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Pure Objects, Pure Persons: Artwriting and the Cultural Frame of Traditional Native American Art

LEA S. MCCHESENEY

A CULTURAL FRAME FOR TRADITIONAL NATIVE AMERICAN ART

At the 2005 Native American Art Studies Association meetings in Scottsdale, Arizona (a prestigious Indian art market locale), the renowned contemporary artist Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, an enrolled member of the Flathead Salish Nation, gave an impassioned appeal for critical writing on “fine, high, new media or cutting edge art” produced by Native Americans. Commenting that this work is often derided as “bastardized,” she exhorted her audience of Native artists and scholars, together with academics, museum curators, and art dealers from around the world, to write about the work in a mainstream art journal, not an anthropology journal or *Native Peoples* magazine. She implored us to differentiate contemporary from traditional American Indian art. With her provocative plea for writing that addressed what she termed the proper placement of this work within the contemporary art world, Quick-to-See Smith hit the issue of artwriting squarely on its head.¹

Coined by the art critic, art historian, and philosopher David Carrier, *artwriting* is a term that describes the representational work of getting art seen, talked about, evaluated, collected, and, ultimately, institutionally ensconced in museum collections and art-historical canons. As Carrier maintains, this discursive practice is rhetorical and “seeks to persuade the viewers that the works described are aesthetically significant. . . . [T]he value of contemporary art . . . remains to be established.” By providing visual instruction, artwriting

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directs the reader to see objects in specific ways as works of art. A means of educating collectors in evaluative criteria and distinctions in the quality of work, it steers them to particular features of objects and often specific artists and art. As an important way of offering instruction in how to see the artistic significance of objects, a chief component of artwriting is to construct genealogies or lineages of artistic “genius.” This mode of artwriting connects contemporary practitioners to past artists with established reputations, tracing the descent of talent in the assessment of “master” status from one generation to the next. I apply Carrier’s critical insights, and those of artist and critic Victor Burgin, to a field in which they have not been utilized: traditional Native American art.²

Using the example of Pueblo, specifically Hopi, pottery as a token of that larger category, I analyze examples of artwriting and their rhetorical structures to understand how aesthetic interest is achieved, and how these traditional Native American objects are constructed as art commodities. Although I am interested in its discursive dimensions, I focus as much on visual as I do on linguistic components, considering how photographic images and graphic illustrations work to construct the value of these objects as art, and on the cultural assumptions that underlie these representations. As a point of entry into this arena of artistic production, I find that framing provides a useful way to describe the practice and process of artwriting. Frames physically establish the artwork’s boundaries in representational space (despite the fact that viewers typically remain unaware of their presence and constitutive role vis-à-vis the artwork). But more importantly for this discussion, frames establish conceptual, or symbolic and cultural, borders.³ My intention is to show how heretofore unexamined practices in the representation of traditional Native American art draw on established practices in the larger art world and embed within them particular cultural assumptions. I intend to delimit parameters and trace patterns of this practice, not to describe absolutes.

Traditional Native arts only became securely located in the fine-art world during the last quarter of the twentieth century with the institutional maturation of the American Indian art market.⁴ This market exists as a niche within the larger art world, in which during the same period prices in established categories of art, such as nineteenth-century European prints, became inflated and restricted enthusiasts of lesser financial means from purchasing the art. Traditional Native American objects increased in economic and cultural value from their earlier status as artifact in a natural history paradigm through more stringent standards of authenticity defined in artwriting and other instrumental practices. They also became more affordable in comparison to established object categories within the larger art market.

Work in traditional media created by persons who lack formal training has been evaluated by different criteria than that in new media, however. Whereas in the Western art world artists (including Native persons working in nontraditional media) are formally trained in academies to learn not only the skills of their chosen medium but also the standards of evaluation and criteria by which their work is assessed by its institutions, American Indian artists who work in traditional media are typically not trained in this fashion.

Formal training in studio arts is considered to erode the ability to produce authentic traditional art. Traditional Indian artists thus do not participate in art academies, a key institutional node of the art world.⁵ Artists working in traditional media rely on museums, galleries, market venues, and the artwriting produced through these institutions for their standards of evaluation. As Quick-to-See Smith's trenchant comments reveal, and as has been demonstrated for the wider art world, with or without formal training it is largely through writing about art that artistic status is achieved.⁶ The rhetorical efficacy of the artwriting I examine here has contributed significantly to the secure positioning of Hopi pottery, perhaps the most traditional of traditional Native art forms, within the American Indian art world (fig. 1).

A Hierarchy of Representations

Artwriting on Hopi pottery is extensive, as is that on Pueblo pottery. The "spectrum of discourses" encompassed by this mode of symbolic production for Hopi-pottery-as-art-commodity ranges from scholarly research to consumer information, as noted for art theory and criticism more generally.⁷



FIGURE 1. This jar represents the Sikyatki revival style, attributed as Nampeyo's innovation, which became the dominant decorative style of twentieth-century Hopi art pottery. 18838/12 Sichomovi Polychrome seed jar by Nampeyo (ca. 1914). Hopi Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology, Department of Cultural Affairs (www.miaclab.org). Photo by Douglas Kahn.

Not all the literature is commercially oriented; that is, not all is intended specifically to promote the evaluation, sale, and consumption of Hopi pottery as art. Some publications, whose authors did not intend them either for commercial use or to emphasize objects as aesthetic, may be put to use in this way by other agents in the art market, while publications that do have commercial instrumentality may also make other important contributions to the Indian art world beyond this function. Academic publications typically are not intended for instrumental use in the market, although many academics do contribute to texts such as exhibition catalogs and coffee-table books that promote the sale of pottery.

Like the objects, persons, and sites that comprise this specialized art market, forms of artwriting are stratified. Artwriting on Hopi pottery ranges from ephemera such as advertisements in tourist literature, to exhibition brochures and show announcements, to the instrumental publications of collector's and trade journals, to more durable literature such as exhibit catalogs and coffee-table books. The variety of forms of artwriting creates a semiotic web of information, with lesser forms providing an underpinning for higher forms. Authors may publish in multiple venues (that is, the author of an exhibit catalog may also produce an article about the exhibit for a magazine). Sometimes work in more influential venues is excerpted and reprinted in a lower form, while publication in one context may be reprinted in another context. Here I focus on the specific examples of a periodical, a catalog, and a coffee-table book, examining the rhetoric of their construction in authenticating pots as art commodities and in educating the consumer while fostering the consumption of pots as art. These publications are at the higher, more influential end of artwriting, and they build on each other to define and solidify standards of value.

FRAMING A SENSIBILITY FOR NATIVE AMERICAN ART AND ARTISTS: PURE OBJECTS, PURE PERSONS

Writing about objects from the time they enter markets is imperative because the writing produces interest in the objects, alerts potential collectors to their availability, and orients collectors' attention to objects' specific attributes. Artwriting helps to construct a sensibility, a new way of seeing and valuing an object as a work of art, dissociated from everyday life and presented in a manner that is presumed to permit a purer emotional response through heightened visual awareness. Similarly, writing about artists typically focuses on their aesthetic concerns and relationships to other known artists. This representational work inaugurates the selection process by which art and artists will eventually become included in an art-historical canon. By the time objects are exhibited in museums, their value has been established by the writing of critics and other experts in the contexts in which this work is circulated—galleries, open-air markets, and auction houses. Museum exhibitions and their accompanying catalogs sanctify this achieved status, institutionally confirming the object's authenticity and beauty and transforming it into a work of art and celebrity. Publication in the museum's definitive, authorita-

tive text can transform the work of art into an icon.⁸ Prior to this, publication in a coffee-table book stimulates interest in certain work and, in establishing provenance and connoisseurship, may result in a collection eventually being deposited in a museum. Market venues such as competitive Indian art fairs that include judging and prizes awarded by experts (dealers, museum curators, occasionally academic anthropologists and art historians, and, less frequently, Native artists) initiate objects into the selection process.

