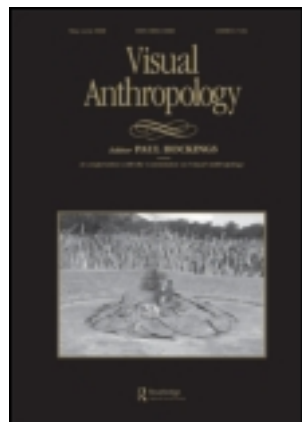


This article was downloaded by: [Siobhan Campbell]

On: 28 March 2014, At: 14:28

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Visual Anthropology: Published in cooperation with the Commission on Visual Anthropology

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/gvan20>

Anthony Forge in Bali: The Making of a Museum Collection

Siobhan Campbell

Published online: 28 Mar 2014.

To cite this article: Siobhan Campbell (2014) Anthony Forge in Bali: The Making of a Museum Collection, *Visual Anthropology: Published in cooperation with the Commission on Visual Anthropology*, 27:3, 248-275

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/08949468.2014.880021>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Anthony Forge in Bali: The Making of a Museum Collection

Siobhan Campbell

This article analyzes the formation of the Forge Collection of Balinese Art at the Australian Museum, Sydney, in the context of Anthony Forge's career as a visual anthropologist. His collection was made at the time of a paradigm change in attitudes toward "traditional" art, in which some scholars were discarding the old paradigms of authenticity and where much-used categories such as "primitive" and "tribal" art were being challenged by the acknowledgment that works placed in that category had long histories of articulation and that their present practitioners were as contemporary as any working in Western contexts. The article is presented in a loosely chronological manner, tracing the role that collecting played in Forge's academic life. Arguing that this collection is his main contribution to the study of Balinese art, it focuses on his fieldwork in Bali to explain how and why the museum collection came into being.

COLLECTING IN BALI AND NEW GUINEA

The Forge Collection of Balinese Art at the Australian Museum in Sydney consists of over 160 paintings acquired by the late anthropologist Anthony Forge (1929–91) in the 1970s. Most of them come from Kamasan village in East Bali, home to a classical painting tradition. The Australian Museum's collection is the largest public collection of Kamasan art sourced from a single collector outside Bali. The works include old paintings from village temples and contemporary art made by living artists. Besides being the largest overseas collection, it contains extensive written and visual documentation of Kamasan as a village, painting practice, key artists, the provenance of works, and the narratives that inform paintings.

Forge understood that Kamasan art was a form of communication bound up with the telling of stories, and his reliance on living artists to explain the narratives they were painting was ground-breaking. It was a major departure from the approach of earlier scholars of this art, largely schooled in philology, who had considered Balinese painting a degenerate form of narrative representation and dismissed paintings as deviations from "correct" and standard versions of stories. Although Forge acknowledged that some painted stories were closely linked

SIOBHAN CAMPBELL recently completed her Ph.D. thesis at the University of Sydney, and is an affiliated Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the International Institute of Asian Studies in Leiden, The Netherlands. E-mail: icam5333@uni.sydney.edu.au

to textual versions, he stressed that oral versions of stories and myths diverged from written ones.

His approach to studying Balinese art was a product of earlier engagements with New Guinean art and the emerging field of visual anthropology. As a student at Cambridge from 1950, Forge was interested in the Gregory Bateson collection housed at the Haddon Museum (now known as the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology; Tambiah [2002: 318]), which includes over 800 objects Bateson had brought from New Guinea and Bali. Although Forge and Gregory Bateson may not have actually met during this period, it is likely that this encounter through the museum collection planted the seeds of Forge's interest in New Guinea. The Bateson Collection was certainly an ongoing interest, as Forge later photographed several of the Bateson objects for the Museum of Primitive Art in New York and argued that Bateson's analysis of the Iatmul had been "ignored" by other scholars of New Guinea exchange systems [Forge 1972a: 539].¹

Forge then enrolled as a Research Student in Anthropology at the London School of Economics in 1957, as a student of Sir Raymond Firth, who supported Forge's plan to make art the major focus of his fieldwork. Forge conducted fieldwork amongst the Northern and Eastern Abelam of the Sepik region, believed to be "the last of the lowland rich cultures in the Australian half of New Guinea who practised their traditional art for the traditional reasons" [Forge 1972b: 258]. During 1958–59 he assembled a significant personal collection, including cassowary bone daggers, shell bride-pieces, tortoiseshell armbands, spear finials and masks. He also collected for museum institutions, especially because his fieldwork coincided with a collecting expedition by the Museum of Ethnology in Basel led by Alfred Bühler [Gardi 1960]. Bühler returned to the Sepik in 1959 and the pair of men went on a collecting expedition, acquiring the carved Kamanggabi figures and Yipwon hooks now in the Basel collection. Forge collected for Basel during his second fieldwork trip as well, and acquired the facade of a ceremonial house [Smidt and McGuigan 1993: 125]. He also collected a carved wooden house post for the British Museum, and bone daggers, masks and carvings now in the Jolika Collection of New Guinean Art in San Francisco [Friede 2005].

In addition to collecting extant objects of material culture Forge engaged directly with artists and commissioned some to paint the designs they used for house facades onto rectangular sheets of grey paper. There were precedents here in the practice of the Australian collector Charles P. Mountford, who collected hundreds of drawings on paper after giving cardboard and crayons to Aboriginal people [May 2008: 449]. The Abelam works on paper were then lent to the Museum of Primitive Art in New York as part of the exhibition "Three Regions of Melanesian Art" in 1960. Forge provided photos for the catalog [Forge 1960], and the Kamanggabi figures collected with Bühler were exhibited along with nine silk-screen prints made from the Abelam paintings. The New York exhibition exposed Forge to the logistics of museum exhibitions and display. From this early stage in his career he realized how his fieldwork could be presented in spaces other than academic lectures. During a second trip to New Guinea in 1962, he embarked on a more ambitious commission project, resulting in 363 works on paper by 22 artists. He took sequential photographs to document the paintings in progress and made sketches and notes in his field diaries.²

Forge's writing about Abelam art was part of theoretical debates occupying both anthropologists and art historians seeking ways to analyze indigenous art systems, or "primitive" art, as it was referred to at the time. Shelly Errington [1998: 67] labeled this period the "golden age of primitive art's legitimacy," characterized by an increasing number of books and articles on the subject, and appointment of primitive art specialists in art history departments, the establishment of postgraduate programs, and departments and curatorial positions in major museums. Forge made an important contribution to this field as an organizer of the conference "Primitive Art and Society" in 1967.³ He chaired lively debates between the various participants, explaining that a broad theoretical shift was taking place from models based on linguistic or language-like systems to notions of art as a symbolic system [Forge 1973a: x].

