A very unusual free-hand design in dark green and black probably represents the mosquito's wings.

Mechanics. The hinges are unusual, consisting of four metal hooks and eyes. The inside mask is a wooden cap which fits on top of the head.

Attribution. Museum notes say this double mask was collected from the Queen Charlotte Sound area. I think its source is east of the Sound, because the mask's smooth finish and conservative colour scheme points more to that area, but the unusual design inside the raven's cheeks suggests the presence of an outside influence. I have tentatively placed the mask in the Heiltsuk and Kwakwaka'wakw area.

Mask identification #55 VM AA 98 Eagle/Man



Fig. 121.

Mask # 55 closed



Fig. 122. Mask # 55 open

Museum notes. A label on the inside of this mask reads "Haida. Carved by John Cross, Skidegate Mission". Notes say Captain Mellor donated this thunderbird mask to the museum in 1900.

In *Museum and Art Notes*, September 1929, Charles Hill-Tout describes the mask as belonging to the Tsimshian Eagle Clan, and as a mask which illustrates the spiritual union of eagle and man. He says the mask represents a man's guardian spirit, and that "by the very act of wearing such an emblem of their guardian spirit they become one with it in a very close and mysterious manner" (Hill-Tout, 1929, p. 93).

Dimensions. Height 37 cm., width closed 32 cm.

Outer mask. The bird has a broad curving beak. The eyesocket is oval-shaped and deeply carved--it is painted dark blue. The orb is cone-shaped, with a flat iris and lens. The nostrils are painted on, and a split-U design is painted behind the eye. Tool marks on the mask provide an interesting texture, and the bird has a shiny graphite finish.

Inner mask. The face has some northern features; for example, it has ears and a fairly naturalistic presence, and it is painted with a black design on a plain wood background. However, the eyes are very prominent--they are cone-shaped with flattened, pierced orbs, and the cheeks are fairly deeply carved--both these aspects are more southerly traits.

Decoration inside the upper part. A crab-like design is painted in black.

Attribution. This is probably not a Haida mask. It is difficult to place its area of origin, but I think there are Heiltsuk and Kwakwaka'wakw characteristics in this mask.

Mask identification. #56 RBCM 11 Eagle/Man



Fig. 123.

Mask # 56 closed



Fig. 124. Mask # 56 open

Museum notes. The original notes say this is a Kwakiutl mask, collected by F. Jacobsen in 1893 at Bella Bella.

Dimensions. Height 32.5 cm., width 28 cm.

Outer mask. The bird has a rather long beak, curved at the tip. It has slender eyebrows, and the eyesockets are not deeply carved out. The eye is raised in high relief, with a flattened orb. The nostril is painted in a natural place, and the beak is painted yellow. The bird looks more like a real eagle than a supernatural bird.

Inner mask. The face is similar in many ways to mask #55, particularly the prominent, wide open eyes.

Decoration inside the upper and lower parts. The interior decoration consists simply of a black scalloped edge on plain wood.

Attribution. The inner mask shows evidence of being influenced by different styles. It has the naturalism of the northern coast, but the eyes of a more southerly tradition, while the flattened planes of the cheeks reflect Heiltsuk style. I have tentatively changed the attribution from Bella Bella, to Heiltsuk and Kwakwaka'wakw overlap, because of the Kwakwaka'wakw influence seen in the outer mask. However, it is possible that this mask, which does not appear to have been used at all, was made to sell.

Heiltsuk and Nuxalk overlap

Mask identification #57 MAI 5/7964 Thunderbird/Man

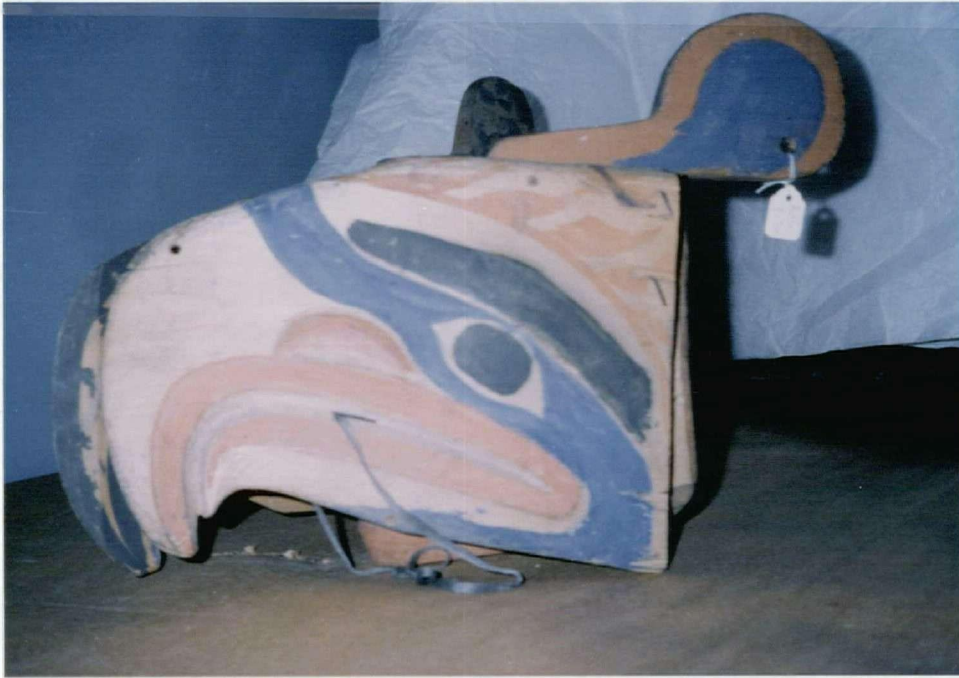


Fig. 125. Mask # 57 closed



Fig. 126. Mask # 57 open

Museum notes. This mechanical mask was acquired by George Heye in 1916 when he bought it from J. E. Standley who owned the "Old Curiosity Shop". It is catalogued as Bella Bella.

Dimensions. Height 22 cm; width closed 30 cm; length of beak 39 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a thunderbird. The opening parts of this mask are almost flat, but the mouth and nostrils are carved in low relief. In contrast, the eyes and eyebrows are painted on, and there is also a free-hand design painted in red over the brows. Two wooden horns have been added onto the mask as separate pieces.

Inner mask. The face is carved in the round, and it is both deeply carved and bulbous. Pierced eyes look out sideways, while the nose and lips are large and fleshy. The round face has no chin.

Decoration inside the cheeks. A design of black and blue dots, dashes and lines fills the space inside the cheeks.

Mechanics. The mask only opens partially, because there is a wooden stop behind the leather hinge.

Attribution. I am uncertain about the attribution of this mask, but I think it has some stylistic characteristics of both the Heiltsuk and Nuxalk. The outside mask does not seem to conform with the inside mask, except for the colours. The mask does not look as if it has been used, and possibly it was made as a souvenir, or for a collector.

Mask identification. #58 MAI 9/2207 Sea Creature/Man



Fig. 127. Mask # 58 closed

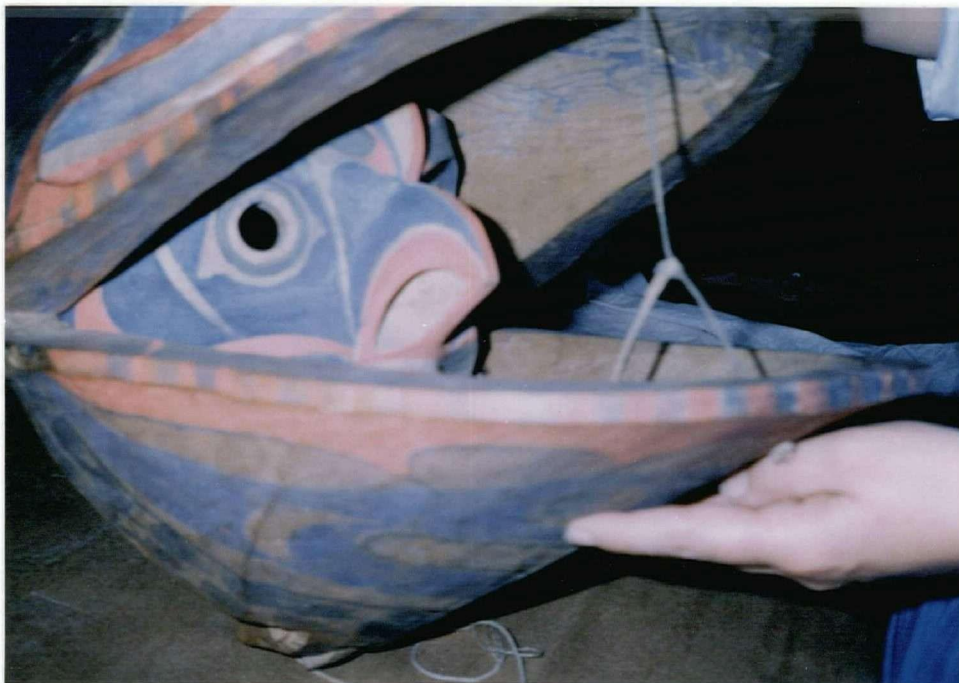


Fig. 128. Mask # 58 open

Museum notes. This mask was collected by G. T. Emmons in 1919 from Bella Bella. It is a mechanical mask representing a sea monster, with a human being in the mouth.