In the case of traditional Hopi pottery and potters, artwriting organizes the production, circulation, and consumption of objects by drawing on art-world conventions to reorient their value away from “artifact” or ethnographic status and to secure them within a now-established paradigm of art.⁹ In my analysis of artwriting during a critical period of the maturation of the American Indian art world (1975–95), I focus on particular examples (collectors’ periodicals, exhibit catalogs, and coffee-table books) to assess how artwriting constructs pure objects (art) and pure persons (artists) within this art world. This is a process of distinction, as described by Bourdieu, and of purification, as described by Latour. It participates in Western practices of producing aesthetic objects with the privileged status of art as opposed to “mere things.”¹⁰ Because artwriting provides a representational overlay for the marketplace, the consumption of these representations is a necessary prior step to the purchase of the object. All agents in this art world—producers, mediators, and consumers alike—participate in this representational field, albeit to greater and lesser degrees of authority in producing meanings for art. Potters rarely achieve artist status without being inscribed in its discourse, while mediators (dealers) and consumers (collectors) are the agents who principally construct and produce authoritative value.¹¹

Following Carrier’s emphasis on its rhetorical nature, I analyze varying forms of artwriting as constructed wholes, objects whose text and images are not haphazardly assembled but systematically organized through the particular rationality of a commercial design process. I examine not only the rhetoric of text but also the relationship of imagery to that language. Using insights from Sally Stein’s analysis of women’s magazines, I consider these representations as cultural objects in which “images, texts, ads and editorial matter are each designed to work off each other within the larger ensemble . . . [to produce] . . . a predominantly visual experience, constructing an audience of spectators and, by extension, consumers.”¹² I extend Stein’s insights in analyzing how the rhetoric of design establishes a structure of commodification for producing art objects and artists and to emphasize the reproducibility of texts and images over time. I also consider how potters’ genealogies are constructed and represented, their relationship to textual representations, and the impact of genealogies in this market.

PURE OBJECTS: THE CASE OF AMERICAN INDIAN ART MAGAZINE

Few influential periodicals producing artwriting on Native American art exist. Some have been in print since the inception of museum-sponsored markets and fairs in the first few decades of this century (for example, *Plateau*, a Museum of Northern Arizona publication). *American Indian Art Magazine*, an

independent publication begun in 1975, which is “devoted exclusively to the great variety of art forms produced by the Native Americans of North America in prehistoric, historic and contemporary times,” is based in Scottsdale, Arizona. *Arizona Highways*, an office of tourism for the state of Arizona publication, first appeared in print in the 1960s. One entry in the field (also published since at least 1975), *Southwest Art*, claims to be “The Magazine for Today’s Collector.” Like *American Indian Art Magazine*, this vehicle also publishes a special issue on Native American art annually in August, the month when the Santa Fe Indian Market is held and potential collectors abound.

American Indian Art Magazine is an important site of artwriting in the Indian art market. Many potters seek inspiration for their work here, consulting issues for sanctioned, “traditional,” or “old” designs. Likewise, consumers seeking guidance about where to see and buy authenticated American Indian art, and how work is authenticated, consult it. With their extensive advertisements within its pages, dealers invite potential consumers to their galleries as reputable sources of art; they often author articles together with academic and museum authorities. Although work may be sold in ostensibly unmediated contexts such as at the many Indian art markets and fairs available today (for example, the Santa Fe Indian Market, the Gallup Ceremonial, the Heard Museum’s annual Indian Art Market, the Museum of Northern Arizona’s Heritage Marketplaces), consumers have already consulted these publications before they make a purchase. Thus, artwriting mediates transactions in the marketplace and is the representational overlay that helps to structure a market for these objects as art. Here I analyze several examples from the thirty-two-year publishing history of *American Indian Art Magazine*.¹³

Artwriting on Hopi pottery as art and potters as artists began with *American Indian Art Magazine*’s inception during the neorevival phase of this market in the 1970s. One of its first issues featured an article on the famed Hopi-Tewa potter Nampeyo.¹⁴ During its first twenty years of production, articles often specialized in historic and precontact art housed in major museums (and occasionally private and corporate collections), the rare and finite objects produced by deceased individuals. Authored by people with academic credentials, professional museum positions, or some other qualification such as several years in the Indian art business, these articles are considered authoritative. Quarterly issues also cover news regarding the institutions associated with the art market, including listings of current museum exhibitions and gallery shows; a calendar of summer events such as fairs and markets; and reports on recent auctions, museum acquisitions, and legal issues such as repatriation affecting the sale of Indian art. *American Indian Art Magazine* is well named: it is a venue that helps to construct the world of Indian art through its comprehensive representation of the Indian art marketplace. With collectors serving as a critical target audience, the journal thoroughly represents all agents and institutions in this “restricted field of cultural production.”¹⁵

The magazine’s full-color front cover always features a key art object (or, in rare instances, an artist) discussed within the issue. Boldly isolated, this object is encompassed within a border as if it were framed, thus objectifying the featured work as art in a recognized, culturally appropriate format for

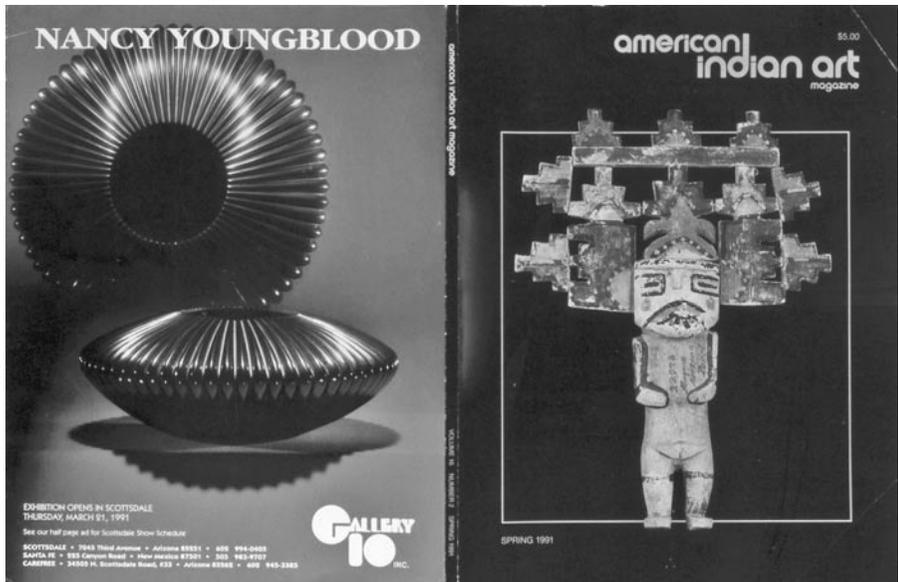


FIGURE 2. American Indian Art Magazine (*Spring 1991*). Courtesy of American Indian Art Magazine.

its audience. No text other than the journal's name and issue appears on the cover; the object speaks for itself. A full-page color advertisement for a gallery is featured as the back cover of each issue. This format for covers, which gives equal weight to academic (authorized) and commercial (in a state of becoming authorized) aesthetic representations as the two elements that generate the discourse of this artwriting, has remained largely unchanged for more than thirty years (fig. 2).