In this context he presented one of his most distinguished papers, "Style and Meaning in Sepik Art." He outlined elements of ceremonial house design and carved objects that the Abelam considered powerful, explaining that effective designs are related to the size of the yams grown by the users of those designs. There were parallels between designs said by the Abelam to be powerful and the ones that Forge thought were the most accomplished, from an aesthetic perspective. These designs communicated to the Abelam, "not as an illustration of some spoken text" [1973b: 189]; rather the system operated "because it is not verbalized and probably not verbalizable, it communicates only to those socialized to receive it" [*ibid.*: 191]. The notion that art communicated things that could not be talked about was central to Forge's understanding of Abelam art,

I regard the information as to the meaning of art objects available from the culture itself, in direct verbal terms, as virtually no information at all. Should we then pack up the objects, take them home, and admire their aesthetic qualities and perhaps, after a good dinner, speculate about what they convey in terms of whatever set of doubtful human universals we may individually affect? I think not. I think we can do better than just recording names and leaving it at that. [Forge 1979: 280]

There is little doubt that this methodological challenge informed the theoretic frameworks he developed. Collecting art can also be understood as a means to elicit the exegesis unobtainable verbally.⁴

There is a further link between Forge's move from New Guinea to Bali because in "some implicit way, Anthony Forge seems to have chosen Gregory Bateson as his mentor" [Fox 1993: 292]. Bateson's earlier analysis of Balinese society had a direct bearing on Forge's decision to do fieldwork in Bali. The Bateson and Mead photography and film project, resulting in the publication of *Balinese Character* [1942], is still regarded as a pioneering work in visual anthropology. Despite problems with their methodology and analysis, theirs was "one of the few fully realised photographic ethnographies" [Ruby 2000: 53]. In his grant proposal for fieldwork funding Forge referred to their assertions about the Balinese suppression of aggression in daily life; a theory that the Balinese were generally restrained and yet liable to outbreaks of violence.⁵ Forge argued that these hypotheses needed to be reviewed in the light of recent changes affecting Balinese society, a reference to the aftermath of the 1965 mass killings of suspected communists.⁶

In addition to reviewing the Bateson and Mead hypotheses, Forge emphasized his interest in art as a system of non-verbal communication. He stated that hierarchy in Bali was richly expressed in all the arts, as well as in linguistic forms, etiquette and rules of behavior. He pointed out that previous research on Balinese arts was based on the religious and social ideas of the aristocratic classes, while the oral traditions of the commoners, some 95 percent of the population, had scarcely been recorded. Forge wanted to compare the model he had developed in an unstratified society to a highly stratified society, to see whether Balinese visual art “operated as a closed and partly independent system of communication,” as he had argued for the Abalam [1973b: 177].

The other factor that disposed Forge to Bali as a fieldwork site was his family circumstances. He had been unmarried during his earlier fieldwork in New Guinea; but now he was accompanied by fellow anthropologist Jane Hubert and their two young children. Bali was considered an easier place to do fieldwork as a family, and their presence had implications for his research. Forge [1978a: 4] acknowledged that they “opened doors for their husband and father that otherwise would have remained obstinately shut,” while he also had the benefit of Jane’s assistance to photograph, film and record in the field.

The family arrived in Bali in late August 1972 and spent the first two months considering fieldwork locations and arranging the necessary research permits. They stayed in the coastal resort area of Sanur, at that time the most popular tourist destination in Bali, with several major hotels including the Hotel Bali Beach, the first high-rise structure on the island. With a new Land Rover (bought from a fellow anthropologist, Mark Hobart) the family drove around the districts of Gianyar and Klungkung looking at some potential villages. The strength of the painting tradition persuaded Forge that Kamasan was the best choice, and so the family took up residence there in late October 1972.

Kamasan art belongs to a tradition associated with the ruling dynasty of Bali, based in the district of Klungkung [Vickers 2012]. From the late 15th or early 16th century a dynasty established by the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Majapahit ruled over the whole of Bali from the palace in Gelgel. This period is widely perceived as a “golden age” when Bali was united under one ruler, until the fall of Gelgel around the late 17th or early 18th century. The throne was reclaimed in around 1686 and the dynasty re-established by Dewa Agung Jambe. The artists of Kamasan were members of the commoner caste (*jaba*) working in service to these Klungkung rulers. The village is divided into wards (*banjar*), reflecting the specialized services once provided by artisans to the court, including goldsmiths (*pande mas*), smiths (*pande*) and painters (*sangging*). Although the art now associated with Kamasan continues to be produced by small numbers of artists in other Balinese villages, Kamasan is however the only village where this style predominates [Figure 1].

The art is often called *wayang* painting in reference to its shared roots with the shadow-puppet (*wayang*) theater. Artists use the same term for the figures (*wayang*) they paint, which are depicted in almost the same manner as flat Balinese shadow-puppets except in three-quarter view. The term “narrative art” also describes Kamasan paintings, because they depict versions of stories and myths found in written, oral and performance genres. Other terms including



Figure 1 Ramayana. (Forge Collection E074168; photo by Emma Furno; © Australian Museum. Reproduced by permission of the Australian Museum. Permission to reuse must be obtained from the rightsholder. Color figure available online.)



Figure 2 Anthony Forge at Pura Bale Batur, 1973. (Photo by Jane Forge; © Australian Museum. Reproduced by permission of the Australian Museum. Permission to reuse must be obtained from the rightsholder.)

“temple art,” “traditional art” and “classical art” are also applied to Kamasan painting. In the 1970s Forge [1978a: 3] referred to the art produced in Kamasan as “traditional” in the sense that it was not part of the “new” or “modern” art that developed in other villages from the 1930s. Since then, this terminology has shifted: “traditional” now refers to all manner of painting styles, often including what was considered “modern” in the 1970s. Although artists in Kamasan have no standard description for their art they do tend to include the name of the village as a referent, thus referring to their paintings as “Kamasan painting” (*lukisan Kamasan*) and “Kamasan style” (*gaya Kamasan*) [Figure 2].

ENTERING THE FIELD

In Kamasan the village head (*perbekel*) arranged for Forge to rent a house belonging to his brother, Ida Bagus Parwata. In comparison to other Balinese villages, the Brahmana residents of Kamasan are atypical because they reside in their own ward (*banjar*). Consequently Anthony Forge found himself residing amongst high-caste families in Banjar Geria, a somewhat incongruous fate for an anthropologist interested in the art of commoners. Ida Bagus Parwata nominated his third son, a recent high-school graduate, as research assistant and interpreter. Forge had 18-year-old Ni Wayan Sungkrig help with domestic duties; she was the eldest daughter of the artist Mangku Mura, whose house was some 50 meters away. He also employed a driver from Klungkung with no specific ties to Kamasan. Anthony and Jane Forge had language lessons with Made Kanta, a

civil servant and cultural expert from Klungkung, whose family had served as ministers (*patih*) to the Dewa Agung. Not only did Forge have to learn Indonesian and Balinese; having 19-year-old Ida Bagus Purnama Wijana as research assistant meant that his informants had to speak in high Balinese during interviews, creating a certain barrier between Forge and his commoner collaborators, who would not always speak freely in the presence of Ida Bagus Purnama [Figure 3].

The collecting process unfurled along with the other day-to-day experiences of fieldwork. Buying art began immediately after arrival in the village, but Forge's diary recorded a marked increase in purchases and commissions from around May 1973. This suggests that as he approached the end of fieldwork he was becoming committed to the idea of a collection. The field diary, covering his entire stay in Kamasan, noted the minutiae of daily life: it contains brief notes about meetings with artists, purchases of paintings, village ceremonies, performances, as well as comments on the ongoing cycle of car troubles, health problems, and visits from colleagues. Without the benefit of retrospection, the diary is a valuable and unadulterated account of the Forge Collection in process, describing unexpected and spontaneous purchases as well as more considered commissions. Yet the



(A)



(B)

Figure 3 (A) Ida Bagus Purnama Wijana and the Land Rover, 1973; (B) Ni Wayan Sungkring outside the Forge house, 1973. (Both photos by Anthony Forge; © Australian Museum. Reproduced by permission of the Australian Museum. Permission to reuse must be obtained from the rightsholder.)

emerging collection is never referred to; the words “collection” or “collecting” do not appear in any diary entry. It may not have been until he packed up the house in Kamasan and prepared to ship the paintings overseas that Forge took stock of what he had acquired and began to envisage it as a collection.

