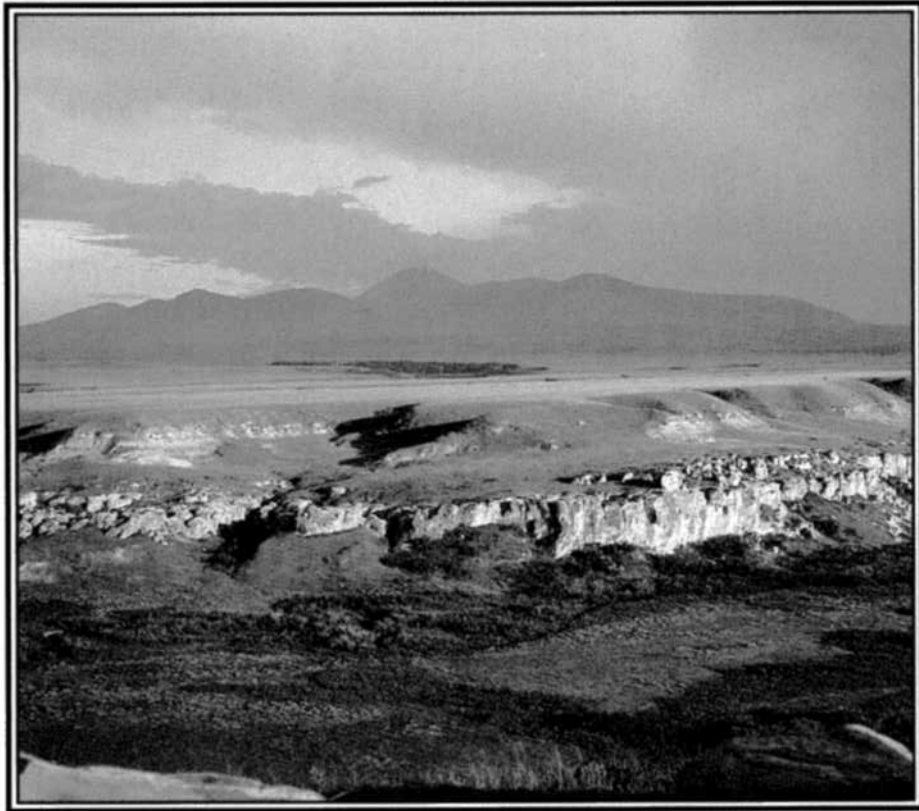


**BEYOND THE ARTIFACT: NATIVE ART AS
PERFORMANCE**



JOAN M. VASTOKAS

BEYOND THE ARTIFACT: NATIVE ART AS PERFORMANCE

Joan M. Vastokas

The John P. Robarts Professor
of Canadian Studies 1989-1990

THE FIFTH ROBARTS LECTURE
Wednesday, March 7, 1990
York University, North York, Ontario

ROBARTS CENTRE FOR CANADIAN STUDIES

Joan M. Vastokas, John P. Robarts Professor of Canadian Studies (1989-90), is an art historian and an anthropologist, author of *Sacred Art of the Algonkians: A Study of the Peterborough Petroglyphs* (1973); *Worlds Apart: The Symbolic Landscape of Tony Urquhart* (1988); and (with Dennis Reid) *From the Four Quarters: Native and European Art in Ontario, 5000 B.C. to 1967 A.D.* (forthcoming).

Professor Vastokas is currently a member of the faculty of Trent University, Peterborough and the recipient of the Trent University Distinguished Research Award.

Cover illustration: Panoramic view of the Sweet Grass Hills at Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park, Milk River, Alberta, in 1975. Photograph by Joan M. Vastokas.

PREFACE

The lecture published here was first delivered on March 7th, 1990, during my tenure in 1989-90 as the Robarts Professor and Chair of Canadian Studies at York University. In retrospect, and I shall explain below, that lecture has come to signify a major turning point in my thinking about art and artifacts, how I conduct my research, and how I do my teaching. The new horizons which the year at the Robarts Centre opened up have been most enriching. I now mark my entire perspective as an Art Historian and an Anthropologist into two phases: *before* and *after* the Robarts experience. Let me explain.

In planning the public and internal academic events connected with the Robarts professorship, I sought a theme which would unify all my interests in Native Art, Folk Art, and Contemporary Art of Canada. Hence, I chose the ever-persistent theme of the landscape, but aimed to attack the subject from a fresh perspective. The three Robarts Research Colloquia organized that year addressed aspects of Canadian landscape rarely, if at all, touched on: Native perceptions, minority Canadian perceptions, and the theme of the Garden in contemporary art.

But I debated with myself for some time the choice of subject for the public Robarts Lecture. I chose to speak on Native art, but aimed at shedding some new light on its interpretation. The Robarts Lecture, as it turned out, became the first step towards building a new theory of the art work in general and a new method and theory of interpretation which came to a fuller, more self-conscious fruition in a paper given in June of that year at a Toronto conference on the "Socio-Semiotics of the Object: Artifacts in Social Symbolic Processes." The Robarts Lecture, "Beyond the Artifact: Native Art as Performance," leads directly in its interpretive orientation to that conference paper, forthcoming as "Textile as Text?: Lithuanian Woven Sashes as Social and Cosmic Fabrication."

As a result of the insights gained in preparing these two papers during my Robarts professorship, I am now in the process of rethinking entirely my current writing projects, my courses at Trent University, and my future research directions.

The year at the Robarts Centre was a most fruitful and positive experience in respects other than academic - new friends, new colleagues, new collaborators, and renewed inspiration. After many years of teaching, a major break and a new direction were most welcome and I wish to thank all those responsible for making that year possible and such a happy one. Above all, I should thank Joyce Zemans, former Dean of Fine Arts at York University and current Chairperson of the Canada Council, for nominating me in the first place. Then, thanks to the members of the board of the Robarts Centre for selecting me. I wish to thank Susan Houston, Director of the Robarts Centre, for being so thoughtful, considerate, and patient with me. How can I even begin to thank Krystyna Tarkowski? She went far beyond the call of duty in her official capacity as Administrative Assistant and has become a personal friend. I wish also to thank my Graduate Assistant, Janine Butler, for her cheerfulness and efficiency.

As well, I am grateful for the collegiality and kindness of many others at York University, in particular, Joy Cohnstadt, Ramsay Cook, Nina DeShane, Kathy M'Closkey, Judith

Nagata, Gerald Needham, Clara Thomas, Penny Van Esterik, and Mary Williamson. And finally, I wish to thank all those from both inside and outside York University who participated in and helped make the Robarts Research Colloquia happen: Ted Fraser, Director of the Confederation Art Gallery in Charlottetown; Tom Hill, Iroquois Curator of the Woodland Indian Cultural Education Centre; Peter Larisey, S.J., Regis College; Kit Lort of Vancouver; Jordan Paper, York University; Nancy-Lou Patterson, University of Waterloo; Loretta Yarlow, York University; and Paul Taçon, Australian National Museum, Sydney.

And last, but certainly not least, thanks so very much to all those artists who participated in the Garden event at the York University Art Gallery -- Stephen Cruise of Toronto, Philip Fry of Ottawa, Joey Morgan of Vancouver, Reinhard Reitzenstein of Toronto, and Tony Urquhart of Waterloo -- because artists and what they do are what it is all about.

**BEYOND THE ARTIFACT:
NATIVE ART AS PERFORMANCE**

The understanding, appreciation, and interpretation of both traditional and contemporary art of Canada's First Nations have acquired over the past decade increasingly political as well as philosophical and aesthetic implications. Native art has become a political issue, which centres upon the fact that the diverse traditions of Indian and Inuit art are perceived as entirely separate in kind and history from that of the Eurocanadian "main- stream."

The Canadian visual arts community, its established institutions if not its individuals, has maintained for the most part a deliberate and official apartheid status for the cultural expressions of Native peoples relative to those stemming from Europe and, more recently, the United States. This policy and practice of discrimination, it can be shown, is a direct legacy of the intellectual, scientific, and political history of eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe, the consequence simultaneously of Romanticism, Evolutionism, Darwinism, Imperialism, and for Canada in particular, the lingering side-effects of nineteenth century class, ethnic and racial consciousness, still latent, unfortunately, in the structures, dynamics, and practices of the nation's most powerful public and private institutions.