The format provides a structure for the commodification of persons and things that is reproducible by the substitution of the object in the frame on the front and the gallery advertisement on the back for each issue. Thus, in a calendar year of front covers (for example, 1991), four examples of Indian art are featured. For the spring issue there is a Hopi kachina illustrating an article on the Southwest Collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. The summer issue features prehistoric pottery to illustrate the article on the Museum of Northern Arizona's anthropology collections. For the fall issue, an example of historic pottery illustrates an article on the renowned potters of San Ildefonso. The winter issue includes a Navajo sandpainting to introduce the article on Navajo ceremonial sandpaintings.¹⁶

Each cover features an object from a major museum collection that exists as a representative of that collection, now consecrated as authentic and traditional. Highlighted by the accompanying article, the collection becomes definitive in its relation to the contemporary work with which it is paired on the back cover. Precontact and historic work from museum collections thus are used to set the standard by which subsequent work is assessed, defining what is and is not traditional in American Indian art.

Each front cover is paired with a back cover that features a gallery advertisement, all of which in this time period are for Gallery 10. With objects similarly foregrounded for our visual apprehension, these covers nevertheless have more text than their front-cover counterparts. Back covers include the necessary gallery information regarding where objects can be seen (and purchased). Often the ads constitute a show advertisement, inviting the potential consumer/collector to visit the gallery to see and buy the work of specific artists.¹⁷

As part of museum collections, objects on the front cover are removed from circulation and their commodity status thus is muted to a degree that they approach inalienability. However, objects on the back cover are placed in circulation by virtue of their advertisement, which enhances the production of their meaning as commodities and represents an invitation for their consumption. Front covers, of which the scholarly or authoritative mode of artwriting is used, provide authentication for back covers, of which the overtly commercial mode of artwriting is used. Objects on the back cover are thus in the process of being created as art commodities in specific ways. New (or contemporary) work is valued as art when paired with and validated by the authoritative sources of earlier, traditional work housed in museums and as represented by these reputable dealers. Front- and back-cover images play their parts in generating this market, keeping some objects in circulation while others are removed (even as their value as art is produced through this artwriting) and keeping consumers educated about proper standards for consumption and where to engage in it.

This pairing of historic/precontact and contemporary work provides the structure of this signifying practice, generating a semiotic ideology that reorganizes the meaning of these indigenous objects from local contexts and “artifact” status, reorienting them exclusively to the fine-art context. This reorganization of meaning and recontextualization for audience reception constitutes the purification process. Through it, art objects physically removed from circulation have their meanings produced and reproduced as the most authentic, traditional, and valorized objects by elite institutions and art market agents: museums, high-end galleries, institutional authorities, and noteworthy collectors. These meanings circulate in the marketplace to generate root metaphors and standards for new work. New work is made available for consumption and has the potential to achieve more exalted status: it may be advertised as being museum quality.

There is greater potential for removal to a significant collection if the object has the proper pedigree or provenance—an object whose collection has been guided by the skilled hand and eye of a reputable dealer. The extent of a dealer’s reputation—his or her cultural capital in consecration—rests in large part on incorporation into the institutions and channels of artwriting, and his or her ability to cultivate consumers. The meanings for objects-as-art are produced and reproduced within the covers of this magazine, in terms of the articles and advertisements each contains. The objects’ commodity status is reproduced without, through subsequent issues, by substituting featured traditional objects (and the museums that house them) on the front cover

and contemporary objects (and the galleries that offer them) on the back cover. Sumptuous color images throughout the magazine may temporarily distract readers in discerning articles from advertisements because the former are image laden and the latter are abundant.

A *Mise-en-Abyme* of Reproduction: Twenty Years of Artwriting

Perhaps no better example of the symbolic production of Indian art (and artist) as commodity exists than the twentieth-anniversary issue of *American Indian Art Magazine* (Winter 1995). This issue featured a color photograph of a famed producer of authentic, traditional American Indian art, the San Ildefonso potter Maria Martinez, reading one of its first issues. In this representation we have a hall of mirrors or *mise-en-abyme* of images that constructs a “circuit of looking” between the reader or consumer of the image and the action of the depicted subject: we, along with Maria, engage in the visual apprehension and consumption of American Indian art. I cite the description of George Grosz’s collages, comprised of “a picture of a gangster reading a newspaper made out of newspapers about gangsters,” as producing the same visual effect.¹⁸ In this case we have a magazine cover photo of an Indian artist who is reading *the* magazine about Indian art and artists (fig. 3).

The reification of the value of this vehicle as the authoritative source for the consumption of American Indian art thus occurs on several levels. Her image framed by a bold white border against the cover’s black background, Maria sports stylish eyeglasses as she peruses her issue of *American Indian Art*, clearly dated “Spring 1976” (an early, historic issue). With her wry smile she invites us to enjoy this play on images and history of representation. Reading the same magazine (if not the same issue) that we do, she endorses its content authoritatively as the most prominent traditional artist, a status confirmed by her profile in the issue. At the same time, the magazine’s authority to define American Indian art is solidified.

Through the image, Maria Martinez is made available for our visual consumption while she simultaneously authorizes the purchase of the best Indian art. Her reading the magazine also proclaims that the most noteworthy traditional Native artists look to this source to validate their work. Her participation with us in this field of cultural



FIGURE 3. *Twentieth-anniversary issue, American Indian Art Magazine (Winter 1995). Courtesy of American Indian Art Magazine.*

production fosters the consecration of the work in this medium, pulling us as potential collectors into the restricted world that she inhabits as an elite Native American artist. Commodified in this way—framed in the same manner as all preceding and subsequent examples of authentic American Indian art featured on the cover—Maria is no longer a “subject-producer-of-objects” as described by Barbara Babcock but instead becomes an object-producer-of-objects.¹⁹

A few select Indian artists could commemorate twenty years of a flourishing market for Indian art as its icon. Among Pueblo potters, only the Hopi-Tewa potter Nampeyo rivals Maria in fame and command of price for her work.²⁰ Although she often signed “Maria” or “Marie” on her pots, Maria nevertheless is known also by her Hispanic surname, Martinez. Unlike Maria, however, Nampeyo was never known to have a surname, and the purity of her single, indigenous name identified her as radically “Other.” The artwriting on Nampeyo has structured the entire market for Hopi art pottery. The radical “Otherness” of the Nampeyo name, together with its instrumentality to signal authenticity for Hopi pottery as the most traditional of American Indian art forms, continues to be the way this art form is produced as an art commodity through contemporary artwriting. But before addressing how the Nampeyo name is used graphically to map a school of American Indian art and artists, I want to return to the structure of Maria’s image and explore its relationship to an earlier image of Nampeyo, as well as to a more recent coffee-table book cover.

A Century of Commodification

Seated in front of an adobe wall, Maria wears the quaint attire of a traditional Pueblo woman: striped shawl, brightly patterned dress cinched with a woven belt, and silver and turquoise jewelry. Yet the elements of this portraiture are not new, and that fact reveals that the constructed authenticity of the icon “authentic Indian artist” is a commodity that has been repeatedly reproduced since the nineteenth century (see fig. 3). Hinsley has observed that adobe architecture is especially resonant of authenticity in the Southwest: “The sense of an immutable landscape resistant to historical alteration came out most clearly in the [nineteenth-century] fascination with adobe architecture.”²¹ The image commodity with this element of authenticity continues to convey a sense of “Otherness” for the Southwest and its Indians, as ostensibly removed from—but actually produced as authentic in and through—the larger American society. Maria’s iconicity thus can be seen as a contemporary reproduction of an historic commodity.

