

PUDLO PUDLAT: IMAGES OF CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

Two problems in the appreciation of Inuit art are firstly, the commercial cornerstone and, secondly, the cultural gap, in most cases, between the viewer and the artist.

With regard to the first, although commercialism is a fact, it should not cloud the obvious visual and informative expressiveness of the works of such artists as Pudlo Pudlat, the subject of this thesis. Rather than dwell upon the negative aspects of commercialism, we concentrate on the benefits. For, without the monetary impulse, many artists might not have begun to externalize, and thereby record, the events and feelings associated with a culture both removed from our own and also undergoing the dramatic changes of acculturation.

This is the essence of the second problem. It is one which faces anybody wishing to approach the unfamiliar. In this particular case it required the reading of sociological, anthropological, and psychological abstracts, among others. None of these as good as the primary experience, yet all geared to helping lower the barriers of one's own cultural bias. In short, extensive background information on traditional and acculturational life in the North is a necessity.

Pudlo has been drawing for over twenty years, since the beginning of print-making. In reviewing the development of his oeuvre, one comes to an appreciation of his work and of the development of print-making in the Canadian Arctic in general, as well as in Cape Dorset, specifically.

The themes of Pudlo's prints reveal his brand of historicism to be more than a documentation of traditional life in the North. The hunter-turned-artist infuses information with a profound depth of emotion. His shamanic images educate the less well informed and surely evoke memories and feelings in the initiated. Portrayals of the land and animals project the Inuit's long-standing respect for, and intimate bond with, nature.

Pudlo is one of the very few Inuit artists to include modern objects in his drawings. In his choice and use of these motifs, he creates a continuum between his shamanic past and the rapidly changing present.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between art and religion within the traditional Eskimo culture had been a close one (see Glossary for use of words Eskimo and Inuit). Consideration of the people for the spirit world was both pervasive and intensely personal. Each individual was responsible for observing a complex taboo system (Lantis, 1970, p. 319). Failure to do so opened the way for a possible penalty which might have affected the entire community. Every Eskimo therefore had some experience with, or knowledge about, the unknown.

The individual was a constant attendant to the spirit world. The shaman and his assistants were responsible for looking after extreme situations in psychic affairs. This required the designing and crafting of sacred and ceremonial objects and amulets (Boas, 1888, p. 184, and Balikci, 1970, pp. 201 - 203). If amulets were worn as found (e.g. rare minerals, teeth, feathers), they were made effective (powerful) through contact with a shaman, or someone considered spiritually gifted (Winnipeg Art Gallery--WAG--1978, p. 203, and Rasmussen, 1929, pp. 150 and 153, and 1931, p. 269). This might be, for example, a consistently successful hunter.

Traditional sculptural skills, usually attained by men, were the carving of stone, bone, ivory and in some areas, wood. These activities existed alongside the graphic skills. Part of the woman's craft was the appliqué (and later stitched) decoration of parkas. These designs were so specific and intricate that an informed individual could identify the

exact geographic location and familial background of the wearer (Houston, 1967, p. 60). Men's graphic art included the incised embellishment of tools, tusks, and antlers. Also notable were particularly remarkable cartographic skills. The drawings documented in Carpenter (1973, p. 10; Fig. 1) show maps which were traditionally made in the snow. They display astounding detail with regard to memory, observation, and naturalistic representation.

The Eskimo were nomadic. Therefore, their material culture was limited to objects of necessity. Poetry, songs, and religious and mythological tales were preserved by a precise oral tradition. The demand for accuracy on the part of the teller of myths (often the shaman) is evidenced by how well the stories have remained the same over the centuries within groups, and similarly, across the Arctic (Rink, 1874, pp. 85 and 86).

The arrival of the hunters of the blue whale, approximately two hundred years ago, marked the start of increased kablunait-Inuit (see Glossary for translations) interaction. This contributed to the secularization of artistic production. Carving became predominantly decorative, or functional. Amulets now consisted only of found objects, and were never carved. This was the actual beginning of commercial production of Inuit art (George Swinton in Canadian Eskimo Arts Council--CEAC--1971, p. 39).

Throughout the whole nineteenth century there was a steady demand for Eskimo souvenir carvings in the Eastern Arctic. As early as 1812, while stopping at Upper Savage Island in the Hudson Strait, McKeever (1819) watched how natives ". . . no sooner got alongside than they began to traffic" (Martijn, 1964, p. 559).

These pieces made for trade were small models descriptive of daily tasks. Significantly, the word 'model', when translated, is the only word in Inuktitut which approximates ours of 'art'. This word is sananguaq which comes from sana--making, and nguaq--the idea of a model (Swinton in CEAC, 1971, p. 38). That is, a hand-crafted quality reproduction of a reality, whether actual or imagined.

At the turn of the nineteenth century Euro-American missionaries and teachers supplied the materials for, and introduced, drawing. That the graphic impulse already existed is noted above, as well as by the following anecdote:

The first drawings were done with a jack knife and a spoon on windows: When the window was frosted - the window of a building - the frost was scraped with a spoon. We would put the spoon in our mouths and make it warm that was how it was done when we were still real Eskimos. We were not told by the white men how to draw; we did it by ourselves when we were children. (Peter Pitseolak, 1976, p. 41)

The kabluna presence (whalers, missionaries, traders, RCMP, Hudson's Bay Co. staff) was very strongly felt. This increased contact resulted in the disruption of the Inuit lifestyle--in particular the economic and belief systems. The introduction of the white man's tools and firearms severely limited the amount of carving which a hunter need do, and caused the breakdown of traditional hunting systems (Graburn, 1974, p. 3). Men no longer needed to hunt in groups and they gradually became more competitive with one another. Age-old laws of in-group cooperation and sharing were shattered.

Hunting for outsiders in exchange for southern goods altered the religious relationship between man and the animal world. The reasons for hunting were changed (WAG, 1978, p. 227). It was no longer the shamans'

powers and hunters' responsibilities toward the spirits which were believed to tilt the balance between man and his prey, in man's favour. Further, the ecological system which had easily accommodated the frugal subsistence hunting practices of the Inuit, reeled under the pressure of the commercial onslaught.

From the depression onward, the white fox fur trade, which had been the principal means of support for the Inuit, collapsed (Jenness, 1964, p. 50). Pelts which had sold for fifty dollars in 1929 brought in only thirty dollars in 1930. Southern goods were subject to a price increase of twenty-five percent. The price continued to drop and would never again rise sufficiently to keep up with Southern inflation (Iglauer, 1962, p. 4). Government relief cheques became the principal source of income for most Inuit (Iglauer, 1962, p. 53). Often faced with starvation, the people became increasingly dependent upon the Kablunait for material aid.

The Federal Government, realizing its moral responsibility to the people of the North (as well as the politically strategic position and resource wealth of the land), made a number of attempts to provide a financial base for the Arctic (Jenness, 1964, pp. 79f and p. 109). These efforts failed either because the necessary natural resources were non-renewable and/or easily depleted; or, as in the case of reindeer herding, because the people were forced into an unfamiliar practice of a rigid timetable.

Government subsidised arts and crafts projects were therefore begun for essentially economic reasons. As noted, secular, commercial craft production was not a new concept. What was new was the extent to

which these commercial enterprises were organized. Handicraft projects had been tried in the past (Swinton, 1972, p. 124). It was James Houston's insight and perseverance which resulted in this effort's virtual immediate success.

As carving had generally been a male-oriented task, it was the hunters who were initially attracted to the sculpture project in the late 1940's. If the weather was favourable, the men were free to pursue the hunt (Houston, 1967, pp. 20 and 21). If it became bad, they could carve. This supplemented their incomes so that they might continue to purchase the luxury goods from the South (this term is used from the Northern perspective), to which they had become accustomed, without being solely dependent upon the Federal Welfare agencies. As one artist said of her beginnings in the graphics project:

I didn't want to be just a person, not doing anything. I wanted to make something out of myself and to buy some food . . . That's the way we live today - with money. (Pitaloosie in WAG, 1980a, p. 25)

Houston encouraged production and the carver was immediately compensated with credit at the Hudson's Bay Company outlet. Whereas in the past animal skins had been the principal source of credit at the stores, sculptures now became the generally accepted commodity (Graburn, 1971, p. 16). It was soon the most prolific artist, rather than the successful hunter, who received the most credit. Accordingly, prestige systems showed signs of change.

Many people still lived in what outwardly appeared to be the traditional manner. However, hunting for the white man and using his tools had already shaken the roots of social organization, and had altered extremely deep feelings for the animal and spirit world. Never-

theless, by still living close to the land, memories of and feelings for the 'old ways' (the times when the people were still nomadic) remained strong.

This would not have been too difficult for the people of Cape Dorset, the first Northern artistic community. Known in inuktitut as Kingnait (the 'high land'), it is located on the Foxe Peninsula, south Baffin Island. In the late 1950's it was still a relatively isolated spot consisting of three hundred semi-nomadic Inuit and seven whites (Houston, 1960, p. 8).

The productive functioning of cooperatives, of which the arts and crafts is only one type, rapidly became a source of pride for the people (Graburn, 1971, p. 116). They were initially begun to boost both the Northern economy and community efforts. The intent was to employ Inuit in specific trades (e.g. hunting, house and boat building, municipal services, etc.), and to provide individual incomes (Iglauer, 1962, xi). All residual monies were returned to the community as a whole in the form of either cash or goods.

By the early sixties the cooperatives in many communities had started their own retail outlets in competition with those of the Hudson's Bay Company (Graburn, 1971, p. 116). By the late 1970's they had become the largest single employer

of Inuit in Canada. Every year about six-and-a-half million dollars go out to cooperative members in wages, salaries, for goods produced - including the works of art cherished all over the world - and other payments. After only two decades, the Arctic cooperatives are generating more money in this annual six-and-a-half million in wages and other related payments than the total amount of loans and grants put into them by all levels of government during the past twenty years. (Iglauer, 1962, x)

Since its start in 1959, the West Baffin Co-op in Cape Dorset has received the carvings and drawings from the artists, seen to their commissions, and also ensured that their profits from sales in the South have been returned to the community.

The commercialism of the arts projects in the North is, for many, the most difficult hurdle in the path toward the appreciation of the arts of the Inuit. This paper will follow George Swinton's lead in this respect, and others, in the belief that:

The ability to achieve good results despite - or because of - adversity seems to be one of the real traditions of Eskimo art and manifests itself with or without commercialism. (Swinton, 1972, p. 127)

So-called 'airport (gift shop) art' exists as do Woolworth's velvet paintings. Neither disallow the possibility of quality production within the same culture.

Similarly, a commercial cornerstone does not predicate a situation with solely monetary benefits. That is, much good can (and has) come about for the people of the North as a direct result of the arts and crafts project.

As chronicler of his community, the artist is giving expression to, in an exciting and personal manner, events which were previously only seen or done. Or, he may attempt the even more elusive--giving form to ideas. The subject matter, the effluence of a distinctive past, is laid out for others to attempt to read.

In the future the time may come when the Inuit no longer hunt game. Therefore I record on paper these events from the spoken word of my people and from my imagination. (Kananginak Pootoogook in Dorset, 1981, p. 9)

Alterations brought about by the traumatic intricacies of an

acculturative present, emphasize the expressive potential of the arts. That is, the communication of a resolution of tensions and doubts whether of alienation or anxiety over passive acceptance of the changes (Firth, 1966, p. 21). The work may be an aid to making the cultural changes implicit to the acculturative situation (Herskovits, 1959, p. 63). For, as Tivi Ettook said: In the past

. . . though we spent months alone on the land, we did not fear anything except hunger. Now we do not find hunger but we find fear. In the past we were never lost. Now we do not know where we are going. (1975, p. 9)

Although there are instances in which both the incentive and only reward for craft production is the financial one, artists such as Pudlo Pudlat, who will be the main subject of this paper, rise above this. The new creative underpinnings, which are replacing the religious basis of the past, allow the artist to utilize foreign concepts. He may then acquire new ideas and aesthetic concepts and reaffirm his technical and aesthetic abilities. While expressing his cultural heritage he may develop new perspectives on older ideas (Fraser, 1966, p. 19).

Many of the issues raised in this paper have already surfaced in catalogues on Inuit art and artists. These generally examine a particular theme or subject and the relevant contributions of many artists. Monographs, when they do occur, often tend to be limited to formal analyses of the artists' oeuvres.

Pudlo's prints allow insight into a man who successfully made the transition from the nomadism of the past to settlement life in Cape Dorset. He was chosen to be the focal point of this essay for that reason and because, as will be seen, his works display a considerable emotional depth and aesthetic sensibility. That is, he offers us a

glimpse into a world far removed from our experiences. By concentrating on Pudlo we underline the premise that "individuality is the foremost characteristic of Eskimo art" (Swinton, 1972, p. 143).

I return to my little song
And patiently I sing it
Above fishing holes in the ice
Else I too quickly tire
When fishing upstream
When the wind blows cold
Where I stand shivering
Not giving myself time to wait for them
I go home saying
It was the fish that failed - upstream

- South Baffin Island
(Lewis, 1971, p. 76)

Chapter II

THE CRAFT REVIVAL AND AN INTRODUCTION TO PUDLO

The Houstons (Alma and James) first introduced the arts and crafts project, specifically sculpture, to Cape Dorset in 1951 (for a detailed account see Houston, 1967, and Swinton, 1972). When discussing the idea with Pootoogook, the most influential individual and hunter of the area, and father of the long-time president of the arts and crafts co-op, he said that he would neither help nor hinder the progress of the project (Alma Houston in WAG, 1980a, p. 15). One year later he was a contributor. In fact, it was generally the most successful hunters who were initially attracted to sculpting. They were also often the most accomplished artists (Graburn, 1971, p. 116).

Print-making was organized in 1957 (see National Museum of Man, 1977). With its development came the increased participation of Inuit women. Although traditional Eskimo society was nearly perfectly egalitarian, carving did tend to fit into the men's craft. Therefore, few women took an active part in the arts and crafts project prior to the growth of drawing and print-making (Berry, 1966).

James Houston spent five months in 1958 in Japan (National Museum of Man, 1977, p. 40). There he learned about print-making techniques, specifically Japanese wood-cutting. This affected both the workshop organization and stylistic qualities of Inuit prints (Houston, 1967, p. 21, and Vastokas, 1971/72, p. 71). The noted bold-silhouetted forms interacting with blank bits of paper, and the framed syllabic signature,

are two traits of Japanese origin which occurred in the early prints (see Appendix #2).

Suggestions regarding subject matter and style were made by Houston, who was the first of a stream of Southern artistic advisors to the North. Marketing matters such as distribution, quantity, and price control were later policed by the Canadian Eskimo Art Committee (CEAC), founded in 1961, and the Canadian Arctic Producers Limited (CAP), founded in 1965. (Vastokas, 1971/72, p. 7). The counterpart of CAP in Nouveau Québec is La Federation des Cooperatives du Nouveau Quebec (FCNQ).