It is also clear from his research proposal to the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation that collecting art was not formally a part of the Bali research agenda. Perhaps it was not pertinent to mention “collecting” in a research proposal. With no museum institution on hand to sponsor a field acquisition project, the Forge Collection developed rather informally without preordained guidelines about what was to be collected or projections about what the eventual collection might be. In the Foreword to the Australian Museum catalog Forge subsequently described the evolution of his collection. One passage is worth quoting in full:

While living in the village of Kamasan I discovered that apart from the old and new paintings offered for sale in shops, there was a trade in replacement paintings. Temples would commission new paintings from Kamasan artists and offer old paintings in exchange. Depending on the age, quality and condition of the old paintings, they would be accepted as part of the price, the whole price or, in a few cases, the artists would offer a new painting plus some money for the old one. The old paintings were then offered by the artists to a very few specialist shops, or to known individual collectors (a famous Australian artist living in Sanur has a superb collection).⁷ By and large, old paintings were not available to the tourist market. I saw many paintings passing through Kamasan and related networks in Klungkung, and realised that important potential documentation of stylistic and iconographic change over time, and of artist's styles, was available. However, I also saw that apart from photography (and I photographed many paintings that I did not buy), the only way to record the past tradition of Balinese painting was to make a collection, and to tap the knowledge present in the community of Kamasan artists to document it. [1978a: 3]

The passage is a straightforward statement of how fieldwork progressed, establishing criteria germane to the collecting project. Forge's intention was to include the widest possible variety of styles, qualities and ages. This explains why some paintings were in poor condition and why he collected paintings that he did not consider aesthetically pleasing or of particularly good quality. Forge also alluded to the limitations of his collecting when he talked of the paintings he photographed but did not buy. The passage also established that the art used in temples and on ritual occasions was commercial, in that temple paintings were sold for money. There was no wholesale plundering of temple collections; rather temples in need of funds for repairs or to stage ceremonies made paintings available for sale. Many temples with large collections of old paintings did not sell their paintings even though Forge visited frequently to document their collections, while other paintings were beyond his means financially.

BUYING AND DOCUMENTING

With no specific budget to buy art, Forge relied on the frustratingly sporadic telegraphic transfers of fieldwork money sent by the LSE and the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation. During his first months in Bali he even depended on small loans from foreign and Balinese colleagues to purchase basic items. Despite

this unreliable cash flow Forge engaged with art dealers from the start. Although there is no comprehensive listing of the purchase price of each painting, he intermittently referred to the prices paid for some items, as well as the asking prices of paintings he found too expensive. Only a few paintings in the Forge Collection can be matched specifically to the details recorded in his diary, yet these details provide a rough idea of local monetary values. Old paintings were almost always more expensive than new ones, and the prices of contemporary work increased in line with seniority.

Despite the growing tourism industry, the early 1970s brought economic hardship for many Balinese. Agricultural production was unstable due to the introduction of new rice varieties, and areas around Klungkung were still recovering from the destruction wrought by the eruption of Gunung Agung in 1963. Forge acknowledged village unease amidst rising prices, and in this context it is hardly surprising that his presence in the village prompted a vigorous trade in art.⁸ The poorest quality paintings could be purchased for “the equivalent of 30–50 cents” [Forge 1978a: 68]; but most paintings cost significantly more. For instance, Forge purchased a painting by Nyoman Mandra (b. 1946) for 5000 rupiah, the equivalent of US\$12 [E074187]. A new calendar (*palelintangan*) by Mangku Mura (1920–99) was 10,000 rupiah [E074232], an older calendar by Pan Seken (1894–1984) was 15,000 rupiah [E074230], and two *Calon Arang* ider-ider from the temple Pura Dalem Bugbugan [Figure 4] were each 30,000 rupiah [E074213, E074214]. One of the most expensive paintings Forge bought was the old *Jaratkaru* painting from Pan Soka (Wayan Keeg) for 60,000 rupiah [E074161].

As soon as it was seen that Forge was interested in paintings and old wares he attracted a regular stream of callers. They usually waited outside the house in the early morning or called by in the evening. Some were established traders; the majority however were local female residents, acting as agents for the owners of paintings or temple communities. Sometimes Forge purchased on the spot, but in many instances negotiations extended over several days. Sometimes the same painting was even presented for sale by different sellers if the first round of negotiations broke down. His first field diary entry, in which he grumbled about a pestilent seller, set the tone for these visits. Forge developed a rapport with several regular vendors, yet he always proclaimed that their unrelenting visits were a nuisance and a distraction. Although apparently frustrated by their antics, he found purchasing paintings from sellers easier than the protracted negotiations involved when buying paintings directly from artists.

In the context of visiting the compounds of artists to interview and document their practice, Forge bought existing works and commissioned new paintings. Several artists also sold him old works by deceased relatives or acted as intermediaries in the sale of temple paintings. Having to negotiate prices with artists was awkward because they were also his primary collaborators, and therefore more directly implicated in the research project. Consequently the prices paid for some old paintings were high because Forge did not feel he could negotiate as he did with sellers who came to the house. This was clearly the case when Pan and Men Soka offered Forge the brilliant but expensive *Jaratkaru*, mentioned above. Forge wrote “I shudder at the price, I wasn’t going to haggle but it seems steep,” and said that the couple intended to use the proceeds toward a motorbike for their



Figure 4 Calon Arang (scene one) from Pura Dalem Bugbugan, early 20th century ider-ider. (Forge Collection E074213; photo by Emma Furno; © Australian Museum. Reproduced by permission of the Australian Museum. Permission to reuse must be obtained from the rightsholder. Color figure available online.)

son [Field Diary, May 21, 1973]. On other occasions Forge had difficulties because artists were reluctant to put a cash figure on their work; they expected him to make suitable compensation. After paying Mangku Mura for one painting, Forge noted, it is "difficult to tell if he is pleased or not" [*ibid.* June 14, 1973]. He also took the value of artists as collaborators into account when negotiating the purchase price. As he considered whether or not to buy a painting from Pan Seken, he declared, "I will certainly buy if he turns in another tape session and it is up to his usual quality" [*ibid.* September 7, 1973]. The latter comment emphasized that paintings tendered for sale by artists had a higher value because they came with contextual information.

Between them the female vendors and artists sourced most of the old paintings from temples around the village. The other paintings came from art shops on the main street of Klungkung, operated by the same families since the 1930s. Forge dropped in frequently to survey their wares and always took foreign visitors there. On occasion he borrowed paintings from the art shops to photograph, or showed them to artists to replicate. He described one old calendar as a "poor and careless piece," yet purchased it because it was of "considerable historical interest" as it showed Chinese sailors in boats [1978a: 65, E074228]. The art shops were the source of several old paintings not produced in Kamasan, for they had extensive networks in the circulation and trade of antiquities from around Bali and beyond.

Cameras and recording equipment were important tools in the investigation. Forge had two still cameras, one for color film and another for black-and-white, a Bolex 16 mm cine camera, and a Nagra audio recorder. A distinction is made in visual anthropology between those who study visual systems and the use of visual material as a medium of inquiry [Morphy and Banks 1997: 2]. While clearly in the first category, Forge's work also fits the second because the photos and recordings he made in Kamasan were part of the field investigation. He used this equipment to compensate for setbacks he experienced in language acquisition; for instance, he made audio recordings of artists talking and had the research assistant Ida Bagus Wijana Purnama prepare transcripts.

Forge also got the help of artists by showing them photos and asking them to identify stories [Figure 5]. Permission was needed to document photos in temples, but could normally be arranged by making a contribution to the temple funds (*dana punia*). Forge also negotiated permission to photograph paintings once they had been taken down at the conclusion of ceremonies. Using photos in the field was a considerable expense because the film had to be delivered to a photographic studio in Denpasar or sent to Australia for processing. Jane Forge used one of the still cameras during temple ceremonies or was enlisted to record music [Figure 6]. The cine camera could not be operated alone and was a challenge at the best of times; it was constantly plagued by light-meter problems or chewed through meters of precious film.