The Romanticism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was initially inspired by archaeological exploration in the Aegean and the Middle East, and by the encounter of the European West with "otherness" in the new landscapes and new cultures contacted during

the intense period of geographic exploration from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries in Africa, the South Pacific and the Americas. This “discovery” by Europeans of the myriad varieties of the human cultural condition led to speculation about what that diversity signified in terms of universal human history. It also led to the emergence of the discipline of Anthropology, which has focussed upon the investigation of these “new-found” cultures to the almost complete exclusion of social-scientific concern with European and contemporary Western societies.

Nineteenth century science was particularly inclined towards the devising of systems of classification of both the physical and the biological world. Classification and Evolutionism were the key paradigms for nineteenth century thought. The latter, in particular, came to serve as the chief explanatory principle for the biological, social, and cultural developments of humankind. Darwinism, especially the theory of evolutionary process as environmental adaptation, may be held mainly responsible for the intellectual and moral rationalizations that “excused” Imperialist expansion and the capitalistic acquisition of material and economic wealth by the “more advanced civilizations” of Western Europe at the disastrous expense of the peoples they colonized. More precisely, the notion of the “struggle for survival, and the attendant idea of the “survival of the fittest” in the plant or animal kingdom, was extended by implication to that of nations and cultures. Perceived as lower on the evolutionary scale of humanity, indigenous peoples everywhere were eradicated at worst or “raised up” at best to the “more civilized” or “more enlightened” European level by means of Christianization, education and absorption into the ways of Western society.

Human societies came to be classified into various versions of the basic “primitive,” “barbarian” and “civilized” categories on an ascending evolutionary scale, categories which extended, of course, to the cultural products and expressions of those societal “levels” or “stages,” whether they be forms of religion, technology, economy, social life, or the arts. Hence, there arose the still persistent notion of Native North American as well as African and Pacific Island artistic traditions being “primitive,” contained less by the category of “art” than by that of craft or utilitarian “artifact.” Indeed, by the turn of the twentieth century the majority of theoretical studies on the visual arts concerned themselves primarily with the issue of “evolution” in the arts, in particular with a linear developmental scheme wherein “progress” came to be associated with the move from “simple” and “primitive” to complex and “civilized”

modes of visual expression (for example Haddon 1895; see also Munro 1963). The legacy of this evolutionary and hierarchical preoccupation with “lower” and “higher” forms of human

endeavour has become so embedded in Western thought processes that it persists even today as an aspect of the Western world view. Needless to say, this hierarchical and evolutionary world view has continued to condition willy-nilly the policies of many of Canada’s most distinguished art and art-educational institutions.

Changes in this not so tacitly maintained status quo in the philosophical underpinnings of Canadian art institutions and of the discipline of art history – which even more directly than anthropology, has been responsible for conditioning professional thinking and practice in the artistic community of the country, whether among curators, critics, educators, collectors and even among artists themselves (see Vastokas 1987b, 1987c) – were not possible given both the intellectual and institutional legacy of the nineteenth century and the fact of Modernist art practice and theory, which persisted at least a decade longer in Canada than in either Europe or the United States.

The political implications of interpretation, understanding and the public display of Native art at the present time are profound. They are best understood as an inevitable outcome of several factors converging in Canada since the late 1950s. Most significant and all-pervasive has been the cultural revolution of the 1960s which jolted industrialized Western society out of its postivist complacency and ethnocentric self-satisfaction. “Modernism,” the term now signifying Western culture of the first half of the twentieth century, whose essential characteristics some trace back to the Renaissance, was displaced in the 1970s and 1980s by “Postmodernism.”

The “Postmodern condition” (Lyotard 1984), however ambiguously defined, did not occur in a vacuum; it is not a phenomenon limited to literature, philosophy, architecture or the arts, as many authors on the subject have led us to believe. It is more productive to look upon Post- modernism in a cross-cultural, anthropological perspective wherein it becomes clear that what is going on in Western society in the 1970s and 1980s is a “revitalization movement” affecting the whole of the Western world (Vastokas 1990). It is a coming to terms with the collapse of the old world view and with the challenges presented to the West at every level in its confrontation with the contrasting world views, values and priorities of the “other” societies it once either dominated or over which it once unquestionably felt superior.

The characteristics of Postmodern (Vastokas 1988) described for literature, philosophy and the arts, are not its essence, but symptoms of the wider cultural dynamic. Once one acknowledges the vital importance and central role of the arts, not as “entertainment” or art for art’s sake, but as that sector of whole cultural systems which reveals the deepest emotional, spiritual and ideological concerns of any society and its individuals, then it is possible to recognize the cultural crisis engulfing the Postmodern West. It is a crisis of radical cultural change, the likes of which the West has not experienced since the fourteenth century (see Tuchman 1978)

The present liminal cultural condition of Western society as a whole, which is manifested in Postmodernist cultural expressions, made possible and provided the context within which, in Canada, a number of factors and events came together between 1950 and 1980 to create the current controversial atmosphere besieging the topic of Native art. The first is the “renaissance” of Native art and culture, wherein the 1950s saw the emergence of contemporary Inuit art in the form of sculpture and graphics; the 1960s witnessed the “rebirth” of the more traditionally inspired art of the coastal peoples of British Columbia; the 1970s were marked by the appearance of the eastern Woodlands school of “Legend Painters”; and most recently the 1980s saw the coming into prominence of independent artists of Native ancestry, trained in “mainstream” art schools, whose productions can no longer be interpreted narrowly in terms of ethnicity and whose works address issues relevant not only to their Native communities, but to the whole of the Postmodern world (Vastokas 1988, 1989) .

The second factor of importance and relevant to the first, is the considerable success of contemporary Native art in the public marketplace. Inuit sculpture, prints and drawings, in particular, made an immediate impact upon Eurocanadians and foreign visitors when marketed in southern Canada, causing consternation even among “mainstream” Canadian artists (see Vastokas 1987 b, 1987 c). Thirdly, the public appeal of contemporary Native expressions must be seen as part of a wider, post-1950s interest of Westerners in general, art historians and many artists, in particular, in the art of Native North Americans. In the case of Canada, the public has been far ahead of its institutions in this respect, for when major art galleries first acquired Native art collections (Vastokas 1987a) it was not through considered *purchase* but by the unplanned *donation* of mainly Inuit collections already assembled by private collectors.

The political awakening of Canada's Native peoples in this period may be considered part and parcel of the general renewal of Native culture, except that it was more particularly prompted by issues of conflict, notably those having to do with land claims, the pipeline controversy and with hydro-electric projects. The endless political and legal disputation with federal and provincial governments, with multinational corporations and other business interests spilled over into the arena of Native art. Already in the 1960s, Native communities began to voice concern over museum and gallery exhibitions of sacred art forms. By the 1980s, however, the concerns over political, legal, and environmental issues were expressed actively in such various forms of protest as the notorious and protracted case of the Glenbow Museum exhibition of traditional Native art during the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary (Vastokas 1987d) and the more pointed protest over logging in the Queen Charlotte's by the Haida artist, Bill Reid.

And last, but certainly not the least, was the construction in the 1980s of the two new multi-million dollar federal projects in Ottawa and Hull, the National Gallery of Art (Figure 1) and the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Figure 2), formerly named the National Museum of Man. Because both traditional Native art and contemporary art by living artists of Native ancestry are stored and exhibited, not in the National Gallery as so many of us had hoped but in the Canadian Museum of Civilization in an archaeological and ethnological context, the old debate as to where Native art more properly belongs -- in the sphere of art or ethnological artifact -- has been brought to a most pronounced head. Those federal officials responsible for Canadian museum policy have chosen, in fact if not in intent, to enshrine institutionally and architecturally the ideology of colonialism. By not incorporating Native art in the planning of the new National Gallery of Art, a loud and clear statement has been made to the world that art produced by Native persons belongs not to the history of Canadian art but to ethnology. A magnificent opportunity was missed by the National Museums to demonstrate that Canadian institutions had truly matured, had finally left behind the colonial legacy of the nineteenth century. They missed the chance to show that Canada could be truly original, independent, and democratic in reality as well as in dream. Given the circumstances in this respect, one could ask with justification whether our newly repatriated constitution is really worth the paper on which it is written.