The favourite subject matter of contemporary Inuit art and in particular, the Inuit print, are the 'old ways' or the times when the people were still nomadic. The Southern market certainly had a determining effect in this matter. The 'old ways' are preferred in part because the subjects meet with the Euro-American impression of what is truly Inuit (Swinton, 1972, p. 127). This has been coupled with Houston's hope that:

these people who lack the written word may yet give us in graphic terms their vivid concept of life as it is lived on the vast tundra that is Arctic Canada. (Houston, 1956, p. 224)

Jenness notes that the selection of subject matter, in the drawings which he discusses in his 1922 publication, was also related to economic importance for the people. That is, favoured subjects were those which were most familiar and/or of greatest interest to the Inuit, namely, animal and hunting scenes. The traditional relationship to, and significance of, these themes had already been undermined. Yet, the artists continued to depict the beauty of the creatures with a respect perhaps tempered by the memory of the feelings of communion with the animal world.

Images of the mysteries and myths of the past have, perhaps for similar reasons, become increasingly popular (Cape Dorset Annual Graphics Collection, Dorset, 1981, p. 8).

Perhaps in part as a result of greater female input, subject matter was expanded to include scenes from daily life around the campsite. Although the conditions of the present are markedly different from those of the past, one can imagine that the distinctive, barren tundra and harsh climatic conditions serve as a continual reminder of a life which had been dictated by those elements (Ray, 1977, p. 66).

AN INTRODUCTION TO PUDLO

Pudlo began to make the change away from Qeatuk, a nearby camp, toward settlement life in Cape Dorset just as the print-making project was starting (Dorset, 1977, p. 63). Born to Quppa and Pudlat, Pudlo's birthdate is now recorded as February 4th, 1916, the exact date not being known. He was born near Kamajuk, a campsite on Amadjuak Bay (Dorset, 1977, p. 63; 1979, p. 65; 1983, p. 11). Most of his childhood was spent in small camps on South Baffin Island, Coates and Southampton Islands. He married his first wife, Meetik, in Cape Dorset and then her sister, Quivirok. Both of these women died while Pudlo was relatively young.

The four children from his first marriage died in infancy and the only son of his second marriage, Kellipellik, died in 1968. Pudlo married the widowed Inukjuakjuk (later also an artist) in the late 1940's. Together they had six children, of whom only three daughters have survived.

In the late fifties he and Inukjuakjuk (who is now also dead) moved to Cape Dorset that he might receive medical attention for his

right arm which was injured in a hunting accident (Dorset, 1983, p. 11). This was one of the most common reasons for an Inuit family's switch to settlement life (Schwartz, 1978, pp. 33 and 37). Even those who were still able-bodied felt the pressure to move. Government officials strongly recommended the need for Inuit children to receive a Southern education.

The traditional lifestyle that Pudlo left was already heavily influenced by white contact. Nonetheless, leaving the relatively small hunting camps and entering communities which would rapidly grow in number and further alter the people's existence, was a traumatic experience.

This information serves to give a basic idea of Pudlo's background, his social environment, and the pressures with which he was dealing when he began his new career in drawing.

Pudlo was a hunter and although within his time much of the old ways had been eroded away, there is evidence in his work of powerful memories. Images of a time when the hunter waited patiently and quietly on the still, immense tundra for the resumption of the hunt. A discipline and a concentration allowing reverie, perhaps to a different degree, but made of a stuff similar to that of the shaman's (Lantis, 1970, pp. 313 and 335). Due to the sensitive dealings with soul spirits, hunting was, without a doubt, a spiritual act with sacred commitments (Swinton, 1972, p. 128). These factors make the contemporary artist/hunter the most likely recorder of among others, shamanic images (WAG, 1978, p. 215).

Chapter III

A REVIEW OF PUDLO'S GRAPHIC TECHNIQUES

Due to his injury, Pudlo did not pursue carving to any great extent. Drawing became his strength. His first prints were published in the 1961 Annual Cape Dorset Catalogue.

These works are, in many ways, exemplary of what is now recognized as being stylistically characteristic of Cape Dorset prints of the time (Vastokas, 1971/72, p. 71). The figures are usually large, flat masses, or silhouettes. The use of both colour and detail is limited. The boldly executed forms are complemented with an acute awareness of the aesthetic possibilities of negative space. That is, although the 'backgrounds' are generally 'empty', they interact with the figural elements and heighten the design quality of the surface. Single figures generally tend to appear static, if not rigid. Groups usually evidence actual or implicit movement (WAG, 1980, p. 43).

A dramatic illustration of an early print is Pudlo's Spirit With Symbols (Fig. 2). As with most of the compositions of this time, the figure is centrally located. Both the face (or mask) and keyhole design on the torso are rendered in positive elements against unprinted background. That it is a woman is specifically indicated by the long tail of the amautik (traditional woman's parka), as seen between her legs. The pattern of the keyhole plate echoes the exaggerated bulges of her breasts and hips. Similarly, the curve of the object in her left hand

(a doorhandle? See National Museum of Man, 1977, p. 24) is complemented by that of her leggings.

This combination of basic symmetry and repetition demonstrates Pudlo's interest in pattern. This predilection is repeated in what is closer to an appliqué style in Man in Fish Weir (Fig. 3). The image is once again in the middle of the page. A weir is a trap made of stones in the water and is used to catch fish on their summer migration up-river. They are literally trapped by their instincts, which will not allow them to turn around and escape. This makes it relatively easy for the waiting people to catch the fish.

The weir, the stones on which the male figure (indicated by the small parka hood--women have a large hood in which the baby, on the mother's back, is protected) stands, and the figure itself are the centre of activity and bisect the composition. We see the weir and water from a bird's-eye vantage. The man is apparently situated on the same plane as the spectator. A number of birds at the 'top' are similarly seen from such a profile view. Two birds at the bottom of the page are turned on a forty-five degree angle.

Depth is indicated by 'piling' figures on top of one another (Vastokas, 1971/72, p. 77). The birds at the 'top' are swimming. This is indicated by their bodies being truncated. That is, the lower portions are submerged. We assume that the others are standing on rocks in the water.

Pudlo's perspective in this work is based on content rather than upon three-dimensional space (Carpenter, Flaherty, and Varley, 1959, p. 1). All of the elements of this composition are placed so that their most

recognizable features are most evident in the silhouette. Similarly, the fish, which are the most important aspect of the theme are, relatively, the largest objects. The seemingly random, asymmetrical placement of figures creates an implication of movement (Vastokas, 1971/72, pp. 73 and 77). The fish and ducks at the 'bottom' indicate the water current.

This particular manner of expression is related to a specific way of perceiving the world. Edmund Carpenter and Marshall McLuhan have called it "acoustic space" (1960, pp. 65-70). It allows for depictions which are as dynamic as nature itself for it is based on sound. As one may hear a number of things at the same time, so are the various aspects of a story shown or related out of sequence. Being able to hear various things at the same time without having to change one's own position, finds its visual correspondent in the combination of viewpoints. This traditional Eskimoan manner of sensation also accounts for the greater attention to negative space. For, being attuned to all of the senses allows for such non-tactile things as sound and fragrance to almost literally fill the air.

The powerful tactility of these early prints, their solidity, is a reference to their artistic precedents in Cape Dorset--the sculptures (Dorset, 1980, p. 7). In the mid-sixties this aspect gradually gave way to other qualities. With the introduction of coloured pencils came the increase in the use of colour in prints. Pudlo's handling of it remained fairly subtle. Even when his forms became more abstract and hues apparently flamboyant, the colour remained close to that of nature.

Pudlo began to show a growing interest in attention to the surface in the form of textural detail and markings. This was the beginning of

print-making and drawing coming into their own. They were moving away from the sculptural qualities toward the two-dimensional as preceded in incising (WAG, 1980a, p. 46).

The following print is an early example of Pudlo's use of decorative and geometric elements. Spirit Watching Games (Fig. 4), although quite sculptural, is lightened through the use of linear elements. Textural markings which might be imitative of feathers, are here stylized on the wings and tail of the spirit. A ground line was often used to unite the participants in narrative scenes both in prehistoric graphics and those of the recent past (Vastokas, 1971/72, p. 77). Here, it clearly separates the men wrestling in the centre and the women, from the spirit observer.

Vastokas reproduces a pencil drawing by Enooesweetok (Fig. 5, 1971/72, p. 72) from ca. 1913. In it, a caribou hunt is depicted. The centre two lines show the hunters leaving the camp with empty sleds. On the line above, they are returning with their prize. On the bottom row, the men are seen tracking. The next one up, they are stalking the caribou. Finally, at the top, the chase, with dogs. Below, the wounding of the animal. Each tier of the drawing is unified by a ground-line and the implication of the landscape. However, the actual pieces are not organized into what we call a sequential narrative. From top to bottom we see the chase, wounding, return, departure, stalking, and tracking. As Peter Pitseolak, sometimes noted as the first historian of the North (Raine, 1980, p. 108), has said of his tales:

My story is not in sequence though it seems that way. Even our Bible is not really in sequence. In the Bible the first people just have a baby. And the newborn is

able to do powerful things in no time. My story is like that. It is not one thing after another. (1975, p. 66)

This concept is more elaborately stated in another early twentieth century drawing of a man hunting seal (Fig. 6). Again we see a narrative, however there are not any ground-lines demarcating the various incidents. In the middle, the hunter travels by dog sled. In three locations he and the dogs look for a seal breathing hole. He waits, bends over slightly as the seal approaches at the top left, and then prepares to harpoon it. The hunter captures the animal in the lower left scene.

Fish Weir (Fig. 3) is perhaps more closely related to this drawing in its sense of space. However, the lack of attention to unnecessary detail and even anonymous (or symbolic) figuration may refer farther back to prehistoric times: specifically, the Thule (who inhabited the Arctic from ca. 1000 to 1600 and are the direct ancestors of the contemporary Inuit), as seen for example on the bows of bow drills (Jenness, 1922, p. 174 and Fig. 8). In contrast to the above two drawings, the modern-ness of Spirit With Symbols (Fig. 2), Fish Weir (Fig. 3), and Spirit Watching Games (Fig. 4) lies in their boldness and aura of mystery, beyond the symbolic, which pervades the images. The fact that they are momentary, rather than narrative, scenes is also significant. However, this trait had been developing in Inuit graphics since the early decades of this century (Jenness, 1922, p. 173, and Fitzhugh and Kaplan, 1982, p. 175).

Pudlo's Long Journey (Fig. 7) is similarly a combination of old and new motifs. We see a man in the lower right-hand corner beginning

his journey on foot. His progress is traced to his destination at the upper right of the page--a building with a cross-type shape on the top (see below). On the way he passes many inuksuit (man-made landmarks generally constructed of stone--see National Museum of Man, 1977, pp. 62 and 92, and Balikci, 1970, p. 41). The blue amoeba-type shapes represent lakes from an aerial perspective.

Like Fish Weir (Fig. 3), Long Journey is enclosed with the implication of a secondary frame. It is a Thule trait (Vastokas, 1971/72, p. 73 and Fig. 8), and one which Pudlo employs repeatedly. It might also be likened to the Povungnituk (an artistic community in Nouveau-Quebec) tradition of showing the stone boundaries of the prints. By drawing what looks like a time lapse photograph, Pudlo has created a narrative with a single image. The ground-line unifies a series of related movements thereby implying sequential time.

The immediate success of the arts and crafts project and corresponding growth of the senlaviik (working place, i.e. the studio) resulted in an increase of identity for the Inuit with regards to the South, and an influx of Euro-American culture. This increase in cultural identity and technical expertise, coupled with acculturation, allowed the artists an even greater wealth of sources from which they might draw.

With this awareness of the many stylistic and formal choices which could be made from both the past and present, Inuit print-making (and sculpture) emphasized its modernity. Long Journey is an example of this. The bold silhouetted forms of the earlier years are combined with an increase in texture, detail, and more complex manipulation of colour. Sequential time and acoustic space occur together resulting in a pattern

which creates a three-dimensional experience distinctive to Pudlo's work.

His love for design, and talent for combining the natural with the geometric, and the decorative with the factual, is perhaps most striking in his representations of birds. In Tudlik (Loon, Fig. 9), the wading bird is a display of both imaginative pattern and natural undulations. The line of the neck and beak is repeated by the right side of the wing. The feathers are ornately stylized as are the neck markings. The lines of the water parallel some of those in the bird's body. Geometric shapes are included in the tail (triangles and circles), wing (circles), and neck (squares). The feathers seem virtually like spray from the waves. The colouring is subtle.

This almost geometric-type of reduction from nature is evident in Pudlo's landscapes as well. In the earlier part of his career, landscape, when included, was but a reference or outline, not a description. Fish Weir (Fig. 3) and Fish Lake (Fig. 10) are both examples. In the latter, the lake is seen from above. The large fish are viewed from the side as are the silhouetted figure in the foreground and inuksuit on the far shore. Both the moon and red sun are in the sky.

Arctic Waterfall (Fig. 11) is exemplary of the mid-phase of Pudlo's landscape style. Like Long Journey (Fig. 7), it is an enclosed composition. In the foreground are silhouettes of three inuksuit, three people, and two dogs. They are dwarfed by a spring or summertime landscape. The season is indicated by the colour, and fact that the dogs are carrying packs instead of pulling sleds.

The elements of this landscape, as with most of this type, are set against a white background and are stylized into lines and geometric

shapes. In Spring Landscape (Fig. 12), this motif takes on greater complexity. An enclosed shape is within another and there are a larger number of figures and abstractions from nature. In the foreground is a sealskin tent. From it to the mid-ground are the footprints of the six men who are ice-fishing on what is apparently a lake seen from above. The men are holding spears and waiting for the fish. Pudlo continues to combine viewpoints and to disregard linear perspective. In this respect, he continues to use the symbols of the traditional Inuit way of life. This creates a stimulating image which speaks of the synchronistic perceptions of the 'old ways'. It is similar to the all-around feeling of acoustic space, and the ability to perceive all aspects of the whole in its entirety. This contrasted to the linear process of moving from detail to detail.

Pudlo is an experimenter. He was immediately attracted to lithography when it was introduced to Cape Dorset in 1971. From 1971 to 1976 Kay Graham spent a fair bit of time in the community. Her presence prompted Pudlo and a number of other artists to investigate the attributes of acrylics as well (Agnes Etherington Centre, 1979, p. 20).