Dimensions. Height 36 cm; width 33 cm; length from front to back 36 cm.

Outer mask. This mask may be carved by the same person who carved mask #57. The quality of the carving is similar, and the free-hand design over the eyes is similar in both pieces. The wide rounded mouth and scalloped decoration suggests this mask represents either a shell or a bullhead fish.

Inner mask. The mask only opens partially, and it is difficult to see inside. The round eyes are pierced open and the cheeks bulge. The blue and red colours are almost identical to those of mask #57.

Mechanics. Two stout wooden hinges are carved from the same piece of wood as the outer mask. A string between the top and bottom pieces of the mask prevents it from opening more than about 30 degrees. It is not clear how it would be worn.

Attribution. This mask is very similar to mask #57, and I have attributed it to Heiltsuk and Nuxalk because it has stylistic features from both areas. Although it is not clear from the photograph, the inner face reflects the style of Nuxalk.

Heiltsuk and Haisla overlap

Mask identification #59 BMM 1944-Am-2-195 a,b. Bear/Bird



Fig. 129. Mask # 59 closed



Fig. 130. Mask # 59 open

Museum notes. Collected on the Northwest Coast of America.

Acquired by the British Museum from H.G. Beasley collection (ca 1915).

Dimensions. Height 28 cm., width closed 27.5 cm., length front to back 30 cm.

Outer mask. Represents a bear, carved in fine detail. The broad eyebrows are carved in low relief, and bend sharply over the eye. They are very similar to the brows in mask *52. The eyesockets are leaf-shaped, and rather small, and the eyelids define a round eye. A line from the back of the mouth to the nostrils is deeply carved, and the bear's nostrils are large and deeply cut out. The precisely painted red and black design shows a northerly influence, while the deep blue-green colour around the eyes points to the Heiltsuk cultural area.

Inner mask. Represents a bird. The inside mask is carved with the same fine detail as the outer mask, and repeats the same style of brows and eyes. The rapacious beak is sharply curved and pointed, contrasting with the bear's snub nose. The mask probably represents a thunderbird, although it could represent a hawk. Whatever bird it represents, it gives the impression of being a fierce predator.

Decoration inside the cheeks. Painted black strokes are joined at the top, so that the design looks like wings.

Mechanics. The double mask has two large wooden hinges. The inner and outer masks were separated for some time before it was recognized that they belonged together.

Attribution. This mask probably comes from the Heiltsuk and Haisla area. The style is similar to bird masks from this area, which are illustrated in Holm and in Hawthorn (Holm, 1988, p. 126; Hawthorn, 1979, Plate XXIV). Unfortunately the mask profiles cannot be used because the masks are not humanoid.



Fig. 131. Mask # 60 closed



Fig. 132. Mask # 60 open

Museum notes. Collected in Victoria, B.C., by D. Spencer Fox in 1877.

Dimensions. Height 28 cm., width closed 23 cm.

Outer Form. Hands close over the inner face, so that in some ways this mask cannot be called a true double mask, since the definition is "one face opens to reveal another face". However, it opens and closes in the same way as other double masks, and it is similar to mask # 47 because it portrays a person "seeing" and "not-seeing".

The curved hands are carved so that they close over the eyes very neatly. When the string opens them, a block of wood prevents them from opening too far.

Inner mask. The mask has several of the Haisla characteristics illustrated in the mask profile on pages 24-25. The face is naturalistic in style, with hair painted on, and with carved ears. The nose has a natural shape, and the soft lips are slightly open. However, the open round eyes are not typically Haisla, and the flattened planes of the cheeks are more reminiscent of Heiltsuk style.

Attribution. For stylistic reasons I have classified this mask as probably coming from the Heiltsuk and Haisla area.

CHAPTER 4

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE PATTERNS INSIDE THE CHEEKS OF DOUBLE MASKS

In this chapter I describe and analyse the patterns found inside the cheeks of the double masks in the sample. I classify the patterns according to the major theme of the decorative design, since some patterns have overlapping themes. Drawings of the patterns inside some of the older masks illustrate the themes I discuss.

The patterns inside the cheeks are an interesting aspect of the double mask identity, and they have not been described previously. I describe and illustrate the patterns in order, beginning with simple patterns and themes. In all cases the decorative designs are painted rather than carved, and the design tends to fill the whole area.

Simple patterns

Mask # 56 has a border of black U-shapes on a plain wood background.

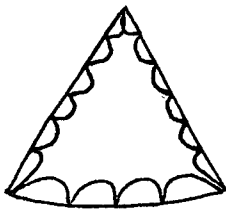


Fig. 133. Inside top of mask #56

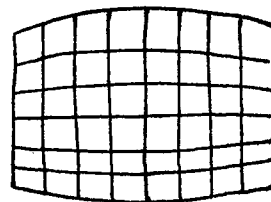


Fig. 134. Inside mask # 40

Mask #40 has a net-like pattern made of red lines on a black background. Since the double mask represents a salmon, this design may illustrate a salmon net. On the other hand it may be only decorative.

Mask # 51 has a fan-like decoration, painted in red and blue on a plain wood background. Museum notes suggest this may be a rainbow crest.

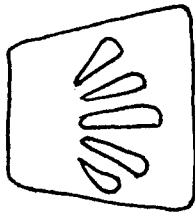


Fig. 135. Inside mask # 51

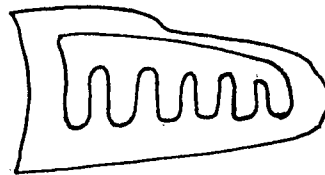


Fig. 136. Inside mask # 59

Mask # 59 has vertical black brush marks, joined together at the top with a black line. This stylized design may represent wings.

Motifs

Several decorative motifs are used. They are composed of distinctive features such as a man's hand, or a bear's face. Sometimes a motif is formed from a combination of features such as a man's hand combined with a bird's claws.

Bear or wolf motif

Mask #48 has a bear or wolf motif. It is painted with long brush strokes in black, red and white. The eye of the bear or wolf corresponds to the eye of the outer raven, and there is a hole through the mask at this point. The bear or wolf may be a crest.



Fig. 137. Inside mask # 48



Fig. 138. Inside mask # 38

Mask # 38 has a bear motif, painted in red and black on a plain wood background. The motif is painted in Nuxalk style, with wide eyebrows bent over the eye. The bear motif reflects the outer image, which is also a bear. They both have eyes and teeth in approximately the same place.

Mask # 50 has a bear motif on the right side, and a cross-hatch design on the left. Both are loosely painted in red and black.

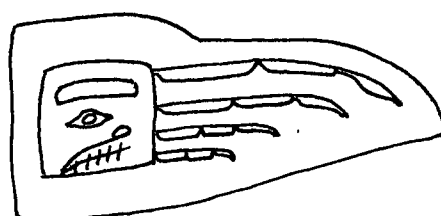
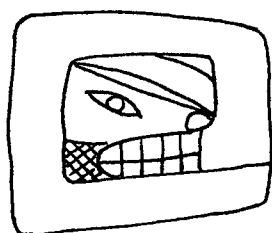


Fig. 139. Inside right cheek of mask #50

Fig. 140. Inside mask # 29

Mask # 29 shows a bear's face combined with four long claws. Museum notes connected with this mask say the bear probably represented a family crest belonging to the woman through whom the mask was inherited.

Other masks with a bear motif are masks # 7 and 15.

Hand motif

The significance of the image of a man's hand in Northwest Coast art is not clear, but it may be chosen to represent man because it is one of his most important features, just as the bear's teeth and nose represent the bear. Man's hand is important because he can use it for so many actions. The image of a hand carries with it ideas

associated with the powerful way man can use his hands.

Mask # 17 shows a man's hand and part of his arm. The double-mask is named "Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World", and the story of the mask describes the adventures of a mythical ancestor (Boas and Hunt, 1906, pp. 60-79). The hand may represent the actions of the man "Born-to-be-Head-of-the-World".

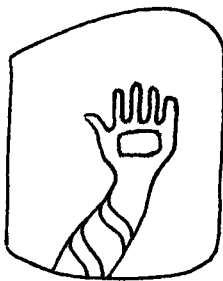


Fig. 141. Inside mask # 17



Fig. 142. Inside mask # 31

Mask # 31 shows a man's hand combined with a bear's face. Edward Malin has a photograph of this mask in his book *The World of Faces*. In his description he writes: "The design inside the outer face appears to be purely decorative" (Malin, 1978, Plate 28). In my view the compound motif probably had some significance which was known to the carver and to the mask owner, even if it is not known today.

Other masks with a man's hand painted on the inside are: Masks # 8, 9, 13, 21, 24, 27, and 49. Mask # 60 is unusual because it has carved hands covering the face.