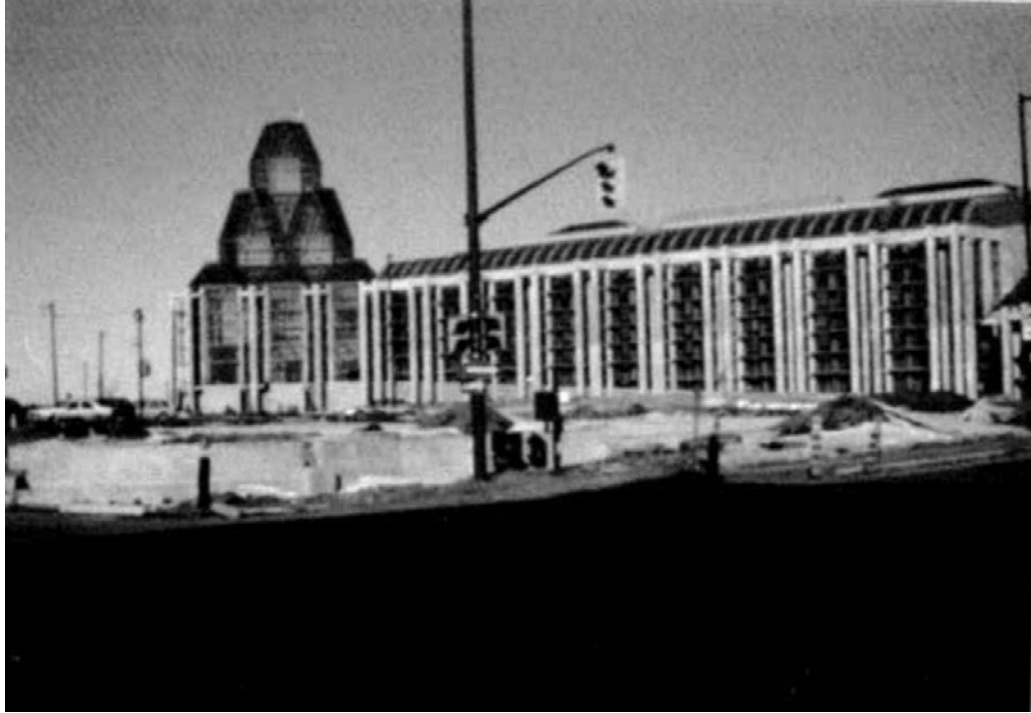


FIGURE 1: The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, under construction in March 1988.
Photograph by Joan M. Vastokas



FIGURE 2: The Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec under construction in March 1988.

Photograph by Joan M. Vastokas

Given their strategic location on opposite sides of the Ottawa River near the Houses of Parliament, the two new buildings speak metaphoric volumes about persisting institutionalized attitudes and policy toward the cultural heritage of the peoples who are more truly than the French and English, the Founding Nations of Canada. The category of “culture” is manifested symbolically in the cathedral-like, Gothic references of the National Gallery designed by Moishe Safdie and the polar category of “nature” in the organically-conceived and geologically-inspired masses of the Canadian Museum of Civilization by the Métis architect, Douglas Cardinal. The stereotyping embedded in the selection of architects for these two projects would have been avoided so easily had Cardinal been selected to design the gallery and Safdie the museum. Protestations to the contrary, it is what our institutions actually do rather than what they say that in reality counts, it being a well-known anthropological maxim that actions speak louder than words. And, in Canada today, works of Native art are in fact still officially regarded as belonging to nature rather than to culture and are treated as so many classifiable specimens, as utilitarian artifacts, rather than cultural expressions produced in the human imagination.

It is difficult to understand the relentless persistence of this outdated position of not only our museums and galleries, but of our academic institutions as well, so very few of which acknowledge the scholarly investigation of Native art as art within the discipline of art history (Vastokas 1986). Thinking these matters over a few years ago, it seemed to this writer then that the neglect and persistent ethnographic status of Native art was attributable to such factors as: the limitations of art historical methodology, which demands the availability of written documents; the perception of Native art as craft; the elitism of art historians as a social group; Western ethnocentrism; the Modernist concept of art for art’s sake; and last but not least the invisibility of Native works, buried as they are in archaeological and ethnographic storerooms throughout the world from Leningrad and New York to the Vatican. It was this writer’s opinion then that the major factor accounting for the continuing apartheid status of Native art and artists lay in the inadequacy of current art historical theory and method in dealing with prehistoric and non-literate artistic traditions (Vastokas 1986-87:7-14).

More recently, however, it has become clear that the Western conception of the art work in general, which has prevailed in Western aesthetics and critical theory for at least the past five hundred years, is perhaps most largely to blame. Since the emergence of the Renaissance and the

rise of materialist and positivist values, the work of visual art has been perceived and interpreted as an isolated object, divorced physically and meaningfully from both social life and the surrounding natural environment. And, even more recently, the art work is perceived as a static material object, contained entirely within itself, self-referential and meant largely to be looked at from a single perspective. Paintings are framed, the frame metaphorically signifying separation from life, from their spatial context. Sculptures stand on equally alienating pedestals. Both painting and sculpture are situated in a man-made “built” environment -- whether palace, house, museum or office tower -- rather than in nature. The natural landscape site played no role at all as an aesthetic factor in the mainly urban traditions of Renaissance, Baroque, Neoclassical and International Bauhaus genres. The art work became most isolated in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries when formalist aesthetics dominated, and when critics, most notoriously New York’s Clement Greenberg, proclaimed that what went on within the frame was all that really mattered. The art work signified nothing other than its own painterly self.

Western perception of Native art has been influenced from the beginning by these Renaissance and Modernist perceptions of the art work as an isolated object, as a commodity and as a status symbol. Needless to say, this Western tradition of seeing and experiencing art has been totally inadequate to the task of appreciating and interpreting not only Native North American art, but also that of pre-Renaissance Europe, Asia and other non-Western traditions in which the work of art functions as culturally contextualized.

Perhaps the first to articulate clearly and to criticize this isolationism in Western aesthetic perception was the American philosopher John Dewey. As early as 1934, he bewailed the status of Western art works which he felt had been turned into mere artifacts, alienated from the cultural context which gave them life and meaning. “In common conception,” he writes, “the work of art is often identified with the building, book, painting, or statue in its existence apart from human experience. Since the actual work of art is what the product does with and in experience, the result is not favorable to understanding” (Dewey 1934:3). Dewey goes on to call for a re-situating and re-interpreting of art works in concrete human experience, which for him means more than a functional, utilitarian reconnection with social life. For him, aesthetic experience is rooted in the sensate human body and its interactions with the natural and social environment in the deepest neurobiological sense. He differentiates between aesthetic

experience, which is emotionally and physiologically grounded, and the intellect, which is abstract, mental and separated from the more humane life of feeling.

For Dewey, art is experience. In essence, it is lived experience. "Experience in the degree in which it is experience is heightened vitality. Instead of being shut up within one's own private feelings and sensations, it signifies active and alert commerce with the world; at its height it signifies complete interpenetration of self and the world of objects and events" (Dewey 1934: 19). It is experience that dissolves the narcissistic frame of the self and of the self-enclosed art object. Experience permits the flow of art into life, permits the sensate and mental cross-connections between body, mind, and artifact with the spatial and temporal environment. Art for Dewey is experience and act. Moreover, he writes, "the movements of the individual body enter into all reshapings of material." The artist is a performer. Art-making is thus a process of performance, an engagement among self, product, and the socio-environmental setting in all its dimensions. Art in any culture is not an artifact. Above all, art is not like language, not a "text."