The particular appeal of lithography for some, is that it narrows the gap between the drawing and the final print product (Dorset, 1981, p. 63). The artist may execute the grease pencil drawing on the same surface which will eventually be used for the actual printing. This, however, is not the case with Pudlo, who prefers to retain the middleman and work directly on paper (Agnes Etherington Centre, 1979, p. 18). This freedom from the limitations of technique seems to have greatly influenced Pudlo's works. His stone-cuts were relatively static and

closed in by a frame. Subjects were centrally placed and surrounded by large amounts of white paper. His new landscape style on the other hand is more open. Use of colour is more complex and lines are looser. There is a flexibility of form and often the impression that the scene continues beyond the paper edges (Dorset, 1983, p. 12). Linear perspective and a sense of naturalism take over from acoustic space.

Certainly there are exceptions as qualities criss-cross over the boundary. However, until the merger is complete, the comparison is often like that of a Cezannesque still-life to the frame of a motion picture.

Shores of the Settlement (Fig. 13), a commissioned work, reiterates Pudlo's eclecticism. Pattern is created with combinations of colours and contrasting areas of light and dark. The rolls of the land imitate the movement that one might expect to see in the water. Instead, the water is like a backdrop. The seal (or walrus) sits almost sculpturally on an ice flow in the mid-ground. It, the hunter in the boat, and the many inuksuit are silhouetted. The older perspectival techniques of piling, overlapping (note the pre-fab buildings and landscape in the foreground) and scale reduction are combined to heighten both the feeling of flatness and pattern, while creating an almost natural-looking landscape which captures the quiet of the North.

This new lightness lends itself well to making stylistic references from the past. Two 1978 lithographs, Umingmuk (Musk-ox, Fig. 14) and Naujaq Umiallu (Seagull and Boats, Fig. 15), are delicately rendered designs yet naturally descriptive. The style is reminiscent of the earlier drawings and incised carvings. In the first, musk-oxen are

scattered over the page on patches of landscape. The second combines three ground-lines into a single scene.

Pudlo's early prints are as mysterious in form as in content. Later on, geometric shapes and linear elements appear as elegant abstractions from nature. From the outset one sees that Pudlo is a designer. However, not for the sake of pattern itself, but rather to unify the page and mirror the content. He clearly remains aware of his stylistic options. It will be seen that this eclecticism, typical of the artists of Cape Dorset, in Pudlo's oeuvre becomes a complement to his equally wide-ranged combination of symbols from the past and present.

Hunter's Invocation

I am ashamed,
I feel humbled and afraid.
My grandmother sent me out
Sent me out to seek.

I am out on an errand
Seeking the precious game,
Seeking the wandering fox.
But alas, it may be I shall frighten away
That which I seek.

I am ashamed,
I feel humbled and afraid,
My grandmother and great-grandmother
Sent me out to seek.
I go on their errand after game,
After the precious caribou
But alas, it may be I shall frighten away
That which I seek.

- Orpingalik
(Colombo, 1981, p. 89)

Chapter IV

THE HUNTER/SHAMAN

Integral to the appreciation of Pudlo's art is the need to have some understanding of his life as a hunter. Prior to the introduction of Euro-American tools to the North, there had been an unbroken chain from the hunt to the manufacture of weapons to the kill again (see David Gimmer in Van Steensel, 1966, p. 26). That is, the hunters captured the animals which provided food and clothing as well as the implements which would facilitate continued hunting. The combined disciplines of necessity and taboo created a situation in which waste was virtually impossible.

As in the case of hunting caribou, a number of methods were used by the Eskimo. In each case, the emphasis was upon both the physical and mental abilities of the individual and particularly his ability to cooperate with others (Balikci, 1970, pp. 37ff).

The successful hunter balanced a bold confidence with a respectful cautiousness and an acute sensitivity (Raine, 1980, p. 82). Unnecessary chances were not to be taken, as the harsh Arctic environment knew no favourites. The individual had to be continually mindful of the information received from each of his senses: the slightest sound, the direction of the wind as it brushed on his face, or the texture of the snow. The even-tempered traits which were preferred, if not expected, of individuals in everyday life (Briggs, 1970, pp. 328f and passim), were an absolute necessity in a successful hunter. However, a deep emotional intensity was evidenced by the extent of the hunter's preoccupation with

the animal world.

The traditional Eskimo pantheon consisted of three classes separated according to function, not power (Carpenter, 1955, p. 69). The first was of the earthly spirits. The second was the class of spirits that lived above the earth. They were essentially personifications of the natural forces. Lastly was Sedna (also known as Sumna, Taleelayo, etc.). She protected the hunt, sea mammals, and the after-life. She is comparable to the general theme of the Lord of Animals (Lommell, 1967a, pp. 27 and 28).

Each and every thing in creation whether living or inanimate had an essence called its inua (Vastokas, 1967, p. 27). This has been translated as "occupant, owner, dweller, or inmate" (William Thablitzer in WAG, 1978, p. 47). The inua "is that which gives each living thing the particular appearance which it has" and is in fact represented as "a miniature image of the carrier" (Lommell, 1967a, p. 30). The spiritual chain between all living things was therefore unbroken and strong.

This bond was particularly powerful between men and animals, for there was an additional commonality of a soulful life-force which guided thought, feeling, and action (Lommell, 1967a, p. 30). This made the living things sensitive to the same principles of existence.

This anthropomorphising, coupled with the threat of a lack of food, resulted in the spiritualization of the hunt (Swinton, 1972, p. 128). The deep-seated empathy which man felt toward animals, his source of food, necessitated the separation of body and soul and the creation of the concept of an after-life (Lommell, 1967a, p. 26). There were many game taboos which were followed according to strict rules and the advice of

the shaman. For example, particular parts of the slaughtered animal's body had to be attended to in a specific way. This facilitated reincarnation (Lantis, 1970, p. 327). The fear and/or guilt that "the greatest danger in life lies in the fact that man's food is made up of souls" was thereby eased (Aua in Lommell, 1967a, p. 31). The union between all living things could be maintained.

The shaman served as both mediator and advisor in the relationship between man and nature/the spiritual. For example, if man angered Sedna by breaking a taboo, the angakoq (shaman) would descend to her under-water home (via trance or seance) to placate her (WAG, 1978, p. 122). The traditional Eskimo belief-system also placed enormous responsibilities upon the hunter. For example, if game was scarce, it was up to him to seek out Sedna and demand that she return the animal supply (Carpenter, 1955, p. 71). This emphasized the basic egalitarianism of Eskimo life. Sedna, like man, was bound to the same laws. If she withheld game or took a life without just cause, she would have to answer for her actions.

The social and ecological effects of the introduction of the rifle to the North were many (Hughes, 1965, p. 16). There was an increase (often unnecessary) in slaughter. Animal migration patterns were altered and numbers were depleted (Schwartz, 1977, pp. 17ff). Techniques of approaching animals and hunting in general were changed. As already noted there was an increase in individual effort over cooperative activities. For example, caribou drives came to an end. Seal hole hunting became extinct and the animals were shot along open waters. With the end of breathing hole sealing went the associated sharing rules (Balikci, 1960, p. 143) and accordingly, traditional trading systems were eroded

(Hughes, 1965, p. 17).

The economic base of the Eskimo had been one of subsistence production (Hughes, 1965, p. 17). Before the fox fur trade, this animal had been considered relatively worthless. It now became the valued commodity in a new exchange production economy. The economic independence of the Eskimo was ruined as it fluctuated with the needs and trends of the Southern market.

The bond between men and animals was shattered as the latter came to represent the luxurious material objects (which did make life significantly easier) for which they were traded. Private hunting was done with Euro-American tools and so the chain was broken. The hand-made was replaced with the ready-made. The emphasis turned away from knowledge and concentration, toward apparatus (Lommell, 1967b, p. 16).

The need for magic and religion decreased accordingly as the new equipment tipped the scales in the hunter's favour.

Now that we have firearms it is almost as if we no longer need shamans, or taboo, for now it is not so difficult to procure food as in the old days. (Kkinilik--from Back River-- in Rasmussen, 1931, p. 227)

Concomitant with the secularization of the hunt, was the loosening of the bond between religion and art (Swinton, 1972, p. 128). Quality and quantity of production suffered as shamanism gradually became a less significant factor within the Inuit lifestyle.

In the magical times of the past, such as the Dorset period (ca. 1000 B.C. to 1000 A.D.), the highly sculptural and deeply incised amulets and ceremonial objects betrayed an intense mysticality (Swinton, 1972, p. 117). The shaman and his assistants were the only specialists

in this culture, and their motivation was clear. They were by and large bound to follow established symbols for the sake of in-group clarity. The shaman, with his activities, brought "the collective psyche into order" (Lommell, 1967a, p. 12). As a direct result of this commitment, he was also reasonably assured of his 'public' and its support (Firth, 1965, p. 32).

The 'art for bartering' carvings of, for example, the nineteenth century, were of a quality which obviously indicated the lack of a comparable emotional intensity. This change was an indicator of the devastating turn of events. As each had been preoccupied with his relationship to the spiritual, so did each one suffer a loss with regard to the fading of psychic realities (Lommell, 1967a, p. 103).

Commercial artistic production was sporadic until Houston's massive, concentrated effort. The white Southern market responded with great enthusiasm. It was only with this continued support and continual output that the emotional under-pinnings of the new secular art became evident. Fading memories resurfaced.

Spirit Song

Do you hear
The voice from the deep!
ajai-jija.
The voice from the deep!
Ajai-jija.

I will visit
unclean women,
probe behind man,
break taboo.
Aj, let the lace of the boot hang loose.
Ajai-jija.

Do you hear
the voice from the deep?
Ajai-jija
The voice from the deep!
Ajai-jija.

I will visit
unclean women,
probe behind man,
break taboo.
Aj, smooth the wrinkles
from the rounded cheeks!
Ajai-jija.
I walked out on the sea.
Marvelling, I heard
the voice from the deep,
the song of the sea.
I went out slowly,
pondering myself.
The vast young ice-floes sighed,
ajai-jija
ajai-jija.
Helping spirit seeks the feasting-house.

- Anonymous
(Rasmussen, 1973, p. 3)

Chapter V

THE HUNTER/ARTIST

Having basically looked at the foundations of Pudlo's heritage, we now will see what he as the hunter/artist contributes. That is, what the content of his individual works may tell us of his life. As noted, the contemporary artists have found their bearings in the visual documentation of the 'old ways'. Already in the early phases of his career, Pudlo tended toward making images of the mystical aspects of life in the Arctic. Both Boas and Hoffman document that representations of the spiritual were few (1888, p. 184 and 1897, p. 912 respectively). This may have been out of fear and respect for the spirits, or because of words of discouragement from missionaries. Whatever the reason, this is no longer the case as shamanic images are a most challenging aspect and frequent subject of contemporary Inuit art.

In Spirit With Symbols (Fig. 2) we see a female figure holding what seems to be a door handle in one hand and a key which might fit into the breast plate in the other (National Museum of Man, 1977, p. 74). The mask-like quality of her face might be a reference to shamanism. Although ceremonial masks were most common in Alaska, they were traditionally known on Baffin Island both from Dorset remains (WAG, 1978, p. 180) and from those made from the hide of the bearded seal (Murdoch in Hoffman, 1897, p. 914). Masks were traditionally made by shamans and their apprentices. Their function, and therefore their power, was not so much to hide the wearer as it was to serve as visualizations of the spirit forces (WAG,

1978, p. 179). The shaman was privy to these images. With the mask, he gave the people a concrete view of the spirit world.

The fact that this is a female figure opens the door to many possible avenues of interpretation of this image. Both men and women could become shamans within the traditional Eskimo society (WAG, 1978, p. 61). However, during the delicate transition period from the old to the new, Christian belief system, more women did so (Lewis, 1971, p. 169).

The shaman's many abilities repeatedly emphasized the wholeness of life. Shamanic transformation from human to animal, and back, symbolized the essential union of these two forms of being. The shaman was also able to be both a man and a woman and to change from one to another as an indicator of another sense of wholeness (WAG, 1978, p. 63). Spirit With Symbols may represent such a transformation. It is wearing an amautik which has often been used to symbolize such changes and the giving of life (WAG, 1980a, p. 105).

Another possibility is that this image refers to the ways in which women were singled out in the Eskimo taboo system. In some parts of the Arctic, the woman was symbolically linked to the ritual surrounding, and the eventual outcome, of the hunt (Lantis, 1970, p. 329). Accordingly, her taboo violations bore a penalty which would weigh more heavily upon the individual, and the group, than a man's (Lewis, 1971, p. 165). Could Spirit With Symbols be an acknowledgement of this burden of a morality through fear (Lantis, 1970, p. 330)?

A concept basic to Eskimo beliefs was that there were not any 'good versus evil' forces (Carpenter, 1955, p. 72). Rather, good and evil were part of the same whole. This is akin to the primordial image of the

Great and Terrible Mother as she has appeared in the creations of many cultures (Neumann, 1955, passim). A number of features of Pudlo's Spirit With Symbols are strikingly similar to those of the archetype. For example, the exaggerated forms of her torso and her frightening visage (152). The keyhole, key and door handle might be references to the gate of rebirth, or the womb, also connected with the Great Mother (159). She is thus literally (physically) a vessel of transformation. Spiritually, she represents the process of transformation "which leads through suffering and death, sacrifice and annihilation, to renewal, rebirth and immortality" (291). As good she is life-giving. As bad she is associated with the underworld (157). In Spirit With Symbols these are respectively represented by the amautik and the Eskimo legend of Amautilik, the symbol of death who kidnapped children (WAG, 1980, p. 105).

The mystical content is somewhat less difficult to pinpoint in Eagle Carrying Man (Fig. 16). It is a representation of an angakoq being taken on a spirit flight with the aid of his spirit helper. In his hand he holds a wand, or a conjuring stick. This was a ceremonial object used for divination (WAG, 1978, p. 157). Shamans made such journeys to visit and/or placate a deity, to obtain power from a spirit, or to get information about lost souls, people, or the locations of animals for a hunt (WAG, 1978, p. 89).

The bird spirit's presence in Spirit Watching Games (Fig. 4) underlines the importance of such activities in traditional Eskimo society. It oversees what appears to be a wrestling match between the two men. A woman stands on either side. Such contests and jousts were frequently the manner in which quarrels were settled (University of Alberta, 1978,

p. 8). The event became a time for reconciling differences. It was therefore an occasion for celebration and not only for aggression. It was the peaceful spirit and cohesiveness of the community which was ensured.

The world of the Spirits (Fig. 17) is referred to in the 1966 stonecut. In the dark of the night two dogs in the foreground look out at a group of spiritual beings. Pudlo has used an animal skin shape and texture for the backdrop. The large spirit in the centre subdivides the composition.

All of the spirits are anthropomorphized. The large one is inscribed with animals, thereby attesting to the essential unity of the spiritual and natural realms. It was believed that spirits were either indifferent or kindly disposed towards humans. They only became malevolent when mistreated by man, as in the breaking of a taboo (Lommell, 1967a, p. 31).

Another possibility is that the large figure in the centre is a shaman wearing an awe-inspiring mask. Assuming that it is, the inscribed animals might then be his helping spirits. They look somewhat like lemmings which were considered to be powerful spirit familiars. Lemmings were thought to live among the stars and fell to the earth when they became associated with a particular shaman (WAG, 1978, p. 49).