The surviving film footage is a cremation ceremony filmed in Jumpai, a coastal village not far from Kamasan. The footage later became the film *Ngarap: Fighting over a Corpse*, made in collaboration with the filmmaker Patsy Asch.⁹ It combined Forge's footage from Jumpai with stills of paintings from the Forge Collection, as well as film shot by Bateson and Mead in 1937. The title of the film refers to a ritualized fight (*ngarap*) that takes place as relatives of the deceased carry the body from



Figure 5 Pan Seken describing a painting, 1973. (Photo by Anthony Forge; © Australian Museum. Reproduced by permission of the Australian Museum. Permission to reuse must be obtained from the rightsholder.)

the family compound to the cremation tower [Connor 1979]. Forge [1978b: 239] described it as a short period of violent release from the “strain of continual refinement” and an expression of aggression with no other outlet in day-to-day life.

The film is further evidence of Forge’s interest in non-verbal acts of communication; as the preoccupations of Kamasan artists with status rivalry were realized in other social forms. The integration of this visual material emphasized parallels between the cremation ritual, the success of which depends on the staging of an elaborate procession, and the painted narratives of Kamasan art. In staging the elaborate cremation the family of a wealthy commoner woman was making statements about their social position and the established hierarchy of caste, in the same way that artists manipulate the narrative content and compositional structure of paintings to the same effect. However, the documentation Forge made in



Figure 6 Jane Forge with recording equipment, 1973. (Photo by Anthony Forge; © Australian Museum. Reproduced by permission of the Australian Museum. Permission to reuse must be obtained from the rightsholder.)

Kamasan also had a more pragmatic function: it was a determining factor in the Australian Museum's decision to acquire his collection.

BECOMING A COLLECTION

A major career development took place in the midst of Kamasan fieldwork when Forge was offered the chair of the newly established Department of Prehistory and Anthropology at the Australian National University. On completing fieldwork in September 1973 he returned temporarily to London, then moved to Australia early in 1974. Although the demands of the new position hampered meaningful analysis of the material from Kamasan, his relocation explains how the paintings found their way to the Australian Museum in Sydney.

Forge held strong views that ethnographic art belonged in art galleries, and as he was based in Canberra he first offered his collection to the National Gallery of Australia. During the time spent in Canberra he actively pushed for the inclusion of more indigenous art at the National Gallery, as a member of the "primitive" art collection advisory committee [Philp 2007: n.28], and was involved in the development of the textile collection. The Gallery however was reportedly only interested in acquiring the best pieces from Bali and would not commit to the whole collection.¹⁰ Some years later Forge wrote a scathing assessment of the National Gallery's collecting policy for Asian art, arguing that if Australia was to take the art of Southeast Asia seriously the Gallery needed to change "not only

our purchasing policies, but also the categories with which we think about that art'' [1984: 61].

Forge believed it was imperative to keep his collection together, so during 1975 he approached the Australian Museum in Sydney, offering his collection of a hundred Balinese paintings for sale. At the time, the Australian Museum collection of Balinese art consisted of a single painting.¹¹ Museum interest in the collection was partly related to rising interest amongst the Australian public in Southeast Asia, in the midst of the Vietnam War and other regional conflicts. The Museum argued that the acquisition was a unique opportunity to develop the Indonesian holdings, considered meager in comparison with collections from the Pacific and indigenous Australia. Secondly, the collection came with a great deal of documentation. Purchasing the collection was a significant commitment as the asking price, AU\$25,000, was well above the annual acquisition budget allocated to the Anthropology Department. The Museum negotiated to pay Forge in instalments over a three-year period.

Their decision is also a measure of Forge's credibility and his conviction of the significance of his work. As mentioned, the documentation also bolstered the value of the collection. The monetary value of documentation is further underscored by the Australian Museum's acquisition of a collection of Aboriginal art from Papunya Tula in 1979; the sale price was considered very low because the paintings lacked appropriate documentation [Myers 2002: 158]. The promise of documentation compelled Forge to sort and analyze his data further. It became even more urgent, as both parties were keen to organize an exhibition of the paintings. In fact, discussions about the exhibition were part of the acquisition negotiations: Forge pressed the Museum to schedule a date, intimating that he could otherwise arrange an exhibition at a different venue. Naturally the Museum claimed first rights to exhibit the new collection, and by late 1977 had scheduled the inaugural exhibition for May 1978.

From the Museum's point of view, the most immediate and pertinent documentation was a listing of each painting with information about the artist, the narrative depicted, date of production and known provenance. Forge did his best to furnish this information, although it was impossible to describe every painting according to these criteria. Thus he undertook to continue research and consultation following the acquisition. A new visual anthropology project saw Forge return to Bali for a month in late December 1976 as the consultant anthropologist for the BBC television series "Face Values," a series of five episodes each focusing on a different culture, for which Forge [1978b] wrote a chapter in the accompanying book publication. In late 1977, during a visit to London, the Netherlands and the USA, he studied other collections of Balinese paintings in preparation for writing the exhibition catalog, and consulted with museums about the possibility of touring the upcoming exhibition overseas. In the Netherlands Forge spent time with Theodoor Paul Galestin, the Dutch scholar of Balinese art, whom he had met in 1975 when Galestin spent a semester as visiting professor at the University of Sydney. In this period Forge also consulted with the Museum regarding their collections from New Guinea, and gave a paper on Sepik art in August 1977 for the 150th Anniversary of the Museum.

About nine months after leaving Kamasan, Forge [1974] produced the first report of his findings for the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation. He established

his argument about Kamasan art being a “complex interplay of hierarchical and egalitarian principles” and emphasized the extent that hierarchy structured interpersonal behavior. Deference to hierarchy was expressed in many forms, including body posture and linguistic usage; he argued that although commoners appeared to accept the established hierarchy, their art often questioned it. The “tensions generated by these rival principles” were expressed in paintings through the choice of story or scene as well as in the formal arrangement of characters and objects within the pictorial space. Following this brief report Forge’s next writing project was the exhibition catalog [Forge 1978a], his major textual account of Kamasan art, in which he reiterated the above argument about the tension between outward deference and implicit subversion of hierarchy. However, for reasons discussed shortly, the resulting publication was not as academically rigorous as Forge had hoped. The catalog project did not encompass the scope of his theoretical argument but forced him to concentrate on stylistic and narrative descriptions of the paintings.

THE EXHIBITION: *BALINESE TRADITIONAL PAINTINGS*

The only public exhibition of the Forge Collection, was officially opened on May 15, 1978 by the Indonesian Deputy-Ambassador to Australia, Supari Tjokrosartomo; it ran for three months, and then toured to the National Gallery of Victoria in August 1978, and to Melville Hall at the Australian National University in December 1978 [Figure 7]. In total, 60 paintings from the collection were exhibited, along with photos and a selection of Balinese objects. The paintings were grouped according to narrative theme, and a detail from the *Ramayana* painting on bark-cloth [Figure 1], depicting the figure of Hanuman reaching for the sun, was used as the graphic theme of the exhibition. It appeared on the catalog cover, posters, invitations, and was painted onto the archway in the main entrance of the Museum. Rather than discuss the layout and display of the exhibition, it is more pertinent here to touch on tensions over issues of academic integrity and the challenges of making anthropology more accessible to the public.