Consistent with his theory of art as "lived experience," Dewey recognized early on -- even before linguistic models of analysis came to serve as the dominant paradigm for critical interpretation of the visual arts in the early Postmodern period -- that verbal language is inadequate to the task of replicating, communicating and interpreting all shades and forms of sensate human experience. "Language," he writes, "comes infinitely short of paralleling the variegated surface of nature." Moreover, "it is wholly undesirable and unneeded" that language should do so. "The unique quality of a quality (the sensation of a particular kind of 'redness,' for example) is found in experience itself" (Dewey 1934:215). In saying these things about art, artifacts, experience, and bodily action, Dewey anticipates, along with philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey (see Makkreel 1975), the most recent paradigm shift in cultural interpretation, that of culture not as a static set of rules, not as a code or text to be adhered to and re-iterative, but more creatively as "performance" and as "lived experience" in which the sensate individual plays a key creative role.

The concept of "text," still current as a dominant paradigm for the interpretation of material culture and other expressions in both Western and non-Western societies, has outlived its usefulness and its relevance. What might now be described as the tyranny of verbal meaning must be transcended where concrete visual expressions are concerned. It is only when we make

the shift to the concepts of performance and experience that a fuller and more valid appreciation, understanding and interpretation of traditional Native art in all its manifold variety will be possible. For, in contrast to Renaissance and Modernist genres of visual production, Native visual expressions were never created in such a degree of isolation from their cultural and environmental settings. For the Native people themselves, art works never were simply artifacts; they never did function as isolated and inert physical objects but embodied a life-force of their own and played an active, highly meaningful role in cultural process and in the experiential environment of Native societies.

Most influential in the recent turn to performance as a paradigm for cultural interpretation has been the cultural anthropologist Victor Turner (see Turner 1969, 1974, 1982, 1985) for whom the study of both ritual and social process, particularly in the African context, has been a concern since the 1960s. The “basic stuff of social life is performance,” writes Turner (1985: 187). And, in saying this, he acknowledges his debt to “that epistemological tradition which stresses what Wilhelm Dilthey, even earlier than called “lived experience” (p. 190). In an essay on “Experience and Performance: Towards a New Processual Anthropology” (Turner 1985), Turner writes that he “would like to revive our abiding anthropological concern with ‘experience.’” “We have not borrowed this term from other studies,” he says, “it is peculiarly our own” (p. 205). He, too, criticizes what he terms “Gallo-structuralism” of the Lévi-Straussian sort, with its affinity to Kant’s transcendental idealism, which restricts “anthropological research to texts, artifacts and mentefacts, products of human activity rather than man and woman alive” (p. 208). For Turner, too, non-verbal meanings are central to an anthropology of experience and performance. These non-verbal symbol-systems, including works of visual art, must be located within the “context of performance” (p. 300).

Turner’s theory of culture as performance is, in fact, inspired by the stage itself. In his book *From Ritual to Theatre* (1982), he acknowledges his interest and formative ties to modern theatre, particularly experimental theatre, his own mother having been an actress in Scotland. Turner’s performative approach to cultural interpretation thus derives directly from the experimental tradition in contemporary art, wherein the “fact of performance,” Jerome Rothenberg noted back in the late 1970s, “now runs through all our arts” (Rothenberg 1977: 11).

The 1960s and the 1970s, in particular, saw the emergence of experience-

oriented “performance art” – “happenings” and “actions” involving props and artifacts designed by the artist and requiring the bodily and theatrical participation of the artist -- into the mainstream of Western art. In a history of the genre, Henry M. Sayre argues that the entire range of contemporary art -- dance, photography, oral poetry, performance and earth sculpture -- is associated in a collective avant-garde “project” and that these Post-modernists share a common view of art as primarily performative. Sayre, along with numerous other critics and historians, sees the origins of this avant-garde characteristic in the performative activities of the European Dada artists and especially in the inspiration of Marcel Duchamp (see Sayre 1989:281).

Few historians of contemporary art have so far acknowledged the central importance of Native traditions as an influence upon both the European and the American avant-garde. This is an aspect of the history of the West’s indebtedness to Native cultural inspiration -- to North American as well as Eurasian indigenous peoples -- that remains to be written in detail. But it is precisely the fact of art as performance that makes possible the convergence and mutual understanding of Native and Western art. The history of Modernism had shown the impact of Native African and Pacific Island art as “artifact,” as a static, self-enclosed, formal object to be looked at; the history of Postmodernism, when finally written, will have to acknowledge and trace the impact and inspiration of Native art as “performance.”

No performance in either East or West, past or present, could be as theatrically sensational as the ritual dramas of the Kwakiutl Indians of coastal British Columbia (Figure 3). Intended as re-enactments of mythic and visionary encounters with supernatural beings, these were performed by members of several dancing societies during the winter ceremonial season, the period of sacred time. The fundamental, theological point of the whole winter ceremonial cycle, wrote ethnographer Franz Boas, was the restoration to society of young initiates from the land of supernatural beings and from a state of “holy madness” or “ecstasy” (Boas 1987:431). The most dramatic dance performance of all was that of the *hamatsa*, whose guiding and initiating spirit was the Cannibal being who dwells in the Upperworld. After several weeks in the forest, symbolic of that Upperworld, the novice is heard whistling as he tentatively, but surely, approaches the waiting audience in the dance house, the most elaborately decorated dwelling in the village. He enters the building by way of the roof, jumping down through the smoke-hole into the midst of the crowd, seated around the walls of the house. Repeating every action four

times, the ritual Kwakiutl number, the *hamatsa* dancer dashes about in feigned frenzy until he is restrained by fellow members of his society whose task it is to calm him down and to exorcise the Cannibal spirit which possesses him. Part of his act is biting the flesh of a member of the audience, usually pre-arranged, indicating his supernatural cannibalistic tendencies. His fellow dancers rush him out the front door, down to the sea, where he is made to consume salt-water aiding in the regurgitation of the human flesh he had supposedly eaten. After the novice is finally calmed, he is returned to the dance house where he re-enacts his upperworld encounter with the Cannibal spirit.



FIGURE 3: Kwakiutl Village, Vancouver Island. British Columbia. *After Vastokas 1966:264.*



FIGURE 4: Kwakiutl Cannibal Dancer emerging from the “secret room.” *After Vastokas 1966:347.*

This re-enactment involves the whole of the Kwakiutl natural and cultural cosmos. It is an engagement of the performer in every possible respect with the microcosmic dance house and with the macrocosmic universe to the accompaniment of singing, drumming, dancing, special costumes, a variety of masks, various other forms of visual expression and such special effects as trap-doors, ventriloquism, puppetry, transformations, and illusions. A key prop in the staging of the Cannibal Dance is a painted screen of wood or, more recently, cloth which divides the “secret room” at the centre rear of the dance house behind which the performer makes his appearances and disappearances, where he changes his costume and masks several times and which acts as a kind of house within a house (Figure 4). Upon this screen is painted the face of the Cannibal spirit through whose open mouth is cut a door, the route of access in and out for the dancer. He wears a variety of incredibly dramatic, deeply sculptured and moveable masks, which, together with massive cedar bark coverings, completely hide his body (Figure 5). Each mask portrays a particular supernatural being “belonging,” through inheritance, to the mythic narrative of the

dancer's spiritual encounter. "Belonging" to the dancer, too, are certain songs, costumes, gestures and dance movements.



FIGURE 5: Kwakiutl Ceremonial Masks in the Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin. *Photograph by Joan M. Vastokas*

Another significant prop among the northern Kwakiutl is the Cannibal Pole (Figure 6), a cedar tree some 40 feet tall, stripped of its bark and branches, and wound round with red cedar bark. It is erected in a hole in the middle rear of the house, behind the painted screen and aligned with the central axis of the dwelling, directly opposite the front door. This pole signifies simultaneously the cosmic axis of the universe, the centre of the world, and the world tree which the Cannibal dancer climbs up and down four times at critical junctures in his performance.

It is, in fact, the movements of the dancer's body within the house structure, up and down the pole, in and out of the secret room, around the flickering central fire, around the roof of the house, back and forth between forest and village, village and sea that informs the symbolic meaning of the entire performance. The intrinsic meanings of architectural structure and space are revealed to a large extent by the dancer's movements and associated gestures. The pattern of his dance, his stopping points, the boundaries crossed and duly marked with ritualized gestures

-- such as turning himself around four times when crossing the all-important central axis of the dance house -- are danced messages revealing the symbolic significance of the house structure in the context of its total environment (Vastokas 1966: 177-179).