The small 'smiling' spirit on the right is interesting in that it has a face on its torso. The mouth is opened in an 'o' shape and shows shamanic teeth. This characteristic can be traced back to Dorset imagery (WAG, 1978, p. 182). The open mouth, and blowing are associated with a most revered notion, that of breath and the life-force, or soul, of the

individual.

Man in Fish Weir (Fig. 3) virtually evokes fecundity like an amulet. With its phallic shape and large fish swarming toward the enclosure, it is suggestive of human fertility as well as a plentiful hunt. This was a concern of the angakoq. With amulets and ritual he helped women in their hopes to have children (WAG, 1978, p. 120). As intermediary between the human and animal world, he was expected to know the habits of the creatures, and advise the hunters accordingly. This was a measure of his usefulness and effectiveness within the community (Lommell, 1967, p. 27).

Fish Lake (Fig. 10) is equally evocative. Both the sun and the moon are high in the sky. This might be a reference to the myth about their origin. A brother and a sister unknowingly had an incestuous relationship. When she discovered who her lover was, she ran out of the snow-house carrying a lit torch. Her brother followed her, also carrying a torch. However, as they rose into the sky, his went out. She became the sun and he the moon, forever chasing her across the heavens (National Museum of Man, 1977, p. 58). This then may be another representation of a total experience--the union of the day and the night sky, of light and of dark (Neumann, 1955, p. 56).

The moon has also been associated with fertility (Lantis, 1970, pp. 316, 323, and 324). An angakoq might visit the man in the moon who, particularly in the Western Arctic, was said to have some control over animals. In the Eastern Arctic, the moon's primary function was its association with human fertility and with befriending orphans.

Inuksuit are silhouetted on the far shore of Fish Lake. Translated, inukshuk means "in the likeness of man". There are many of them

in the Cape Dorset area. They are all made of stone. Theories are that they were land and cache markers, or that they were used in the herding and capturing of caribou (National Museum of Man, 1977, pp. 62 and 92; and Balikci, 1970, p. 41). They are also route indicators. The ones at Inukshukgaliut, point the way to Coral Harbour which is 450 km west by boat (Schwartz, 1977, p. 17).

In addition to the practical, the inuksuit had an emotional import for the Eskimo:

. . . we can say that the cairns were, in fact, a focal point of their faith, both for those departing as well as for those who had to wait anxiously for the hunters to return. The cairns must have gone with the men as clear images - like vivid pictures in their minds knowing that their families would be looking at the same cairns and, in a way, praying to them for a safe trip. It could be that this was part of their formal religion. (Peter Pitseolak in Raine, 1980, p. 107)

Hunters often placed a personal object within a cairn. It then became his symbol of safety until he returned to it. That it was made of stone was also significant, for stone was valued as being one of the most permanent substances of all.

A solitary figure is on the near shore of the lake. He is so small in comparison to the lake which is teeming with large fish, and to all of the space which surrounds him. It is a reminder of man's relative position.

Fertility, abundance, and the awe-inspiring environment figure prominently in the images above. These qualities also describe the Earth Mother of traditional Eskimo mysticism, Sedna. As goddess and protectress of the hunt and animals, she was responsible for all changes in the relationship between the hunter and his prey. This is figured in Perils

of the Hunter (Fig. 18). Alone in his kayak, the man finds himself threatened by, and facing, unknown creatures and dangers. Compared to the enormity of the elements, he is quite defenseless. Sedna, at the lower right, swims toward the vessel, possibly to intervene.

The earlier Sea Goddess held by Bird (Fig. 19) is also realized in bold silhouetted imagery. Sedna is held in the bird's (her husband?) mouth, upside-down. Her breasts are large and pendulous, emphasizing her maternal characteristics. Her fingers are truncated and her legs merge into a fishtail on which another bird sits.

Compare the above two with the 1976 Sedna (Fig. 20). Here, she wears an elaborate mask. The Sedna festival was the only time during which masks were worn in the central and Eastern Arctic (WAG, 1978, pp. 138 and 181). The goddess' hands are stumps which look like mittens. Her feet are similar to those of a walrus. That animal was considered a powerful spirit familiar. Near her mouth are lines which might represent the traditional tatooing of married women.

Sedna is wearing an amautik. This is in keeping both with her maternal nature and, combined with her walrus feet, with the deep relationship between people and animals. The amautik is an important symbol (WAG, 1980b, p. 24 and passim). In its design it represents a knowledge of animals. In its function, it houses life and the magic of birth.

Although the hunting was done by the man, its success, in a number of respects, was determined by a woman (Neumann, 1955, p. 283). This woman was Sedna. Her maternal traits and control over the underworld link her strongly to the Great Mother archetype. The control she had over the animals' souls, and their number, similarly pinpoints her

as a symbol of transformation.

The ornamental detail on Sedna's amautik is striking particularly in comparison to the silhouettes of the earlier years. The change in the look of prints, as noted above, was due in part to the increase in technical sophistication and expertise. Certainly, the favourable market response encouraged the continuation of this newer style. The patterns here are not dissimilar to those of Thule swimming bird figurines (Fig. 20). The origins and meanings of such embellishments are long ago forgotten. It is assumed, however, that they did have a mystical connection. The use of such surface decoration gave the pieces a lighter, less intense look than those of their Dorset predecessors (Swinton, 1972, p. 117). The patterns on this Sedna amautik also refers to the original function of such designs.

In the coming section we will see that Pudlo moved away from the mysterious silhouettes of the earlier years. It will be shown that as he was incorporating the decorative elements of the 'new look' into his style, he was also infusing them with a new (and perhaps renewed) substance.

There once was a giant bear
who followed people for his prey.
He was so big he swallowed them whole:
Then they smothered to death inside him
if they hadn't already died of fright.

Either the bear attacked them on the run,
or if they crawled into a cave
where he could not squeeze his enormous body in,
he stabbed them with his whiskers like toothpicks,
drawing them out one by one,
and gulped them down.

No one knew what to do
until a wise man went out and let the bear swallow him,
sliding right down his throat into the big, dark, hot,
slimy stomach.
And once inside there, he took his knife
and simply cut him open,
killing him of course.

He carved a door in the bear's belly
and threw out those who had been eaten before,
and then he stepped out himself
and went home to get help with the butchering.

Everyone lived on bear meat for a long time.
That's the way it goes:
Monster one minute, food the next.

- Kiakshuk
(Gedalof, n.d., p. 71)

Chapter VI

PUDLO AND NATURE: THE BIRDS AND ANIMALS

Before picking up the points of the preceding section, it will be necessary to trace the development of Pudlo's representations of birds which number significantly within his oeuvre. They figure in his sculptural efforts (CEAC, 1971, pp. 156 and 172) and are a favourite subject matter of Cape Dorset art in general (WAG, 1980a, p. 40). The interest is not a new one. Since Dorset times, birds have been, along with bears, the most commonly represented of the shamanic familiars (Taylor, 1967, p. 38).

The earlier representations of birds seen above (Spirit Watching Games, Fig. 4; Eagle Carrying Man, Fig. 16; and Sea Goddess Held by Bird, Fig. 19) contain overt references to the shamanic mysteries of the past. Woman With Bird Image (Fig. 22) is such a work as well. As in Spirit with Symbols (Fig. 2) positive and negative combinations create an image on the figure's torso. This time, a woman with a bird. If the woman is a shaman, then this may be a rendering of a transformation. That is, of an angakoq assuming a bird-like form, a bird being one of her spirit helpers, so that she might be able to fly.

However, this may also be a visualization of the legend of women who had the ability to turn into birds and fly away while their men were on a hunt (WAG, 1979, p. 41).

Bird/Woman imagery is not unusual. The Thule female figurines (Fig. 21) are similar in form and therefore possibly related contextually

to the bird figurines (Fig. 22). Sedna shuns all suitors to eventually marry, a bird. As a direct result of this union she becomes the symbol of the Great Mother in Eskimo mysticism. Given the similarity in style and Pudlo's predilection for working in series, Woman With Bird Image is likely akin in meaning to Spirit With Symbols. In history, birds have been associated with the Great Mother archetype regularly (Neumann, 1955, p. 145f). They represent a positive aspect of her nature in their link with the heavens and thereby balance her relationship to the underworld.

Shaman's Dwelling (Fig. 23) is another example of Pudlo's close association of religion and birds. A snow-house is set into a stylized landscape and flanked by two very large birds. Are they meant to be guardians of the shaman and/or the dwelling? The titular reference is to the old faith, yet the house has a cross both over the entrance and on the 'roof'. In the foreground, enclosed by the house, are five inuksuit, another reference to the old faith. With the exception of their placement and the landscape formations, the composition is as balanced and symmetrical as the crosses.

Two traits evident in Shaman's Dwelling can be traced to Thule precedents. The first is the symmetry, here around a cruciform as it is also implied in Spirits (Fig. 17) (Vastokas, 1971/72, p. 78). Within Pudlo's prints it creates compositions of a natural order which, when combined with the content, is virtually of a sacred kind. The second characteristic is that of the images being framed, or self-enclosed. To the balance and harmony is added a sense of containment: for all things have their place within the environment (Myers, 1982, p. 77).

Two Loons at Sea (Fig. 24) is also symmetrical and divided by a

cross which is once again surrounded by two birds. In traditional Eskimo beliefs, loons were associated with sight. A legend tells of a blind boy whose sight was restored by a loon. They are also linked to shamanic sight, visions, and ideas (WAG, 1978, p. 121).

It seems possible that this image is a reference to a shamanic journey. Clearly, two loons do not need a boat for water travel. Perhaps then they are not actually birds. Maybe they are shamans travelling in the form of their bird familiars. Similarly, the two birds in Shaman's Dwelling (Fig. 23) might be the angakoq's guardian spirits. What remains is to understand the cross which recurs continually in Pudlo's work.

In the North, the cross figures as both a contemporary and pre-historic symbol. It appears as a frequent marking on Dorset shamanic paraphernalia (Swinton, 1967, pp. 43 and 45). Its precise meaning in this context is not known. However, it is thought to have been a marker for a particularly sensitive area or item. Although apparently decorative, it is a reminder of a language which once expressed, and thereby linked man to, the spiritual (Fitzhugh and Kaplan, 1982, p. 200). In the faith of the older generation, the 'past' and 'present' belief systems co-exist (Carpenter, 1955, p. 71). Christianity did not replace, but rather added new dimensions to, the peoples' creed.

Pudlo's stylistic eclecticism complements his integration of symbols from the old and the new ways. Aspects of the past are altered as they re-emerge into a changed environment. Perceptions of the present are affected by their potential to be evocative of memories. The contemporary artist may then even unwittingly record these perhaps vague recollections (WAG, 1978, p. 215).

The cross most frequently appears on buildings, often over an entrance. It is also connected with a sense of home, or the end of a journey as in Long Journey (Fig. 7) and Shaman's Dwelling (Fig. 23). Thoughts of Home (Fig. 25) contains both of these elements. In the foreground is a landscape from which a figure approaches a ladder or a staircase-type object. At the end of this means of ascent are two tents. Between them is a figure in a doorway, over which is a cross.

It has been noted that formerly popular domestic themes such as mother and child portrayals, are presently rarely depicted (Levine, 1977, p. 19). There are implications that this is indicative of the breakdown of the once all-important family unit (Schaefer, 1976, passim). That themes are relatively impersonal and therefore contain pessimistic undertones.

This is certainly not the case with Pudlo. His images seem full of optimism. The manner in which Pudlo so harmoniously combines references to the old and the new surely indicates this. His use of the cross creates an aura of it being a symbol of protection with hope for the future. It is an emblem which transcends specific periods of time. It oversees all eras.

Its Christian meaning was in part to symbolize man's need to extend his faith from his own centre and move outward, as for example toward nature (Jung, 1964, p. 273). In his prints, with the combination of ladders, there is an implication of movement and even ascent. Pudlo's figures often journey toward the cross (see Long Journey [Fig. 7] and Thoughts of Home [Fig. 25]). The themes of memory, hope, and protection meander in and out of Pudlo's oeuvre, continually.

Pudlo's expression of the union of the environment and of living things as seen in Tudlik (the bird and the water being joined by form and colour, Fig. 9), recurs in the Large Loon and Landscape (Fig. 26). Here, the two subjects are virtually a reflection of one another. Both the bird and the land tower into the sky. Each undulates in form and is made up of contrasting patches of colour. The land encloses lakes and other areas of blue. The loon, with its shamanic implications, hovers over the prefabricated homes, the man in his boat, and the landscape, with a protective air. The entire composition seems enclosed--this time with a nearly circular form--a symbol of wholeness.

This litho seems to be a testament to the essential unity of life as it was particularly felt in the 'old ways'. A union of land, nature, and faith (the spiritual). The inclusion of the contemporary housing might represent hope for the present--and future. If the tiny hillocks in the mid-ground are cairns, then this might be Pudlo's blessing for Cape Dorset, known for its abundance of inuksuit. Also, it is high land (Kingnait).

Metiq on Mallik (Duck on a Wave, Fig. 27) is a most resplendent last example of this expression of union. The composition is solidly silhouetted on a white background. The bird is on a wave. The outline of the bird's wings, the textural markings, the use of colour, all create an ambiguity of references to land, water, and animal. By implication it is therefore a joining of the three. It is also a perfect union of form and content. The seemingly decorative becomes a statement of wholeness.

Since 1976, Pudlo's inclusion of modern objects in his prints has been one of his trademarks. Only a very few other artists have done

so as well. In Pudlo's works this virtually creates a continuum, or joining, of two very different times.

The most frequent is the aeroplane. Comparable to birds, planes have become contemporary symbols for psychological and physical transcendence (June, 1964, p. 156). To Pudlo, riding in an aeroplane might be a present-day analogy for shamanic flight (Lommell, 1967, p. 103). That is, the aeroplane could be reminiscent of the spirit helper (Lantis, 1970, p. 316). In that it is a reminder of the psychic memories of the past, it fuels the imagination and lends a credibility to fading memories.

Pudlo once took an aeroplane ride over Resolute Bay:

. . . the airplane swooped down to take a good look at a musk-ox and some caribou. (Pudlo in Dorset, 1978, p. 66)

Vision of Two Worlds (Fig. 28) is perhaps a variation of that incident. On its back, the musk-ox has a dog with an old style harness on, and a hunter with a whip in his hand. We assume that these are the symbols of the 'old world'. An aeroplane is in the sky. Pudlo seems to want to retain the connections between this flight and the mystical. The plane seems light and almost animated. The angle of the wings is exaggerated so as to make them seem more like that of a bird's.