The prototypical image of the authentic American “primitive” (who became an artist) is the famous portrait of Nampeyo made by William Henry Jackson in 1875 as a member of the US Geological Survey. Like Maria, Nampeyo is posed in front of an adobe wall; in this case it is the open doorway to her Corn Clan house on First Mesa. Note also the similarities of attire in traditional dress between them. In the Nampeyo example, a seemingly informal, “natural” (and hence authentic) image is clearly staged to create a portrait: the seated posture of the single subject, a young woman in full indigenous dress

(the amount of jewelry she wears was not likely worn every day) posed casually in a doorway. Babcock notes that the open doorway, an often-repeated feature of nineteenth- and twentieth-century photographs of Pueblo life that typically include women, is “an icon of entry to an/other world.”²² A subject posed in a doorway is also a framing device, a means of isolating that subject for aesthetic contemplation. Among the first aesthetic commodifications of Hopis for widespread consumption by the American public, Jackson’s portrait of Nampeyo has become a principal trope in its twentieth-century reproduction and now stands as the prototype of indigenous authenticity (fig. 4).

As the Maria example shows, the structure of Nampeyo’s now-classic image serves as a template for the continued iconic representation of authentic Native American artists and art. That structure was reproduced yet again as the cover of a definitive coffee-table book. In *Art of the Hopi*, the viewer’s attention is secured by the colorful kachina on the front cover.²³ This female figure with elaborate headdress wears masses of turquoise jewelry, a draping black dress tied at the waist with a brightly patterned belt, and a floral shawl. She is poised, slightly a-tilt, against a background of red rock with ancient petroglyphs. The structural similarity of this image to both the Nampeyo prototype and the Maria image on the cover of *American Indian Art Magazine’s* anniversary issue is notable: the dramatic female subject with exotic and colorful dress (including jewelry) poised in front of the “authentic” non-Western, nonindustrial background (fig. 5).²⁴



FIGURE 4. *Nampeyo or Harmless Snake*. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (negative 1841-C). Photo by William H. Jackson.

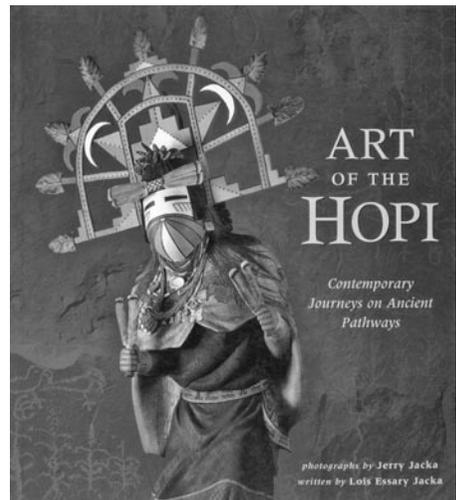


FIGURE 5. Cover of *Art of the Hopi: Contemporary Journeys on Ancient Pathways*. Photo by Jerry Jacka. Courtesy of Northland Publishing.

Indian artist and Indian art are equally interchangeable as indexes of authenticity in artwriting. Currencies in the symbolic production of Indian art, these image commodities have now been reproduced for more than a century. With the potential to be infinitely reproducible by mechanical means, they provide a seamless tradition for American Indian art. Iconic representations of individual producers and their products also serve as the embodiment of matriarchal lineages from whom contemporary producers descend, a form of artwriting that I next explore with the genre of coffee-table books.

CONSUMMATE ARTWRITING: COFFEE-TABLE BOOKS

Periodicals such as *American Indian Art Magazine* serve as vehicles to introduce, create an audience for, and reinforce more permanent forms of artwriting, such as the coffee-table book. The means of introduction may be more or less direct. In 1988, for instance, Jerry and Lois Jacka published the first of many coffee-table books on Indian art.²⁵ This influential publication was preceded by a *New York Times* article encouraging tourist travel to the area and an earlier profile of “The New Individualists” in *Arizona Highways*; it was succeeded by a 1992 update of “A New Generation” of Indian artists in *Arizona Highways*.²⁶ A decade later, the August 1998 issue of *Southwest Art* featured an excerpt from their joint coffee-table book *Art of the Hopi*. In yet another example of the semiotic web of artwriting and the relationship among genres, the elite Scottsdale venue Gallery 10 hosted a special exhibition and symposium to “Meet the Innovators!” featured in owner and dealer Lee Cohen’s coffee-table book *Art of Clay*.²⁷ That event was advertised on the back cover of the autumn 1994 issue of *American Indian Art Magazine*.

The form of artwriting with perhaps the highest production values, coffee-table books help to solidify criteria for defining objects as art and establishing an artist’s stature. A publishing genre distinct from academic books (which also includes museum-exhibit catalogs), these books nevertheless “play off the authority of the written word . . . [to] . . . create or instantiate a system of objects . . . [in which pots are] . . . part of a range of objects” in the system. Further, coffee-table books permit consumers to develop “taste,” the knowledge of what is available for them when educated within their parameters.²⁸ A collector explained that, unlike museum-exhibit catalogs, the authors of these publications typically are not academically trained “experts” but instead “have expertise” through their many years of handling, buying, and selling Indian art.

Nevertheless, coffee-table books are instrumentally authoritative. Cohen’s volume, for example, served as the template for upstate New York collectors of contemporary Southwest art pottery (including Hopi). Grounding their collection in Cohen’s taste as an influential dealer, the couple collects the work of every artist featured in his volume, thus structuring their collection by his authority. That fact shows the powerful influence of artwriting authored by a reputable dealer. Probably the most influential dealer and artwriter on Pueblo pottery in the mid-1990s, when Cohen’s book was published, was Rick Dillingham.

Genealogical Representation as “Linear Descent in Art”

In 1994, noted ceramic artist, collector, and Pueblo pottery dealer Rick Dillingham published the much-heralded *Fourteen Families in Pueblo Pottery*. A lavishly illustrated coffee-table book (one that, due to Dillingham’s stature, was likely considered a “bible-type book” by collectors and other agents in this field of cultural production), the publication was a revision and expansion of his earlier and influential museum-exhibit catalog, *Seven Families in Pueblo Pottery*. Both books include genealogies of potters.²⁹ I acknowledge that potters’ concepts of tradition and family make the matter of considering genealogical reckoning more complex.³⁰ However, my goal is to show that representational practices in the Indian art world draw on the larger art world’s conventions, which go largely unrecognized, and it is my intent to bring them forward for consideration.

In the first publication, which featured Dillingham’s nascent collection of Pueblo pottery, Nampeyo and her descendants were the only Hopi potters included; in the second publication Chapella and Navasie family members were added. *Seven Families* includes four generations and twenty-eight potters subsequent to Nampeyo, while *Fourteen Families* shows five subsequent generations of practicing potters after Nampeyo, with fifty-four potters represented in this genealogy alone. A comparison of the genealogies visually reveals a doubling in one generation (twenty years) of individuals receiving recognition for their work in the marketplace. The inclusion of two other families further shows the marketplace expansion in the intervening decades and the subsequent proliferation of artists (figs. 6 and 7).

Neither volume provides much interpretive text. Even the expanded *Fourteen Families* consists of a scant seven pages (in a 289-page volume), including the author’s acknowledgments and preface along with art historian J. J. Brody’s foreword.³¹ The book principally consists of genealogies for the fourteen families together with photographs of individual potters, their work, and potters’ remarks (a format established in the previous publication and expanded here). Objects are the book’s visual focus, with large color photographs of individual pots. The use of extensive quotations gives voice to potters on the significance of pottery making, but there is no exploration of a larger context for pottery making, while the lack of a bibliography fails to point the reader to a cultural and historical context.

At the time *Seven Families* was published, Dillingham gave no explanation as to why he used the genealogical mode for representing pottery-making families. He later explained that he had observed patterns in his collection of the work of particular families, especially in the Nampeyo family. Finding this an interesting theme, it became the focus of the “Seven Families” exhibition and its accompanying catalog. Although his use of genealogies appears to be a pioneering or idiosyncratic practice, tracing genealogies has resonance in the larger art world and deep historic roots for the Nampeyo family.