Sisiutl, whale, and bird motifs

Mask # 16 opens up in seven sections. Two sections have a sisiutl motif painted on the inside, two sections have a whale motif, and two

have a bird. The sisiutl is outlined in dark blue and has a long red tongue curling out of its mouth. The images are painted with a free hand, but they are well controlled, since the two images match each other very well.

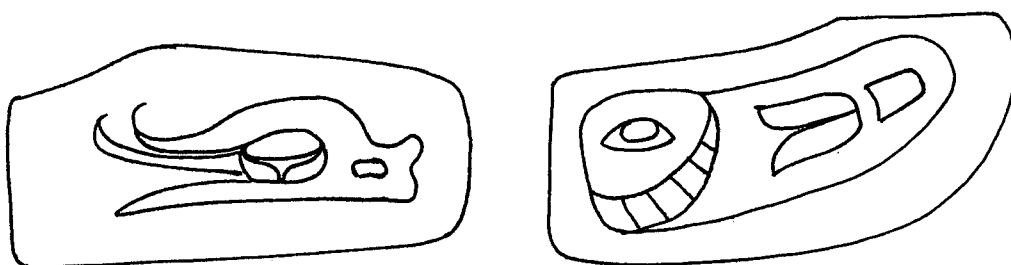


Fig. 143. Sisiutl: inside mask #16 Fig. 144. Whale: inside mask #16

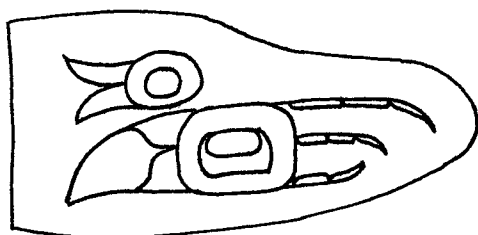


Fig. 145. Bird: inside mask #16

There are many stories about mythical ancestors who gained supernatural power and travelled around Kwakwaka'wakw territory on land and sea. They had adventures during which they learnt about the powers of supernatural creatures such as the sisiutl and the thunderbird (Boas and Hunt, 1905, pp. 165-247; Boas and Hunt, 1906, pp. 60-79; Boas, 1935, pp. 1-12). According to museum notes this double mask was used to illustrate those adventures (page 75), therefore it seems likely that the motifs represent the creatures the ancestor met.

Thunderbird and sisiutl motif

Mask # 14. Conventionally the thunderbird is depicted as the outside mask, but this double mask has a motif inside which combines the sisiutl and the thunderbird. The design illustrates one of the traits of Northwest Coast art, where images of creatures are combined in a form of visual punning. This produces a new image that suggests several lines of thought.

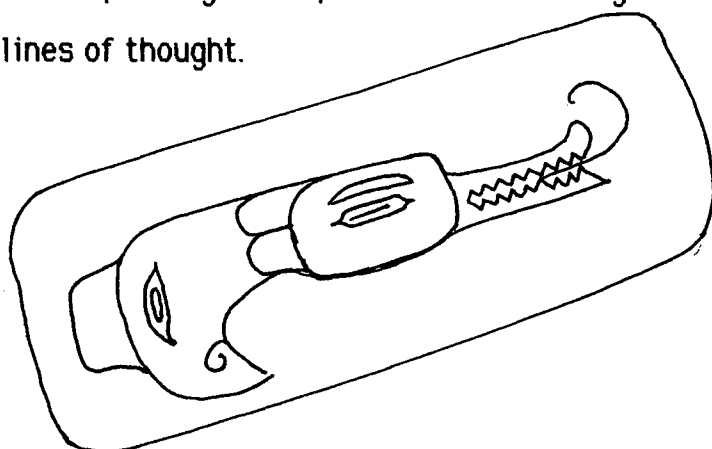


Fig. 146. Inside mask # 14

The double mask represents Hayleekilahl, a mythical being in Kwakwaka'wakw stories, who came down from heaven with knowledge of the supernatural, and gave this knowledge to humans (Boas, 1935, p. 74). Sisiutl images are part of complex designs in masks # 8, 9, 22, and 27.

Motifs inside Haida masks

Mask #45 opens up to show a wide canvas corona. It is possible that three shapes represent dogfish--a Haida crest, but these shapes have no gills. I think the design probably had a definite meaning to the craftsman who painted it, and to the owner, but that the meaning is not clear now.

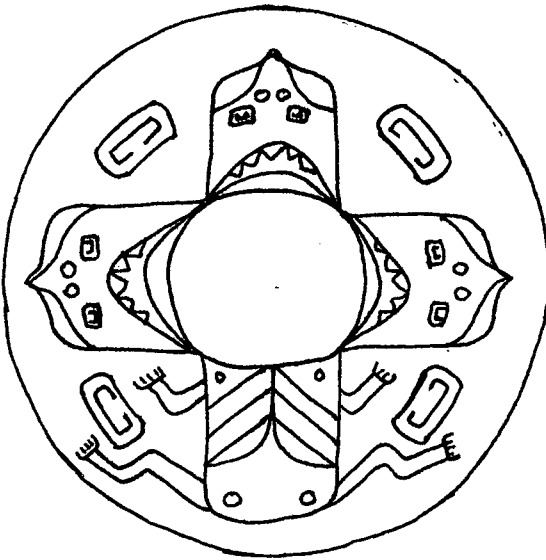


Fig. 147. Inside mask # 45

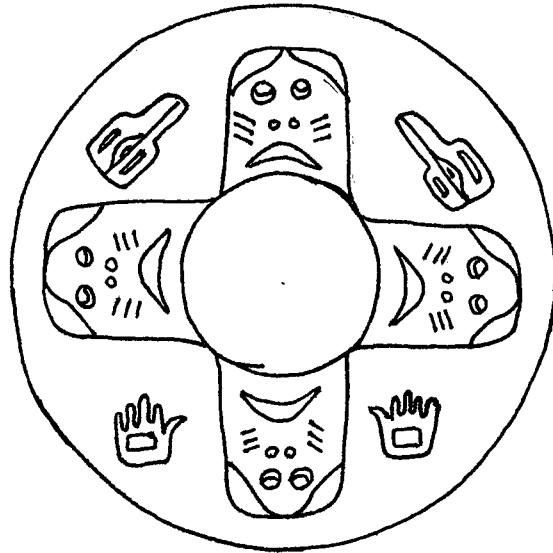


Fig. 148. Inside mask # 46

Mask # 46 also opens up into a canvas corona. The colours are more carefully applied on this mask than on mask # 45, although both are done with a free hand. The meaning of the design is obscure, but apparently the main elements are four dogfish heads, two birds and two hands. I think it is most likely that these motifs are Haida crests. Masks # 45 and 46 are very similar in most ways, and they may have been made by the same person.

Two-dimensional northern Northwest Coast patterns (i.e. classical northern design with formlines, ovoids and U-shapes). Masks # 39 and 52 are beautiful and complex masks that open up in the same mechanical way as masks #45 and 46, to reveal wide canvas coronas (see pages 124-153). The designs inside these masks are precisely painted in northern style, and it is my opinion that the designs probably represent creatures connected with Heiltsuk and Nuxalk mythology. The subject is too wide for a complete analysis in

this thesis, but these masks deserve further study.

Mask # 42 is painted with northern Northwest Coast design and style.

The design probably represents the combination of a bear and a wing.

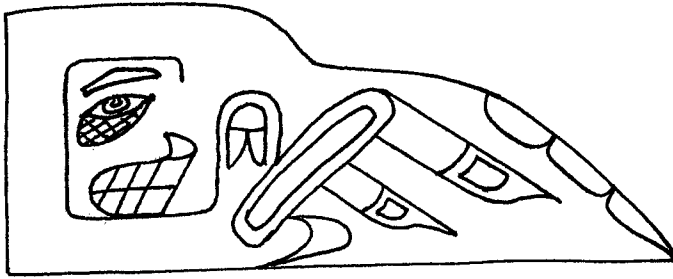


Fig. 149. Inside mask # 42

Mask # 43 also has a fine northern Northwest Coast design inside the cheek of the outer raven (see page 133). The complex design appears to be purely decorative, but it may be significant.

Pattern inside the cheek reflects the outer creature

The design appears to represent the inside of the outer creature. This design is different to a motif because all the different parts of the inside creature correspond to the outside creature. I think the style and the unusual formal elements of the painting express the inside parts of a creature.

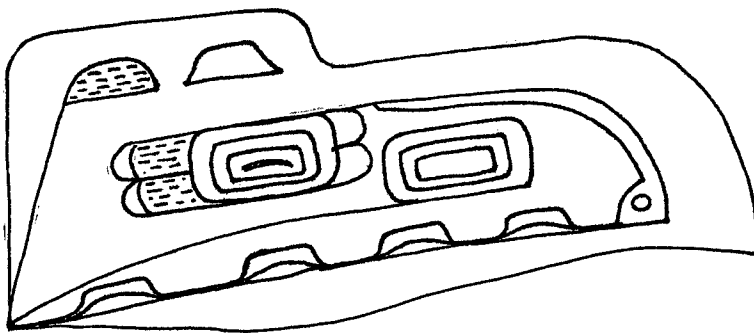


Fig. 150. Inside mask # 3

Fig. 150 shows the pattern inside mask # 3. The main features represent the eyes (closed), the nose, and the tongue or beak (a line of linked U-shapes). The lines of dashes behind the eyes, and the unusual shapes around the eyes are different to the usual decorative elements found on the outside of a mask.