That Pudlo is fascinated by musk-oxen is undeniable. They appear throughout his oeuvre. The animals are not common to South Baffin Island. Pudlo says that he was "the first one to try to draw a musk-ox" (Dorset, 1979, p. 65). Although this may be true for the contemporary scene, Jenness records a pencil drawing of one (1922, pp. 168 and 169).

Musk-oxen do have traditional links with shamanism (WAG, 1978, p. 76). However, they seem to appeal mostly to Pudlo's sense of humour. He appears to have fun placing these awkward-looking animals into equally

peculiar situations, or making them something that they are not. A previous example was Umingmuk (Fig. 14) in which Pudlo made the creatures seem quite light and delicate.

Of Umimmak Kalunaniituk (Musk-ox in the City, Fig. 29) he writes:

When I did this drawing, I was thinking that this is a church and this is a musk ox on top. Because I have seen churches having statues on top, that is what I was thinking about when I draw this - even though this is not God or anything like that. (Dorset, 1979, p. 65)

In his frequent combination of musk-oxen with modern objects (in this case, powerlines, a building and a bus), one wonders if generally he considers the animals to be symbols of a time past.

A last look at an animal theme is another light-hearted looking print entitled Dream of Bear (Fig. 30). It is the sort of piece which earned Pudlo his reputation for being unpredictable (Gray, 1974). In terms of his print-production, it is one-of-a-kind. This is unusual for Pudlo, whose themes and motifs generally come in series. Yet, this print is difficult to dismiss because of its three apparent references to shamanism. Firstly, in the title, the word 'dream'; secondly, the bear; and lastly, that it is sitting next to, what looks like, a tree.

Bear imagery, although relatively infrequent in Pudlo's work, is prominent in Eskimo culture as both a symbol and the basis for a good tale. In the latter respect, the bear is always a formidable and feared adversary. Conquering/killing one of the animals gains much respect for the hunter.

In the shamanic realm, the bear was the best, and the most powerful, of all of the animal spirit helpers (WAG, 1978, p. 148). Perhaps

accordingly, bear imagery is outstanding in the most mystical Dorset period (Swinton, 1967, p. 41 and passim). The bear, like the shaman, was thought to be both extremely powerful as well as dangerous. This animal was anthropomorphized more than any other, and it was respected for its hunting abilities on ice, water, and land (Thomson, 1981, p. 40).

A frequent Dorset motif, the flying bear, was symbolic of shamanic flight. This is relevant to Dream of Bear, if the object between the animal and the man is a tree. Shamanic Trees, or World Trees, have been identified in both prehistoric and contemporary Eskimo art works (Vastokas, 1973/74, p. 110). In a state of ecstasy, the shaman makes a ceremonial climb up the cosmic tree. The voyage is symbolic of the Ascent to Heaven where, for example, the angakoq may seek out a sick person's soul for curing (Eliade, 1970, pp. 302 and 303). Is the man on the left the shaman who, with the aid of his powerful helper, is preparing the celestial voyage?

The collar might be a reference to something like the Old Bering Sea wrist cuff and neck collars which indicated a captured animal spirit (Fitzhugh and Kaplan, 1982, p. 198).

In the early prints, the depth of Pudlo's content is revealed with bold imagery and symbols. Later, the geometric elements and abstractions from nature often add an increased harmony to the already balanced compositions. These additions are never purely decorative. They help to reveal the content of the work, perhaps in much the same way that abstract motifs indicated the magical in the art of the prehistoric periods.

Pudlo's incorporation of both forms and objects from his and the Euro-American cultures in his work proves that he maintains his connections to the 'old ways' while developing within the pressures of change.

Marble Island

Long ago, before my grandfather was born, some Eskimo families used to travel from place to place.

One time there was a family of four with an old woman. They lived near Rankin Inlet, N.W.T. The hunting was good for a few years, but not for long. The Uanik family wanted to move to another land called Kanuyalik, where there were lots of caribou. One thing that stopped them was the old woman. She wanted them to leave her. Uanik said he hated to leave her helpless. The old woman asked Uanik if he had forgotten what she had said once. She had said that she would stay behind if they moved away and that she would like to live on the ice that I looked like an island. So Uanik's family, with sorrow in their hearts, left the old woman.

One very clear day the old woman sat on a rock looking at the big ice. She said to herself, "I wish, how I wish, that ice could turn into an island so I could live there."

Two years passed before Uanik came back to the spot where he had left the old woman. The old woman wasn't anywhere on the land. Uanik heard her saying: "Uanik, at last I got my wish, please don't worry anymore." He saw that the ice had turned to marble. "Uanik, my spirit lives on this marble island."

Now, when the people of Rankin Inlet go to the island, they must crawl a few feet in respect of the old woman's spirit. In the summer, on a clear day, the island once again looks like an ice island.

- Leonie Kappi
(Gedalof, n.d., p. 72)

Chapter VII

PUDLO AND NATURE: THE LAND

As shown, Pudlo brings the viewer a step closer to the possibility of appreciating the emotional basis of the 'old ways'. As the traditional faith was founded upon animistic principles, the emphasis was upon totality of, and communion with, all aspects of life and nature. On both the practical and spiritual levels, the natural forces figured prominently in the Eskimo life-style.

We fear the Weather Spirit of earth, that we must fight against to wrest our food from land and sea. We fear Sila (the Weather Spirit). We fear death and hunger in the cold snow huts We fear the evil spirits of life, those of the air, of the sea and of the earth (Rasmussen, Iglulik Eskimos, p. 56)

Respect, tempered with fear, was a dictum.

A highest compliment paid to a person was to be called 'Innumarit' --one who fulfilled the Inuit heritage (Herchmer, 1980, p. 24). This was someone who was a good hunter, provider, and who, above all, had respect for the land.

A person came to feel relatively small and insignificant while in the battle for survival with such a formidable adversary. This was to some extent alleviated by shamanism (Lommell, 1967a, p. 147). The solace came with some limited sense of control or understanding with regard to the environment.

The economic value of the land was therefore tempered by an emotional respect which was so deep that the people endowed it with spiritual

attributes (Herchmer, 1980, p. 24).

There are a few places where the spirits have to be shown your friendly intentions first before you can go there. In Baker Lake, even, there is a small island onto which you must crawl if you land there so as not to make the spirit mad at you. (Ruth Annaqtuusi in WAG, 1982, p. 18).

Any change in the material and social culture of a group affects both the ecological system and, especially, the way in which the people perceive it (Murphy, 1964, pp. 851 and 852). The notion of respect, and striving to work and interact within a given situation, changed with the arrival of the new technology. In its place grew the Euro-American attitude of mastery. With it, came the new perceptions of the land (Swinton, 1972, p. 108).

As noted, the earlier of Pudlo's landscapes seem to have been approached with relative caution. Like Fish Lake (Fig. 10), they reflect an attitude of mystery. When print-making and drawing moved away from the influence of sculpture, landscapes, belonging more to the two-dimensional medium, became more detailed. Arctic Waterfall (Fig. 11) and Spring Landscape (Fig. 12) for example, albeit quite abstracted, are nonetheless far more descriptive of:

The abrupt fiord lands of Baffin Island, with their cliffs and scree, their vast gravelly outwash, their low domed hills, their coastal strands and marshes, and their permanent ice-caps fringed with yearly-melting snow patches
(From the annual handbook of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada, 1971 in Swinton, 1972, p. 107)

In Arctic Waterfall, the sense of the past is attributable to the manner in which the figures are depicted. They are small and relatively insignificant compared to the resplendent environment. They do not travel with skidoos or ATC's, but in the old way--on foot with dogs as beasts of

burden. In these renderings of the 'old ways', time seems frozen, and the image of each is monumental. In Spring Landscapes, we imagine the patience and quiet of the fishermen. They too seem isolated in time. Both of these images are contained and complete.

Landscape with Caribou (Fig. 31) on the other hand seems to come from a different time. The animal has stopped, but for what only appears to be an instant. The antlers are delicately tipped. One can imagine that, in response to the slightest sound or movement, the animal will dart off. Isolated, the forms in this print are so generalized that they border upon abstraction. It is their colours which return us to nature. The large and small amoeba-like patches at one glance create a flat applique-type pattern. Yet combined, they quite naturally describe the dips, rolls, delicacy, and solitude of the Northern environment.

The visualizations of, and knowledge about the environment may be new and changed. However, with the increased cognizance has come a strong desire to protect the land which fed the people for thousands of years. Along with caring for the wildlife, this issue has become germane to the maintenance of a cultural identity in the North (Schwartz, 1977, p. 53).

This celebration of the land is evident in Pudlo's Timiat Nunamiut (The Body of Land, Fig. 33). It was commissioned by the Habitat United Nations Conference of Human Settlements, 1976. Pudlo fills the space and encloses the picture as in his older style. However, he works from a single vantage point. The curves of the plants and light-hearted renderings of the walruses present a joyous image of the land and animals of the Arctic.

Along the left-hand side, a bird and a fish are each placed on a pedestal or a trophy-like display shelf. At the top, on similar stands, are a hunter with a fish spear approaching a ladder, and a seal. Next to that is what looks like a sculpture of a hunter and a bear. They are back-to-back with a pole between them. In the middle, a ladder reaches from the foreground landscape, to a walrus. It is an image filled with joy, pride, bountiful displays of the past, and hope.

Chapter VIII

CONCLUSION: THE SEASONS

Notions of historiography are new to the Inuit. Traditionally, the time orientation was of the 'here and now' (Lantis, 1970, p. 335). Whereas we might graphically represent our sense of time as a line, the Eskimos' might have been a circle.

As the souls of all living things were infinitely reincarnated so were such aspects of origin an everlasting feature of the present. The shaman was the educator with regard to these matters. He was the guardian of the tales which for so long had been the basis of life in the North.

With the weakening of shamanic forces came the dilution of the values and ideas of an age-old heritage. It was in part the arts and crafts project which literally retarded the progress of the total cultural assimilation of the people (Isaacs, 1972, p. 18).

The material representation of fading ideas and feelings, and the recording of events which might never recur, prevented their being lost forever. More than that, in telling the Southern market of a past full of depth, the artist projected both his pride, and that of which his people might feel more meaningfully. With this there may have been some easing of the tensions of a traumatic present (Dawson et. al., 1974, p. 48).

Pudlo, while allowing the elements of the new into his work, most clearly joins the past and the present. If at first the Euro-American

onslaught was overwhelming, in Pudlo's oeuvre one sees the hope of a blending and union of two cultures. The younger generation of Inuit will be reminded of their past and will even try to recreate it (Dorothy Eber in WAG, 1980a, p. 26).

This is most aptly expressed in The Seasons (Fig. 33). It is truly an historical document. Pudlo has again organized the composition with a cruciform. It reaches to the heavens filled with stars. Below them, landscape, inuksuit, powerlines, and show-houses--with chimneys. At the mid-right is a ship.

Below the ship, a lake is seen from above with people hiking on its shores and birds wading within. There is a peculiar-looking object on the near shore. It appears in a number of Pudlo's prints. Is it a skeleton? Variations on the so-called "x-ray style" are common to the shamanic arts (Lommell, 1967, p. 133). These have come to be interpreted as symbolic of a spiritual permanence (Swinton, 1967, p. 41). After the flesh is long gone, the bones remain and hence represent the ever-lasting soul.

At the mid-left of the print, a dog team is apparently tangled up and is trying to pull a sled with a kayak on it. A man rushes towards the dogs. Footprints are evident in the snow. Above this is a striking structure. It resembles Shaman's Dwelling (Fig. 23) with its crosses and two guardian birds. It might be a fantastic church or a variation on the large sort of igloo which was built for specific festivals (WAG, 1978, p. 139).

Although there are implications of the scene continuing beyond the edges, it is framed in. A self-contained image subject to the

natural order as dictated by the cross.

It speaks of the seasons of a man's time and of the time when his life was governed by the seasons. Of spring by a lake, or kayak and sled travel. It also speaks of the seasons of a technological change. From snow-houses to elaborate, never before imagined structures. From kayaks to ships.

Pudlo was born into the role of a hunter and learned from his father on the basis of many years of experience. In his prints, he combines narrative and pattern, documentary and fantasy. He offers visualizations of the various aspects of the mystical--fertility, the Great Mother, etc. We are thereby allowed an insight into the deeply emotional aspects of Pudlo's traditional lifestyle. He utilizes the "best of both worlds" in his drawings. With this eclecticism he creates a truly three-dimensional experience for the spectator.

APPENDIX

Although engraving, lithography, etching, and silk screening have all, at some point, been part of the Cape Dorset experiment, stone-cut prints and stencils (either alone or in combination) have always been the most popular. Here then is a brief description of the two. (For a detailed account see Jackson, 1981, and National Museum of Man, 1977.)

The Stone-cut

Artists submit drawings to the arts and crafts co-op. A committee then selects those which are to be printed. Such a drawing is transferred (through the use of tracing and carbon papers) onto the surface of a stone which has been smoothed and painted white. (Serpentine, the green stone used also for carving, was originally quarried where it was found in abundance in West Baffin Island. It is now imported from commercial quarries. It was found to react best to the oil-based ink. It is soft, not too porous, and good for chiselling. When mined it often breaks away in large slabs which are perfect in size for low relief carving.) The transferred image is then defined with India ink. The white background is carefully cut away with chisels leaving only the raised image.

In the printing room, soft rubber rollers (one for each colour) are used to apply the paint (from light colours first, then to the dark ones) onto the stone. A heavy paper template protects the background from smudges during the printing process.

Other colours may be stencilled on (see below) and the colour

pounded on with a brush thereby achieving more variety of colour and texture.

The division of labour (main participants being the artist and the cutter) and the fact that a low relief design is cut into a hard surface, are the two main similarities to the Japanese wood-cut print. Houston found it necessary to adapt ukiyo-e print methods significantly for the Northern situation. For example, ukiyo-e woodcutters make a different block for each colour on the print. The pigment used is a water soluble powder mixed with a rice paste and is applied with brushes. (See Saff and Sacilotto, 1978, pp. 53-68.)

The Stencil

Houston got the idea from watching women work with sealskin. Shapes were cut out in the skin and then brush-painted through, leaving images on the paper below. Scraped sealskin was soon found to be impractical and later stencil paper (or heavy wax paper) was substituted.

Usually fifty prints are made and numbered for public sale. For clarity in authenticity they are also embossed with the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council Seal, printed with the co-op mark, and signed by both the print-maker and artist. Three extra prints are also pulled: one for the Cape Dorset permanent collection, another for the National Museum of Canada, and a third for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs for publication and catalogue purposes. The stone, stencil, etc., are then destroyed. All drawings usually remain in the co-op. Since 1981,

the annual Dorset catalogues note that five proofs are pulled and that printers are now identified by personal chops which appear on each print.