The Cannibal Dancer's ritual performance -- taking place as it does along determined axes, and in relation to certain spatial and structural boundaries in the forest, in the ceremonial house and on the beach -- integrates the world, the total environment of sky, earth and underworld, and brings into symbolic relationship his physical self, the social fabric into which he is being initiated and the built and natural environment. The dance house is thus conceived as being located in the very centre of the universe, in the "middle world of men," but below the sky and above the underworld. This latter is beneath the house floor into which certain other dancers disappear and reappear, claiming to have been down to "the land of ghosts." These three levels are vertically arranged around the cosmic pole which lies as well on the invisible but very real axis running horizontally from the forest down the centre of the dance house and through the door to the sea. Forest, too, is the sky-world and the sea, the underworld, in each of which are classified the appropriate upperworld and underworld supernatural beings such as Thunderbird and Whale (Figure7).

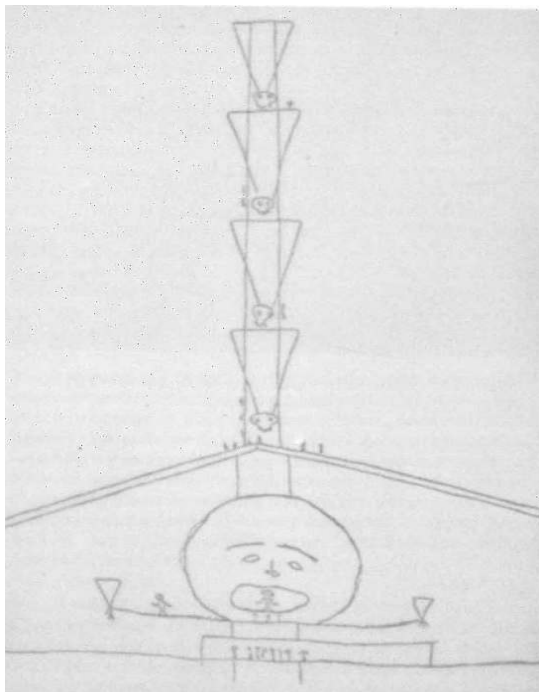


FIGURE 6: Drawing of Cannibal Pole by Kwakiutl Dancer. *After Vastokas 1966:348.*



FIGURE 7: Kwakiutl House Façade, Vancouver Island, British Columbia. *After Vastokas 1966:270*

The dance house itself is thus a microcosm of the universe. The universe in turn is itself described as a house by the Kwakiutl and other west coast Indians. Unlike the majority of Native cosmologies east of the Rockies, for whom the cosmos is circular, domical or spherical, the west coast Indians conceive a rectangular universe, appropriate to the dominant technological metaphor of these wood-working peoples, for whom the universe is a carpentered world.

Performance theorists generally omit concrete works of art from their consideration, focussing mainly upon “process and processual qualities” such as movement, staging, plot, gesture and drama (Turner 1985: 18). Victor Turner, however, leaves the door open to the consideration of visual art works as “expressions” of lived experience, as vital components in cultural performance which should not be neglected. He places considerable emphasis upon the role of art works as experiences objectified, making those experiences “visible” and, therefore, accessible to their re-experiencing and to retrospective analysis by third parties. In this, Turner is indebted to Wilhelm Dilthey’s concept of *Nacherleben*, which for Dilthey, meant “to re-experience, to re-live, to restore the past” in the fullest psychological sense possible (Turner 1985:2 13).

“Some expressions,” Turner says, “are more ‘re-livable through’ than others. Objectifications of great artists, philosophers, or prophets seem to have a capacity to make the hearer or reader re-experience the creator’s experience, are more limpid to life’s inner movement. Consequently, any anthropology of experience must take such utterances seriously, not dismissing them to some structured, “elite culture.” Vision often almost immediately converts into simple concreteness without mediating levels of declining abstraction ... We may better find our way to “intelligibles” through “sensibles” than through concepts” (Turner 1985: 225).

In the case of the Kwakiutl performance, such “sensibles” are manifold and profoundly expressive as visible manifestations of Kwakiutl world view and experience. As well as the dance house and its associated images and structural props, which serve as the immediate stage for the ceremonial drama, myriad mask forms, headdresses, costumes, blankets, batons and staffs, puppet-figures and other carved and painted objects are integral not only to the enactment but to the very meaning of the ceremony as re-lived experience.

At the most obvious level, for example, the masks are not merely ‘representations’ of the various mythic supernaturals encountered by the novice in the forest. The masks are literally ‘presentations,’ or better, ‘presences.’ The supernatural beings rendered visible in the masks are considered as actual participants in the performance. Their ‘spiritual’ presence is communicated, too, not simply by their recognizable iconography but by their formal style of expression. Both form and image conspire to express the identity and the unique ‘power’ of a particular supernatural being.

When playing himself, the novice wears no mask, retaining and manifesting his own identity in the dance. Upon donning the Cannibal mask, however, the dancer transforms himself into that supernatural spirit becoming the Cannibal himself and performing as such.

Meaning, therefore, is not restricted to the representational imagery of the mythic narrative. Pictorial and sculptural icons, more closely allied as they are to the narrative tale, approach the textual realm more closely than they do the visual. The essence of visual expression, on the contrary, lies in the phenomenally visual qualities of the art work. But these visual qualities are both visible and, paradoxically, invisible because the material form of the

mask, for example, is subject to environmental effects as it is worn in the dance (Figure 8). Most obviously, the flickering light of the central hearth, as the dancer moves around it, falls on the sculptured shapes of the mask, the dynamic light effects becoming visually part of the formal expression. The firelight brings the mask to life along with the movement of the dancer's body. And so, we have the tacit dimensions of light, space, time, motion, interval, rhythm, direction, which are all equally part of the experience of the mask by the audience in the dance house.



FIGURE 8: Kwakiutl Wolf Dancers. *After Boas 1897: Plate 36.*

This is the point at which further explanation of what I am driving at is required since I wish to depart even more radically from prevailing notions of what constitutes the dimensionality of the art object. As Dewey says, Westerners tend to think of the art work as artifact, or object, contained within itself, restricted to its own contours, its own boundaries. Thus, a painting is normally considered to consist of what goes on inside the frame, a standing sculpture is usually experienced as a self-contained mass, to be looked at by walking around its circumference, and a building as enclosed space to be experienced by walking into and through its interior segments. We have become accustomed in Western tradition to think of all of these in terms of concrete matter: painting in terms of canvas or board covered with egg tempera, oil or watercolour; sculpture in terms of wood, bronze, ivory, steel or wire; architecture in terms of

brick, concrete, stone or wood and so forth. In this perspective, no matter how much we give consideration to the social, cultural and environmental notion of 'context,' we are still leaving out of consideration the most vital aspects of our total experience of these works. We leave them out because they are intangible, invisible. But they are not insensate. We fail to recognize these intangible qualities because they are at the level of physiology, they are rooted in semi-conscious awareness and require to be brought forth to consciousness, analytically, in order to be recognized.

In contrast to the Western perception of reality, which is grounded in awareness of physical matter, it is the intangibles which have primacy in Native world view. The material world is simultaneously spiritual and that spirituality is manifested in the material. Access to spirit, to feeling, to meaning, however, is by way of the metaphorical qualities of the actual world. Thus, substances such as red ochre, copper, crystal, bone and wood have their intrinsic properties which signify to the Indians particular meanings at the spiritual level. Thus, red ochre and copper serve as life-metaphors in both art and ritual. Both materials are red, the colour of blood in living creatures and the copper has the added life-quality of durability, signifying continuity after death. The translucent quality of rock crystal, its clarity and lightness, signify objectified spirit or divinity, for in Native thought, as in Christian belief, the essence of divinity is shining light, symbol of spiritual energy.