Masks # 1, 4 and 18 are similar to mask # 3.

Wing pattern

Some patterns clearly represent wings while others may represent wings. Examination shows that wings are a major form of decoration and design, and they are presented in different ways. Mask # 53 has a series of red and black U-shapes painted inside. The design represents wings on a wing-shaped board, and there is evidence that the edges of the wings were decorated with feathers.

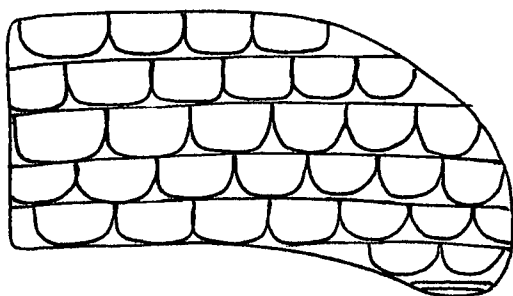


Fig. 151. Inside mask # 53

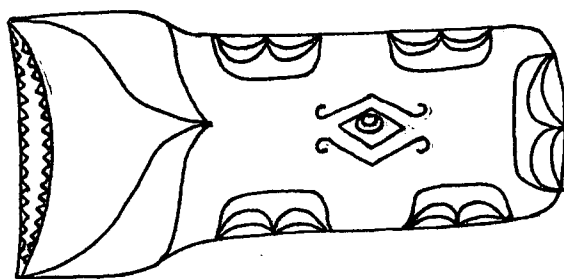


Fig. 152. Inside mask # 54

Mask # 54 has an interesting and unusual design. I think it represents the wings of a mosquito (the inside mask represents a mosquito). The design is loosely drawn and is atypical of Northwest Coast design--it may reflect some outside influences. Both the double mask itself and the design are puzzling.

Mask # 2 has canvas wings which cover the heron's face. The design is

painted inside the canvas, although it "bleeds" through to the outside. This mask contrasts with mask # 54 since it is composed in typical northern Northwest Coast style. Mask #2 has formlines, U-shapes, ovoid shapes, cross-hatching and S-shaped elements.

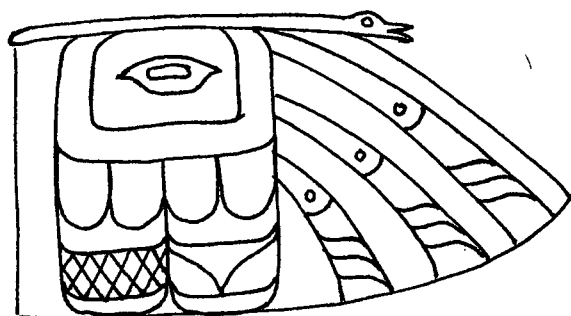


Fig. 153. Inside mask #2

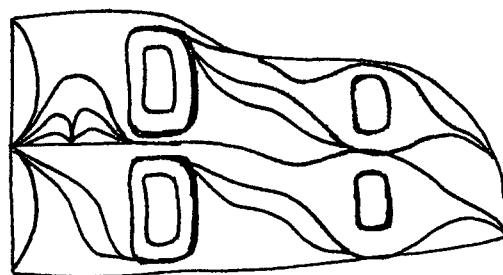


Fig. 154. Inside mask # 25

Mask # 25 uses a stylized design to represent wings. Modified S-shapes suggest movement and also the shape of wings. Ovoid forms represent wing bones.

Mask # 23 is a large mask with a design that seems to represent wings. It illustrates how Kwakwaka'wakw carvers used both traditional elements and innovative ideas in masks. The ovoids and U-shapes indicate that the basic northern style remains important, while the unstructured S-shapes and painted dashes suggest the craftsman was experimenting with a different format.

The resulting design is busy and ornamental, and this may be pleasing or not, but it is an example of the shifting interest between traditional and experimental designs.

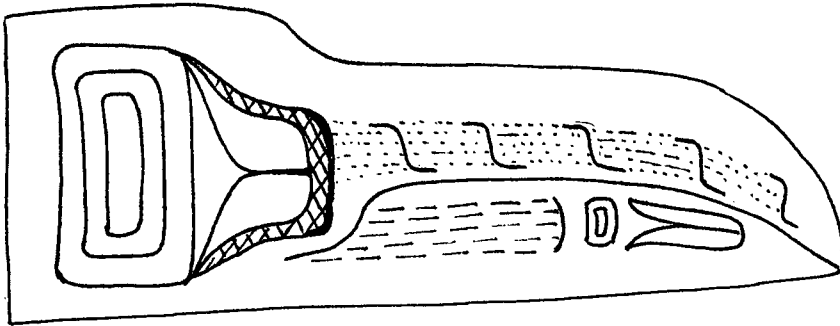


Fig. 155. Inside mask # 23

Summary of analysis of patterns inside the cheeks of double masks

a) Kwakwaka'wakw double masks

Some patterns inside the masks suggest that the Kwakwaka'wakw developed designs further than other groups (with the important exception of masks #39 and 52). The Kwakwaka'wakw designs show new shapes and different artistic arrangements. This may be due to three reasons:

First, the Kwakwaka'wakw continued to hold ceremonies at a time when other Northwest Coast groups were unable to continue theirs, because of decreases in population, and the pressure exerted by European settlers. Therefore the Kwakwaka'wakw continued to make more masks than other groups, and this gave them more opportunities to develop and embellish different themes.

Second, conditions were changing for the Kwakwaka'wakw too, and this provided a critical time for changes in traditional form and style.

Third, double masks were very suitable for Kwakwaka'wakw theatrical performances. They illustrate origin myths effectively and

dramatically through representing both a supernatural being and a human ancestor. Therefore there was a demand for new masks, with the possibility for development.

b) Northwest Coast double masks in general

It is often difficult to say if a pattern is purely decorative, or if it represents a simple emblem or creature, or if it is symbolic of several interlocking ideas and beliefs. For example, a wing design may be only decorative, but it may also suggest complex ideas about flight, including ideas about the soul. Similarly, motifs painted inside masks probably represent crests or illustrate stories, but at the same time they are also decorative adornments. While a few patterns may be mainly decorative, I consider that most patterns probably are significant.

Patterns inside double masks illustrate an important aspect of Northwest Coast art. They can be perceived as pure decorations, or as symbolic designs, or as a combination of these two factors. The patterns do not have one meaning, but a combination of meanings at several different levels. This approach to the decoration of double masks follows established Northwest Coast custom, where objects are made and decorated with ambiguity of form and design.

CHAPTER 5

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF OUTER MASK FORMS

A general description of the outer masks is complicated by the fact that five Northwest Coast groups are only represented by a few double masks. Four or five masks seem insufficient for a group profile, but on the other hand I have seen most of the double masks that were made by these groups and which are now in museums. An overall view of the different styles of outer masks is helpful for seeing contrasting elements of interest. For example, the Nuu-Chah-Nulth interest in the wolf and/or the serpent.

The Kwakwaka'wakw are represented by 33 masks, and a general profile of their outer masks is presented. The Nuu-Chah-Nulth are only represented by four masks, but their outer forms are very similar and their characteristics are described. There are five Haida double masks, and on the whole their general form and style is consistent, and can be summarized.

Four Nuxalk outer masks are so varied in image and form that general characteristics cannot be extracted. Four Tsimshian and Gitksan, and ten Heiltsuk and Haisla outer masks are also quite varied, but some conclusions can be drawn about their general form and style.

Definition of Supernatural imagery

Masks of natural species such as birds, animals and marine creatures are often carved and painted with enhanced natural features. These include bird nostrils that are greatly enlarged and placed next to the mouth, and large ears added onto birds. These features accentuate

different parts of a creature in a way that goes beyond a realistic image. In my description I have said such masks have "supernatural attributes".

In comparison, the thunderbird is not a natural species, it is a mythical creature with a set of characteristics that includes horns, a broad hooked beak and large nostrils. I have called creatures such as the thunderbird and sisiutl "supernatural creatures".

Mode

Outer masks are based on natural life forms, perhaps with the addition of supernatural imagery. The animal, bird, and fish forms are expressed in different ways, but the representation is usually realistic in fashion or mode. Distortion or simplification may adapt this realism, and different cultural groups may emphasize some features, but usually the mode is realistic rather than abstract, because the form can be recognized (Wingert, 1951, p. 77).

