

# MAPPING MODERNISMS

ART, INDIGENESS, COLONIALISM



Elizabeth Harney and Ruth B. Phillips | EDITORS



# MAPPING MODERNISMS

MODERNIST EXCHANGES

General editors: Ruth B. Phillips  
and Nicholas Thomas





OBJECTS/HISTORIES: CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON ART,  
MATERIAL CULTURE, AND REPRESENTATION  
A series edited by Nicholas Thomas





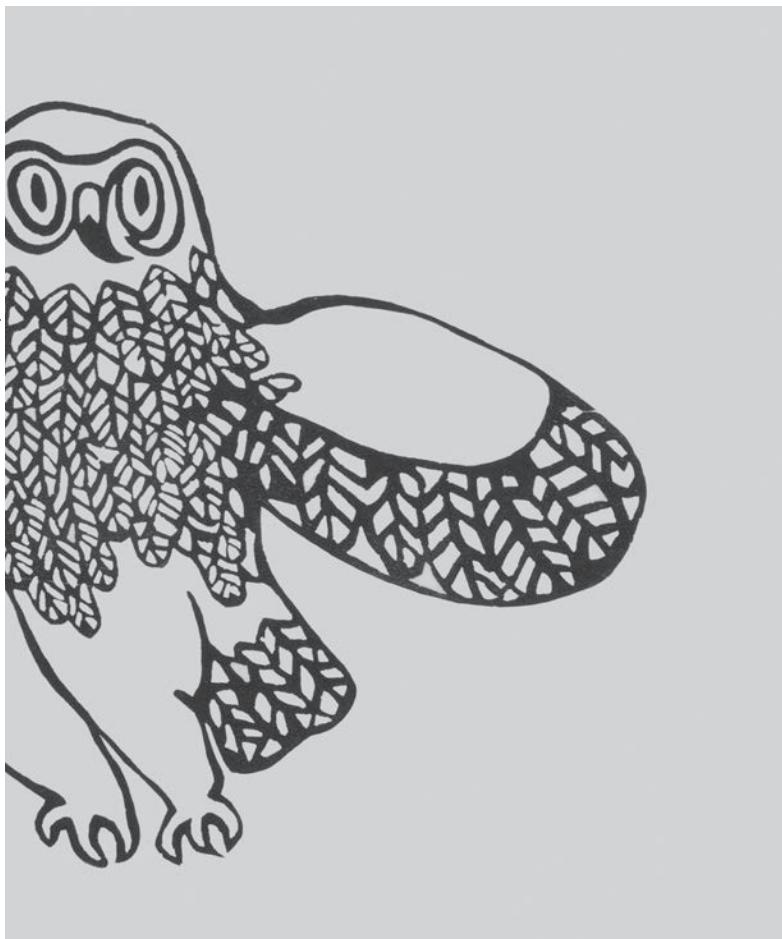
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ART, INDIGENESS,

COLONIALISM

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IN MEMORY OF

Jonathan Mane-Wheoki

AND

Daphne Odjig





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RUTH B. PHILLIPS AND NICHOLAS THOMAS

## GENERAL EDITORS' FOREWORD

Within the larger *Objects/Histories* series, this smaller set of volumes addresses the diverse lives that artistic modernism has had beyond the West during the twentieth century. This book, one of three volumes, explores the fertile exchanges between local artists and those of European descent, among them radical expatriates, in colonial settings. A symptom of the complexity and heterogeneity of such settings is that some of those local artists are referred to, and refer to themselves, as indigenous; for others, that term is less appropriate. The focus on Africa, Oceania, and the Americas fills a gap in current scholarship that is a legacy of Western modernism's much-debated primitivism.

In response to the striking absence of these art histories from global narratives, in 2010 we initiated a program of research and discussion that has resulted in these publications. From the outset, the agenda was not simply to pluralize a monolithic Western construct. We take it for granted, as many readers will, that the humanities and social sciences have moved in that direction. Yet this epistemological sea change does not in itself enable any genuine understanding of the diversity of modernist innovation beyond the West, the legacies of modernist primitivism, or the ambivalent exchanges between European cultural brokers and those they stimulated and mentored. Whereas globalization was already a cliché of the international art world by the late-twentieth century, the apparent inclusiveness of biennials had in no way been matched by an adequate account of the Native modernisms of the interwar years or those of the fifties and sixties. In part for telling reasons—these artists' notions of self, history, and culture preceded and were somewhat incommensurable with the formations of identity politics that gained ascendancy in the seventies—the art world, and the critical writing around it, has suffered a kind of amnesia regarding these remarkable and formative histories.



Scholars have produced fine studies focused on artists in specific countries and regions, including books previously published in the Objects/Histories series, but the subject also demands a wider, comparative approach, which can reveal both the shared experiences engendered by colonial policies and the specificity of local responses. This set of volumes draws on the work of scholars from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States, and elsewhere who collectively bring decades of research experience into the remarkable lives of indigenous artists and their strange and paradoxical dealings with Western mentors and institutions. The heterogeneity of milieux and artists' trajectories, as well as the successes and failures of these artists' work, are vital to the understanding we seek to achieve and convey. One aim is to tell some of their stories. Another is to exemplify, rather than merely declare the need for, a genuinely global art history.

We wish to acknowledge the support of the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute; Carleton University; Victoria University; the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Cambridge; and our major sponsor, the Leverhulme Trust. A Leverhulme international network award (2013–14) and the institutions mentioned supported workshops and public conferences at the Clark, in Williamstown, Massachusetts (2011); the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (2012); Cambridge (2013 and 2017); the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington (2014); Wits University, Johannesburg (2016); and the University of Cape Town (2016). It is a pleasure also to thank Ken Wissoker of Duke University Press for his longstanding and continuing enthusiasm for this project.



ELIZABETH HARNEY AND RUTH B. PHILLIPS

## PREFACE

The genesis of this book goes back to a colloquium entitled *Global Indigenous Modernisms: Primitivism, Artists, Mentors*, held in May 2010 at the Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachusetts. The Clark's generous support of Ruth Phillips's proposal made possible a meeting of twelve scholars from the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Nigeria, South Africa, and the United Kingdom. All study twentieth-century modern arts created by indigenous artists subject to colonial rule. During two days of discussions, we explored the potential for using a comparative framework to reveal global modes of circulation, networks of communication, and common patterns of development to highlight the unique features that characterize different local iterations of modernism around the world.