The natural world also yields its visual metaphors for the Indians. Mountains, trees, cliffs, waterfalls, deep waters, crevices and caves, thunderstorms and sunrise are all manifestations of the hidden world, of correspondences with the supernatural realm hidden behind the material surface and of unseen spiritual powers. These are all acknowledged in Native cultural expressions, in one way or another, by ritual performance, by rendering visible in sacred images, and in the lyrical expression of song. Thus, sunrise ceremonies of all sorts are performed. Most notably, for our purposes, is that performed in the eastern sub-arctic by the Naskapi and Cree which involves the laying down of a painted caribou hide at the moment of sunrise. The ceremonial hide is believed to absorb the power of the sun at that critical moment of life-renewal after the night and that power is later drawn upon by the hunter or the shaman in the wearing of the robe. One of the finest examples of these painted hides in the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Figure 9) illustrates clearly the integration of material artifact with the cosmic and

natural powers. The sun is at the centre of the composition, like a flower, surrounded by double-curve motifs symbolic of plant-life, all contained within a composition denoting the Four Quarters of the cosmos. The red ochre pigment signifies the continuity and renewal of life and the whiteness of the caribou hide, a metaphor for divine light (see Tanner 1979 and Webber 1983).

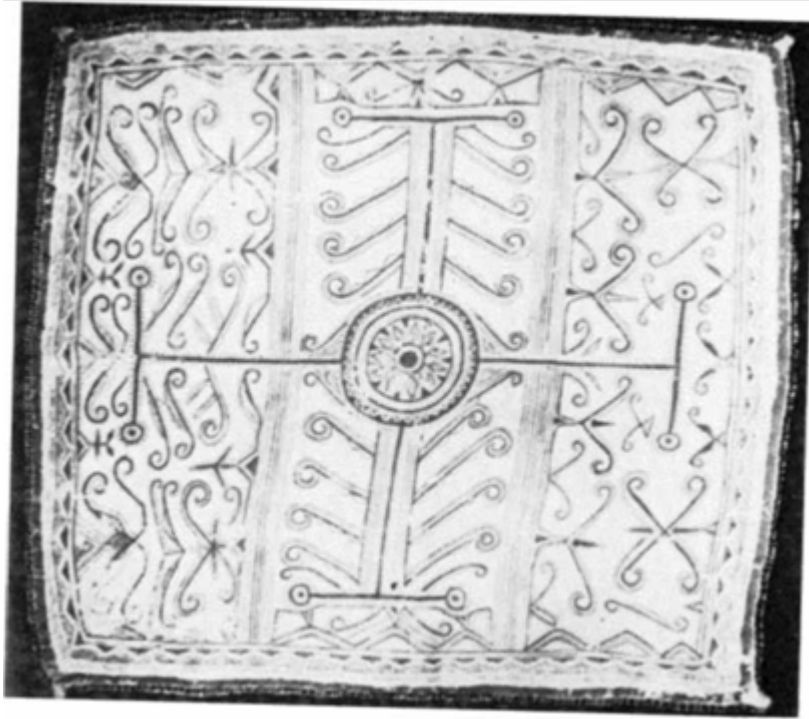


FIGURE 9: Naskapi Ceremonial Hide. *After Brassler 1976:51* .

These intangibles, then, have to do with the art work in *relation* to the bodily self, to the sociocultural context, and to the natural environment. It is in these intangibles that cultural meaning and experience are communicated. Moreover, it is clear that they are not grounded in narratives, texts or words, as are images and even some shapes. Instead, they are “sensibles” experienced physiologically and received as visual metaphors.

In *Painting and Reality* (1959), philosopher Étienne Gilson makes the important point that each kind of art form has its own mode of existence and each involves the observer or participant in a different way. We experience a two-dimensional painting in a completely different way than we do a building. The difference is very real and that different experience is grounded physiologically in tangible and intangible conditions of space, light, perspective, sound, motion, scale, direction, texture and, in the case of architecture, atmosphere, odour, and

sound (see Rasmussen 1959). Each encounter with a particular kind of art object -- whether mask, temple, installation or landscape garden -- is a unique encounter conditioned by the material nature of the object and its reception by the observer.

Thus, the very experience of a visual art work is in itself a “performance,” the art work and the observer engage in an active dialogue or, even, a dance. I am reminded of dance when I think of the behaviour of Western gallery-goers who stand forward and backward in front of paintings and who circle or spiral round the sculptures on pedestals. In any case, the observer may stand, sit, spend more or less time with a work, walk around or through an installation or building, his or her own bodily motions and physiology affected by active participation in the work. This is true in any instance, but I would like to take an example from Native tradition to illustrate the inadequacy of modernist Western conceptions in responding to Native forms of visual expression.

Take the case of pictographs and petroglyphs, paintings and engravings on natural rock surfaces which are scattered in hundreds of sites across Canada, from Nova Scotia to British Columbia. Until a few years ago, studies and interpretations of this genre focussed primarily upon the representational imagery executed on the rock surface. Little account was taken of the format or the site itself, whether it was a free standing boulder, a cliff or bedrock, nor any account of its particular shape or configuration. Images were traced, classified, sometimes fed into a computer, identified, and thus felt to be sufficiently interpreted.

In setting out to do a study of my own a few years ago, namely the recording, mapping and interpretation of the large petroglyph site near Peterborough, Ontario (Figure 10), it quickly became clear through direct personal experience of the site and carvings themselves that what was even more significant than the fascinating and myriad images on the rock, was the rock itself. Because of the vast amount of recording necessary, considerable time was spent at the site amounting to approximately two months. The recording process required intimate preoccupation with every detail of the rock’s surface, awareness not just of the images which had to be identified inch by inch by feel of hand, but also of the contours of the rock mass itself, the movement of the sun across the rock during the day, such sounds of nature as birds, animals and the trickle of an underground stream beneath the rock and the sight of salamanders, deer and even turtles who visited the site regularly. The site itself came to assume a magical, living

reality, that over-rode any former preoccupation with the representations. Experience of the art work pre-empted academic conditioning and led me, I believe, to a more accurate realization of how the Native artists may have felt about the place and what was important to them.



FIGURE 10: Peterborough Petroglyph site, Petroglyphs Provincial Park, Ontario, in 1967. *Photograph by Ron Vastokas.*

Further work at pictograph and petroglyph sites across Canada has only confirmed the importance of experience, of “sensibles” and of personal physical involvement with the art work. In this respect, rock art sites in the Prairies are particularly noteworthy. The St. Victor’s petroglyph site in southern Saskatchewan (Figure 11) is outstanding as an experience for anyone, as is confirmed in personal experience and by the well-known autobiographical records of the Prairie Indians, Black Elk and Lamé Deer. The site itself is a flat-topped sandstone outcrop projecting from the northwest edge of a cliff some 150 feet high above the prairie. To reach the petroglyphs themselves, one must follow a curving, ascending path along the edge of the cliff. After travelling across a flat, relatively uniform land surface, the view after the ascent to

the hilltop comes as a revelation, almost as a ‘vision’ as it were. The view is panoramic and awesome. Like the Prairie shamans, one experiences the entire circle of the world, for one sees the horizon stretching completely around one. It is an ascent to a new level of visual and emotional awareness of one’s place in the larger setting of the physical universe. At this spot, one is at the ‘top’ as well as at the psychological centre of the world from which the earth stretches out from the self on all sides in a series of undulating arcs towards the limitless circular horizon. At twilight, when the sun sinks beneath the horizon’s edge, these experiences are magnified and one feels oneself to be a participant in the cosmic drama. The St. Victor’s site is particularly relevant to the Prairie vision quest and to shamanic experience. Hills or mountains are sought out in particular, as places where communication is most likely with the powerful spirits of the sky. It must have been a site like that of St. Victor’s which inspired the Oglala Sioux shaman, Black Elk. He describes his visionary experience as follows:

I was standing on the highest mountain of them all, and round about beneath me was the whole hoop of the world. And while I stood there I saw more than I can tell and I understand more than I saw; for I was seeing in a sacred manner the shapes of all things in the spirit (Neihardt 197 2:3 6).



FIGURE 11: St. Victor’s Petroglyph site, near Estevan, Saskatchewan, in 1975 . Photograph by Joan M.Vastokas.