General characteristics of West Kwakwaka'wakw outer masks

- Mode: Birds, animals and marine creatures are usually carved in a realistic fashion, often with supernatural attributes. They may be carved to represent supernatural creatures.
- Eyebrows: Medium thickness and slightly curving. They may be carved in low relief.
- Eyesockets: Are large ovoids carved in a shallow concave shape. There may be convex moulding immediately around the eye.
- Eyelids: Define the shape of the eyes, which vary from round

eyes (mask #3), to elongated eyes (mask #23).

Orbs: The orb is prominent and rounded inside the eyelids, but the iris and pupil are flat. The shape of the orb is a truncated cone-shape--a distinctive Kwakwaka'wakw characteristic. (Although usually the outer mask eye is not carved as deeply as the inner mask eye). The eye is not usually pierced open (compared with the inner mask, which often has pierced eyes). The lens is often eccentric.

Nose: Enlarged and prominent in all species. The nostrils of birds are frequently carved or painted in a forward position on the beak. There is often a line of U-shapes, or a scalloped line, which is carved or painted, and goes from the nostrils to the back of the beak (masks #3, 7, 8, 18, and 25).

Mouth or Beak: Large but realistically carved, although the curved beak may be emphasized. Lips are accentuated with red paint.

Ears: Are present on the bear mask (mask #1), but are not added to birds, except for the thunderbird and the sea raven masks (masks #7, 9, and 29).

Carving style: The features on Kwakwaka'wakw masks are usually deeply carved. The transition between eyesockets, orbs, nose, lips and teeth are hard-edged. Decorative shapes--such as U-shapes-- may also be carved out deeply.

Painting style: Masks are usually painted all over. Painted areas follow the carved contours, emphasizing the three-dimensional form. Although the masks are bright and expressive, only three or four colours are usually used on one mask. A white background is rarely used.

Decoration: The major form of decoration is a line of carved or painted U-shapes (masks* 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 15, 18, 20, 22, and 27). Split U's are used occasionally (masks *8, 9, 17, 22, 23, 26, and 28). Dashes are only used on mask *23

General characteristics of East Kwakwaka'wakw outer masks

- Mode: Mainly realistic.
- Eyebrows: Medium thickness and curved.
- Eyesockets: Are not as large as those on West Kwakwaka'wakw masks, and are not so deeply carved.
- Eyelids: Eyelids shape the eye into a slightly elongated form which is the shape of the human eye, rather than the shape of a bird's eye which is essentially round.
- Orbs: Are carved into a shallow convex shape, though the iris and lens are flat.
- Nose: Bird nostrils are accentuated, and placed forwards on the beak, but they are not as prominent as on the West Kwakwaka'wakw masks. Human noses are realistic.
- Mouth or Beak: Large, but realistically carved. The mouth is painted red.
- Ears: Are not present.

Carving style: The carved shape is simple and rounded. The area around the eye is moulded to suggest the underlying volume of the orb.

Painting style: Masks are painted all over in two or three colours. A band is often painted across the eye area, usually following the eyesocket contours.

Decoration: Some U-shapes are present.

General characteristics of Nuu-Chah-Nulth outer masks

It has not been clearly determined whether the outer image represents a wolf or a serpent. Although I am inclined to think that it is probably a wolf, the shape is ambiguous, and it could represent a serpent. See page 110 for further discussion on this point.

Mode: Abstract. The outer mask has flat sides and oblong shape. It does not clearly represent a natural creature.

Eyebrows: Slender, slightly arched, and tapering at each end.

Eyesockets: Not carved. Painted in a rounded oblong shape.

Eyelids: Painted in an elongated diamond shape.

Orbs: Not carved. The lens is a round shape.

Nose: The wolf or serpent nostrils rise above the snout in a round disc-like shape. Nostrils are not always painted red.

Mouth: The wolf or serpent is shown with lips pulled back so that the teeth show. Flat teeth are carved with spaces between them, and there are no sharp teeth.

Ears: The shape of the ear may be incorporated into the

fret-work designs cut out of the area around the head, but there is no obvious ear.

Carving style: The wolf or serpent is essentially two-dimensional, and carving on the face is minimal except for the teeth. The area above and behind the head is carved into cut-out shapes that resemble geometric figures, although they could represent fur or feathers.

Painting style: Design and decoration is applied to the flat plain wood surface. Two to four colours are used on each mask.

Decoration: Different kinds of shapes decorate the wolf or serpent mask. They vary from geometric shapes such as the diamond, circle, and crescent, to flowing S-type shapes and U-shapes.

Nuxalk outer masks

The four Nuxalk double masks in the sample vary greatly. It would be unwise to suggest a set of general characteristics from this small group of masks. The carving style varies from the very plain rounded form of mask #41, to the detailed features carved on mask #39.

I have no record of any other Nuxalk double masks in museums. It is possible that a particular form and style did not have a chance to develop, before the arrival of western people resulted in tragic population decreases, and a loss of ceremonial activities. However, it is also possible that double masks were destroyed after their use.

General characteristics of Haida outer masks

- Mode: Realistic.
- Eyebrows: A slender arched eyebrow can be seen on two masks. The area is not visible on three masks.
- Eyesockets: Moulded into a concave ovoid shape.
- Eyelids: In all five cases the eyelids are raised in a fine line of low relief. This is a Haida characteristic. In three cases the eyelids constrain the eye. This presents a naturalistic image of a partially closed eye.
- Orbs: The whole orb is carved into a rounded shape, including the pupil and iris. This is another Haida characteristic.
- Nose: A small nose is painted on the beaks of two birds.
- Mouth: The mouth is outlined with red paint.
- Ears: There are no ears, except in one type of mask that has a large corona. When the mask is closed the corona folds up in such a way that ears may be represented.
- Carving style: All the birds are fully rounded and smoothly finished. The only detailed carving is around the eyes.
- Painting style: All the birds are painted black, with either red, blue, or plain wood eyesockets.
- Decoration: There are no carved or painted decorative elements.

General comments on Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan outer masks

There are only four masks in this group, including one recent mask, and they do not demonstrate a complete set of stylistic characteristics. However, the three older masks do have at least two

features in common. First, they all show a special interest in the eyes, and in the area around the eyes. The outer masks of #47 and #50 have closed eyes, while the inner masks have open eyes. Mask #48 has open eyes on the outer mask and closed eyes inside. Second, the three older masks do not have any deeply carved-out areas, being smoothly moulded on the outside.

Both of these features are typical of Coast Tsimshian and Gitksan masks, and on the whole the outer masks are carved and decorated in a style consistent with other Tsimshian and Gitksan masks.

Heiltsuk and Haisla outer masks

In this group I have included all the masks which originate from the area lying south of Douglas Channel to Rivers Inlet, and west of the Nuxalk area. However, there is not one consistent style, and there is evidence of over-lapping influences. For example, masks #57 and #58 show Nuxalk influence, and mask #54 shows Kwakwaka'wakw influence. Outside influences can be expected in such a large area, and it is also an area where people were moving from remote villages to other larger villages such as Bella Bella.

Double masks which almost certainly belong completely in the Heiltsuk and Haisla area include masks # 51, 52, 53 and 59. Mask #51 was collected by Barbeau in Kitlope, and the outside mask consists of flat boards, with an owl's face painted on. Mask # 53 also has an outer mask consisting of flat boards, with eyes and teeth painted on. Both masks had feathers surrounding all the edges of the outer masks, so

that when closed, the double mask must have looked like a bird with wings over its face.

The outer mask of # 59 is a fully carved and painted image of a bear with leaf-shaped dark green eyesockets and broad eyebrows bent over the eyes. These are Heiltsuk characteristics (for comparison see Holm, 1987, p. 127).

Although it is not possible from these examples to describe one set of characteristics belonging to the outer masks of Heiltsuk and Haisla double masks, it is possible to say that most of them have overlapping attributes which places them in this area more than in any other area.

Overlapping styles are often found in Northwest Coast masks, and double masks are no exception. It is possible that double masks were such a late development that different styles belonging to particular groups had merged in some areas, and double masks reflect this condition.

Summary of the outer mask forms

Examination shows that most outer masks are carved in the traditional styles of each Northwest Coast group, although some masks have overlapping styles.

None of the outer masks show new or different attributes because they are double masks, except for the fact that they open and close. For example, the double mask of a raven made by one particular group, looks like the single mask of a raven made by that group, except that it opens up. Therefore, the outer mask does not seem to be

associated more with transformation than does a single mask.

The outer masks represent natural animals that live on the Northwest Coast, and supernatural creatures that live in the stories and myths of the native people. The supernatural creatures vary according to the myths of different groups. Thus, the Kwakwaka'wakw carve images of thunderbirds, while the Nuu-Chah-Nulth carve supernatural wolves or serpents.

In ceremonial performances, the dancer imitates the movements of the outer mask, bringing life to the story or myth. The outer animal mask usually encloses a human mask. When the outer mask opens, a human is revealed inside. The significance of the relationship between the outer and inner mask is discussed in chapter 6.

Double mask development

The double mask form may have developed over time as part of the evolution of masks and the art of masking. For example, I would speculate that single animal masks made with articulated parts such as moveable beaks or wings, might have led to practical ideas about making double masks. Also, the practise of a performer rapidly changing masks is old, having been documented from the time of Captain Cook (Beaglehole, 1967, p. 1089). The double mask form makes such rapid changes possible in a different way.