The research presentations led us all to decide unanimously to reconvene a year later, in Ottawa, for a public symposium, where we could pursue a broader project and generate wider discussion. The editors of this volume organized the symposium, entitled *Multiple Modernisms: Transcultural Exchanges in Twentieth-Century Global Art*. The event began at the National Gallery of Canada then continued on the other side of the Ottawa River, at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (now the Canadian Museum of History), where Indigenous artists and curators from the Aboriginal Curatorial Collective presented a lively set of talks on Canadian indigenous modernisms. Papers from the symposium form the core of this book, and although two original Clark participants—Kobena Mercer and Susan Vogel—unfortunately could not continue with the project, three additional authors—Karen Duffek, Heather Igloliorte, and Erin Haney—contributed chapters that have broadened our book's scope in important ways. To reveal the shared as well as the distinctive aspects of indigenous modernisms, we sought geographic and cultural breadth,



yet this collection pretends neither to be comprehensive within the multiple modernisms framework, nor to represent all modernisms created by peoples identified as indigenous in colonial and neocolonial contexts. (We address the complexities of this designation in our introduction.) Rather, we have adopted a case study approach, which invites considerations of the complex webs of interaction among artists, intermediaries, objects, images, and texts produced by conditions of modernity and coloniality.

In George Kubler's book *The Shape of Time*, first published in 1962, he wrote of Western art that "the last cupboards and closets of the history of art have now been turned out and catalogued."<sup>1</sup> For the modernisms we explore here, however, art historians are only just beginning to open the doors to the cupboards. While the need for this book and its timeliness will, of course, be judged by its readers, two deaths that occurred during its preparation underscore the urgent need to document art histories, which are retained as much in the memories of the participants and the ephemeral traces left by their artistic projects as in any set of formally organized archives. Toward the beginning of this project, we lost Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, eminent Maori art historian, curator, and teacher, who contributed deeply to our knowledge of Maori modernists. Early on, he had encouraged Phillips to pursue the comparative project, and we had hoped to engage him as a contributor. Then, as the book was going to press, pioneering Anishinaabe artist Daphne Odjig passed away; her work, discussed at the Ottawa conference by contemporary Anishinaabe artist and curator Bonnie Devine, is only now receiving the broader attention it deserves. If, as many art historians today argue, a globalized world requires wide-ranging narratives of human cultural history, the assembly of the archive cannot be divorced from the work of reconceptualization and analysis, as each chapter of this book demonstrates.

This volume also has deeper roots in the two coeditors' career-long engagements with the modernisms created by indigenous and colonized peoples in Africa, North America, and elsewhere. Both have worked in museums initially founded to rectify the neglect of non-Western arts and cultures (Harney at the Smithsonian's National Museum of African Art and Phillips at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology), and both have pursued teaching careers in Canadian universities during a period when First Nations and Inuit arts have steadily grown in prominence—not only affirming the vitality of Indigenous cultures but also countering the settler nation's own modernist appropriations. It would have been hard for either of us, trained in African art history and immersed in art worlds that were regularly electri-



fied by the politics of Indigenous art production, *not* to be intrigued by the parallel challenges of conceptualization, inclusivity, and canonicity that have characterized African and Indigenous North American modernisms—first silenced and marginalized, then primitivized and appropriated, then celebrated (albeit lost in a space between anthropology and art museums), and, finally, hailed as the global “contemporary.” That our intellectual trajectories belong to different generations—Phillips received her PhD in 1979 and Harney in 1996—indicates the persistence of problems of reception, periodization, and classification this book explores.

This collaborative project has forced us each to confront the overdetermined and overburdened intellectual categories we take to be natural in our respective subfields. In particular, it has both loosened and deepened our understandings of the metahistorical concepts of modernity, indigeneity, and primitivism. And though working together has brought forth many useful and telling comparisons and recognizable patterns of colonial-modern practices in the arts and in their systems of patronage, it has also demanded that we recognize these experiences of the modern era as contingent and volatile, produced through specific historical encounters, and in constant need of re-reading. The goals of the collaborative research project we formulated at the Ottawa meeting, *Multiple Modernisms: Transcultural Exchanges in Twentieth-Century Global Art*, were thus twofold: we aimed to begin the essential work of scholarly documentation of artists’ works and lives by assembling the research already done and by initiating new studies. Through our comparative framework, we also sought to enhance critical analysis of the cultural collisions and conceptual confusions that have informed the reception of these arts. Many of the contributors to this volume have built on the research presented here in three subsequent symposia focused on particular themes—*Modernists and Mentors: Indigenous and Colonial Artistic Exchanges*, in Cambridge, England, in 2013; *Indigenous Modernisms: Histories of the Contemporary*, in Wellington, New Zealand, in 2014; and *Gendered Making/Unmanned Modernisms: Gender and Genre in Indigenous and Colonial Modernisms*, in Johannesburg and Cape Town, South Africa, in 2016. This first of several planned publications is designed to introduce the scope and richness of the project while instantiating its potential to amplify the breadth of a discipline striving to reinvent itself on global terms.

Without the generosity of several funding agencies, the conferences described above—and this book—could not have come into being. At the Clark Art Institute, scholars Michael Holly, Mark Ledbury, Natasha Becker, Aruna



D’Souza, and the Clark’s wonderful staff made our initial meeting not only intellectually stimulating but also hugely pleasurable. Funding for the Ottawa conference was provided by the 2010 Premier’s Discovery Award in the Humanities made to Phillips by the province of Ontario; further generous support was provided by the National Gallery of Canada, the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Carleton University, and the University of Toronto. The able organizing team was headed by Kate Higginson and assisted by Crystal Migwans, Annette De Stecher, Stacy Ernst, Alexandra Nahwegahbow, Miriam Aronowicz, and Akshaya Tankha.

Profound thanks go to Nicholas Thomas, who from the beginning has shared with Phillips the overall intellectual direction of the *Multiple Modernisms* project and who procured grant funding from the Leverhulme Trust to support the second, third, and fourth conferences. Chika Okeke-Agulu and the Program in African Studies at Princeton University made possible an additional workshop in December 2015. We are very grateful for the invaluable help of our research assistant Lisa Truong, who communicated with the authors and assembled the manuscript with such efficiency, tact, and skill. Thanks also go to the Equity and Diversity Fund, the Dean’s Contingency Fund, and the Vice Principal of Research Impact Fund at the University of Toronto Scarborough and to Dean John Osborne at Carleton for generous subsidies in support of publishing costs. We warmly thank Ken Wissoker for his encouragement and support of the project from its inception as well as the three anonymous reviewers for Duke University Press, whose rigorous feedback helped us to refine our introductory framing and sharpen the individual case studies. Jade Brooks and Olivia Polk have ably guided the book along its path to publication.

We offer our sincerest gratitude to our contributors for the penetrating insights at that initial workshop and those that followed each of our conferences. They patiently and positively responded to several rounds of editorial comments, and their input has continued to sharpen the focus of the project. Of course, we could not have pursued the research, travel, and writing required for this work without the loving support of our families. As always, we owe you a great thanks. Finally, the transcontinental friendships and collegiality, generated by our meetings, is one of this project’s most precious legacies.