GLOSSARY

<u>Amautik:</u>	The woman's parka.
<u>Angakoq:</u>	Shaman.
<u>Camp Life:</u>	The traditional, nomadic lifestyle.
<u>Contemporary Period:</u>	Begins with the time of intensified white contact, after World War II, or from 1945 onward.
<u>Eskimo:</u>	Now used predominantly as an anthropological and archaeological term. It comes from a derogatory Algonquin word meaning 'eater of raw flesh'.
<u>Historic Period:</u>	From the decline of the Thule Period and arrival of the <u>kablunait</u> to about the middle of the twentieth century.
<u>Inuit:</u>	'The People'. The name that the inhabitants of the <u>Canadian Arctic</u> have given themselves. Used in all contemporary references. Comes from the stem 'inuk'--'the man'.
<u>Inukshuk:</u>	Generally a stone cairn in the shape of a man. Used as a landmark.
<u>Inuktitut:</u>	The language of the <u>Inuit</u> .
<u>Kablunait:</u>	'The people with heavy eyebrows'. The <u>inuktitut</u> term for the white people.
<u>Old Ways:</u>	The times when the people were still nomadic.
<u>Prehistoric Period:</u>	Includes the Pre-Dorset Culture (or Arctic Small Tool Tradition, ASTt, ca. 2500 B.C. - 800 B.C.); Dorset Culture (ca. 1000 B.C. - 1000 A.D.); and Thule Culture (ca. 1000 - 1600).
<u>Sananguaq:</u>	The making of a model. The closest term in <u>inuktitut</u> to equal ours of 'art'.
<u>Senlavik:</u>	The working place, or studio.

Settlement Life:

Living in white established towns.

South:

When used in this paper, refers to the Inuit perspective.

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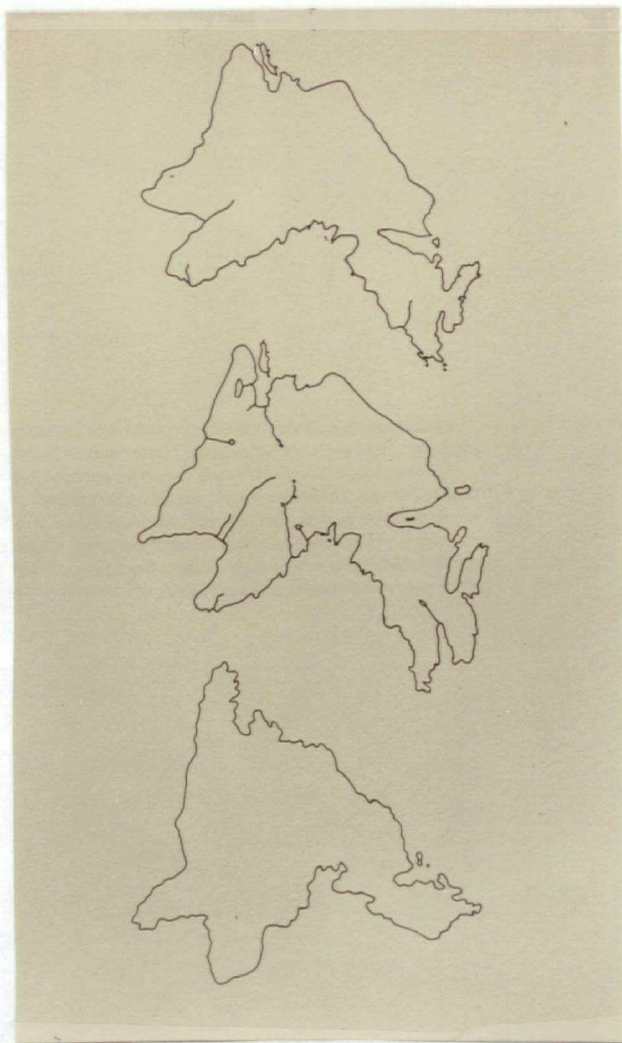


Figure 1. First two maps drawn by Inuit from memory. The third is an actual map of Southampton Island. Source: G. Sutton in Carpenter, 1973, p. 10.

Figure 2. Spirit With Symbols.
#49-1961. Stonecut.



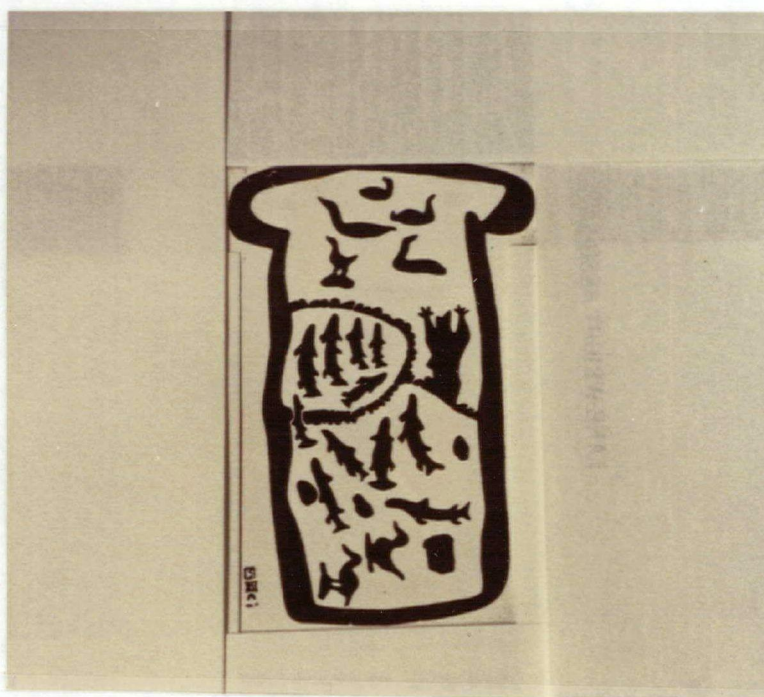
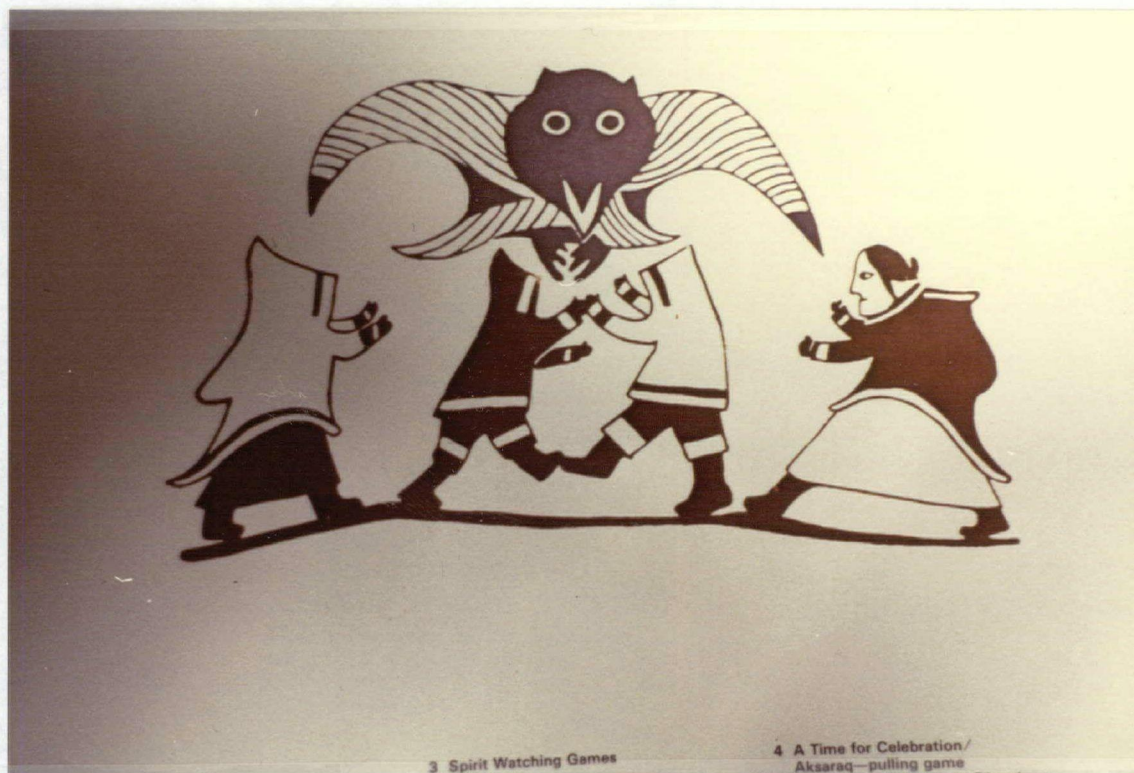


Figure 3. Man in Fish Weir.
#19-1961. Stonecut.

Figure 4. Spirit Watching Games. #45-1964. Stonecut.



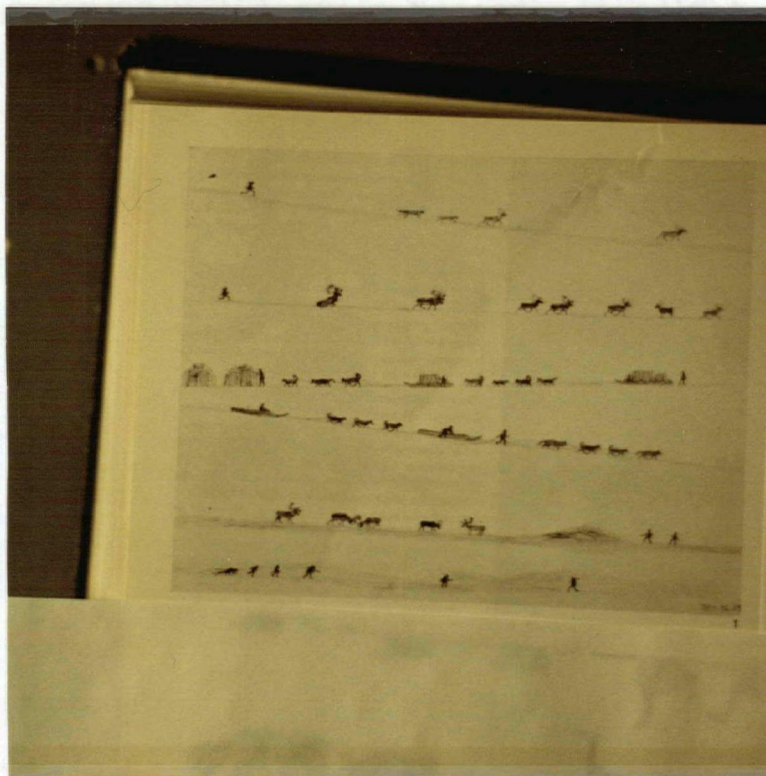


Figure 5. Drawing by Enooesweetok--collected by film-maker Robert Flaherty, 1913-14. Collection: The Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. Source: Vastokas, 1971/72, p. 72.

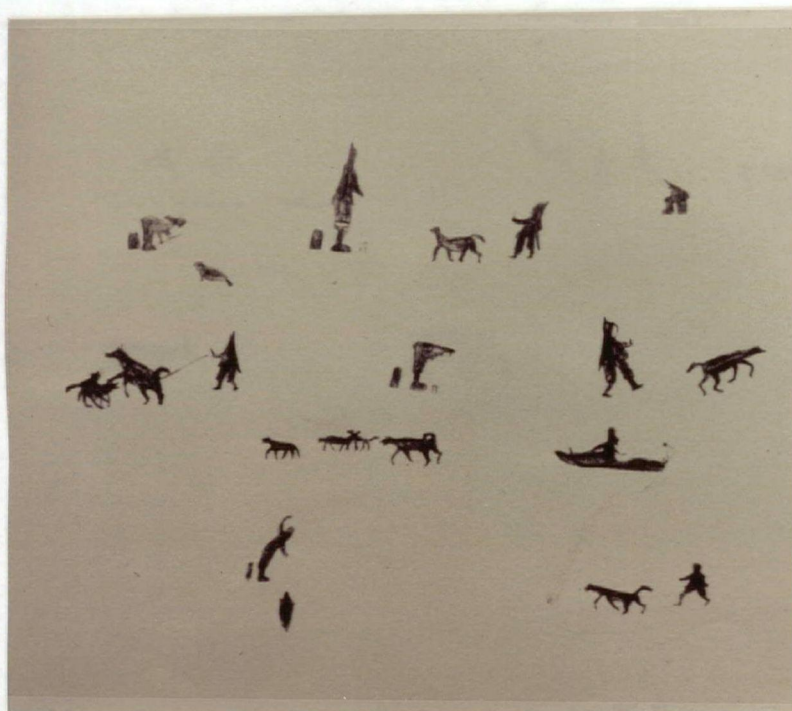


Figure 6. Drawing by Enooesweetok of the Sikosilingmint Tribe, Fox Land, Baffin Island. Collected by Robert Flaherty. Source: Carpenter, 1973, p. 169.

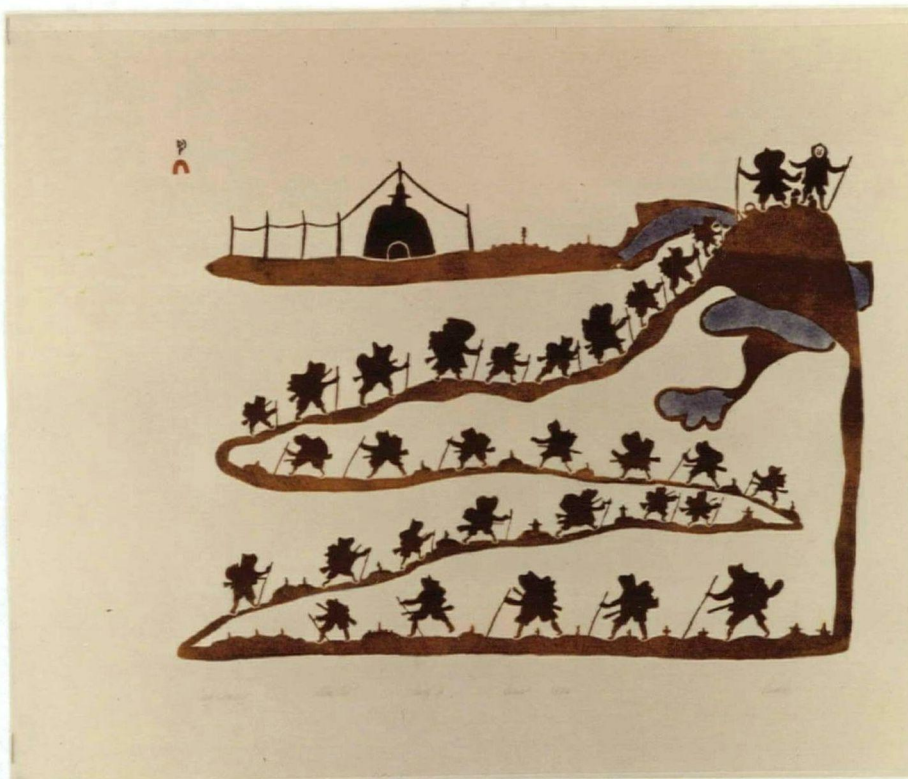


Figure 7. Long Journey. #36-1974. Stonecut.