When double masks were first developed, they were probably highly valued because of their novelty, and because their complexity may have made them an expensive mask to commission. Therefore, they were probably a desirable ceremonial object.

Some double masks were probably taken from their place of origin to other villages throughout the Northwest Coast area, as marriage settlements or for trading purposes. Also, it is quite likely that double masks were seen by visitors to winter ceremonies in another area. Thus, the idea of the double mask form spread from one group to another, and then double masks were made in the traditional style of each group.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

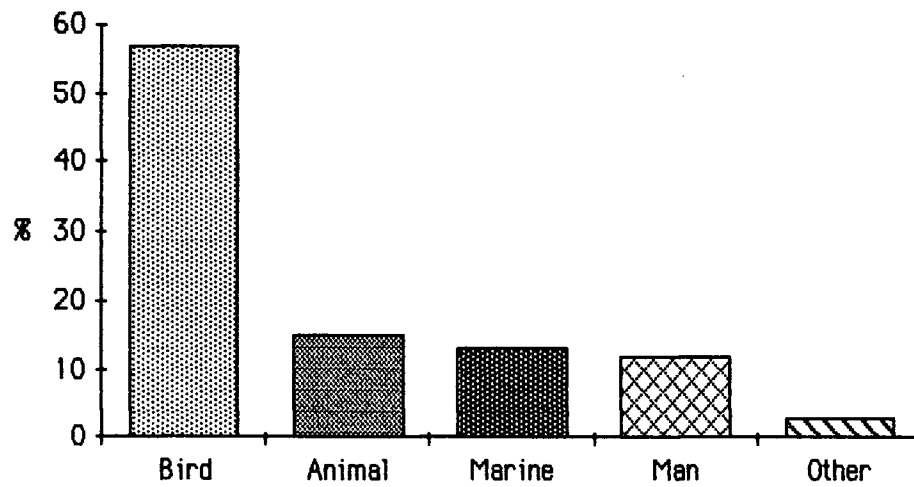
The relationship between outer and inner images

A bird is the most common image portrayed by the outer mask, being present in 57% of the sample; a human face is the most common image found inside (85%). The most common combined forms consist of a bird outside and a human inside (52%). Marine creatures, land animals, and humans are also represented on the outside mask (40%), and in 10% of the masks a bird is shown inside. Figures 156 to 158 summarize these data.

However, the 60 masks studied are predominantly Kwakwaka'wakw (55%), so the results of the study are biased in their favour. When other Northwest Coast groups are considered separately, different combinations are seen (see Table 8). For example, in two out of four masks, the Nuu-Chah-Nulth depict a wolf or serpent outside and a human inside; the Haida show a bird and human relationship in all of their five masks.

Most Northwest Coast double masks have a bird, land animal, or marine creature outside, and a human inside. However, since variations do occur, even though the numbers are few, we should be cautious in reaching conclusions about the meaning of the relationship between the outer and inner images.

Fig. 156 Frequency of Forms of Outer Mask Images



Number	34	9	8	7	2
%	57	15	13	12	3

Fig. 157 Frequency of Forms of Inner Mask Images

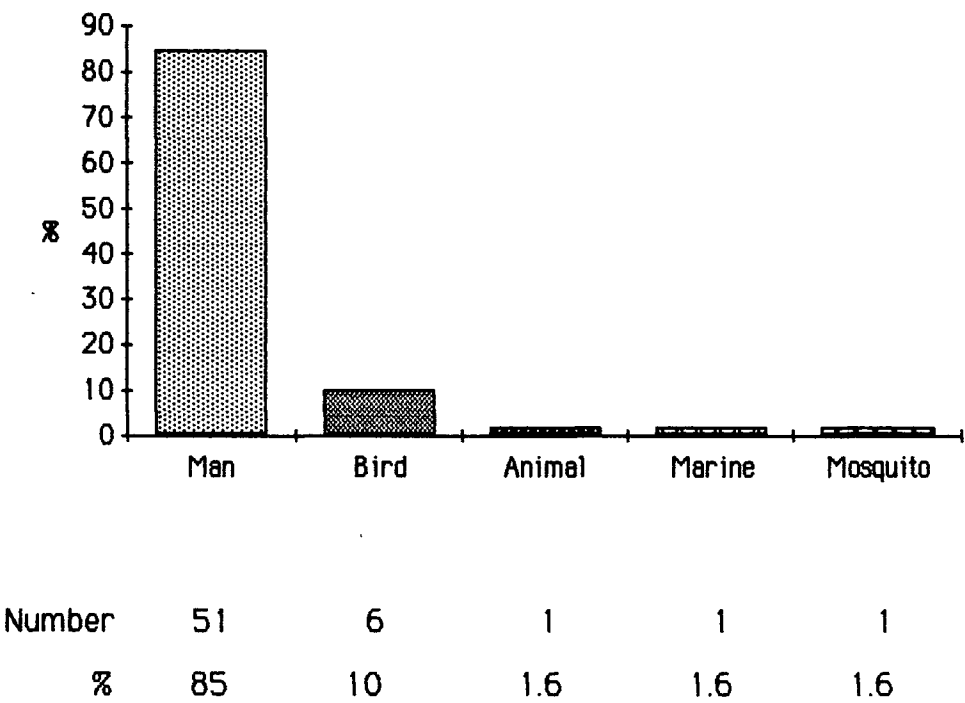
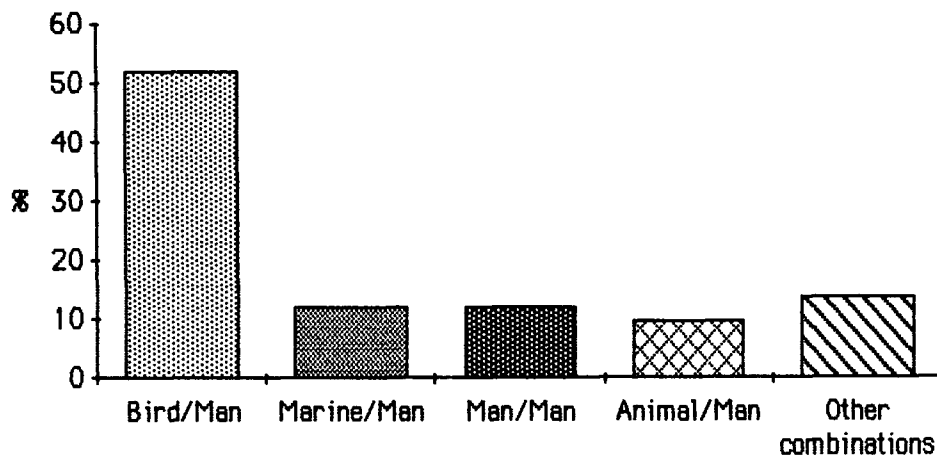


Fig. 158 Frequency of Combinations of Outer/Inner Mask Forms



Number	31	7	7	6	9
%	52	12	12	10	14

* "Other Combinations" means those masks which do not have a human inside. They include:

- 2 Wolf/Bird
- 1 Owl/Owl
- 1 Whale/Whale
- 1 Bear/Hawk
- 1 ?Sea creature/Bear
- 1 Wings/Hawk
- 1 Bird/Mosquito
- 1 Raven/Qolos

Represents	Bird/ Human	Bear/ Human	Sun/ Human	Human/ Human	Seacreature /Human	Wolf/ Human	Hands/ Human
Tribe							
Kwak.	19	1	1	4	4		
N.C.N.						2	
Nuxalk	1	1			1		
Haida	5						
C. Tsimshian & Gitksan	2			1		1	
Haisla							
Heiltsuk	1						
Heiltsuk & Kwak.	2						
Heiltsuk & Nuxalk	1				1		
Heiltsuk & Haisla							1
Sub-total (All tribes)	31	2	1	5	6	3	1

Table 8. Frequency of Double Mask Images (continued on next page)

Outer/ Inner	Bird/ Bird	Seacreature/ Seacreature	Wolf/ Bird	Seacreature /Bear	Bird/ Mosquito	Bear/ Bird	Total
Tribe							
Kwak.	1	1					33
N.C.N.			2				4
Nuxalk				1			4
Haïda							5
C. Tsimshian & Gitksan							4
Haisla	1						1
Heiltsuk	1						2
Heiltsuk & Kwak.					1		3
Heiltsuk & Nuxalk							2
Heiltsuk & Haisla						1	2
Sub-total (All Tribes)	3	1	2	1	1	1	60

Table 8b. Frequency of Double Mask Images (continued from previous page)

The Double Mask Form

This type of mask usually combines human images with images of other creatures. Therefore, the double-image may be significant. It is possible that double masks express a belief in a close relationship between humans and other creatures.

This supposition is supported by Northwest Coast ethnographies which say that native people had a great respect for other creatures. It is also supported by myths that say birds and animals lived on this earth before man arrived, and that all forms of life could appear as human (Boas and Hunt, 1905, p. 295; Codere, 1966, pp. 155-163; Garfield, 1951, p. 49; McIlwraith, 1948, p. 300; Swanton, 1905, p. 207).