#### *Note*

1. George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1962), 12.



ELIZABETH HARNEY AND RUTH B. PHILLIPS

## INTRODUCTION **INSIDE MODERNITY**

*Indigeneity, Coloniality, Modernisms*

This book addresses the silence surrounding indigeneity in established narratives of modernism and the continuing marginalization of Indigenous arts in the growing literature on global modernist histories. It brings together studies that assess the linkages between wide-ranging imperial histories and the variegated processes that have linked local visual and material forms with emerging modernist subjectivities. As such, it aims to augment important scholarly efforts to decenter art history's Eurocentric accounting of twentieth-century artistic modernisms and to expose persistent ghettoizing attitudes within the art world toward those formerly regarded as "primitive" artists.<sup>1</sup>

The essays assembled here intervene in two important and interrelated revisionist projects: first, the search for new theories and methods to address world art history, and second, the active retheorization of modernism and modernity and their historical relationship to contemporary art practices.<sup>2</sup> The authors propose different understandings of the relationship between the modern and the contemporary than, for example, Hans Belting and Andrea Buddensieg do when theorizing the "new world map of art" in their introduction to *The Global Contemporary: Art Worlds after 1989*:

Today's contemporary art presents itself not only as new art but as a new kind of art, an art that is expanding all over the globe. . . . One element of its newness is that it is no longer synonymous with modern art. Rather it sees itself as contemporary: not only in a chronological sense, but also in a symbolic and even ideological sense. In many developing countries, art can only be contemporary because locally it has no



modern history. Thus the twenty-first century is seeing the worldwide emergence of an art that lays claim to contemporaneity without limits and without history.<sup>3</sup>

Belting and Buddensieg are not alone in their desire to distinguish the contours of global contemporary art from the entangled hegemonic histories of modernity. Rather, their observations are part of a rapid rise of interest in and embrace of these new coordinates for an art of the present. To cite another influential example, in the 2009 Tate Modern Triennial, curator Nicolas Bourriaud asked us to think through what he termed the “altermodern,” the global art practices of our “heterochronical” era in which “the historical counters . . . [could] be reset to zero.”<sup>4</sup> In the time of the altermodern, he argued, “works of art trace lines in a globalised space that now extends to time: history, the last continent to be explored, can be traversed like a territory.” These analyses are heavily invested in revising how we write art histories. They reconfigure established understandings of the role that art and artists can and should play within contemporary society. Focusing on questions of historicity from a position of the now, presumed to be unencumbered by the burden of history, they seek to reposition and retell the temporal and spatial narratives of modernity and modernism at large.<sup>5</sup>

While modernity is increasingly understood today as a global phenomenon, the canon of art history, as a product of Enlightenment epistemology, has operated as “self-evidently universal,” silencing the histories of the non-West.<sup>6</sup> The contention that art (anywhere) “can only be contemporary because locally it has no modern history” is, to our thinking, deeply problematic and profoundly out of step with revisionist agendas that now seek polyphonic voices to reconceptualize the narratives of modernity and artistic modernism. Scholars pursuing workable paradigms for the comparative, cross-cultural study of art aim to do so without recourse to outmoded and potentially neocolonial paradigms. They question art history’s provincialism and seek to broaden its scope.<sup>7</sup> We build on these approaches, training the reader’s eye on lesser-known modernist practices.

The project of world art history is loosely defined, diverse, and emergent. We position our work as one possible engagement with the many potentialities of art history as a “global discipline.” While a certain bursting of the canon is at work in all chapters, we do not believe there can be a singular response to the challenges of comparative art historical work. Rather, our central concern is the troubling inconsistency embedded in the renewed search for a global





art historical scope. With very few exceptions, world art history has not yet fully considered the modernisms created by peoples historically defined as “indigenous” or “native” by colonial regimes.<sup>8</sup> In contrast to projects that seek to mount an inclusive and revisionist “story of art” by insisting on a single response to the challenge of comparative work (such as John Onians’s “neuro-art history”), this book contributes a diverse and cosmopolitan set of histories of modernist experience and art practices that have been systematically overlooked.<sup>9</sup> We are not interested in producing a global art history that simply replaces one normative story with another. Rather, we write in opposition both to an established canon and to the universalizing tendencies that are resurfacing in world art studies.

As the essays herein show, the lack of integration of modern indigenous art histories into larger narratives is owed not to a dearth of research but to its limited circulation within national and settler art historical communities as they come to terms with their colonial pasts. In other words, although Australians and New Zealanders come to know Aboriginal and Māori arts through dedicated wings in their national museums, and Canadians, Americans, and South Africans have regular opportunities to view Inuit, Pueblo, or Zulu modernisms, these arts have yet to find their rightful place within broader art historical narratives.<sup>10</sup>

In contrast to other recent volumes that foster the comparison of urban, national, or regional histories of modernism, the contributors to this book work through the thorny legacies of modernist primitivism in areas historically grouped together as the arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas—or AOA, in the shorthand of several generations of students and museum professionals.<sup>11</sup> The comparative framework we introduce reveals the pervasiveness of primitivism and its charged legacies. In case studies, the authors address the contemporary valences of indigeneity in the emergent discourse of multiple modernisms and ask how artists living under varying structures of colonial rule often engaged with primitivism through creative practice and philosophical debate.

The modern period covered in our volume stretches roughly from the late nineteenth century to the end of the Cold War, coinciding with the spread of colonialism, the rise of industrialization and urbanization, and the flourishing of vanguardist activities—developments that define the era that modernity, modernism, and primitivism cohabit. Throughout this modern era, and despite the constraints imposed by imperialist structures, artists, artworks, and art patrons moved within and across borders, carrying, appropriating, and



translating objects, images, and ideas. Their itineraries made up the dense networks of modern life and contributed not only to the shaping of local, transnationally inflected modernisms, but also to the making of modern subjectivities. Against this backdrop of movement, we emphasize the important connections to place and claims to territory (and anteriority) that have dictated how modernisms developed and intervened effectively in differing colonial and postcolonial frameworks.

Art world denials of long-standing modern practices in places outside the West, of cosmopolitanism within the West, and of the many movements within and between them have relied on a deliberate misunderstanding of the inherent spatial and temporal politics of the modern world. In this context, the book also examines the journeys through time inevitably required of artists who made visual claims to the modern while living under colonial rule. The chapters encourage readings of modernity not as a phenomenon of diffusionism but as one that arose through encounter and exchange.<sup>12</sup> Artists remapped existing practices, rejecting, reinvigorating, and reimagining inherited forms to meet the needs of the present and the future. This rereading of modernist histories is particularly important in an era in which the failed promises of decolonization and the rapid spread of neoliberalism have laid bare the unevenness of globalization.