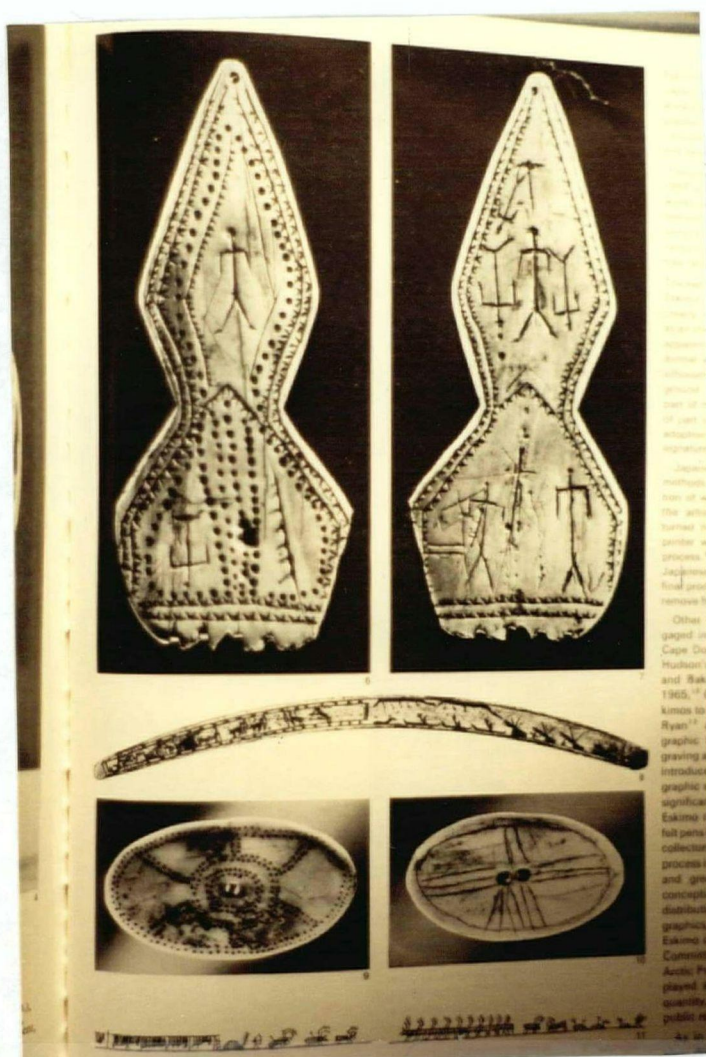


Figure 8. Middle: Bow for bow drill, Thule culture, near Arctic Bay, ivory, 16 7/10" long. Collection: National Museum of Man, Ottawa. Source: Vastokas, 1971/72, p. 71.



Figure 9. Tudlik (Loon). #38-1974. Stonecut.

Figure 10. Fish Lake. #37-1966. Stonecut.

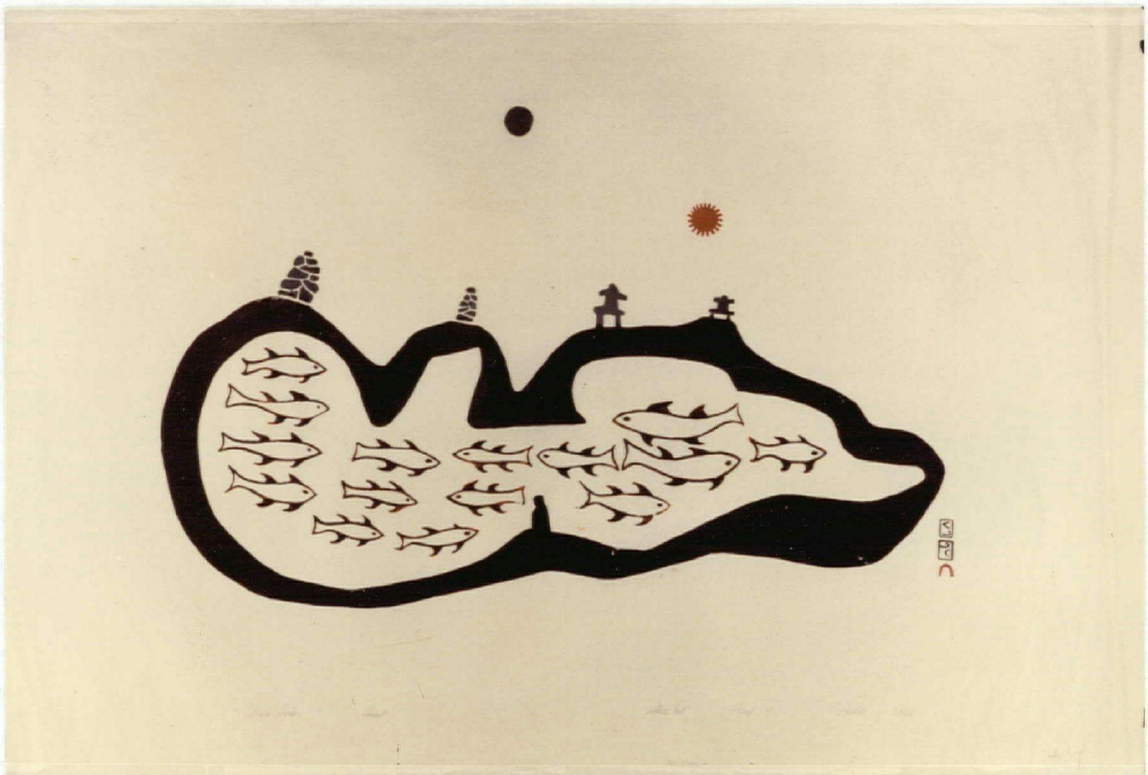




Figure 11. Arctic Waterfall. #15-1976. Stonecut and Stencil.

Figure 12. Spring Landscape. #53-1977.
Stonecut and Stencil.



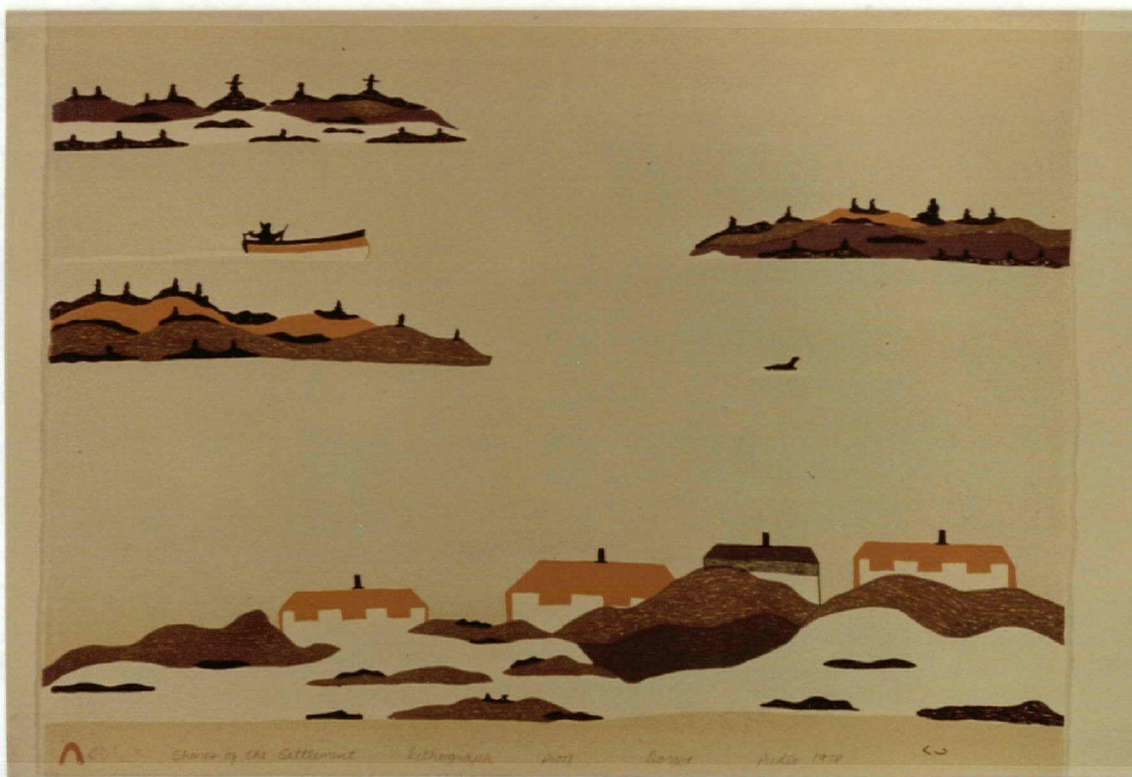
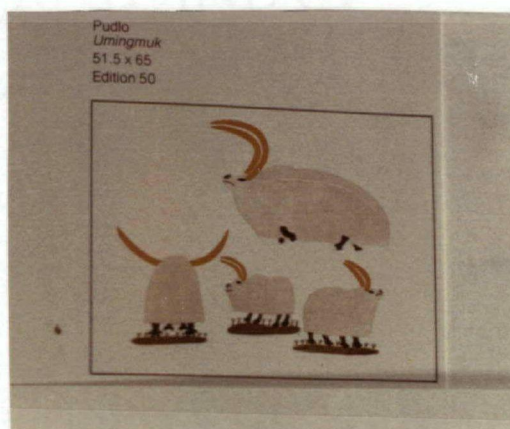


Figure 13. Shores of the Settlement. 1979-commission. Lithograph.

Figure 14. Uminguk (Musk-ox). 1978. Lithograph.



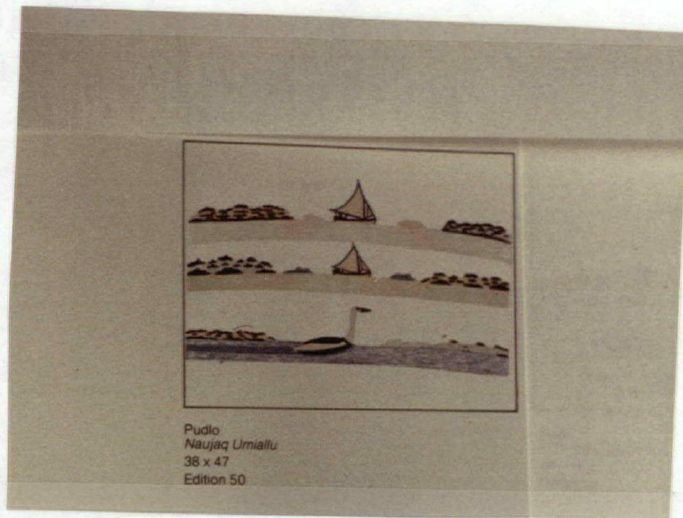


Figure 15. Naujaq Umiattu
(Seagull and Boats). 1978.
Lithograph.



Figure 16. Eagle Carrying Man.
#34-1963. Stonecut.



Figure 17. Spirits. #36-1966. Stonecut.

Figure 18. Perils of the Hunter. #38-1970. Stonecut.



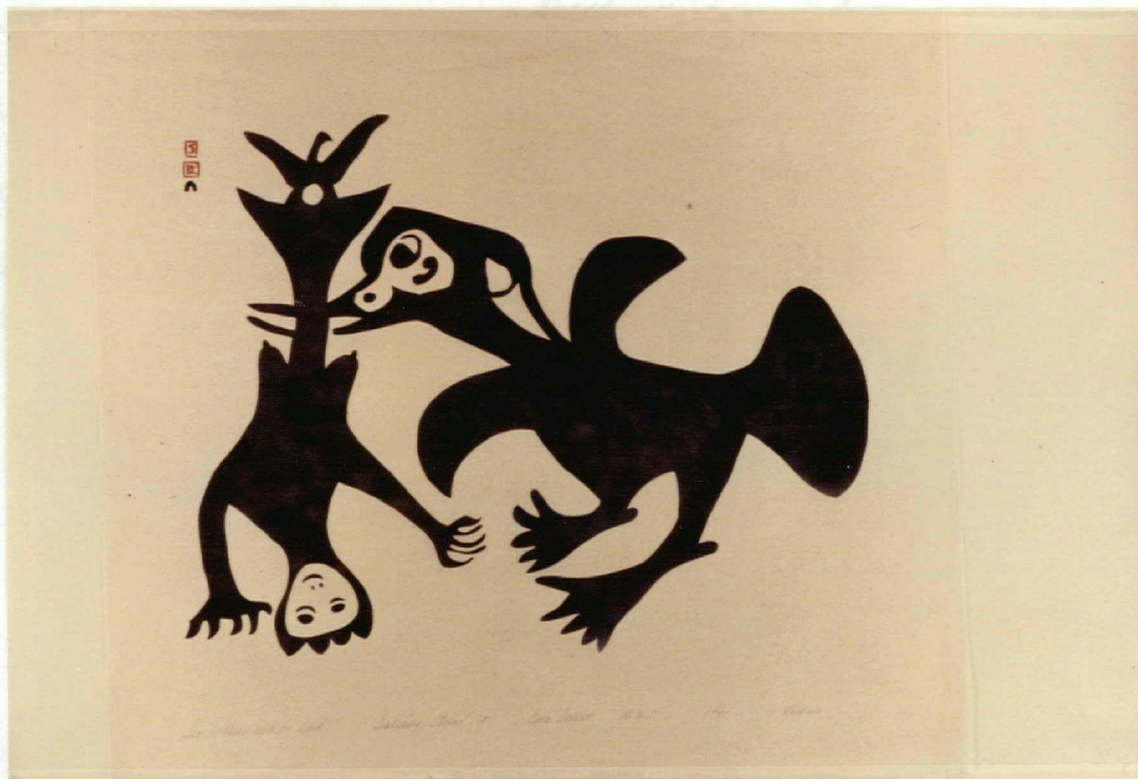


Figure 19. Sea Goddess Held by Bird. #21-1961. Stencil.

Figure 20. Sedna. #24-1976. Stonecut.