Through this genealogical representation, individual artists and their work are valued as part of a larger body of pottery makers. As members of these groups, artists are descended from an “original,” “authentic” ancestress,

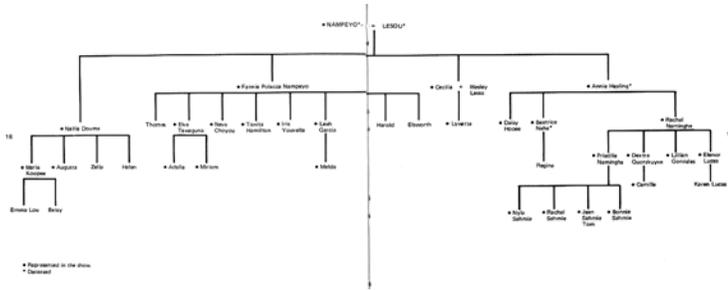


FIGURE 6. *Nampeyo family genealogy in Seven Families in Pueblo Pottery.* Courtesy of University of New Mexico Press.

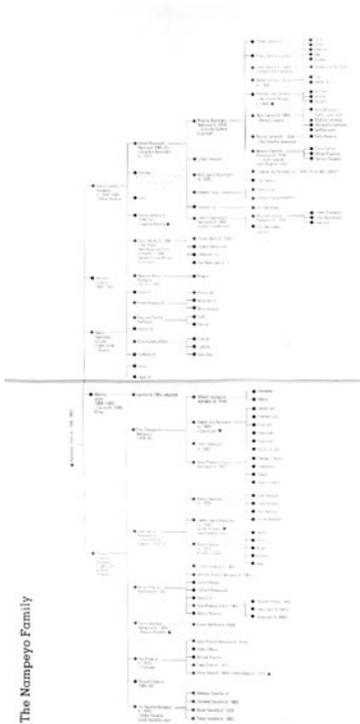


FIGURE 7. *Nampeyo family genealogy in Fourteen Families in Pueblo Pottery.* Courtesy of University of New Mexico Press.

the founder of the graphically diagrammed body of potters. In the case of Hopi pottery, Nampeyo is commonly referred to as the family matriarch. Although presented in an almost exclusively visual format, a discursive connection similar to the textual and image representations that relate contemporary production to the earlier examples nevertheless is established here. Antecedents thus provide authentication for current work as represented in a direct linear relationship. This type of representation constitutes a graphic abstraction of the established discourse repeated in many texts and as rhetorically conveyed by the front and back covers of *American Indian Art Magazine*. The graphic representation of genealogies makes a linear relationship more apparent and emphasizes it as a necessary one in assessing artistic status based on the larger art world's conventions.³²

Represented in this way, contemporary work becomes art because of its demonstrated connection to the

singular talent of the ancestress whose reputation has been solidified through prior writing, to whom it is now permanently attached, and from whom new producers thus inherit a sanction of authenticity. With the Nampeyo family, a textual rendering of the linking of this twentieth-century tradition (Sikyatki revival pottery) to its prehistoric antecedent (Sikyatki Polychrome) is unnecessary because the Nampeyo name alone embeds that connection within it, so



FIGURE 8. *Sikyatki Polychrome jar (ca. 1400). Museum of Northern Arizona A-5900. Photo by Gene Balzer.*

condensed are the meanings that have been generated since the late nineteenth century and so complete is her identification with the “revival” of Hopi pottery. This “official” inscribed history, however, is contested by potters in the First Mesa community who have a different cultural connection to Sikyatki Polychrome and a different experience of the marketplace; one that is not recorded by a genealogy. Nevertheless, the label *Nampeyo*, the head of this extensive graphic map, is an eponym for authentic and traditional Hopi art pottery descended from its prehistoric antecedent. The Nampeyo genealogy thus maps a “school” of authentic indigenous art and artists, the Sikyatki revival, in its descent from a recognized forebear (Nampeyo) and a presumed connection, through her, to a “classical” art style (Sikyatki Polychrome) (fig. 8).

As both Burgin and Carrier emphasize, genealogical representation as a view of “linear descent in art” is characteristic of the modernist discourse about art, notably in the influential writing of critic Clement Greenberg.³³ The contemporary representation of “dynasties” of potters’ families—genealogies recorded in artwriting—result from more than a century’s engagement in marketplace activities of well-developed, multigenerational networks among potters, dealers (and before them, traders), and collectors. With their graphic extension, genealogies map the impact and extent of market practices over time and the socialization of select potters in them, but these historical processes are never articulated, and the mapped social relations are only partial. In this abstracted representational form, together with an avoidance of discursive rendering, the historical processes and social context of this art world are drained away, and a restricted or “purified” art history is constructed.

An Oligopoly of Artists: The Production of Pure Persons

As Carrier noted, genealogies have implications. Artwriting is brilliantly persuasive if it provides a genealogical connection for as yet unproven work with that of an established tradition (as was the case of Greenberg's successful linking of Pollock to Picasso). If a contemporary artist is judged to have the same stature as an acknowledged forebear, for instance, a current-generation potter descended from Nampeyo whose talent is assessed as comparable to Nampeyo's, the price of one's work can approach or command the price of the other's work in the market.³⁴ Genealogical representation thus builds cultural and economic value for art. The genealogical representation of dynasties of Hopi potters, then, borrows from a long-standing practice in the art world. Dynastic genealogies can be powerful tools in the marketplace, where, excerpted from publications and placed on display, they authenticate pottery offered for sale as produced by the Nampeyo family (that is, Sikyatki revival style) and distinguish it from others that may be stylistically similar but are considered inferior. In the case of these genealogies, these representations map both aesthetic and genetic inheritance with graphic clarity, creating and instantiating a pure lineage for this art (fig. 9).



FIGURE 9. *The 1974 Nampeyo family genealogy is prominently displayed (on the wall behind the third shelf from the top) in a Scottsdale gallery to authenticate “genuine” Hopi art pottery in 1993. Photo by Lea S. McChesney.*

Nampeyo was held to be the direct inheritor of the ancient Sikyatki tradition. Defined as the apogee of ancient Pueblo ceramics in the publications of Jesse Walter Fewkes, Sikyatki Polychrome came to stand for all of American antiquity, valued since the late nineteenth century as the product of a presumed pristine indigenous society uncontaminated by Europeans. Yet as a Hopi-Tewa, Nampeyo did not have direct access to the meaning of the designs on Sikyatki Polychrome as a complex symbol system in social context; hers was only an indirect connection to this clan knowledge.³⁵ That fact, however, is of little consequence in these graphic representations, which focus on the presumed aesthetic purity of the constructed lineage from ancient Sikyatki Polychrome to its contemporary, twentieth-century revival.

Through this representational practice, Sikyatki pottery designs are conceptually alienated from the First Mesa Hopi social and ritual

context and made available for Anglos to construct as a kind of classical indigenous, ancient American aesthetic. With its revival by Nampeyo officially sanctioned, subsequent Sikyatki revival work diagrammed as emanating through her eponymic body thus is validated as authentic. Nampeyo is the originator, because she can be tangibly, if artificially, connected to a classic tradition and because she innovated a new style, an adaptation of it. She is the “genius” who gave birth to Hopi pottery as a Western, primitive art in the twentieth century by reviving the certified, authentically autochthonous indigenous tradition.³⁶

Genealogies demonstrate and visually reveal “how difference is transformed into rank and hierarchy” in this art world.³⁷ Potters who emanate from a master and her “school” are differentiated from just any potter. Further, dealers and collectors make discriminations among the sanctioned potters within the school as to who is best. The instrumental power of the genealogy in the marketplace is to produce oligopolies of artists: control of the commodity of Hopi art pottery in the Southwest Indian art market by the small number of producers published in genealogies. These, in turn, monopolize their prestigious product line and effectively exercise a “cartel of ceramics.”³⁸ As is true of promotional practices in the larger art world, the selection of one group of artists for promotion by the system necessarily means excluding those not selected as inferior or as failures.³⁹

The significant instrumentality of genealogies in artwriting is that they produce a few select objects and their makers. The emphasis in today’s marketplace is on names. The artist, as producer of the art commodity, becomes as collectible as the art she produces, because the object has the most enhanced value when its maker has an established name in the marketplace. When interviewed, collectors routinely referred to the art objects in their collections as a “Nampeyo,” “Fannie,” “Dextra,” or “His.”⁴⁰ As a brand name for Hopi art pottery distinguishing it from all others as “the original” and “most authentic,” the Nampeyo name has been largely alienated from the local context of identity construction and value production for pottery in the First Mesa community and effectively has become a brand name for Hopi art pottery.