The modernist experiences and accompanying artistic forms we emphasize here are entangled, mutually constitutive, and culturally situated. The contributing authors are all committed to what Laura Doyle and Laura Winkiel have called a “locational” approach—one informed by a “self-consciousness about positionality.”<sup>13</sup> Some authors speak from positions of indigeneity; all grapple with the ongoing legacies of colonialism. We strive to engage purposefully and sensitively with differing forms of decolonial thinking and writing, in response to prevalent hegemonic forces of neoliberalism.<sup>14</sup>

Although geographically dispersed, these local art histories are transnationally linked by the artists’ exposure and contributions to modernist discourses and exemplars. They demonstrate entrepreneurial engagements with commodity culture and art markets, the invention of new genres and formats, and translations of primitivism and existing visual traditions. These histories are also connected by the artists’ shared need to combat the racialized, romanticized, and exoticized stereotypes that have defined the authenticity of African, Oceanic, and Native American arts, and to counter allegations of their incompatibility with modernity.





To position these studies individually and as a linked set, we need to unpack three interrelated and contested constructs: *primitivism*, understood both as a key generator of value and authenticity and—even within the constraints of colonial systems—an available vehicle for the articulation of usable or reclaimed “pasts”; *indigeneity*, defined as a colonial and contemporary category of identity that is historically contingent and encompasses larger questions of emplacement and belonging; and *mobility*, mappable as a shared experience of modern life that made possible the cartographies of modernism and produced key artistic and critical networks of exchange. Each construct, forged over hundreds of years of imperial encounters, is overdetermined, and each, as a building block of modern consciousness, carries a heavy freight of historical signification and deconstruction. Yet for that very reason, each needs to be examined and reassessed as a necessary parameter for investigating the multiple modernisms that make up this book. For clarity and effect, we have organized the case studies loosely around these sites of negotiation, but with full awareness that modernist histories operated in complex, complementary, and contradictory manners. Each study could be viewed through any and all of the lenses we provide.

### *Modernity, Modernization, Modernism*

We use the term “modernity” to identify a shared set of economic, social, and political conditions that characterized the lives of peoples around the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—one whose mechanisms continue to reverberate in our present moment.<sup>15</sup> Modernization refers to the processes, systems, and ideologies that beget modernity, such as new divisions of labor through industrialization, urbanization, capitalism, nationalism, and the redefinition of the public sphere. The development of print culture and increased speeds of communication and transportation enabled the rapid dissemination of these modernizing forces. As we argue in the following pages, the time, space, and pace of modernity have varied widely, and the forces of modernization have produced different effects in varying economic, cultural, and political circumstances. Modernism is, of course, a notoriously slippery and contingent term. It describes a range of cultural inventions through which people express their experiences of living in modernity. But for many years it has operated in the art world as an exclusionary discourse and canon.

Most major museums and art historical publications continue to define



modernism in European terms, while acknowledging exceptions and additions to a primary model. Take, for example, a standard definition provided today by the Tate Modern:

Although many different styles are encompassed by the term, there are certain underlying principles that define modernist art: A rejection of history and conservative values (such as realistic depiction of subjects); innovation and experimentation with form (the shapes, colours and lines that make up the work) with a tendency to abstraction; and an emphasis on materials, techniques and processes. Modernism has also been driven by various social and political agendas. These were often utopian, and modernism was in general associated with ideal visions of human life and society and a belief in progress.<sup>16</sup>

While this list certainly addresses some concerns of the modernist artists featured in our volume, it lacks the nuance required to address the diversity of experience and artistic engagement evident within our comparative framework. As we argue below, artists operating within empire often sought to re-engage with “traditions” that had been distorted, disfigured, or destroyed by the colonial project; to be modern might mean a return to or a continuation of realist/naturalist modes of expression, rather than a turn toward abstraction.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the imbrication of local and global ideas often meant artists had to confront notions of “progress” and “utopia” tied to systems that did not accord with their goals and aspirations as colonized peoples.

As “unfinished business,” the specter of modernity lingers in its global inflections and remains in play with “practices that cannot be considered modern at all.”<sup>18</sup> Writing for the *Grove Dictionary of Art* in the late 1990s, Terry Smith defined modernity as a “term applied to the cultural condition in which the seemingly absolute necessity of innovation becomes a primary fact of life, work and thought” and identifies it as “the first truly ‘world’ culture, universalizing in its ambitions and impact.”<sup>19</sup> Smith’s classic understanding positions modernity and its “world culture” in terms of changes occurring in Europe that radiated outward. His more recent work, along with that of other scholars, attends more closely to the non-West and to the questions of appropriation, translation, and transnational exchanges of ideas, images, and material culture addressed in the chapters of this book. Modernity and modernism were always already syncretic in practice, while in discourse they have remained normatively Eurocentric until quite recently. Difference, in other words, was always “inside” modernity, as is evident in a mounting body of compelling



arguments to this effect. Nonetheless the arts produced in modernist styles, materials, and genres during the twentieth century by formerly colonized and indigenous artists have continued to be regarded as belated and provincial copies—even as those of their contemporary descendants are welcomed as examples of global chic.

In “Geographies of Modernism in a Globalizing World,” Andreas Huyssen reminds us that modernist geographies “are also shaped by their temporal inscriptions.”<sup>20</sup> Thus, the logics of modernity required a particular politics of time and space. In different places, at different times, the past has informed the present or has been purposely reinvented to create a better future; this past is often marked by colonial oppression and real or perceived losses of cultural traditions and freedoms. Huyssen takes his lead from scholars such as George Kubler, Johannes Fabian, and Timothy Mitchell, who revolutionized how we think about the politics of temporality.<sup>21</sup> For example, Fabian’s now widely cited discussion of “allochronism,” which explained how European thinkers were able to deny the coevalness of non-Western populations, proved invaluable for unmasking the ideologies of difference at the heart of European modernism and for readying our approaches to modernity’s global faces.<sup>22</sup> Like many others who began their investigations in the heady days of postmodernist debate, Huyssen has become increasingly concerned with the speed and density of temporality as it was imagined and experienced across varied terrains. Scholars of multiple modernisms have critiqued the denigration of works by artists outside the West as myopic and monocultural. Yet questions of time lag, speed, and the differentiated experiences of modernity continue to haunt us. As Smith rightly notes, “This perspective leaves curators and art historians with the job of playing ‘catch-up modernism,’ their task confined to showing how these artists were really modernists, albeit in their own specific and located way. The goal becomes to write each artist into a universal narrative of the shared evolution of modernism, the outline of which has been set by developments in EuroAmerica. This is to fall for a fiction, to perpetuate the master-slave relationship, and, strategically, to play a losing game.”<sup>23</sup>

