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teenth century, he suggested, "the Western Hemisphere may have had a greater population than Western Europe" (p. 78). The profound implications of this for Turnerian assumptions about "empty land" were obvious: "It is hard to imagine that our history can ever be the same again since we can scarcely portray the European invasion of the Western Hemisphere as the relatively quiet expansion of Europeans into sparsely settled lands" (p. 81).

Jacobs' awareness of the combination of human depopulation and environmental havoc, which he was among the first (of academic historians) to describe, led him to ponder the complicity of institutions that most Americans had, until the 1960s, thought of as benign or at least neutral. In 1978, summing up the latter stages of the environmental catastrophe that resulted from conquest, he commented, "The American government has had an increasing role in the despoliation because of its links with predatory business interests and scientists, many of them associated with leading universities" (p. 26). Contemplating the role of universities in this tragedy, he called for "drastic ... revision of doctoral programs ... if we hope to train qualified candidates who can write intelligently about the history of the exploitation of the land" (p. 8) as early as 1970.

Jacobs' lifetime effort to bring balance and compassion to the study of American history reflected his mission to construct an "ethno-environmental history of the American frontier" (p. 196), a way of synthesizing history and ecology, of introducing Aldo Leopold to Walter Prescott Webb. Before the "new western history" even existed, Jacobs was pioneering new and interdisciplinary ways of studying the American West. When he began arguing these positions, Hurtado notes, he was seen as a revisionist or "something worse" (p. xiv). Now, while Jacobs' aim to understand the frontier encounter has taken him as far afield as New Guinea and Australia, a generation of historians acknowledges Jacobs as one of its path finders.

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Hopi Basket Weaving: Artistry in Natural Fibers. By Helga Teiwes. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996. 200 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

Helga Teiwes clearly states that her goal in writing *Hopi Basket Weaving* was to justify the high prices for basketry, a medium

which before the 1920s was valorized as Native art, but since that time has been denigrated and devalued, so that weavers are often undercompensated for their investment of considerable labor and time. Arguing that the more informed consumer will likely respect the necessary price scale, Teiwes designed her volume to provide information for dealers and collectors of contemporary Hopi baskets.

In text and lavish use of photographs with extended captions, Teiwes provides extended documentation on the gathering, preparation, and dyeing of materials, explaining the different techniques associated with each of the three Hopi mesas: plaiting on First Mesa, coiling on Second Mesa, and wicker on Third Mesa. She investigates various indigenous functions for these baskets, particularly the plaque and tray, as well as treating production for sale, especially the large deep baskets often woven on commission. In two separate chapters, Teiwes documents weavers currently active on Second and Third Mesas. An insert of color photographs adds to the attractiveness of this superbly produced book. While the last two chapters (perhaps written in great haste) are somewhat repetitive, disorganized, and at times confusing, most of the text is refreshingly clear and uncomplicated.

The production of what Brian Spooner has called "dealer lore" explains many of the emphases and exclusions that characterize this narrowly focused volume. For example, Teiwes avoids writing a historical study of Hopi basketry and thus includes no documentation of basket weavers who are deceased or no longer weaving, material to which she would have had easy access as a former photographer for the Arizona State Museum. Instead, she includes an appendix that makes a naive attempt to trace the origin of Hopi coiling to the central highlands of Mexico around six thousand years ago. Similarly, to construct baskets as special, unique, and hence uniquely valuable, Teiwes argues that they are preeminent in ceremony and social relations (pp. 168-69), but offers no comparison with the ceramics that have a similarly important place on the Hopi Mesas as containers produced by women for both ceremony and sale.

Teiwes' attempts to construct basketry as art in order to legitimate high-market values is typical of the problem dealers and promoters have faced since the 1890s when constructions of baskets as expressions of Native tradition became insufficient either to justify increasing prices or to accommodate dramatic innovations in forms, materials, designs, and technical quality. The solution was to identify the baskets as art and their makers as

individual artists. Since that time, promoters have had to balance two nearly antithetical constructions of Native baskets: as ceremonialized manifestations of timeless tradition and closeness to nature, or as innovative and individualized works of genius and inspiration. This dual construction has characterized the literature on Native basket weaving for a century, and is equally evident in two other recent monographs on Native basketry: *Columbia River Basketry: Gift of the Ancestors, Gift of the Earth* by Mary Dodds Schlick (1994) and *Tradition and Innovation: A Basket History of the Indians of the Yosemite-Mono Lake Area* by Craig Bates and Martha Lee (1990).

The evidence Teiwes applies to her argument that Hopi baskets should be considered artworks rather than merely utensils is inconsistent, including ceremonial functions (p. xx), union of form and function—an arts and crafts notion (p. 51), spiritual content (p. 69), figural representations (p. 165), or innovations (p. 168). Chapters four and five, which document currently active weavers, reinforce the baskets' construction as art by emphasis on individuality, presenting information so consistent that it suggests a regular list of questions imposed on weavers by the author. Topics covered include a weaver's clan identity, the types of baskets she made to enter competitions and prizes won, galleries and shops where her baskets are sold, places where she has demonstrated weaving to a non-Native audience, other jobs she has held, the home improvements financed from her basketry income, and innovations which make her work distinctive.