Even more spectacular, however, was personal experience of the site at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park in southern Alberta (cover illustration). The site was first glimpsed towards evening during a thunderous and flashing downpour of rain that filled the air with gloom. But on climbing the highest promontory on the north bank of the Milk River valley, the rain subsided, the clouds parted as if by magic to reveal the previously shrouded peaks of the Sweet Grass mountains across the nearby border in Montana. Then, the evening sun emerged brilliantly between scudding clouds to illuminate both mountain and valley with glowing, mellow rays. The climax of this natural drama was the appearance of a rainbow over the Sweet Grass hills and, incredibly, the flight of a single white bird through the rainbow and into the sky.

The Sweet Grass hills serve as a landmark visible for miles across an otherwise flat and uniform prairie. In Prairie Indian thought, they are a holy place. It is not without significance, then, that most of the Milk River petroglyphs are located on the north bank within view of this outstanding landscape feature. The petroglyphs incised upon the sandstone bluffs (Figure 12), while interesting in themselves, are clearly subordinate in function and meaning to the location itself.



FIGURE 12: Petroglyphs at Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, Milk River, Alberta, in 1975. *Photograph by Joan M. Vastokas.*

These personal experiences of Canadian rock art sites are particularly relevant to art critic Rosalind Krauss's concept of "sculpture in the expanded field" (Krauss 1979), except that in the case of Native sites and art objects the "field" must be extended to include the entire cosmos. Moreover, that "field," in the Native context, would be more accurately read as a "stage" to include not only the art object but the artist as performer and the viewer as participating audience.

Given the conceptual paradigm of "performance" as the tie that binds art, society, and environment together, and given the recognition that "lived experience" is the crucial foundation for human communication and mutual understanding, even across cultures, what is needed is a total re-definition of what constitutes the dimensionality of the art object. We need to think not only of the "expanded field" of sculpture in relation to place and space. In order to fully comprehend the arts of all cultures, not just the postmodern West, we need to develop a theory of interpretation grounded, as both Dewey and Turner suggest, in the neurobiological "sensibles" of experience, rather than in strictly mental concepts. Thus, we have to consider not only sculpture in the expanded field, but also paintings and all other two- and three-dimensional objects produced by either hand or machine. By this means, we may find a place for the so-called "applied arts" of ceramics, textiles and furniture in the universe of expressive things, alongside the standard "high art" forms of Western tradition.

The total interactive field for Native art and ritual performance is the cosmos as a whole, the earth, the sky, and the underworld. Every performance involves the whole of creation by symbolic and expressive means. Every work of sacred art is ultimately made and used in reference to that cosmological dimension. This is most particularly evident in a seemingly modest object, the Native North American smoking pipe (Figure 13). It is a prime example of a native art object that demands to be experienced in the full context of cultural performance. In his recent book, entitled *Offering Smoke: The Sacred Pipe and Native American Religion* (1988), Jordan Paper describes "the Sacred Pipe as the core ritual and symbolic heart of many Native traditions." The pipe ceremony is a complete ritual performance in itself, but it also plays a central role in other ritual complexes, both social and religious. In each case, the pipe is passed around to all participants, uniting the group in social communion. As important as the material properties of the pipe itself, its stone or ceramic bowl and its wooden, sometimes elaborately

carved and decorated stem, is the tobacco and the smoke it produces. Paper considers the bowl a “sacrificial vessel” out of which the smoke ascends and passes as an offering to spirits dwelling in all directions of the universe. The pipe smoke is offered to the sky, to the earth and to the four directions. In itself, the pipe is considered to be located at the very centre of the cosmos wherever it is smoked. As described by Paper:

The bowl of the pipe ... itself is a miniature cosmos. Often tobacco is added pinch by pinch, each explicitly dedicated to the sacred directions as well as animals and spirits ... thus bringing the entire cosmos into the bowl itself ... In communal smoking, the ritual also indicates the cosmos of social relationships. At the centre is the self, the one holding the pipe. Next comes the circles of human relationships: family, clan, and “nation.” Further outward is the sphere of animal relations ... Finally there is the sphere of the most powerful spirits (Paper 1988:38-49).

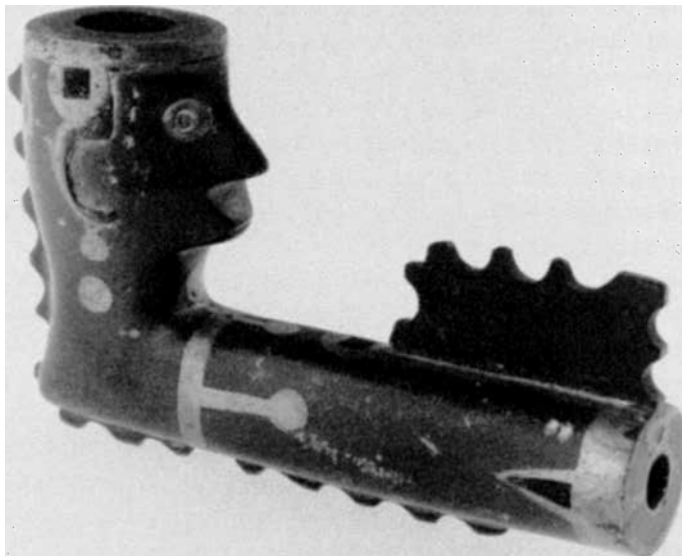


FIGURE 13: Ojibwa Smoking Pipe. 19th century. Catlinite, soapstone and lead inlay. *Photography courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec*

The stage for the performance of the pipe ceremony is, therefore, the whole of the created universe and in every instance the cosmic powers are engaged to witness and to bless the participants.

Such cosmic correspondences pervade material culture throughout Native North America. In the case of the Prairie Indians, almost every item employed in ritual is conceived, designed and used with reference to cosmic structure. The world is conceived as a round surface divided into four quarters and is over-arched by the dome of the sky. At the centre of everything is a pole or world-tree which extends itself into the sky as the Milky Way (Hultkrantz 1973). This cosmic pattern is mirrored in the layout of the camp circle, in the structure of the Sun Dance Lodge, in the ceremony of the Sacred Pipe, in the sweat lodge used for purification rites and in the sunburst pattern of certain buffalo robes.

The concept of “Native art as performance,” then, is not limited to such obvious ritual ceremonies as the Kwakiutl Winter Dances, the Naskapi sunrise hide ceremony and the ceremony of the Sacred Pipe. We have seen that the “experiencing” of those rituals, of rock art sites and of specific Native art objects is equally interpretable as “performance.” This is because of the necessity for the observer’s “active participation” with the work, sometimes to dramatic effect. But in Native traditions, the actual production of especially sacred art works is a ritually performative act, as it is in religious traditions elsewhere in the world.

The performative character of the artistic process itself, in addition to the physiological engagement of the artist with his material, is most obviously apparent in the ritual carving of Iroquoian False Face masks (Figure 14). These were masks representing a variety of forest spirits including that of the Crooked Face being. This supernatural being had challenged the power of the Creator himself and got his face smacked against a mountain in the process. The mountain sent against him broke his nose and the pain twisted his mouth. In compensation, the Creator charged him with the task of curing disease, with the side benefit of being called “grandfather,” and of having his portrait made by humans. Thus, the False Face Company among the Iroquois perform healing ceremonies in private and participate as well in Mid-Winter, New Year ceremonies celebrating social and cosmic renewal. These wooden faces were traditionally carved on the trunks of live basswood trees by artists selected by the False Face Company. During the carving process, “an officer of the company chants the carving song, casting Native tobacco on the ceremonial fire as he sings. “Once the mask is roughly blocked out, the tree is cut and the mask removed to be finished elsewhere. The masks were carved in living trees in order that they contain “the life spirit of the tree.” In all, the carving process took three days, the first two

devoted to offerings of tobacco and prayers. Only on the third day was the mask blocked out and removed after additional offerings were made to the tree spirit (see Fenton 1987:2 06-207).



FIGURE 14: Iroquoian False Face Mask.