Many scholars now argue that the “temporal inscriptions” of modernist geographies are best understood through models of heterochronicity.<sup>24</sup> Social theorist Reinhart Koselleck, for example, asserts that different cultural understandings of temporality coexisted in the same chronological time, characterizing modernity as “the non-contemporaneity of diverse, but in the chronological sense, simultaneous histories.”<sup>25</sup> George Kubler’s well-known meditation on “the shape of time” draws our attention to “different kinds of



duration” and what he calls “interchronic pauses,” whereby the passages of time and the perceptions of its markings fluctuate and shift. Following Kubler, we consider how the anticolonialist activities, philosophical debates, and artistic creations emerging from indigenous artists in the relatively short period of the “modern” might be calibrated to “speeds” at odds with European expectations and reigning narratives of modernization and developmentalism.<sup>26</sup>

Art historian Leon Wainwright has recently posited such an explanation when discussing the working methods and artistic choices of pioneering Caribbean modernists. In his provocative volume *Timed Out: Art and the Transnational Caribbean*, Wainwright joined the “world art” debate by asking how the politics of time and space could be “reengaged to rethink the global geography of art.”<sup>27</sup> With his consideration of the deliberate adoption of anachronistic forms by Caribbean painters, he aims to dislodge art history’s “continuing attachment” to models of modernity that emphasize (even within the global turn) what he calls the “over here” and “back there” scenario. What stakes were at play as colonized artists adopted, translated, or misread modernist forms? The complex histories of interaction, epistemic violence, and silencing of indigenous voices often hold within them creative practices of deliberate mistranslation and appropriation that produce what Esther Garbaria has called “errant modernisms.”<sup>28</sup> In the context of creolized Caribbean modernities, for example, Edouard Glissant writes of a “forced poetics” initiated by displaced or enslaved populations living in the belly of modernist capitalism. The enslaved, fated to exist “outside the grammar forced upon them,” or faced with limited vocabulary or tools, “chose to warp it, untune it, in order to make the idiom [their] own.”<sup>29</sup>

The case studies in this book evidence a wide variety of responses to and engagements with the ideas of difference, authenticity, primordialism, and spontaneity inscribed by primitivist discourses. They range from the anti-primitivist lobbying of Nigerian painter Aina Onabolu to the reimagined abstract Indigenous materiality of George Morrison. In different ways, these two modernists reclaimed and reworked visual forms, materials, or techniques from their cultural pasts, synthesizing what Chika Okeke-Agulu calls “artistic assets,” to arrive at viable visual languages suited to anticolonialist and self-affirming politics.<sup>30</sup> These discrepant expressions of modernity might adopt forms from colonial modern culture, but they were anything but blind deriva-





tion or mimicry. Rather, they exposed “the ambivalence of colonial discourse” and disrupted its authority.<sup>31</sup>

### *(Re)mapping “Modernist Attitudes”*

As a quintessential product of modernity, art history has depended on tropes of mapping since its inception, fixing boundaries of space and time that continue to control the canon. As Robert Nelson writes, art history as a discipline “has been accorded the ability and power to control and judge its borders, to admit or reject people and objects, and to teach and thus transmit values to others.”<sup>32</sup>

The processes of mapping, therefore, lead us into contentious historical terrain. Maps, as the critical literature shows, are heavily loaded documents. Since the Renaissance, cartographic imaging has invented modern spaces, turning abstractions into imperialist representations that could be wielded as a means to know, contain, and control place.<sup>33</sup> This process has been particularly coercive in relation to indigenous peoples, as David Turnbull asserts: “The real distinguishing characteristic of Western maps is that they are more powerful than aboriginal maps, because they enable forms of association that make possible the building of empires, disciplines like cartography, and a concept of land ownership that can be subject to juridical processes.”<sup>34</sup>

We revisit and reckon with the spatial politics of modernist scholarship by employing mapping in both a *historical* and a *metaphorical* sense, addressing the violence of imperialism and the hegemonic models informing narratives of modernism as well as the territories of the imagination. Decolonizing critiques employ mapping—or remapping—to acknowledge the centrality of place in the crafting of modernist Indigenous subjectivities. Such maps can complicate accepted and expected axes of colonial-modern movement between center and periphery by allowing us to recognize complex local, regional, and global sources of artistic production and consumption, networks of travel, and polycentric nodes of modernist creation.

Huyssen has pointed to the value of the comparative framework for transnational studies, arguing, “We lack a workable model of comparative studies able to go beyond the traditional approaches that still take national cultures as the units to be compared and rarely pay attention to the uneven flows of translation, transmission, and appropriation.”<sup>35</sup> To be analytically rigorous, however, comparative approaches require a controlled set of variables. We



have thus limited our scope to modernist arts that arose in the interrelated and networked colonial spheres of Britain, France, and the United States. This decision recognizes the power of shared languages, which facilitated access to texts, images, and ideas, as well as the structural unities created by the systemic imposition of policies and institutions, which allowed colonial regimes to replicate particular strategies or to differentiate themselves from one another. Canada, for example, consciously imitated the system of Indian boarding schools first set up in the United States but chose *not* to copy the art programs set up on Indian reservations by the U.S. government's Works Progress Administration during the 1930s. Colonial subjects living in French colonies in Africa and the Pacific might read the same journals or be given art classes by teachers trained in the same French educational system. And art academies in several African colonies produced students with joint degrees from the Slade School of Art in London.

The comparative approach of this volume is aligned with a small but significant array of recent projects that seek to document what Kobena Mercer calls “modernist attitudes” and to overcome the “limitations of our available knowledge about modernism’s cross-cultural past.”<sup>36</sup> His pioneering four-volume *Annotating Art’s Histories* series is an important model for this book. We take up his invitation to pursue “avenues and departure points for future enquiry,” investigating a wide range of hitherto unlogged art histories, without inadvertently reifying the center.<sup>37</sup> In a similar vein, the editors of *Geomodernisms: Race, Modernism, Modernity* promote an understanding of modernism as “a global, complex, multidirectional, and divergent set of projects . . . [launched] from different locations at different times under unequal conditions.”<sup>38</sup>

Living under colonial and neocolonial regimes, and identified by their colonizers as “native” or “indigenous,” the artists discussed here confronted similar obstacles in their efforts to become modern professionals. In some cases, their lives spanned the era of political independence, while other artists remain internally colonized.<sup>39</sup> While some felt the coercive nature of modernity, for others, modernism held emancipatory possibilities, its affiliations suggesting and critiquing imagined or utopian futures.