On the other hand, to maintain their exchange value as exotica, Teiwes begins by situating baskets as ultratraditional, more involved with nature and with ceremonial life than any other form of production. After presenting the weavers as individuals, she returns in her conclusion to argue that weavers' artistic freedom is strongly limited by the same tradition that encourages basketry production. The greatest part of the text is in fact designed to construct the baskets as an outgrowth of tradition, accommodating rather than upsetting primitivist stereotypes. For example, the subtitle calls up the romance of "nature" and its triangular connection with "Native" and "art," and the book opens with a depiction of the Hopi landscape as mysterious and expansive. Hopi weavers' excursions to collect plant materials are predictably framed according to the trope of the primitive ecologist worshipping "Mother Earth." The "salvage paradigm" is likewise invoked when lamenting the impending loss of knowledge concerning vegetal dyes, and in the afterword sec-

tion which Teiwes devotes to cataloging recent losses of weavers and materials.

Calling up nature and tradition are of course designed to construct these baskets' authenticity. Although the author carefully refrains from denigrating weaving for sale to non-Hopi or innovations in materials, dyes, or weaving shapes that break with what she defines as Hopi "tradition," she nevertheless calls the coiled basketry of Second Mesa more "authentic" because many weavers rely on vegetal dyes and because weaving techniques are acquired through ceremonial initiation. Teiwes even argues that one Third Mesa weaver, Bessie Monongye, is not really interested in the income from selling baskets but instead adheres to "the traditional Hopi way of life" (p. 137), thus constructing her as a precapitalist producer free of contaminating modernization and commoditization.

The duality of basket framing as traditional artifact or innovative art is accompanied by a second duality, the contrast of a Native voice and the authoritative voice of the writer, an opposition that calls up the best and the worst of what this book has to offer. The most unfortunate imposition of the writer's authoritative voice concerns an issue that troubles Teiwes throughout the text: the "meaning" of the use of basket plaques in dances of women's ceremonial societies like the Lalkont. Teiwes acknowledges that she was not told this "meaning" because such knowledge is limited to initiates, but she overrides this restriction by substituting her own interpretation (pp. 154-58, 169). Such a project easily falls into repetition of earlier interpretations of "primitive" ceremony; hence it is not surprising that Teiwes imagines the participants surrendering their individuality in a transcendent spiritual merging or that she interprets the meaning of the baskets and dance as means to "honor the earth, the source of all life, with a product of its making" (p. 169). In so doing, she dismisses Hopi interest in the distribution of gifts as inferior to the "spiritual moment" she was experiencing (p. 156).

On the other hand, the happiest inclusion of Native voice, and for me the most informative and engrossing of Teiwes' discussions, involved the multiple ways baskets currently enter into social exchanges among Hopi people as well as in sale to non-Hopi consumers, a subject that her Hopi collaborators appear to have discussed openly and frequently. Teiwes relates various forms of gift exchange involving baskets and gives the most extended treatment to baskets used for marriage repayments, a practice involving not only reciprocity (return for the

dowry of ceremonial robes), but also competition (escalation of quantity to heighten status construction). Teiwes also investigates the changing importance of weaving in the course of many women's lives, from learning the techniques as an adolescent (whether from a close relative or at a women's society initiation), to the increasing burden involved in marriage payback with its work parties offering assistance, to the years of lean weaving when a mother takes various jobs to support a growing family and culminating with a return to intensive weaving when the children are grown and a woman has the time to invest in producing the most elaborate, refined, and expensive baskets for sale and entrance into juried exhibitions, to teach and inspire by example a new generation of weavers.

Despite her experience making ethnographic photographs and documentaries, Helga Teiwes is not an academic and thus takes the approach of an aficionado and collector, observing rather than researching, and thereby producing a more narrowly focused and ahistorical text than those of Schlick or Bates and Lee, mentioned above. Unlike these authors, Teiwes does not begin with a museum collection that must be documented and explained, but instead isolates and concentrates on the field of production. On the one hand, this focus permits touristic primitivizing of Hopi baskets, while on the other hand it facilitates narrations of exchange situations and the social relations in which they are implicated that are unparalleled in the basketry literature and should be read by any anthropologist or social historian concerned with symbolic production and exchange.

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Little. By David Treuer. Saint Paul: Graywolf Press, 1995/96. 248 pages. \$22.95 cloth.

David Treuer's remarkable debut novel *Little* carries us to the small community of Poverty on a Chippewa/Ojibwa reservation in northern Minnesota in 1980. Little—a strange, almost mysterious, boy of about ten years who was born with deformed hands, his fingers fused into huge claws, and who never spoke a word except for “you”—has drowned in a water tower. Death, poverty, and decay are the first images evoked. But as the story unfolds, with each character of this small community taking up