Forge’s most important contribution to the exhibition was producing the catalog with the curator Zoe Wakelin-King.¹² Put bluntly, the catalog was the product of compromise on both sides; too academic for the Museum and not academic enough for the anthropologist. The Museum’s education department required that Forge explain the paintings for a reader with the text comprehension level of an eleven-year-old, stipulating short paragraphs and bold headings. Nevertheless the Museum argued throughout the production process that Forge’s text was too complex and had plans to simplify it if a second edition eventuated.¹³

The discord between Forge and the Museum rose to seemingly insurmountable levels as the exhibition date approached. Concerned that the publication would not be ready in time, the Museum contacted the Crown Solicitors seeking legal advice on their disagreements. Forge [1978a: 4] alluded to the furore in the catalog’s Acknowledgments, equating the process with the same tensions he identified in Kamasan art: “this catalogue might well be said to be the product of a dual opposition that I trust has been creative.” Frictions are also reflected in the subtitle of the catalog [p. 1] which read “Text from material by Anthony



Figure 7 The exhibition of the Forge Collection, Australian Museum, 1978. (Photo by Anthony Forge; © Australian Museum. Reproduced by permission of the Australian Museum. Permission to reuse must be obtained from the rightsholder.)

Forge.” Forge was offended by the latter inclusion: he thought it put his authorship in doubt, and made the museum promise to remove it from any subsequent editions.

The catalog debacle reveals the often-contradictory role of the expert in collaborative projects and the constraints on expertise in communicating information in a global context about particular cultures. The resulting 95-page catalog was the most comprehensive publication the Australian Museum had ever produced on its anthropological collections. While it was favorably reviewed by fellow scholars [Hobart 1980; Lansing 1980; Worsley 1980], all remarked on the potential for further analysis of the material. The strength of the publication is that it successfully conveyed the visual richness of Kamasan art, in that the paintings and text share equal space, a major point of difference with other books on Balinese art available at the time. The catalog also had implications for the reception of Forge’s fieldwork project in Kamasan, as will be discussed below.

COLLECTING FOR THE MUSEUM

Despite the gravity of tensions between Forge and the Museum in planning the exhibition, their relationship was not beyond repair. A year after the exhibition Forge

undertook a new collecting mission, getting a further 42 paintings for the Forge Collection in April–July 1979. These three months coincided with Eka Dasa Rudra, an island-wide cleansing ceremony held at Besakih, the paramount or “mother” temple located on the slopes of Gunung Agung. The performance of this extraordinary mass ritual attracted thousands of Balinese pilgrims daily [Stuart-Fox 2002: 321–344]. Almost the entire population of the island took part in the ceremonies, as well as scholars and other enthusiasts from far and wide. Forge spent part of this trip based in Kamasan, renting a room in Banjar Pande, the ward of metalsmiths.

This time collecting was circumscribed as compared with the situation six years earlier. Forge’s initial approach to the Australian Museum was made in an aerogram sent from Bali [April 22, 1979] in which he succinctly updated the museum on the situation in Kamasan,

The Kamasan scene is very interesting, there are many more good quality paintings being produced and the style has become more ornate with many carefully worked decorative touches. A decent market has developed for the better work and prices are very much higher. Our catalogue is in great demand and is used in the painters school run by Ny Mandra who with Manku Mura [*sic*] is the best artist. Manku Mura has also developed his style and done some very interesting paintings.

He then outlined a plan to acquire more paintings. Despite rather informal collecting arrangements, Forge still had to identify and budget for what he purchased before the Museum would agree to any funds. In this sense, his collecting was selective and had clearly-stated objectives. He wanted to acquire examples of narratives not already represented, expand the collection with examples of traditional painting from outside Kamasan, and update the contemporary work by getting new paintings from living Kamasan artists, in particular Nyoman Mandra and Mangku Mura. Finally, Forge concluded the letter by acknowledging the impact of his initial collecting project. He alluded to his personal involvement in the circulation of Kamasan art in stimulating the market for paintings and the impact of the catalog:

Incidentally people here say it was my research that got things going again, 2 small books in Indonesian have appeared, and the catalogue looks like giving another boost. Everyone wants to know where to get it, I presume you would accept orders... I have got a lot of extra information for you anyhow. If the museum wants out, they can send the collection back it would certainly fetch more than you paid for it here.

Within weeks of getting the aerogram the Museum Trust endorsed the proposal, noting the low cost per painting and that Forge was not making a profit from the venture. Although apparently enthusiastic to take up this offer, he was once again exasperated in his dealings with the Museum. This time their clashes related to delays in transferring the funds to Denpasar. By the time the money arrived Forge had already gone over the approved collecting budget by half. He wrote another letter on July 30, 1979, couched in the typically wry humor he favored in his dealings with the Museum,

I found that because of the recent total failure of the 'green revolution' rice in most of the Tabanan area of west Bali, there was widespread poverty and the threat of starvation. This situation made paintings for sale which normally would have been impossible to obtain. Although I knew little of the area or its paintings the opportunity seemed too good to miss — too good for the Museum not for the peasants — and I accordingly made a small collection of what was available. This area is unrepresented in previous collections, except for a superb painting on wood looted by the Dutch in 1906, now in Leiden.¹⁴

Forge bought 28 old paintings and 14 new ones. Not only does the price-list reveal how values were structured in this exchange, it emphasizes the extent to which Forge's work in Kamasan had a bearing on exchange values. Six of the twelve new paintings were by Mangku Mura, and Forge's preference for this work of Mangku Mura is reflected in the comparatively high prices he paid.¹⁵ The cheapest of the six Mangku Mura paintings was still double that of a painting by Pan Putera or Ni Wayan Rumiasih.

Forge was aware that his support of Mangku Mura was controversial; however his inherent capacity and willingness to talk about paintings made him an indispensable collaborator [Figure 8]. Underlying objections to Mangku Mura relate to his perceived position as an outsider. The artist lived in Banjar Siku, close to Forge, and was not born into a family of painting descent. It is reasonable to assume that Mangku Mura unsettled the theoretical premises that Forge had established in New Guinea about non-verbal communication. There is clearly a difference between narrating the content of a painting and explaining what it



Figure 8 The family of Mangku Mura looking at photographs, 1973. (Photo by Anthony Forge; © Australian Museum. Reproduced by permission of the Australian Museum. Permission to reuse must be obtained from the rightsholder.)

means; however Mangku Mura defied the image of the archetypal artist who does not speak. On the contrary, he demonstrated that successful Kamasan artists are good storytellers. Although all the paintings he produced for the Forge Collection embody the mutual preoccupations of both men, here space allows for mention of one salient example depicting the symbolism of hierarchy.

FINAL PIECES

Forge's research projects, to which I return briefly below, were cut short by his untimely death in 1991. Some years after that, his children Tom and Olivia donated fifteen paintings from his personal collection to the Australian Museum. Formally acquisitioned in 2005, these final pieces resulted in the amalgamation of his personal and professional collections. Six of the paintings were by Mangku Mura and one in particular suggests itself as a tribute to Forge, with the reciprocity inherent in traditional conceptions of the gift exchange [Figure 9]. The symbolic tribute takes the form of a painting with royal ritual as its focal point. Not only is it characteristic of Mangku Mura to portray a series of events rarely painted by other artists, the cremation is the ultimate statement of status hierarchy. There is little doubt that Forge's interest in the cremation ceremony eluded Mangku Mura when he chose to depict the cremation of Dasaratha from the *Ramayana*, exploring the circumstances underlying the exile of Rama from the kingdom of Ayodha.

Rama's father Dasaratha had three wives but was without an heir, so held a ceremony in which Agni, the god of fire, promised that each of his queens would bear a son. The first-born son was Rama, to queen Kolsalya. As the eldest he was rightful heir to the throne. Bharata was the second-born son, to queen Kekayi, but Kekayi demanded that Dasaratha fulfil the promise he made when he married her that her son would become king. Dasaratha acknowledged that he had once made such a promise and exiled Rama from the kingdom. Rama honorably accepted his father's predicament. Bharata was furious when he discovered his mother's ruse and insisted that Rama was better suited and entitled to become the king of Ayodya. After cremating his father, Bharata set off to find his brother. First he consulted an ascetic. He met his younger brother Laksamana who, doubting Bharata's motives in seeking Rama, attacked him with an arrow. Finally Bharata located Rama, who refused to retract the oath and return to Ayodya. Instead, Rama promised to return and assume the throne when the fourteen-year period of exile had elapsed. Finally, Bharata asks Rama for guidance so Rama removes his footwear and presents them to Bharata as a symbol of his kingship.