### *Modern Values: Artistic Hierarchies and Modernist Primitivism*

The “discovery” of so-called primitive art by early twentieth-century avant-garde artists is recounted as a central event in the origin story of modern Western art. It is framed as a recuperative project accomplished through the



encounters of modernist artists, writers, and collectors with objects they found in dusty ethnographic museums, flea markets, and shops selling exotic curiosities. They understood them as products of the “simpler” preindustrial and premodern lives of their makers.<sup>40</sup> Roger Fry’s art criticism is representative. In two essays written in 1920, he celebrated the presence of “primitive art in civilized places,” while dismissing “civilized art in primitive places,” to play on Sally Price’s phrase.<sup>41</sup> He celebrated European modern artists’ abandonment of a naturalistic representational ideal which had enabled them to profit from the models provided by non-Western arts. “We are thus no longer cut off from a great deal of barbaric and primitive art,” he wrote, “the very meaning of which escaped the understanding of those who demanded a certain standard of skill in representation before they could give serious consideration to a work of art.”<sup>42</sup> In his essay “Negro Sculpture,” however, he argued that the social and intellectual backwardness of primitive societies prevented modern African artists from participating in that same modernism: “For want of a conscious critical sense and the intellectual powers of comparison and classification . . . the negro has failed to create one of the great cultures of the world. . . . [T]he lack of such a critical standard to support him leaves the artist much more at the mercy of any outside influence. It is likely enough that the negro artist, although capable of such profound imaginative understanding of form, would accept our cheapest illusionist art with humble enthusiasm.”<sup>43</sup>

For critics like Fry, the modern arts created by descendants of the artists who had produced the masks and figures so admired by Western modernists could not easily be contained within the “primitive” art category. Under the logics of European modernism, “primitive” art forms belonged to isolated, premodern societies whose artists (and cultures) were mere “survivals” of earlier evolutionary moments, slated either to disappear under the weight of modernity or suffer fatal contamination through their exposure to its progressive forces.<sup>44</sup> As Simon Gikandi notes, “Fry had endowed Africans with artistic genius but denied them the capacity to make critical judgments . . . thus acknowledging their importance to the creation of modernism but crucially without accordin them the civilizational authority of the modern.”<sup>45</sup> Many influential critics who shared Fry’s formalist appreciation of “primitive” art also shared his conviction of the definitional impossibility of non-Western modernisms, which could only be generated, as in the West, through the artists’ cosmopolitanism, criticality, and intellectual reflexivity.

The case studies in part 1 of this book illustrate the measures of value imposed by modernist primitivism and the belief in a Kantian hierarchy of fine



and applied arts used to classify the works of many indigenous artists. Colonial educational systems designed to bring “natives” up to the level of “civilized” European colonizers attempted to either suppress extant indigenous arts or contain them within the less evolved categories of craft and folk arts.<sup>46</sup> The Zulu and Inuit case studies presented by Sandra Klopper and Heather Igloliorte nicely illustrate the dichotomous pairings of primitivism/modernity and craft/art at work. Zulu carver Zizwezenyanga Qwabe created innovative versions of the traditional mat rack that replaced geometric relief carving with a new mode of pictorial representation. He successfully exploited the modernization process at large in South Africa by making use of the new art markets created by the spread of modernist capital, the rise of migrant labor networks, and the patronage of American journalist Rebecca Reyher. Troubled by the modern sensibility of Qwabe’s works, seen in both their adoption of Western pictorial formats to inscribe historical memory and their commercial and innovative character, historians have not classified the art as authentic primitive art. Their functional origin as domestic furnishings and their wood-carving medium have also prevented their recognition as modern fine art. Instead they enter the equally ill-defined categories of folk art and craft.

Igloliorte’s research on the development of modern Inuit commercial art production in the Canadian Arctic three decades later reveals a parallel negotiation of value and authenticity. She shows how the small illustrated booklet the government commissioned of artist James Houston, designed to inform artists about the kinds of objects that would appeal to southern buyers, became the unintended catalyst for a critical distinction between Inuit fine art and craft. Her case study shows that a clear demarcation between art and craft productions was necessary to position soapstone carvings as art, even though the artists’ own concepts of visual artistic expression did not make the same distinctions. In the process, Igloliorte also illuminates the roles played by mentors in framing these arts.

Bill Anthes’s account of the shared modernity of Native American painters and basket makers in California and the Southwest suggests more capacious ways of articulating the linkages between indigenous identities, extant and shifting traditional practices, and persistent colonial frameworks of pedagogy and interpretation. His discussion of the innovative pictorial imagery woven into souvenir baskets by Native women in the desert communities outside early twentieth-century Los Angeles opens for us alternative histories of training, reflections on the mastery of materials, varied responses to rapid modernization, and clear instances of market savvy. Anthes moves our discussions of



indigenous modernism far beyond those that have focused on “naïve” paintings and “vanishing” traditions. He argues persuasively for recognizing that a “fine art” genre, like painting, and a “craft” genre, like basketry, can convey experiences of modernity with equivalent authenticity and expressive power. These three chapters thus broaden the range of genres and media in discussions of the modern, positioning all as components of modernist indigenous cultural production. Crucially, they refocus our attention on the agency of Indigenous artists as cocreators of their own modernity, despite the conscripted nature of their involvement.<sup>47</sup>

In the early twenty-first century, a visitor seeking examples of modernist indigenous arts in a large urban art museum is still likely to find them incorporated into a Department of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas. Although this grouping takes the form of a geopolitical list, its conflation of a set of spatially distant and historically unconnected artistic traditions has a well-known genealogy in nineteenth-century theories of cultural evolution and the early twentieth-century modernist discourse of primitive art. While discredited for years by anthropologists and art historians alike, and rife with anomalies, the “primitive” art construct remains a familiar convention of museum displays, art books, and art history curricula. This construct groups art forms produced in small-scale societies with those of large centralized kingdoms built on trade, mobile labor, and a cosmopolitan ethos. It brings into a unified representational space art made by the inhabitants of former tracts of empire now politically independent, and art by members of internally colonized communities who continue to suffer displacement and disenfranchisement. It also invokes the undifferentiated, often ambiguous, and problematic set of temporal coordinates we discussed earlier, mixing the ancient with the colonial and situating these productions outside, before, or beyond history.