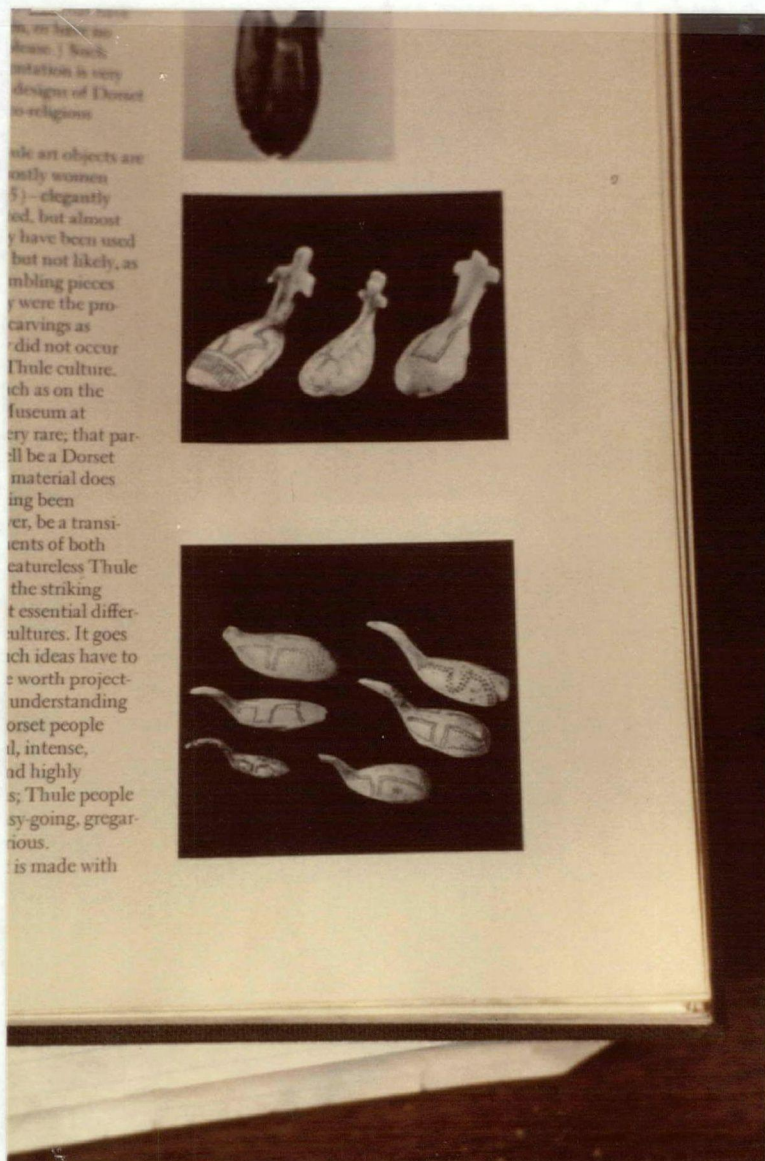


Figure 21. Middle: Female figurines. Igloolik area Thule Culture. Ivory, length $1\frac{1}{2}$ " to 2". Collection: Eskimo Museum, Churchill. Source: Swinton, 1972, p. 117. Bottom: Bird figurines. Igloolik area Thule Culture. Ivory, length $1\frac{1}{2}$ " to 2". Collection: Eskimo Museum, Churchill. Source: Swinton, 1972, p. 117.



Figure 22. Woman With Bird Image. #14-1961. Stonecut.

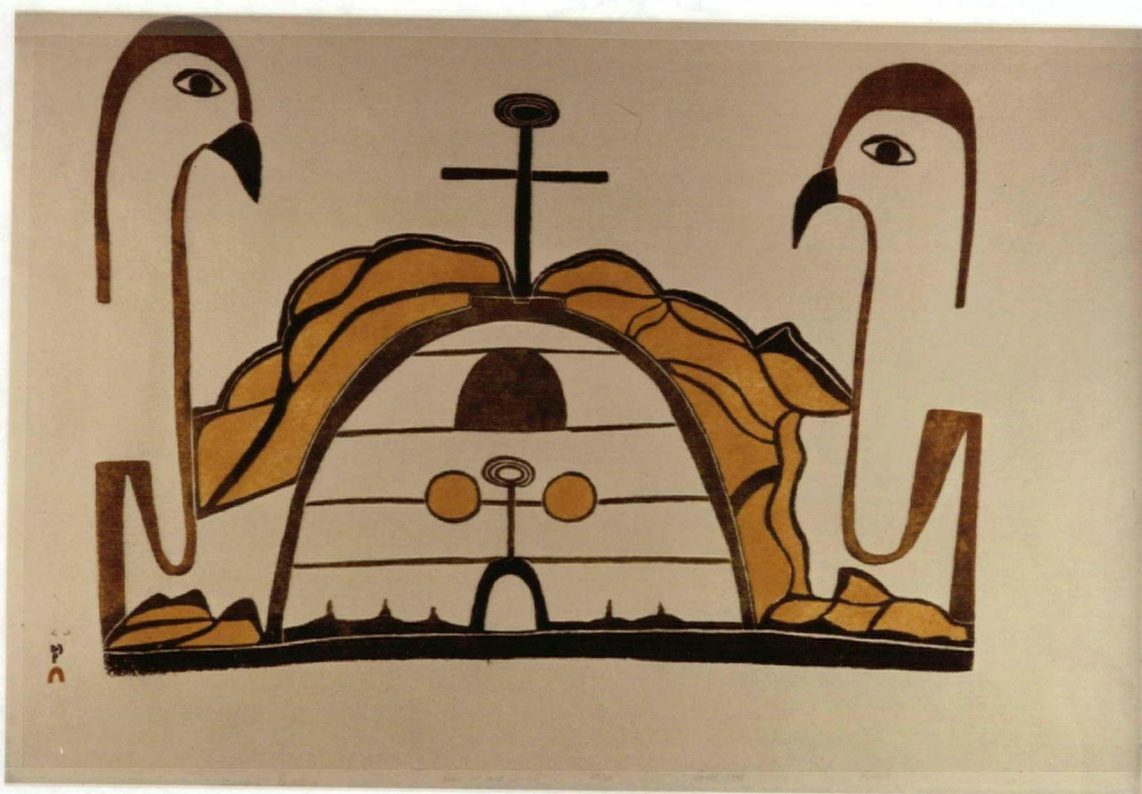


Figure 23. Shaman's Dwelling. #32-1975. Stonecut.

Figure 24. Two Loons at Sea. #52-1979. Stonecut and Stencil.



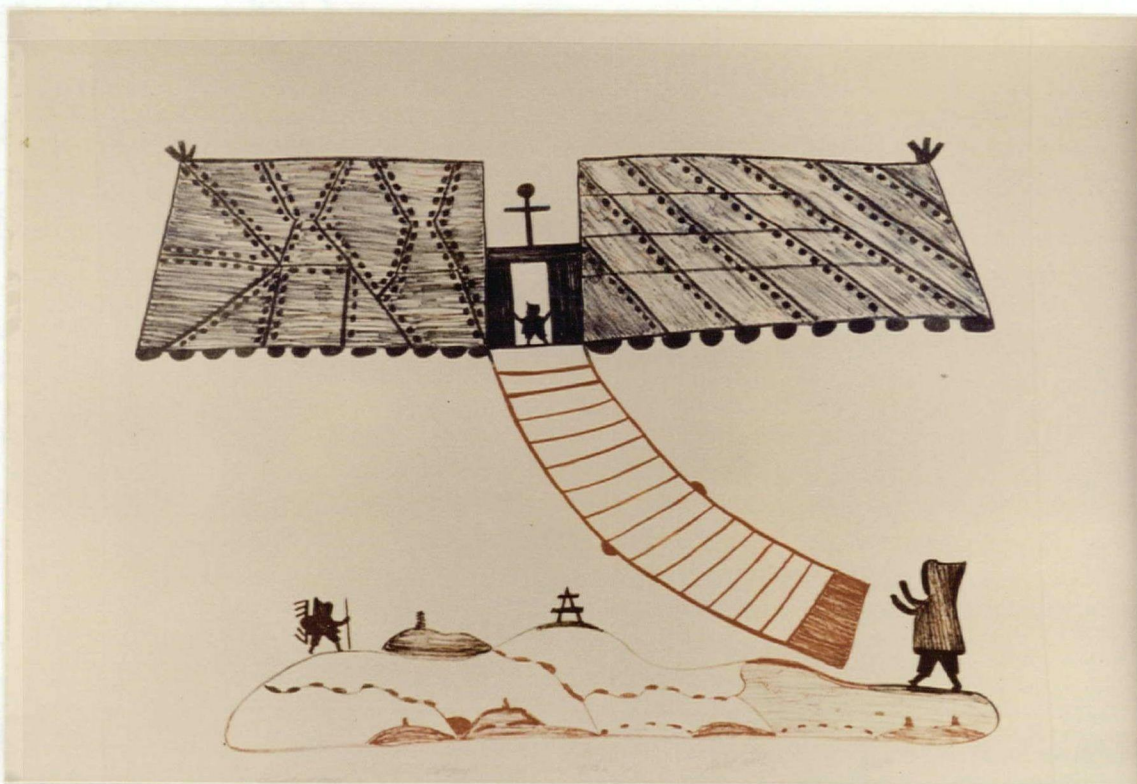


Figure 25. Thoughts of Home. #62-1975. Lithograph.

Figure 26. Large Loon and Landscape. #27-1981. Lithograph.

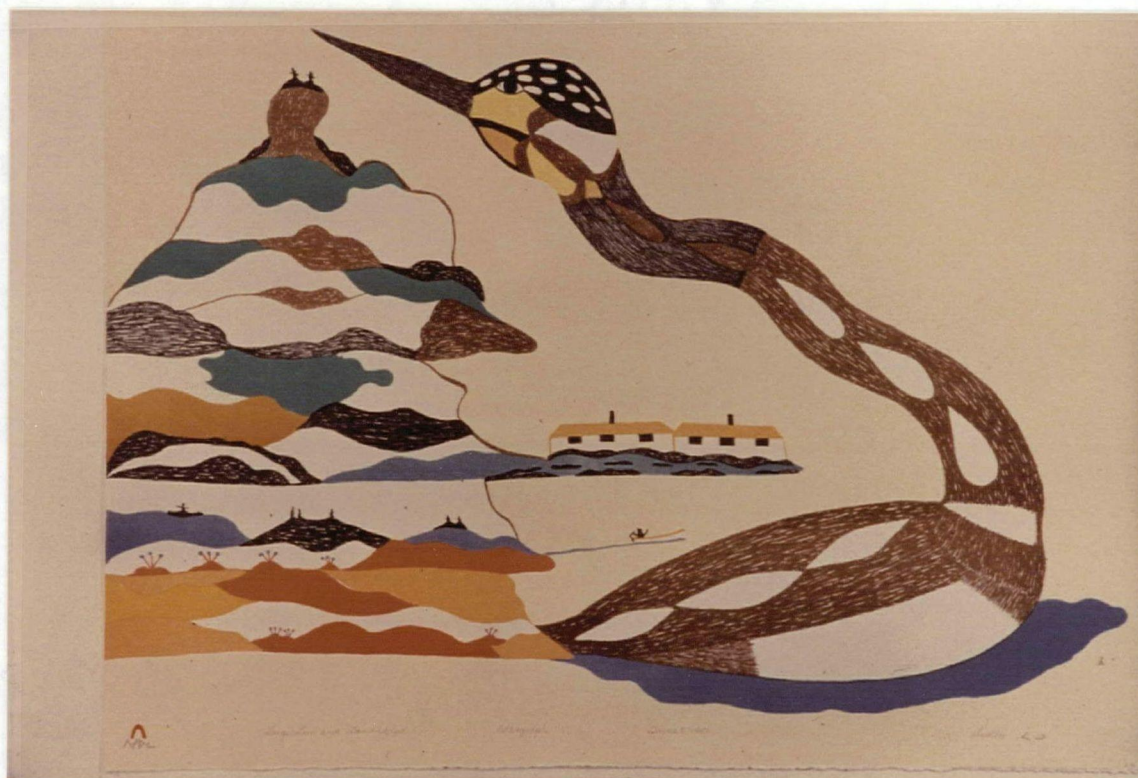




Figure 27. Metiq on Mallik (Duck on a Wave). #39-1983. Lithograph.

Figure 28. Vision of Two Worlds. #19-1983. Lithograph and Stencil.



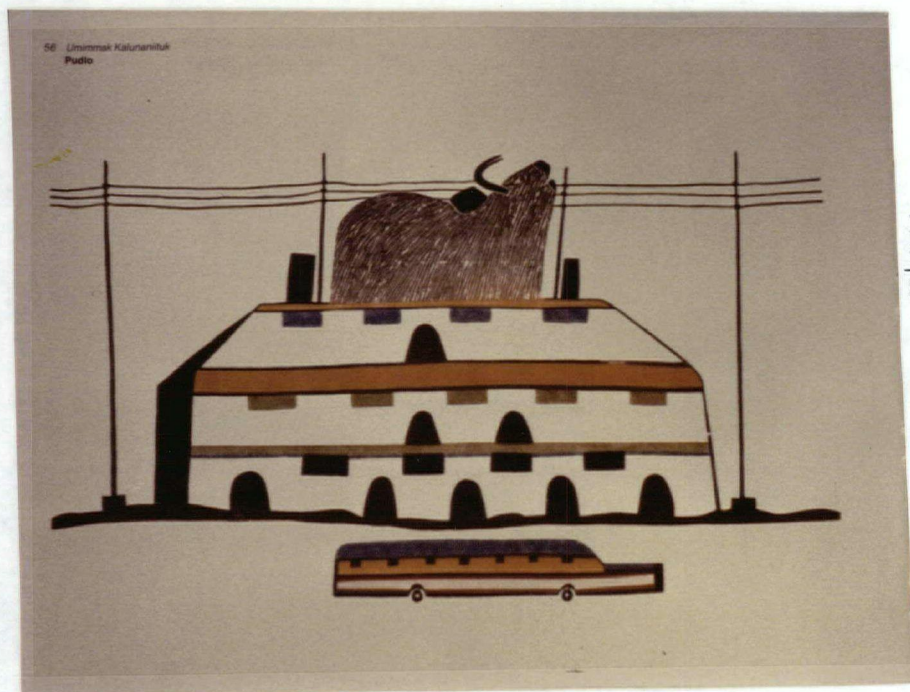


Figure 29. Musk-ox in the City. #56-1979.
Stonecut and Stencil.

Figure 30. Dream of Bear. #12-1976. Stonecut.





Figure 31. Bottom right: Landscape with Caribou. 1977. Lithograph.

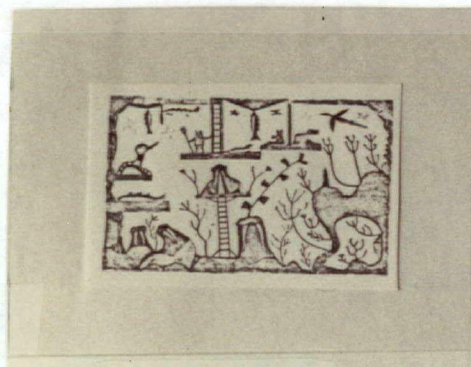


Figure 32. Timiat Nunamiut
(The Body of Land). 1976.
Lithograph. Habitat com-
mission. Source: Dorset,
1981, p. 73.



Figure 33. The Seasons. 1976.
Lithograph.