Irving Goldman has argued that the Kwakwaka'wakw consider non-human animals and supernatural creatures to be the source of original power, and this belief is a cornerstone of their religious view of the world (Goldman, 1975, pp. 186-199). He says the Kwakwaka'wakw seek power by searching in the animal realm themselves, or by taking part in rituals which re-enact the experiences of their ancestors with supernatural creatures. To gain power a human must be spiritually transformed into the other being, and in rituals this is symbolized by wearing masks and skins. Power that is gained in the encounter is released to the human realm, while the supernatural donor has the privilege of presenting gifts, and of being welcomed into another realm. Goldman continues:

As does all mankind, Kwakiutl recognize transformation as a fundamental natural process. They have gone beyond direct empirical observations--eggs

transformed into birds and fish, for example--to the profound comprehension common to religious and scientific thinkers, of an underlying unity of organic life. Kwakiutl call the common substance human, an anthropocentrism, no doubt, but still a statement of consubstantiality....Transformation within a configuration that includes exchanges and circulation of forms and powers is perhaps the central idea of Kwakiutl religious thought (Goldman, 1975, pp. 200-201).

The double mask form supports Goldman's claim that the idea of consubstantiality is an important factor in the Kwakwaka'wakw world view. But unfortunately, there is insufficient ethnographic data about double masks to provide any additional confirmation. Further research is needed on the ideas touching upon the relationship between humans and other creatures

Summary of the dramatic use of double masks

The special feature that double masks have developed is their technical ability to project different images. Essentially, this is what makes them different to single masks. Double masks are more spectacular and versatile in theatrical performances than single masks.

Double masks are especially appropriate for illustrating Kwakwaka'wakw origin stories, because the mask represents two important characters in the story. The dancer, who becomes both a supernatural creature and a mythical ancestor, is transformed into these heroic beings when he or she puts on the mask. During the

ceremony, the double mask illustrates the origin story, as it changes from one character into another.

The double mask opens and closes in the flickering firelight, displaying multiple images from the outer and inner forms--since there are designs inside the cheeks as well as outside. Other players may also take part in the drama; for example, in one performance an actor thrusts a harpoon into the side of a salmon mask, which opens dramatically, revealing the frightening and powerful *sisiutl*. Therefore, the double mask can be an important part of stagecraft, and a valuable source of material for theatrical tricks.

At the same time, the double mask itself is a source of pleasure. Some masks in the sample are beautifully carved and painted. Such elegance would not be lost on an audience that valued fine art and craftsmanship.

Terminology

In this thesis I argue that the masks I describe are more properly called "double masks" rather than "transformation masks". The native people who made the masks, and early ethnographers who described and collected them, did not refer to the masks as "transformation masks". Several names were used, and the term "double mask" was frequently used. It describes the masks simply but adequately, and is a name that can be applied to the masks made by all the different Northwest Coast groups.

In comparison, the term "transformation mask" carries complex connotations which may be misleading. Apparently the term first

appeared in the 1960s, when it was used by anthropologists and ethnographers. Then the term quickly gained general acceptance.

Historically, this type of mask was probably first called a "double mask" in the English language (Boas, 1897, fig. 5, p. 357; and p. 358). When Hunt collected some masks of this type for the American Museum of Natural History around 1900, he referred to them as masks that represented two or more characters (AMNH museum notes; Boas and Hunt, 1906, pp. 70-72).

In CMC museum notes, ca. 1916, Sapir says that mask V11-F-405 is a "folding mask". In RBCM museum notes, a mask collected by Newcombe in 1912 is recorded as a "double mask" (mask RBCM 2363). MOA museum notes record the native term for this type of mask as "dałdałhagamłh" (masks A 4497, A6256, A 6373). The word *dałdał* is translated into English as "folding" in *Kwakiutl Texts* (Boas and Hunt, 1905, p. 233). Samuel Barrett's field notes (ca. 1915), refer to a Kwakwaka'wakw raven mask, which opens to reveal a man inside, as "dałdał^haKumL". This is translated as an "opening out (raven) mask" (Mochon, 1966, p. 69). Ron Hamilton says that the Nuu-Chah-Nulth name for this type of mask is K'áK'aWáš, which can be translated as "opening out to reveal".

I have not found any reference to this type of mask being called a "transformation mask" before the 1960s.

In the catalogue for *Arts of the Raven* Exhibition, two masks are labelled "transformation mask" (Duff, 1967, masks 494 and 495). In the catalogue for *Masterpieces of Indian and Eskimo Art in Canada*, one mask is labelled as a "transformation mask" (Duff, 1969, mask VM

AA 99). This exhibition was presented in Ottawa and in Paris, France. In the catalogue for *Ksan, Breath of Our Grandfathers*, one mask is labelled a "transformation mask", and the text discusses the mask as a "transformation mask" (Guédon and MacDonald, 1972).

The first reference I have located for the term "transformation mask" occurs in 1966, in an article called "Kwakiutl Transformation Masks" (Waite, 1966). In 1967, Audrey Hawthorn refers to "transformation masks" in the text of her book on Northwest Coast artifacts, but photographs of this type of mask are labelled "complex masks" (Hawthorn, 1967, pp. 319-324). In Hawthorn's 1979 book, photographs of the same masks are labelled "transformation masks" (Hawthorn, 1979, pp. 238-243).

Other important authors, including Holm, also use the term "transformation mask". However, Holm also gives the Kwakwaka'wakw word for the mask, "TahltAhLKUmHL", and the English translation "opening face mask" (Holm, 1972, p. 48). Malin writes about "transformation masks" and labels his photographs in the same way (Malin, 1978).

It is difficult to say when museums began to use the term "transformation mask". Notes are sometimes added by museum workers and neither the date nor the name of the worker are provided. The term is frequently used in CMC and MOA museum notes--possibly because these notes have been updated more often than the notes of other museums.

From the information presented I conclude that the term

"transformation mask" was probably introduced in the 1960's. It is not clear from this term if the masks so designated are thought to change only their physical form, or if the masks are also thought to undergo a mystical change. The name is confusing, and it may also be misleading. It does not reflect native terminology, and it may or may not reflect their understanding of the mask.

I argue that double masks are not especially associated with ideas about transformation, because according to Boas double masks were used in the same ceremonies, and in the same way, as single masks (Boas, 1897a, pp. 621-632). I could not find any information to suggest that double masks and single masks were used in different types of ceremonies.

The term "transformation mask" is inappropriate because all masks transform the wearer. Once a performer puts on a mask, he or she becomes a different being, transformed in appearance, time and space. A double mask may add another level of transformation, but the original transformation takes place when a person puts on any mask.

The ethnographic term for any artifact should be consistent with the native term. There is no record of native people originally using the term "transformation mask", or any similar term, to describe or name these masks. Native words describe some of these masks as double masks which open out or unfold. Perhaps these specific masks should be known by these descriptive terms. The designation "double mask" could be used as a more general term. It is a useful name because it describes all the Northwest Coast masks of this type sufficiently.

The problem of ethnographical terminology that I encountered in this thesis serves to remind us that anthropologists should be cautious in their use of language. We should be careful to speak of other cultures and societies in ways that reflect their ideas and meanings.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have described and analysed 60 double masks. Since the provenance of some masks is doubtful--and provenance is part of a full description--I have used a method suggested by the work of Holm and Sawyer to establish a more precise attribution for the masks.

The stylistic characteristics of each double mask are compared with the stylistic criteria of different Northwest Coast cultural groups. In this way the probable area of origin is located. This information, combined with data from museum records, defines the provenance of each mask more clearly.

There is little ethnographical information about the specific use of double masks in ceremonies. Therefore, I provided a general description of ceremonies where single masks were used, and where I consider that double masks might have been used. I have also drawn on a description by Boas, where double masks were in fact used (Boas, 1897a, pp. 621-632).

Analysis of double masks shows that most masks have a human image inside, and the image of some other creature outside. This juxtaposition of images suggests that native people of the Northwest

Coast might consider there is a close relationship between humans and other creatures. Goldman's theory, that the Kwakwaka'wakw believe in the unity of humans and other creatures, is considered. The double mask form may support this view, but unfortunately there is insufficient ethnographic data about double masks to provide additional support for the theory. Further research on this subject is needed.

The essential difference between double masks and single masks is that double masks open out to reveal an inner mask, therefore they are more versatile and theatrical than single masks. The structure of Northwest Coast double masks makes it possible for them to display several images and designs, and in this way they project several messages to the audience. The theatrical nature of double masks brings vitality to ceremonial dances. Dramatic scenes are created by the dancer as he or she opens and closes the double mask, revealing different images and characters.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott, D. N. ed.

- 1981 *The World is as Sharp as a Knife: An Anthology in Honour of Wilson Duff*. Victoria: B.C. Provincial Museum.

Beaglehole, J. C. ed.