The stubborn survival of the AOA grouping, after decades of comprehensive critique, is of central significance for this book. We argue that this classificatory convention, however named, continues to obstruct recognition of the artistic modernisms produced by the peoples whose ancestral arts have been defined as “primitive” art. In other words, if the modern is, by definition, diametrically opposed to the primitive, and if modernist primitivism is integral to modern art’s “essential nature,” as Robert Goldwater wrote in the conclusion of *Primitivism and Modern Art*, the museological ghettoization of indigenous artistic modernisms from Africa, the Pacific, and North America and their exclusion from narratives of art history continue to inscribe an outdated and false dialectic.<sup>48</sup>



The deconstruction of modernist primitivism was a central project of 1980s poststructuralist scholarship in the humanities and social sciences, accomplished through the work of James Clifford, Sally Price, Shelly Errington, Hal Foster, and others.<sup>49</sup> Their analyses—many provoked by the controversial 1984 Museum of Modern Art exhibition *Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art: Affinities of the Tribal and the Modern* and the 1989 Centre Pompidou's *Magiciens de la Terre*—compellingly demonstrated how the hierarchies advanced by discredited nineteenth-century theories of cultural evolution pervaded late twentieth-century museum displays, popular media, literature, and critical texts. Widely read and profoundly influential, this body of critical writing has circulated alongside and intersected with processes of political decolonization and economic and cultural globalization.

It is easy to fall into the trap of thinking that once a classificatory term has been effectively deconstructed, its discursive power has been neutralized; and for many, these critiques have settled the issue of modernist primitivism. Indeed, the disappearance of the term “primitive art” from the titles of books, university courses, and curatorial departments during the past two decades has seemed to indicate the critiques’ effectiveness. As we have seen, however, the new rubrics, even if less ideologically laden, have left largely untouched the museological conventions and associated progressivist narrative of human development that have excluded indigenous modern arts.

The radically formalist installations of African, Pacific Islands, and Native American arts in the Louvre’s Pavillon des Sessions and in the Musée du quai Branly’s dark and dramatically exoticist permanent exhibits—both opened at the turn of the new millennium—illustrate the profound failure of attempts to defeat primitivist framings.<sup>50</sup> What accounts for the strength of these latter-day renewals of exhibitionary tropes? As Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush have argued, primitivism was invented prophylactically, as a “prehistory of the future,” which could counteract the negative consequences and supply the losses of urban and industrial dystopias.<sup>51</sup> Primitivism, in other words, has continued to draw its strength from the awareness of modernity’s self-destructive dynamics. Chapters by W. Jackson Rushing III, Ian McLean, and Elizabeth Harney demonstrate how the deeply entrenched nature of these attitudes was evident in the reception of indigenous modernisms during the mid-twentieth century. The artists they discuss could be admitted to modernist art worlds only as exceptions.

Damian Skinner and Karen Duffek present very different accounts of how local modernists rejected primitivist readings of their works and intervened in





display spaces to insert modernist works into contexts previously reserved for craft and traditional arts. By tracking exhibitions of Māori modernism in New Zealand, Skinner shows us how modernists negotiated a critical distance and difference from the past, as well as an ongoing relationship with it. During the fifties and sixties, Māori modernists showed their works in white cube galleries, department stores, and local meeting houses. Each exhibition mediated quickly shifting modernist Indigenous subjectivities within a young settler nation and questioned art world hierarchies. Duffek provides us with a comparative analysis of Bill Reid and Henry Speck, two pioneering Northwest Coast artists from British Columbia, Canada, arguing that their diverging career paths and aesthetic engagements with tradition tell much about the circuitous and often contradictory routes toward modernist status and self-awareness. Critically, Duffek asks her readers to consider on whose terms and for what purposes the work of these artists was recognized—or not—as modern or even of their present, rather than as belonging to a vanishing (primitive) past?

### *Modern Identities: Indigeneity Historicized*

Unpacking indigeneity, like parsing primitivism, is a necessary step in revising art history's narrative. In contrast to categorization as primitive, the term "indigenous" references neither levels of social and political organization nor particular kinds of art forms. Like primitivism, however, indigeneity is generated dialogically; in Mahmood Mandani's words, "There can be no settler without a native, and vice versa."<sup>52</sup> The artists we discuss were disadvantaged by their positioning as indigenous within historical colonial contexts of production and modernist institutional framings. Today, however, indigeneity's references have shifted. Peter Geschiere points out that as globalization and the accompanying forces of neoliberalization increase, the importance of belonging to the local strengthens, engaging new understandings and uses of autochthony that differ from parallel debates around authenticity and nativism in earlier periods of modernity.<sup>53</sup> To refer today to the inhabitants of modern African nations, or to those of Papua New Guinea or Samoa, as "indigenous" is redundant, misguided, or inaccurate. In contrast, internally colonized peoples within the settler nations of the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere have reappropriated "Indigenous" (often capitalized) as a preferred denominator of identity.<sup>54</sup> For these communities, as Steven Leuthold comments, "indigeneity reflects a growing awareness of the role of ethnicity in national cultures and acts as an organizational focal point for



anticolonialism.”<sup>55</sup> For the same reason, nationalism, as an aspect of modernity, has different valences for colonized peoples who have achieved their own political independence and nationhood than it does for people who remain internally colonized. Discourses of indigeneity, however, continue to be informed by a tension between an essentializing tendency, which attaches pure and unchanged qualities to indigenous status, and diasporic, mestizo, and cosmopolitan historical realities. Against the analytical advantage of this strategy, then, we must weigh a potential danger. When we deploy indigeneity as a subcategory of modernism we risk reinscribing the very phenomenon we seek to examine critically.

We use indigeneity, then, as a troubling term, conscious of its historically contingent connotations and dialectical applications over time. We deploy the term “indigenous” to represent a historically operative category that artists had to navigate and actively shape. At the same time, however, we recognize the dialogical and relational evolution of the term’s referentiality and reject reified or essentialist meanings. We understand indigeneity, in other words, as a processual category that acknowledges its own historical instability and as a designation whose application during the colonial era relegated a set of globally dispersed modernisms to the margins of art history.