At the highest end of the market, artwriting solidifies the relationship between dealer and collector, mediator and consumer, and, with the exception of elite artists, largely closes off relationships and networks with producers as an authoritative source, agent, or voice of authenticity. Through this system of cultural production, potters-as-artists exist in another world of recognition, objectification, and legitimacy constructed and commodified by artwriters. An abstract rendering of art-world concerns with authenticity and pedigree, these representations misconstrue and misrecognize kin relations, social networks, on-the-ground behavior, and the meanings of pottery in the local community. The tradition of pottery mapped by genealogies, together with discursive treatises of linear descent in this art form, do not encompass how potters think about this tradition nor do they represent the complex social networks through which potters learn their art and become artists.⁴¹

“NEITHER ART NOR ARTIFACT”?

ARTWRITING AND THE CULTURAL FRAME OF NATIVE AMERICAN ART

In a provocative essay written nearly fifteen years ago, Native American anthropologist Nancy Marie Mithlo proclaimed (traditional) Native-made objects to be “neither art nor artifact.” In critiquing the typologizing (and totalizing) discourse of the art world, Mithlo directly addressed both the question of authoritative voice in determining the value of indigenous objects and the need for recognition of the producer’s agency. More recently, she has argued for accommodating indigenous knowledge systems and artistic intent in writing about the aesthetic value of Native American art.⁴² Mithlo challenges the accepted (ignored or otherwise mystified) political dimensions of the art world by inserting Native voice and agency into representational space through her writing and curatorial voice, admonishing us that, although we are presenting objects, we are representing people.

Jaune Quick-to-See Smith’s frustration that there is not adequate writing about contemporary Native American art in new media recognizes that this art world still turns on categorical distinctions such as art and artifact, contemporary or traditional art, and that new boundaries continually need to be drawn as new kinds of objects are brought into the art-culture system and consecrated within its field. Her comments also suggest that Native art in new media needs to be connected firmly to a recognized forebear, fulfilling a critical concern of art-world discourse. A notable attempt at creating this type of connection is the recent representation of Native modernism and the linking of the work of Native artists George Morrison and Allan Houser to the Western canonical tradition of modernism authorized by Greenberg.⁴³ But because it lacks a clearly demarcated lineage, contemporary Native art in new media remains in representational limbo. If these artists emphasize indigeneity their work too readily indexes “primitivity,” but if they emphasize too much Western influence they are considered only a lesser, imitative version of modern art. It is unclear as to what canonical or certified past their work relates.

With its thirtieth-anniversary issue, the influential artwriting venue of *American Indian Art Magazine* shows that contemporary Native work in traditional media can now stand on its own, as its front cover no longer features a museum object but instead features a contemporary work commissioned for this context, and the gallery featured on the back cover, Blue Rain Gallery in Taos, New Mexico, is Native owned. A visual connection for contemporary Pueblo pottery to an historic forebear is no longer required because its grounding is so well established through past representations that those connections are solidly condensed within current representations. Contemporary work in traditional media, especially pottery, is authentic, “real Indian art,” but the reality of this positioning still entails cultural assumptions about “artifacts” even if these are now erased from our view (fig. 10).

Perhaps it is not surprising that Quick-to-See Smith demands a new venue and new voices for artwriting on contemporary nontraditional Native arts. This study shows that it is not only a question of where but also how we

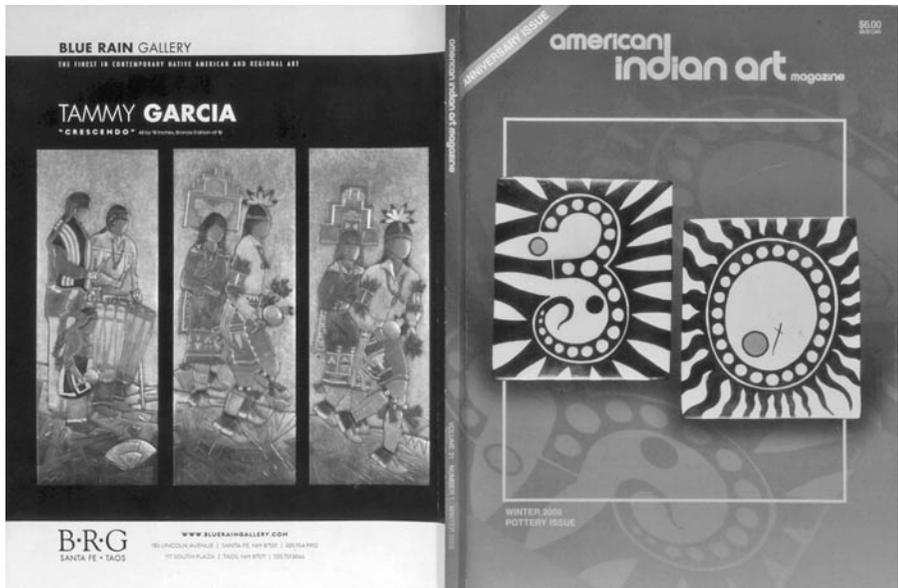


FIGURE 10. *Thirtieth-anniversary issue of American Indian Art Magazine (Winter 2005).* Courtesy of American Indian Art Magazine.

represent American Indian art that matters. Writing about art is essential to the functioning of any art world, and I have attempted to show that the materiality of these representations poses an analytical problem in its own right. With a cultural frame for objects that draws on conventions of the larger art-world context in which it participates, artwriting's text and images provide rhetorical visual instruction for how to see these traditional Native American objects as art and its producers as artists. Although foregrounding them aesthetically in a manner we are accustomed to, this representational practice accomplishes a separation of objects and persons from one social and cultural context and enables a purified perception largely, if not entirely, on the terms of another context. As Mithlo implies, perhaps it is not just nontraditional art that might be framed differently.

Edgar Degas may have lamented the frame's role in commodifying art, but Jacques Derrida remarked of its constructed fragility.⁴⁴ Both observations suggest that the materials of a frame's construction are not essential but instead are arbitrary, contextualized, and thus can be changed. Exposing the historical artifice of the cultural framing of this artwriting may enable us to write in different ways about traditional Native American art in the future: to write in ways that establish new criteria based on alternative "ways of seeing" and that delineate different values for aesthetic objects deriving as much from Native ways of knowing as on our own inscribed bodies of knowledge and visual ideologies. Seeing the familiar materiality of the existing representational frame may be the first step in opening up to new possibilities for building intercultural frames.