- 1967 *The Voyage of the Resolution and Discovery 1776-1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Beynon, William

- 1945 "Notebooks on a Gitksan Potlatch," Nos. 1-1V. Canadian Ethnology Service. Ottawa: Museum of Civilization.

Boas, Franz

- 1897a "The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *United States National Museum Report for 1895: 311-788*.
- 1897b "The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast," *American Museum of Natural History Bulletin* 9: 123-76
- 1898 "The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians," *American Museum of Natural History Memoirs* 2: 25-127.
- 1898 "Facial Paintings of the Indians of Northern British Columbia," *American Museum of Natural History Memoirs* 2: 13-24
- 1909 *The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island*. New York: G. E. Stechert.
- 1927 *Primitive Art*. New York: Dover Publications.
- 1932 *Bella Bella Tales*. New York: G. E. Stechert.
- 1935 *Kwakiutl Tales. Part 1*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- 1966 *Kwakiutl Ethnology*. Helen Codere ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Boas, F. and George Hunt
- 1905 "Kwakiutl Texts," *American Museum of Natural History Memoirs* 5.
- 1906 "Kwakiutl Texts: Second Series," *American Museum of Natural History Memoirs* 14
- 1910 *Kwakiutl Tales*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Breton, Andre
- 1985 *Note sur les masque a transformation de la cote pacific Nord-Ouest*. Paris: Musee de L'Homme.
- Carlson, Roy ed.
- 1983 *Indian Art Traditions of the Northwest Coast*. Burnaby, British Columbia: Simon Fraser Press.
- Codere, Helen ed.
- 1966 *Kwakiutl Ethnology* by Franz Boas. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Cole, Douglas
- 1985 *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.
- Drucker, Philip
- 1940 "Kwakiutl Dancing Societies," *Anthropological Records* 2: 201-30.
- 1951 "The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes," *Smithsonian Institution Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin* 144
- 1965 *Cultures of the North Pacific Coast*. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co.

Duff, Wilson

- 1967 Catalogue for *Arts of the Raven* Exhibition. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery.
- 1969 Catalogue for *Masterpieces of Indian and Eskimo Art in Canada* Exhibition. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada.
- 1981 "The World is as Sharp as a Knife: Meaning in Northern Northwest Coast Art," in *The World is as Sharp as a Knife: An Anthology in Honour of Wilson Duff*, ed. D. N. Abbott, pp. 209-224. Victoria: B.C. Provincial Museum.

Ford, Clelland S.

- 1941 *Smoke From Their Fires: The Life of a Kwakiutl Chief*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Fraser, Douglas ed.

- 1966 *The Many Faces of Primitive Art*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Garfield, Viola E.

- 1939 "Tsimshian Clan and Society," *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* 7: 167-340.

Garfield, Viola E. and Paul S. Wingert

- 1979 *The Tsimshian Indians and Their Arts*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.

Goldman, Irving

- 1975 *The Mouth of Heaven: An Introduction to Kwakiutl Religious Thought*. New York: Rober Kreiger Publishing Company.

Gould, J. C.

- 1973 "The Iconography of the Northwest Coast Raven Rattle." Unpublished M.A. thesis. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Guédon, Marie-Françoise

- 1972 Catalogue for *Ksan, Breath of Our Grandfathers*
Exhibition. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

Haberland, Wolfgang

- 1979 *Donnervogel und Raubwal*. Hamburg: Hamburgisches
Museum für Volkerkunde und Christians Verlag.

Halpin, Marjorie

- 1973 "The Tsimshian Crest System: A study based on Museum
Specimens and the Marius Barbeau and William Beynon
Field Notes." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Vancouver:
University of British Columbia.
- 1981 "'Seeing' in Stone: Tsimshian Masking and the Twin Stone
Masks." In *The World is as Sharp as a Knife: An Anthology
in Honour of Wilson Duff*, ed. D. N. Abbott, pp. 269-288.
Victoria: B. C. Provincial Museum.

Harner M. J. and Albert B. Elsasser

- 1965 *Art of the Northwest Coast*. Berkeley: University of
California.

Hawthorn, Audrey

- 1967 *Art of the Kwakiutl Indians and Other Northwest Coast
Tribes*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- 1979 *Kwakiutl Art*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.

Hill-Tout, C.

- 1929 "Indian Masks and What They Signify," *Museum and Art
Notes* 7: 3-5. Vancouver Museum.

Holm, Bill

- 1965 *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form*.
Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- 1972a "Heraldic Carving Styles of the Northwest Coast."
Catalogue for *American Indian Art: Form and Tradition
Exhibition*. New York: Dutton.

- 1972b *Crooked Beak of Heaven*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- 1981 "Will the Real Charles Edensaw Please Stand Up?: The Problem of Attribution in Northwest Coast Art," in *The World is as Sharp as a Knife: An Anthology in Honour of Wilson Duff*, ed. D. N. Abbott, pp. 175-200. Victoria: B. C. Provincial Museum.
- 1983a *The Box of Daylight: Northwest Coast Indian Art*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- 1983b "Form in Northwest Coast Art," in *Indian Art Traditions of the Northwest Coast*, Roy Carlson, ed., pp. 33-45. Burnaby: Simon Fraser University.
- 1983c *Smoky-Top: The Art and Times of Willie Seaweed*. Seattle: University of Washington.
- 1987 *Spirit and Ancestor: A Century of Northwest Coast Indian Art at the Burke Museum*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd.
- Inverarity, R. B.
1950 *Art of the Northwest Coast Indians*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jonaitis, Aldona
1981 "Tlingit Halibut Hooks: An Analysis of the Visual Symbols of a Rite of Passage," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 57: 1-48.
- 1988 *From the Land of the Totem Poles: The Northwest Coast Indian Art Collection at the American Museum of Natural History*. Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre.
- King, John, C.H.
1979 *Portrait Masks from the Northwest Coast of America*. London: Thames and Hudson.

MacDonald, G. ed.

- 1972 Catalogue for *Ksan, Breath of Our Grandfathers*
Exhibition. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

Macnair, Peter, Alan L. Hoover, and Kevin Neary

- 1980 *The Legacy: Traditions and Innovation in Northwest Coast Indian Art*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre.

Malin, Edward

- 1978 *A World of Faces: Masks of the Northwest Coast Indians*. Portland: Timber Press.

McIlwraith T.F.

- 1948 *The Bella Coola Indians*. Two Volumes. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

McLaren Carol S.

- 1977 "Unmasking Frontlet Headdresses. An Iconographic Study of Images in Northern Northwest Coast Ceremonial Headdresses." Unpublished M.A. thesis. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

McLaren, Carol S.

- 1978 "Moment of Death: Gift of Life," *Anthropologica* 20: 65-90.

Mochon, Marion. J.

- 1966 *Masks of the Northwest Coast: the Samuel A. Barrett Collection*. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum.

Olson, Ronald, L.

- 1940 "The Social Organization of the Haisla of British Columbia," *Anthropological Records* 2: 169-200.
- 1954 a "Social Life of the Owikeno Kwakiutl," *Anthropological Records* 14: 239-49.
- 1954 b "Notes on the Bella Bella," *Anthropological Records* 14: 319-48.

Reid Bill

- 1984 "The Anthropologist and the Article," *Culture* 4: 63-65.

Reid, Bill and Bill Holm

- 1975 *Indian Art of the Northwest Coast: A Dialogue on Craftsmanship and Aesthetics*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Sapir, Edward

- 1921 "The Life of a Nootka Indian," *Queen's Quarterly* 28: 232-45.
- 1939 *Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnology*. Philadelphia: Linguistic Society of America, Pennsylvania University Press.

Sawyer, Alan R.

- 1983 "Toward More Precise Northwest Coast Attributions: Two Substyles of Haisla Masks," in *The Box of Daylight* by Bill Holm, pp. 143-147. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Stott, Margaret

- 1975 *Bella Coola Ceremony and Art*. Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 21. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada.

Swanton, John

- 1905 "Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida," *American Museum of Natural History Memoirs* 8: 1-300.

Vancouver Art Gallery

- 1967 *Arts of the Raven: Masterworks by the Northwest Coast Indian*. Vancouver Art Gallery, Vancouver: Bergthorson and Derreth.

Vastokas, Joan

- 1967 "The Relation of Form to Iconography in Eskimo Masks." *The Beaver*, Outfit 298: 26-31. Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Co.

- 1986-7 "Native Art as Art History: Meaning and Time from Unwritten Sources," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 21: 5-36

Waite, Deborah

- 1966 "Kwakiutl Transformation Masks," in *The Many Faces of Primitive Art*, ed. D. Fraser, pp. 266-295. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc.

Webster, Gloria Cranmer

- 1988 Book Review on "Wisdom of the Elders: Native Traditions of the Northwest Coast," by Ruth Kirk. *B.C. Studies*, 78: 80-82.

Wingert, Paul

- 1951 "Tsimshian Sculpture," in *The Tsimshian Indians and their Arts* by V. E. Garfield and P. S. Wingert, pp. 73-94. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.