The cremation bier (*wadah, bade*) for Dasaratha dominates the top center of the painting; the eleven tiers (*tumpang*) seen on the pagoda-shaped roof are of the maximum number, reserved for high-ranking kings. The bull sarcophagus (*patulangan*) on the right, into which the corpse is placed for burning, is another symbol restricted to high-caste usage. The many men carrying the tower appear to be twirling it around to confuse the remains on the way to the cemetery, so that the soul cannot find a way home. The scene recalls the way Geertz [1980: 120] famously described the "theater state" of 19th-century Bali, where power was defined as



Figure 9 Mangku Mura, The Death of Dasaratha, 1970s, tabing. (Forge Collection E093484; photo by Emma Furno; © Australian Museum. Reproduced by permission of the Australian Museum. Permission to reuse must be obtained from the rightsholder. Color figure available online.)

the “ability to stage productions of an eleven-roof scale, to mobilize the men, the resources, and, not least the expertise, that made one an eleven-roof lord.”

Mangku Mura included a typical note of humor in the top right-hand corner to offset this royal pomp. Rama presents Bharata with a lace-up boot in place of the sandal as a symbol of his kingship. This characteristic is precisely what Forge had in mind when he talked of commoner artists accepting the established hierarchy while making it the subject of ridicule. There is an interplay here between the thematic preoccupations of the artist and his academic interests. While this article measures Forge’s activities in terms of the discipline in which he worked, the painting reveals Kamasan understandings about what Forge was doing in the village.

In particular, Forge’s relationship with Mangku Mura has implications for the way we understand the interplay between spoken language and nonverbal aspects of culture. The visual impact of Kamasan art is tied to requisite understandings of local narrative and symbolic referents. Painted narratives do not operate as independent symbolic systems without the contextual and cultural information related in oral retellings. As Forge suggested in his work on Abelam art, meanings are not talked about openly: they may operate at an unconscious level or even be denied when suggestions are put to them by anthropologists. Consequently, he found ways to make sense of Abelam painting without relying on verbal exegesis, an idea that was encapsulated in the quote he borrowed from the dancer Isadora Duncan, “If I could tell you what it meant there would be no point in dancing it” [Forge 1970: 288–289]. Arguing that Abelam art operated as a form of communication on several levels, Forge wrote that “meaning is not that a painting or carving is a picture or representation of anything in the natural world, rather it is *about* the relationship between things” [1973b: 189–190, italics in original].

Similarly, while Kamasan paintings communicate with reference to a symbolic system familiar to Balinese viewers, Forge touched on the same argument when he stated that “obviously only people who can recognize the story can identify the scene and the characters portrayed; in this sense Balinese painting is purely illustrative, entirely dependent on the beholder’s knowledge of the story to convey meaning. But the paintings also communicate in other less simply illustrative ways” [1978a: 17].

Although he did not explain what he meant by “other less simply illustrative ways,” Forge did suggest ways that Kamasan art communicated non-verbally when he talked of badly faded old paintings that still had an impact on their viewers. He mentioned, for instance, that one painting was much admired by artists and that “even in the deteriorated condition it has considerable impact” [*ibid.*: 34]. Although old paintings may be valued for their vigor and use of color, artists do not produce paintings without a narrative subject. Familiarity with the iconography or symbolic system is not enough; paintings must have an identifiable narrative.

New research interests in the following decade meant that Forge never found time to write a more comprehensive analysis of Kamasan art. He made his final visit to Bali in 1986, a trip that fittingly incorporated his first visit to Java to see the antiquities and temple reliefs that told many of the stories illustrated in Kamasan paintings. His interest in Java was a reversal of conventional modes of scholarship of Balinese art, particularly amongst Dutch scholars of the colonial

era who had considered Bali a repository of Javanese Hindu–Buddhist culture. Forge [1980a: 4] was always scathing of the Java-centric view of Bali promoted by Dutch scholars. In part, his interest in Java was related to his research on the 19th-century museum collections assembled by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. Thus, after years of field research amongst living cultures, he spent a good deal of his final decade ensconced in libraries and museum collections. This resulted in a study of the batik patterns painted onto the wooden puppets collected by Raffles [Forge 1989] and of the plates commissioned by Raffles to illustrate *The History of Java* [Forge 1994].

Forge drew generally on material from Kamasan in his article “Tooth and Fang in Bali,” ostensibly an explanation of why canine teeth are occluded in Balinese art and architecture [Forge 1980]. He returned to the question of status, reasoning that artists depicted the teeth of supernaturally-powerful beings to symbolize the opposite of desired human qualities. Using illustrations by Mangku Mura, he argued that form and color were also used to communicate the contrast between human and non-human beings. In his only other paper on Bali, Forge [1993] discussed the economic aspects of art production and exchange. Although much of his work touches on issues of commodification, in this paper he went through the issues of cultural production and the consumption of Balinese art by international markets. Forge’s arguments reflect changing parameters in the anthropological treatment of art and possibly even the work of exchange theorists conceptualizing the spatial and temporal movement of objects through networks of producers, dealers and consumers [Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986].

Forge argued that Kamasan art had found a market amongst Balinese who were now caught up in the production of non-traditional Balinese paintings, stating that “in Ubud a successful painter will use *wayang* paintings he has bought in Kamasan for the decoration of his courtyard temple and not any of his own work” [1993: 23]. Through his second wife Cecilia Ng, a graduate of the Australian National University, Forge also became involved in the study of Timorese market places. He described the local trade in silver and gold [1991] in terms of the social interactions between vendors and their customers, the same dimensions that this article has alluded to in describing his interactions with art vendors in Kamasan.

CONCLUSION

Making collections was an important part of Forge’s field methods, and his decision to collect Balinese art was in part motivated by a desire to broaden his comparative perspective by researching a very different artistic system from the Abelan one. It is not easy to assess his contribution to the study of Balinese visual art outside the Forge Collection. His work on Kamasan art did not have a great impact outside a circle of scholars working on Bali, yet his studies of art systems are credited with negotiating an alternative path to linguistic theory in the anthropology of art [Campbell 2001]. In general terms this is because Balinese visual art does not fit into the “tribal” or “primitive” categories of indigenous art that have occupied scholars in the field of visual anthropology. It is also due to the comparatively few articles he published on Kamasan art. In tributes to his work, colleagues

and former students all remarked that Forge's published work did not reflect his strengths as an anthropologist [Fox 1993; Gell 1992; Morphy 1992; Strathern 1993]. Yet Forge's research into material culture amounted to more than what he wrote. Not only was he a skilled orator and teacher, his written work should be balanced against the extraordinary collecting projects he undertook for museums. These now serve as a visual repository of the art that he devoted his life to studying.

The anthropologists' practice of collecting material culture is now subject to higher levels of scrutiny than it was four decades ago, when Forge made the formation of an art collection the focus of his research enterprise. This is not to say that anthropologists like him were unmindful of the ethics of collecting or the implications of buying art while working with indigenous communities; only that such concerns have come to the forefront in the discipline of anthropology. Academic art collectors probably have greater access to the communities they work with and acknowledge that indigenous artists welcome scholarly collectors, not only for the business opportunities they represent but also because they circulate information to others [Myers 2006: 130].¹⁶ Anthropologists nowadays are highly attuned to possible conflict-of-interest charges and tread carefully when admitting to collecting art in the field. Although some might charge Forge with academic entrepreneurialism, it was this spirit that enabled him to create an invaluable resource that researchers like myself are using to investigate the ways in which his research and collecting affected the people he was studying, and to provide new perspectives on the process of change and the dynamics of Kamasan art.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article is based on material from my doctoral thesis, titled *Collecting Balinese Art: The Forge Collection of Balinese Paintings at the Australian Museum in Sydney*. I wish to acknowledge the contribution of Adrian Vickers, Peter Worsley, Stan Florek, as well as the family members, friends and colleagues of the late Anthony Forge.