Acknowledgments

I thank Castle McLaughlin for alerting me to this venue for publishing my work on the artwriting of Hopi pottery and potters in the American Indian art market. Fred Myers's work highlighting the importance of this signifying practice as a process of cultural production is a particular inspiration. Much of my insight derives from our joint comparative work on the cases of Hopi pottery and Australian aboriginal acrylic paintings. I want to make it clear that my analysis is in no way intended to denigrate the objects, representations, or persons who authored them. I have the utmost respect for Hopi women potters in particular and find the work of artists and artwriters impressive. Without their joint efforts there would not be a flourishing market in traditional Native American art. Nevertheless, there is a certain tension between Native and Anglo values that I explore by making evident otherwise overlooked cultural assumptions embedded in Anglo practices. My concern is that we become aware of all the elements that contribute to valuing this work as art, and my intent is to steer toward more mutually engaged forms of representation.

I wish to thank the two anonymous reviewers whose comments helped me to clarify and refine my argument and the publishers and institutional repositories for permission to reproduce images. I especially appreciate Mary Hamilton, publisher of *American Indian Art Magazine* since its founding, for graciously entertaining my critical analysis and permission to reproduce images of magazine covers. Funding for dissertation research from 1991–94 was provided by the Jacob's Research Fund, Whatcom Museum; the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, which awarded both a small grant and a supplement; and a June Frier Esserman Fellowship from New York University. I gratefully acknowledge each of these sources. Ethnographic fieldwork is ongoing.

NOTES

I presented a preliminary version of sections of this article as "Artwriting and the Industrial Re-Production of Pueblo Pottery: The Case of *American Indian Art Magazine*," at the biennial meeting of the Native American Art Studies Association, Victoria, BC, October 1999.

1. Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, "Are the Barbarians at the Gates?" paper presented at the biennial conference of the Native American Art Studies Association, Scottsdale, AZ, 27 October 2005 for the session "Why Are There No Great Collections of Contemporary Native American Art?" Quotations of the speaker's comments are from the author's conference notes.

Throughout this article I use *Native American art* and *American Indian art* interchangeably, in part because the institutions and organizations of which this art world are comprised use both terms. Note the name of its professional organization, yet one of the chief vehicles for promoting the work is *American Indian Art Magazine*. These are terms that have been widely used since the last quarter of the twentieth century to describe both work done in traditional media and new media by indigenous persons

and their ancestors on the North American continent (e.g., Janet Catherine Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips's *Native North American Art* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998]). An influential exhibition of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian terms this category *First American art*, terminology that may well become more widely used in the twenty-first century (see Bruce David Bernstein and Gerald McMaster, eds., *First American Art: The Charles and Valerie Diker Collection of American Indian Art* [Washington, DC: Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, 2004] and Lea S. McChesney, "Art—Native North America," in vol. 1 of *Berkshire Encyclopedia of World History*, eds. William H. McNeill et al. (Great Barrington, MA: Berkshire Publishing Group, 2005), 145–50).

2. See David Carrier, *Artwriting* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), 9, 26 and Victor Burgin, *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 16, 140–204 on the role of inscriptional practices in the art world, and see James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 183–213 for the concept of visual instruction.

3. I draw on Paul Duro's discussion of framing as a rhetorical device in his introduction to Paul Duro, ed., *The Rhetoric of the Frame: Essays on the Boundaries of the Artwork* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1.

4. For a discussion of the developments in the Indian art world during the last quarter century, especially the last decade of the twentieth century, see Lea S. McChesney, *The American Indian Art World and the (Re-) Production of the Primitive: Hopi Pottery and Potters* (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 2003), 13–23 and Bruce Bernstein, "Contexts for the Growth and Development of the Indian Art World in the 1960s and 1970s," in *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*, ed. W. Jackson Rushing III (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 57–71.

5. There are well-known Indian artists working in nontraditional media who have been trained in fine-art schools such as the Institute of American Indian Art in Santa Fe. Yet these artists are imperfectly incorporated into the art world also, as Quick-to-See Smith decried. Although they do not experience this institutional difference in training with the larger art world, like their traditional counterparts these Native American artists nevertheless experience marginalization within it (see Nancy Mitchell, *The Negotiated Role of Contemporary American Indian Artists: A Study in Marginality* [Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Services, 1994]). Increasingly, even the younger generation of traditional artists has advanced education such as a college or specialized degree or career training beyond the secondary level.

6. Carrier, *Artwriting*; Burgin, *End of Art Theory*; and Lea S. McChesney and Fred R. Myers, "Writing Art and the Transfiguration of the Object," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago, IL, 21 November 2003.

7. Burgin, *End of Art Theory*, 141.

8. See Thatcher Freund, *Objects of Desire: The Lives of Antiques and Those Who Pursue Them* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993), 172–73.

9. See Molly H. Mullin, "The Patronage of Difference: Making Indian Art 'Art, Not Ethnology,'" in *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology*, eds. George E. Marcus and Fred R. Myers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 166–98.

10. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans.

R. Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984) and Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993). The point is made in McChesney and Myers's paper cited in n. 6.

11. Although potters may sell their work to a dealer, middleman, or directly to the public at fairs and markets or out of their homes, potters represented by dealers and whose work is promoted through artwriting have a much greater chance of achieving the status of artist. The authority to determine criteria of value rests principally with authorities in the art world and not the potters unless they have established reputations. A dealer is more likely to pick up the work of an artist who has won awards at a juried exhibition or who comes from a recognized family, declaring that this artist is preferable to consumers over one who has not won awards. Although not all successful potters stem from families with recognized genealogies, those who can claim affiliation with one of the three recognized family genealogies that I discuss are empowered to demand significantly higher prices for their work.

12. Sally Stein, "The Graphic Order of Desire: Modernization of a Middle-Class Women's Magazine, 1919–1939," in *The Contest of Meaning*, ed. R. Bolton (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989), 145–59. I thank Chris Burnett for emphasizing that artwriting's visual and textual elements comprise the rhetoric of graphic design and for pointing me to Sally Stein's work.

13. I concentrate my analysis on issues produced between the journal's inception in 1975 and its twentieth-anniversary issue in 1995. The graphic structure for promoting Indian art that I analyze for this period remains largely unchanged, but I discuss a recent representational shift in my conclusion. Serving an instrumental role in the marketplace is not the only function of this important vehicle. However, the fact that it works to commercialize and aestheticize art, and how that is accomplished, are my concerns. The increasing commercial character of the Western art world over the twentieth century is well documented in Burgin, *End of Art Theory*; Diana Crane, *The Transformation of the Avant-Garde: The New York Art World, 1940–1985* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and Raymonde Moulin, *The French Art Market: A Sociological View*, trans. A. Goldhammer (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987).

14. See Robert Ashton Jr., "Namepeyo and Lesou," *American Indian Art Magazine* 1, no. 3 (1976): 24–33.

15. See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. and intro. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

16. Following the order in which they are mentioned (and according to the season), the articles are Lucy Fowler Williams, "The Southwest Collections of the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Pennsylvania," *American Indian Art Magazine* 16, no. 2 (1991): 50–59; Linda B. Eaton, "The Heart of the Region: The Anthropology Collections of the Museum of Northern Arizona," *American Indian Art Magazine* 16, no. 3 (1991): 46–53; Jonathan Batkin, "The Three Great Potters of San Ildefonso and their Legacy," *American Indian Art Magazine* 16, no. 4 (1991): 56–69, 85; and Trudy Griffin-Pierce, "Navajo Ceremonial Sandpaintings: Sacred, Living Entities," *American Indian Art Magazine* 16, no. 1 (1991): 58–67, 88.

17. Gallery 10 had locations in the cities of Scottsdale and Carefree, Arizona, and in Santa Fe, New Mexico during this period.

With what appears to have been a more than twenty-year contract for the back-cover advertisements, Gallery 10 monopolized this form of artwriting and thus was especially instrumental to it. The ability of a dealer to “consecrate” objects also depends, it seems, on the economic wherewithal to corner a market of representation (see Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*, on consecration).

18. Lorraine Daston, “Speechless,” in *Things that Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science*, ed. Lorraine Daston (New York: Zone Books, 2004), 18.