Photograph courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec

The painting and carving of images, in general, on rock art sites, in ceremonial pipes, on eastern Algonquian drums, on Plains Indian warrior shields, woven or embroidered in quill, moosehair or beads on shoulder bags, pouches and even as cradleboard decorations (Figure 15) are all “performances” in more sense than one. Rendering the guardian spirits visible is a form of prayer in itself, a way of “pleasing the spirits” so that they will continue to take pity upon their human charges and continue to send their blessings. Image-making in traditional Native culture, then, is a sacred and powerful activity, not to be undertaken lightly. For, before one can render

Thunderbird (Figure 16), Sun, Turtle or Underworld Serpent, one must first have received their blessing in a personal vision experience, in a dream or in an altered state of mind induced by self-deprivation and fasting.

By now, we have gone well “beyond the artifact” and I believe I have made my point. We have seen that Native visual expressions in all their rich variety are dynamic, metaphorical agents for human integration with, and participation in, a sanctified universe. The concrete visual arts, along with those of music, dance and song, mediate between humankind and the entire cosmos. What could be a more elevated purpose for art than this, to bring individuals and social groups into meaningful harmony with each other and with the natural environment? How much longer must this vital and important cultural heritage of our Native peoples be set apart in our public and educational institutions from other Canadian traditions?

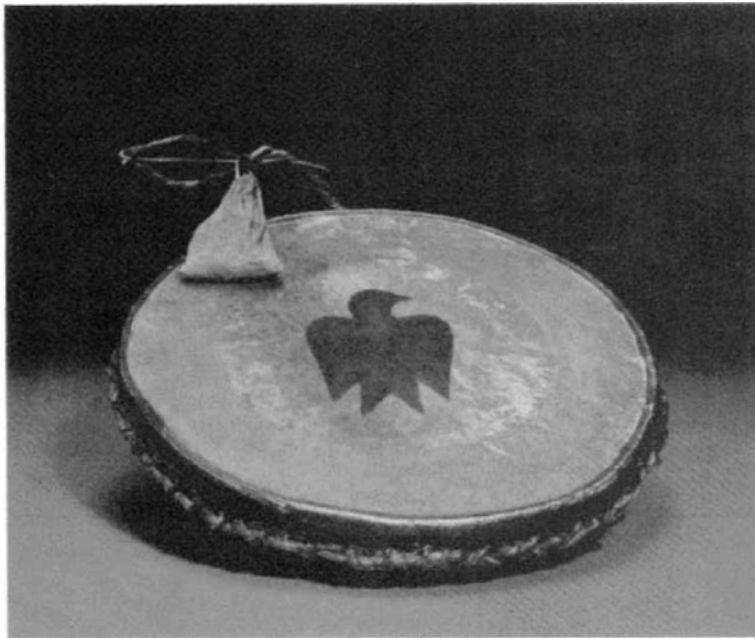


FIGURE 15: Ojibwa Shaman's Drum. 19thcentury. *Photograph courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec.*



FIGURE 16: Ojibwa-type Cradleboard Decoration with Thunderbird and lightning motifs. 18th century. Interwoven quillwork. *Photograph courtesy of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull Quebec.*

REFERENCES

BOAS, Franz (1897). *The Social Organization and Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians.*

United States National Museum Report for 1895. pp. 311-733. Washington, D.C.

BRASSER, Ted (1976). *“Bo’jou Neejee!”: Profiles of Canadian Indian Art.* Ottawa: National Museum of Man.

BRODZKY, Anne, ed. (1973-74). *Stones, Bones and Skin: Ritual and Shamanic Art.*

artscanada, Vol. XXX, Nos. 5 & 6.

-
- DEWEY, John (1958). *Art as Experience* (1934). New York: Capricorn Books.
- FENTON, William (1987). *The False Faces of the Iroquois*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- GILSON, Étienne (1959). *Painting and Reality*. New York: The World Publishing Company.
- GOLDWATER, Robert (1967). *Primitivism in Modern Art*. Revised edition. New York: Random House.
- HADDON, Alfred C. (1895). *Evolution in Art: As Illustrated by the Life-Histories of Designs*. London: Walter Scott Ltd.
- HOFFMAN, WJ. (1891). The Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa. *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1885-1886*. pp. 143-300. Washington: Government Printing House.
- HULTKRANTZ, Ake (1973). *Prairie and Plains Indians*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- KRAUSS, Rosalind (1979). Sculpture in the Expanded Field. *October* 8, Spring.
- LANDES, Ruth (1968). *Ojibwa Religion and the Midewiwin*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- LYOTARD, Jean-François (1984). *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1979). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- MAKKREEL, Rudolf A. (1975). *Dilthey, Philosopher of the Human Studies*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- McCONATHY, Dale (1975). "Art Bank Effect," pp. 24-37 in *The Canadian Cultural Revolution: An Appraisal of the Politics and Economics of Art*. Special Issue. *artscanada*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3.
- MUNRO, Thomas (1963). *Evolution in the Arts, and Other Theories of Culture History*. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art.
- NEIHARDT, John G. (1972) *Black Elk Speaks; Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux* (1932). New York: Pocket Books.
- PAPER, Jordan (1988). *Offering Smoke: The Sacred Pipe and Native American Religion*. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press.
- RASMUSSEN, Steen Eiler (1959). *Experiencing Architecture*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

-
- ROTHENBERG, Jerome (1977). *New Models, New Visions: Some Notes Toward a Poetics of Performance*. In *Performance in Postmodern Culture*. pp. 11-17. Edited by M. Benamou and C. Caramello. Milwaukee: Center for Twentieth Century Studies, Madison: University of Wisconsin. Coda Press, Inc.
- RUBIN, William, ed. (1984). *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*. Two Volumes. New York: The Museum of Modern Art.
- SAYRE, Henry M. (1989). *The Object of Performance: The American Avant-Garde Since 1970*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- SMITH, Bernard (1960). *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768-1850: A Study in the History of Art and Ideas*. London: Oxford University Press.
- SPECK, Frank G. (1935). *The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula*. Norman: University of Oklahoma.
- TANNER, Adrian (1979). *Bringing Home Animals: Religious Ideology and Mode of Production of the Mistassini Cree Hunters*. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- THOMPSON, Robert Farris (1974). *African Art in Motion: Icon and Act*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- TUCHMAN, Barbara W (1978). *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous Fourteenth Century*. New York: Knopf
- TURNER, Victor (1969). *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- (1974). *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- (1982) *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*. New York: PAJ Publications.
- (1985) *On the Edge of the Bush: Anthropology as Experience*. Edited by Edith L.B. Turner. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press.
- VASTOKAS, Joan M. (1966). *Architecture of the Northwest Coast Indians of America*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.
- (1975) Bill Reid and the Native Renaissance. *artscanada*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2. pp. 12-21.

(1986) Native Art Studies in Canadian Universities. *Newsletter*, Native Art Studies Association of Canada I (2): 1-3.

(1986-87). Native Art as Art History: Meaning and Time from Unwritten Sources. *The Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 21 (4): 7-36.

(1987a). National Gallery of Canada Acquires First Work by Native Artist. *Newsletter*, Native Art Studies Association of Canada 2 (1): 1.

(1987b) A Reply to Graburn. *Inuit Art Quarterly* 2 (1): 15-16.

(1987c.) Vastokas Replies to Graburn. *Inuit Art Quarterly* 2 (3): 12-14.

(1987d). Art and Politics. *Newsletter*, Native Art Studies Association of Canada 2 (4): 1

(1988). "Into the Mainstream: Contemporary Native Art and Postmodern Values." Lecture given in The Canadian Lectures Series at the Asian Art Museum, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, April 19.

(1989). "Myth as Visual Metaphor in Postmodern Culture." Lecture given at the Art Gallery of Peterborough, Ontario August 15.

(1990). "The Anthropology of Contemporary Western Art." Lecture given to the Graduate Department of Social Anthropology, Graduate Colloquium, York University, North York, January 29.

VASTOKAS, Joan M. and Romas VASTOKAS (1973). *Sacred Art of the Algonkians: A Study of the Peterborough Petroglyphs*. Peterborough: Mansard Press.

WEBBER, Alike Podolinsky (1983). Ceremonial Robes of the Montagnais-Naskapi. *American Indian Art Magazine* 9(1): 60-69,75.