FUNDING

Research was conducted with a postgraduate scholarship funded by an Australia Research Council Linkage Project between the University of Sydney and the Australian Museum (LP0883981) and a Prime Minister's Australia Asia Award (2011).

NOTES

1. The Museum bought over 200 prints from Forge in 1960–61, now housed in the Photograph Study Collection of the Department of the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
2. These works are now held in Mandeville Special Collections, Geisel Library, University of California at San Diego (Mss. 0411). Sheila Korn, Forge's doctoral student at the LSE, later used the paintings and documentation in an experiment to identify the formal properties of Abelan painting, without recourse to field experience or to the ethnographic data that Forge had gathered from artists about the designs [Korn

1978]. This semiotic exercise revealed that Forge still entertained the possibility that formal analysis might produce a scheme to understand how art communicated. He later compared the results of Korn's independent analysis with his own ethnographic data [Forge 1990], stating that "meanings are usually highly ambiguous as in the sense of the best poetry—they allude to a range of meanings that support and reinforce each other, thus intensifying their impact on the fully socialised beholder" [1990: 30]. Although the analysis was incomplete, Forge concluded the experiment by explaining that although Korn uncovered the workings of the Abelan system, she could not go any further and discover what meanings were conveyed without investigating the culture of the artists.

3. Reviews of the resulting conference publication suggest that it had a major impact on the disciplines of art history and anthropology [Edwards 1976].
4. Other anthropologists working in New Guinea have also taken up the problem of verbal communication in field research and indigenous resistance to aesthetic explication; O'Hanlon [1992] and Losche [2001].
5. I refer to Forge's application to the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation (November 10, 1972). It was made some months after his arrival in Bali with the encouragement of two anthropologists, Robin Fox and Lionel Tiger (both then employed by the Foundation). Forge's proposal, "Symbolic Systems in the Maintenance of Hierarchy," outlined his plan to identify a symbolic and conceptual system in visual representations, arguing that such systems could only be meaningfully investigated in terms of the society in which they occur. Although he had already settled on Kamasan as his field site, he wrote that after consulting with colleagues "Bali seems the most likely area to provide the continuing use of art in vital social and ritual contexts... a prerequisite of the sort of field investigation I wish to carry out." Forge's Kamasan project was one of the first projects funded by the Foundation since it began making grants in 1971. He got initial fieldwork funding from the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in the United Kingdom. I thank Karen Colvard of the Harry F. Guggenheim Foundation for providing a copy of the research proposal.
6. On September 30, 1965 an attempted purge in Jakarta overturned the government of President Sukarno and brought Suharto to power. This followed a decade of political mobilization around the issue of land reform amid high expectations, at least amongst non-elite and impoverished sectors of the population, that economic inequality would be redressed through the redistribution of land holdings. From December 1965 mass killings swept Bali, ostensibly to obliterate supporters of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). Members of the military, partisan groups and killing squads murdered between half and one million Indonesians; roughly one-tenth of these killings took place in Bali, a figure disproportionate to the population of the island [Vickers 1998: 775].
7. Forge was referring to the collection of Donald Friend.
8. In Klungkung the cost of rice was 75 rupiah a kilo and meat 300 rupiah a kilo [Field Diary, 8 March 1973]. The price of rice per kilo quoted here is consistent with the average price of 79 rupiah per kilo for 1973 given by Warren [1993: 328]. During 1971–78 the official exchange rate was maintained at 415 rupiah to the US dollar [Poffenberger and Zurbuchen 1980].
9. Cremations are the most important rites in the religious life of the Balinese and entail weeks or months of preparations, especially if the family is wealthy or of high caste [Connor 1979: 105]. (For a brief ethnographic account of the Balinese, see McCauley [1993].) The 17-min. film was unfinished at the time of Forge's death but completed by Patsy Asch in 1993. It featured a voiceover by Forge explaining the sequence of events he recorded. He had also observed the construction of the cremation tower

(*bade*) used in the film; it was made by Mangku Putu Cedet from Satria, Klungkung, a greatly sought-after expert in this craft.

10. Pers. comm., Adrian Vickers.
11. The entire collection was a Kamasan painting donated in 1964 [E070532]. However, the museum did have about 50 Balinese objects. The first-ever Balinese object acquired by the Australian Museum was probably a betel-nut box some time before 1882, lost when fire destroyed almost the entire ethnographic collection at the Sydney International Exposition Building in 1882. During the 1930s the museum got several objects from the Bali-based foreigners Theo Meier and Mrs. T. Pattinson.
12. Zoe Wakelin-King [interview, Sydney, July 2009].
13. A 2nd edition of the catalog was being planned for an overseas tour of the Forge Collection to Europe and America. During 1978 Forge wrote to a number of museums offering the exhibition; in 1980 the Australian Gallery Directors Council (AGDC) took over formal arrangements for a tour. Despite overseas interest the tour did not eventuate, consequently the catalog was not revised.
14. The painting on wood that Forge referred to was collected by W.O.J. Nieuwenkamp for the National Ethnographic Museum in Leiden; it is described by Brinkgreve [2010: 229–231].
15. Forge paid 300,000 rupiah for three paintings [E076401–403], 65,000 each for two [E076404–405] and 90,000 for one [E076406]. Of the other new paintings he bought in Kamasan two by Pan Putera cost 35,000 rupiah [E076407] and 30,000 rupiah [E076408]. Those by Ni Wayan Rumiasih were 30,000 rupiah each [E076409 and E076410]. That by Ni Nyoman Normi, the wife of Nyoman Mandra, was only 10,000 rupiah [E076411], while a painting by a student of Nyoman Mandra was 14,000 rupiah [E076412]. The exchange rate in 1979 was 625 rupiah to the US dollar [Warren 1993: 329].
16. Western Desert acrylic painting. He reveals considerable ambivalence about his “foray into the purchase of paintings” [2002: 75], and his role as a broker in helping artists to sell their work. Yet he describes his involvement in local art exchanges as an unplanned yet inevitable consequence of working in a field where research subjects were producing art.

REFERENCES

Archives

- Forge, Anthony
 Correspondence between Forge and the Australian Museum (1975–80).
 Fieldnotes—Bali [AMS588].
 The Forge Collection. Australian Museum, Sydney.
 Slides and Photographs [AMS590].

General

- Appadurai, Arjun
 1986 Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Arjun Appadurai, ed. Pp. 3–63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bateson, Gregory, and Margaret Mead
 1942 *Balinese Character; a Photographic Analysis*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Brinkgreve, Francine

- 2010 Painted Wooden Panel (*parba*) from a Pavilion, approx. 1800–1900. In *Bali: Art, Ritual, Performance*. Natasha Reichle, ed. Pp. 229–231. San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, Chong-Moon Lee Center for Asian Art and Culture.

Campbell, Shirley

- 2001 The Captivating Agency of Art: Many Ways of Seeing. In *Beyond Aesthetics: Art and the Technologies of Enchantment*. Christopher Pinney and Nicholas Thomas, eds. Pp. 117–135. Oxford: Berg.

Connor, Linda H.

- 1979 Corpse Abuse and Trance in Bali: The Cultural Mediation of Aggression. *Mankind*, 12: 104–118.

Edwards, Adrian

- 1976 Art and the Anthropologists. *New Blackfriars*, 57(673): 263–269.