19. Barbara A. Babcock, “Marketing Maria: The Tribal Artist in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,” in *Looking High and Low: Art and Cultural Identity*, eds. Brenda J. Bright and Liza Bakewell (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), 124–50.

20. At the time of this publication, Nampeyo (1860–1942) had been deceased for more than fifty years, and Maria (1887–1980) had passed away fifteen years prior. Thus, Maria lived during the period of the flourishing Indian art market celebrated by this issue, but Nampeyo did not participate in the same historic moment. She did contribute to laying its visual and semiotic groundwork, however.

21. Curtis M. Hinsley, “Authoring Authenticity,” *Journal of the Southwest* 32, no. 4 (1990): 470.

22. Barbara A. Babcock, “First Families: Gender, Reproduction, and the Mythic Southwest,” in *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*, eds. Marta Weigle and Barbara Babcock (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1996), 212.

23. Lois Essary Jacka and Jerry Jacka, *Art of the Hopi: Contemporary Journeys on Ancient Pathways* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing, 1998).

24. The prominent photographer Jerry Jacka produced both the Maria and coffee-table book images.

25. Lois Essary Jacka and Jerry Jacka, *Beyond Tradition: Contemporary Indian Art and its Evolution* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing, 1988).

26. Lois Essary Jacka, “On the Mesas of the Hopis,” *The New York Times*, 2 October 1988, 14. Lois Essary Jacka and Jerry Jacka, “The New Individualists: A Spectacular Visual Journey through the Realm of Native American Fine Art,” *Arizona Highways* 62, no. 5 (1986). Lois Essary Jacka and Jerry Jacka, “The New Generation of Indian Artists,” *Arizona Highways* 68, no. 11 (1992): 4–23.

27. Lee M. Cohen, *Art of Clay: Timeless Pottery of the Southwest* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1993).

28. Fred Myers, personal communication, 22 July 1999.

29. Rick Dillingham, *Fourteen Families in Pueblo Pottery* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994) and Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, *Seven Families in Pueblo Pottery* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974). Thirteen years after its publication, *Fourteen Families in Pueblo Pottery* is still in print, listed in the fall 2007 catalog of the University of New Mexico Press and surely an indication of Dillingham’s continuing influence.

Rick Dillingham was a central figure in the development of an elite market for Pueblo pottery in Santa Fe in the critical years of the mid-1970s through the mid-1990s. His close and long-standing personal relationships with potters and shared interest in clay as a medium of artistic expression informed the content of his collection and how he collected. As a dealer and collector with more than twenty years’ experience, he “knew the business” better than many and could be outspoken and critical of

practices with which he disagreed, especially if he felt these practices were prejudicial to potters. The market made a celebrity of him, yet he remained a dedicated and remarkable individual. Here I mean to locate Dillingham's representational practices within a larger cultural context, addressing the structural impact of these practices within the overall system, and not to comment on him personally. For a preliminary consideration of the uneasy relationship between genealogical reckoning in artwriting and varying articulations of the tradition of Hopi pottery in the First Mesa community of the Hopi Reservation, see McChesney, *The American Indian Art World*.

30. Although the question of tracing genealogical descent has significance from the artist's perspective, it is beyond the scope of this article to address that here.

31. Dillingham's fatal illness, to which he succumbed shortly before the volume's publication, no doubt accounts in part for the lack of text. At the same time, Dillingham considered himself an artist, collector, and dealer, not a scholar. Another dealer interviewed in my fieldwork commented that the best representations of traditional Native arts follow the KISS—Keep It Simple Stupid—formula, thus describing an informal representational standard for artwriting.

32. For examples of discursive linear genealogical representations of Pueblo pottery, see Cohen, *Art of Clay* and Rick Dillingham, *Acoma and Laguna Pottery* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1992). In contrast, the kinds of genealogies Carrier discusses are textually, not visually, rendered. For instance, the history of modern art is not diagrammed by lines drawn between Pollack and Picasso but is created through descriptions and interpretations of their work that connect these artists according to aesthetic concerns.

33. Burgin, *End of Art Theory*, 14; Carrier, *Artwriting*.

34. Carrier, *Artwriting*, 36, 40.

35. See Jesse Walther Fewkes, *Designs on Prehistoric Hopi Pottery* (New York: Dover Publications, 1973), a volume comprised of the section "Sikyatki and Its Pottery" from "Archaeological Expedition to Arizona in 1895" published in 1898 in the *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1895–96*, and "Designs on Prehistoric Hopi Pottery," published in 1911–12 in the *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. See also Walter Hough, "Biographical Memoir of Jesse Walter Fewkes, 1850–1930," *National Academy of Sciences Biographical Memoirs*, vol. XV (1932): 264. By contrast, compare the extensive elaboration of iconography in a social and cultural context explored by Nancy Munn in *Walbiri Iconography: Graphic Representation and Cultural Symbolism in a Central Australian Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

36. Once Sikyatki revival pottery was sanctioned by the archaeologist Jesse Walter Fewkes, collecting it in earnest began in the 1910s and 1920s. This was also a period when Americans started to collect earlier periods of their decorative art styles, from the colonial, federal, Greek revival, and other periods. Thus, these revival pots were "colonial objects." I thank Bruce Althuser (personal communication, 2 December 2005) for this observation.

It is significant to note that artistic revivals have been important in the Western art tradition since the Renaissance. By sanctioning the Sikyatki revival style in Hopi pottery, Fewkes was participating in a long history of cultural production in the arts. Based on the work of Walter Benjamin, art historian Frances Connelly observes that these revivals, due to historical and cultural distancing, effect a "hollowing out" of the

meaning of the original tradition and the construction of new meaning(s) (Frances Connelly, "Fusing and Confusing Paradigms: Art History and Anthropology," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, DC, 3 December 2005 for the panel "Anthropology, Art History, and Authenticity Aesthetics: Foundational Discourses in Valuing Native American Art"). I argue that "hollowing out" is precisely the process that has occurred with artwriting and the official inscription of the Sikyatki revival.

37. Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 17.

38. Katharine McKenna, "Art, Business and the American Road," in *Hopis, Tewas and the American Road*, eds. Willard Walker and Lydia L. Wyckoff (Middletown: Wesleyan University, 1983), 38 and Lydia L. Wyckoff, *Designs and Factions: Politics, Religion and Ceramics on the Hopi Third Mesa* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 81.

39. Burgin, *End of Art Theory*, 191.

40. Fannie Polacca was Nampeyo's youngest daughter. Dextra Quotskuyva is Nampeyo's great-granddaughter and a granddaughter of Annie, Nampeyo's oldest daughter. Hisi is Dextra's daughter (thus a great-great-granddaughter of Nampeyo). All of these potters, especially Dextra and Hisi, were receiving a great deal of marketplace recognition in the mid-1990s.

41. By "on-the-ground behavior" I mean what actually occurs in everyday experience, in what people are actually doing: from whom they learn, how they learn, to whom they sell, and how their market knowledge is developed through social interaction.

This is a topic that deserves treatment in its own right, but unfortunately I cannot develop it here.

42. See Nancy Marie Mitchell, "Neither Art Nor Artifact," working paper and Nancy Marie Mithlo, "'We Have All Been Colonized': Subordination and Resistance on a Global Arts Stage," *Visual Anthropology* 17 (2004): 229–45. Nancy Mitchell and Nancy Mithlo are the same person.

43. The term *art-culture system* is from James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture," in his *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 215–51. See Truman T. Lowe, *Native Modernism: The Art of George Morrison and Allan Houser* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005) for artwriting on contemporary Native artists.

44. Both sentiments are expressed in the epigraph to Duro, *Rhetoric of the Frame*.