Errington, Shelly

- 1998 *The Death of Authentic Primitive Art and Other Tales of Progress*. Berkeley and London: University of California Press.

Forge, John Anthony Waldo

- 1960 Three Kamanggabi Figures from the Arambak People of the Sepik District. In *Three Regions of Melanesian Art: New Guinea and the New Hebrides*. Pp. 6–11. New York: Museum of Primitive Art.
- 1970 Learning to See in New Guinea. In *Socialization: The Approach from Social Anthropology*. Philip Mayer, ed. Pp. 269–292. New York: Tavistock.
- 1972a The Golden Fleece. *Man*, 7(4): 527–540.
- 1972b Tswamung: A Failed Big-Man. In *Crossing Cultural Boundaries: The Anthropological Experience*. Solon T. Kimball and James B. Watson, eds. Pp. 257–297. San Francisco: Chandler.
- 1973a Introduction. In *Primitive Art and Society*. Anthony Forge, ed. Pp. xiii–xxii. London and New York: Oxford University Press.
- 1973b Style and Meaning in Sepik Art. In *Primitive Art and Society*. Anthony Forge, ed. Pp. 169–192. London and New York: Oxford University Press.
- 1974 Report by J.A.W. Forge to the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation for a Grant in Aid of “Symbolic Systems in the Maintenance of Hierarchy.” (Unpublished)
- 1978a *Balinese Traditional Paintings: A Selection from the Forge Collection of the Australian Museum*. Sydney: Australian Museum.
- 1978b A Village in Bali. In *Face Values; Some Anthropological Themes*. Anne Sutherland, ed. Pp. 208–244. London: British Broadcasting Corporation.
- 1979 The Problem of Meaning in Art. In *Exploring the Visual Art of Oceania: Australia, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia*. Sidney M. Mead, ed. Pp. 278–286. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- 1980 Tooth and Fang in Bali. *Canberra Anthropology*, 3(1): 1–16.
- 1984 ‘Tribal Art’ in the Australian National Gallery—Nias Never Made It. *Asian Studies Review*, 7(3): 59–61.
- 1989 Batik Patterns of the Early Nineteenth Century. In *To Speak with Cloth: Studies in Indonesian Textiles*. Mattibelle Gittinge, ed. Pp. 91–105. Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California.
- 1990 The Analysis of Graphic Design. In *Lapita Design, Form & Composition: Proceedings of the Lapita Design Workshop, Canberra, Australia—December 1988*. Matthew Spriggs, ed. Pp. 28–32. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- 1991 Markets in Central Timor. In *Nusa Tenggara Timur: The Challenges of Development*. Colin Barlow, Alex Bellis and Kate Andrews, eds. Pp. 165–177. Canberra: Department of Political and Social Change, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- 1993 Balinese Painting: Revival or Reaction? In *Modernity in Asian Art*. John Clark, ed. Pp. 18–28. Sydney: Wild Peony.
- 1994 Raffles and Daniell: Making the Image Fit. In *Recovering the Orient: Artists, Scholars, Appropriations*. Andrew Gerstle and Anthony Milner, eds. Pp. 109–150. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic.

- Fox, James J.
 - 1993 John Anthony Waldo Forge: 27 February 1929–7 October 1991. *Oceania*, 63(4): 291–293.
- Friede, John
 - 2005 *New Guinea Art: Masterpieces of the Jolika Collection from Marcia and John Friede*. Milan: 5 Continents.
- Gardi, Rene
 - 1960 *Tambaran: An Encounter with Cultures in Decline in New Guinea*. London: Constable.
- Geertz, Clifford
 - 1980 *Negara; the Theater State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gell, Alfred
 - 1992 Obituary: Anthony Forge. *Anthropology Today*, 8(2): 17–18.
- Hobart, Angela
 - 1978 Anthony Forge: Balinese Traditional Painting (the Australian Museum, Sydney). *Royal Anthropological Institute News (RAIN)*, 28: 7–8.
- Kopytoff, Igor
 - 1986 The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as a Process. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Arjun Appadurai, ed. Pp. 64–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Korn, Sheila M.
 - 1978 The Formal Analysis of Visual Systems as Exemplified by a Study of Abelam (Papua New Guinea) Paintings. In *Art in Society: Studies in Style, Culture and Aesthetics*. Michael Greenhalgh and Vincent Megaw, eds. Pp. 161–173. London: Gerald Duckworth Co. Ltd.
- Lansing, Stephen J.
 - 1980 Traditional Balinese Paintings. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 40(4): 849.
- Losche, Diane
 - 2001 Anthony's Feast: The Gift in Abelam Aesthetics. *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 12(2): 155–165.
- May, Sally
 - 2008 The Art of Collecting: Charles Percy Mountford. In *The Makers and Making of Indigenous Australian Museum Collections*. Nicholas Peterson, Lindy Allen and Louise Hamby, eds. Pp. 446–471. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Publishing.
- McCauley, Ann P.
 - 1993 Balinese. In *Encyclopedia of World Cultures. Volume V. East and Southeast Asia*. David Levinson and Paul Hockings, eds. Pp. 35–38. Boston: G.K. Hall.
- Morphy, Howard
 - 1992 John Anthony Waldo Forge, 1929–1991. *Canberra Anthropology*, 15(1): 144–150.
- Morphy, Howard, and Marcus Banks
 - 1997 Introduction: Rethinking Visual Anthropology. In *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*. Marcus Banks and Howard Morphy, eds. Pp. 1–35. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Myers, Fred R.
 - 2002 *Painting Culture: The Making of an Aboriginal High Art*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
 - 2006 Collecting Aboriginal Art in the Australian Nation-State: Two Case Studies. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 21(1–2): 116–137.
- O'Hanlon, Michael
 - 1992 Unstable Images and Second Skins: Artefacts, Exegesis and Assessments in the New Guinea Highlands. *Man*, 27(3): 587–608.
- Philp, Angela
 - 2007 Relocating Aboriginal Art and Culture in the Museum. *reCollections: Journal of the National Museum of Australia*, 2(1): 48–70.
- Poffenberger, Mark, and Mary S. Zurbuchen
 - 1980 The Economics of Village Bali: Three Perspectives. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 29: 91–133.
- Ruby, Jay
 - 2000 *Picturing Culture: Explorations of Film and Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Smidt, Dirk, and Noel McGuigan

- 1993 An Emic and Etic Role for Abelam Art (Papua New Guinea): The Context of a Collecting Trip on Behalf of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. In *Artistic Heritage in a Changing Pacific*. Philip J.C. Dark and Roger G. Rose, eds. Pp. 121–142. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Strathern, Andrew

- 1993 John Anthony Waldo Forge, 1929–1991. *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 96(1): 91–92.

Stuart-Fox, David J.

- 2002 *Pura Besakih; Temple, Religion and Society in Bali*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Tambiah, Stanley J.

- 2002 *Edmund Leach: An Anthropological Life*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Vickers, Adrian

- 1998 Reopening Old Wounds: Bali and the Indonesian Killings—A Review Article. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 57(3): 774–785.
2012 *Balinese Art: Paintings and Drawings of Bali 1800–2012*. Singapore: Tuttle.

Warren, Carol

- 1993 *Adat and Dinas: Balinese Communities in the Indonesian State*. Kuala Lumpur and New York: Oxford University Press.

Worsley, Peter

- 1980 Balinese Traditional Paintings. *Review; Asian Studies Association of Australia*, 3(3): 112–113.

FILMOGRAPHY

Asch, Timothy

- 1978 *Interview of Raymond and Rosemary Firth*. Interviewed by Anthony Forge, Cambridge University. DSpace. <http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/183664>

Forge, Anthony

- 1991 *Ngarap: Fighting over a Corpse*. Patsy Asch, ed. Canberra: Indonesia Series, Australian National University; color, 17 mins.