Writers on indigeneity stress the historical origin of the term as a denominator of identity in early modern processes of European exploration, conquest, and colonization. Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn argue that the category was invented to articulate an “imperial epistemology of sameness,” which “names a relationship based on a conception of time and space that differentiates among groups of people.”<sup>56</sup> European travelers to lands new to them distinguished the peoples they encountered by naming them *indigenes*—a word derived from a late Latin term for “born in the country.”<sup>57</sup> In the Americas, such layered engagements with indigeneity can become highly complex. For instance, as modernist theorists and novelists writing from the Caribbean attest, the sense of displacement brought about by the Middle Passage is best understood when further complicated by knowledge of the widespread decimation and disavowal of indigenous populations that haunted new world slave economies; in the historical nexus of the black Atlantic, then, measures of belonging and claims to place remain both contingent and ultimately unresolvable.<sup>58</sup>

James Clifford has delineated contemporary connotations of the construct of indigeneity after centuries of colonial and settler occupation. Indigenous peoples, he writes, “are defined by long attachment to a locale and by violent



histories of occupation, expropriation, and marginalization.”<sup>59</sup> Mary Louise Pratt’s definition adds a quality of “unpayable debt,” which pertains specifically to settlers.<sup>60</sup> Although we tend today to understand indebtedness in the context of land claims and other forms of restitution, indebtedness also informs the histories of modern art making. In modernism, the artist’s need to establish and legitimate lineages of origin can become a drive toward appropriation and universalism. The canonical example of Picasso’s quotations from preclassical Iberian art and African sculpture is repeated in the settler modernist’s citations of local indigenous arts, as exemplified by Australia’s Margaret Preston, Canada’s Emily Carr, and America’s Georgia O’Keeffe.<sup>61</sup> Although positioned as gestures of homage, such works stake the settler’s competing and questionable claims to indigeneity. As many have noted, although the mainstream art world has admitted and celebrated the hybrid appropriations of European settler modernists, when African, Pacific Islander, or North American indigenous artists made similar borrowings from European art, their choices were not seen as analogous.

For the first generations of indigenous modernists, these appropriations were potential sites of affirmation and resistance. Indeed, one of the aims of this collection is to ask how modern artists, working within and across a diverse set of colonial modern arenas, were able to make demands on the objects and representations at their disposal. Drawing from rediscovered, reactivated, or reimaged local aesthetic traditions, they translated and sometimes deliberately mistranslated, models of artistic practice that filtered through the discursive networks of imperialism, despite conditions of grossly unequal power.

The chapters in part 2 explore these issues of indigeneity, identity, and transcultural exchange.<sup>62</sup> In Nicholas Thomas’s examination of the modernist artistry of Papua New Guinean artist Mathias Kauage, he traces the artist’s move from the Highlands to the bustling colonial modern capital of Port Moresby. Once there, Kauage was able to mix with cosmopolitan communities of modernists at the university, gaining access to print workshops and ultimately becoming a rapporteur of a rapidly modernizing urban culture. For Kauage, artistic creation became a site for observing urban modernity and the rites and emblems of the new nation-state. Occasionally, Kauage—as “artist of PNG”—proudly declared his affiliation with that nation. Yet he did so on his own terms, remaining committed to portraying modernity through what he understood as an established Chimbu aesthetic of self-presentation and dress, mixing distinctive mythological beliefs and aesthetic predispositions with visions of local modern life.



Hybridity of style, nationalist appropriation, and cultural continuity all figure in Ian McLean's chapter on Albert Namatjira, the Arrernte tribesman from a remote Lutheran mission in central Australia who became a central figure in a rising Aboriginal modern art movement. McLean describes the shifting relations between local Indigenous theologies, nationalism, and modern art practice and makes evident how Namatjira used the genre of Western landscape painting to express Aboriginal concepts of the deep histories and cultural values inscribed in land. In discussing the artist's importance, McLean asks us to consider how Namatjira's successes were soon heralded as those of a modern Australia, demonstrating how they established a "common ground between what hitherto had been the incommensurable differences of Indigenous and Western culture."<sup>63</sup>

Norman Vorano's chapter recounts a different story of hybrid creativity—one that simultaneously engaged with modernist aesthetics imported into the Canadian Arctic from Japan and Inuit traditions of belief and narrative. We again meet James Houston, who, motivated by a desire to introduce a new and economically remunerative artistic genre, brought Japanese prints to Inuit communities and taught local artists their printmaking techniques. In the subsequent half century, printmaking became a site for the expression of modern Inuit identities that drew on extant traditions and new forms of settlement life, technologies, and economic exchange. Imported pictorial conventions offered Inuit printmakers additional ways to tell their stories of modern experience.

In postcolonial states, as in settler societies, the attribution of indigeneity has been wielded in diverse ways and at differing strategic moments to distinguish particular groups from their neighbors and to claim sovereignty, firstness, or a sense of belonging. The cultural histories of modern Africa, for example, can be described as syncretic, mobile, and cosmopolitan. They have been shaped by continuous migratory shifts in population, great and small, by transcontinental trading, slaving raids, intermarriage, and black Atlantic returns. And while histories of migration and settlement have led to the identification and self-identification of some peoples as Indigenous, such as the San (Bushmen) of southern Africa and Namibia and the Mbenga (Pygmies) of central Africa, important stories of belonging and claims to tradition and nativeness have also characterized nationalist narratives in modern Africa. As Frantz Fanon and others have argued, decolonizing societies and their intellectuals required authentic traditions to attain legitimacy (even if they had to be invented), while their desire to attain the status of modern nation-states required that they reject the past.<sup>64</sup> Thus, African modernists found them-



selves in a double bind, always seeking to be both modern (and freed from the yoke of colonialism) and African (placed, distinctive, native). As imperial frameworks gave way to national ones, processes of decolonization gave birth to liberation politics, Indigenous pride movements, and interlinked Cold War narratives. Within these shifting parameters, visual artists often weighed the efficacy of looking backward to partly remembered, partly invented traditions against the value of forging new forms of participation in the shared spaces and times of modernity. The resulting works played pivotal roles in the art histories we tell.

Chika Okeke-Agulu's chapter illustrates these dynamics through his discussion of three Nigerian artists whose works negotiated the modern, the indigenous (local), and the "primitive" (traditional) during the four decades leading up to Nigerian independence. In the same years that Roger Fry was writing his essays, Aina Onabolu traveled to study in England, where he acquired professional training enabling him to create accomplished illusionistic portraits. Okeke-Agulu argues that these works should be regarded as reflexive and modern, for no task was more important for the modern artist than to seize and redeploy the unprecedented representational facility of portraiture in the academic style. They are no less modern than the work made several decades later by Uche Okeke and Demas Nwoko, artists who negotiated the avant-gardist styles and primitivism of European modernists in the context of the politics of 1950s nationalism and postcoloniality. The work of all three artists helped forge identities that resisted the social and cultural inferiority coded by colonial constructs of indigeneity and discourses of primitivism while reclaiming local artistic traditions for modernism.

Modern national identities are at play in all four chapters. Kauage and the Nigerian modernists used art making to express citizenship in newly independent nations. In contrast, Namatjira and the Inuit printmakers, as members of internally colonized peoples, found themselves in a more ambivalent position, gaining economic and expressive power through the production of modern art that was systematically appropriated to the cause of settler nationalism.

### *Modern Mobilities: The Networked Maps of Modernists*

The study of exchanges across space and the importance of mobility in stories of modernity allow us to ask how spatial practices are manifested within the aesthetic choices of artists. As we follow their itineraries and those of their interlocutors, we complicate the assumed workings of tradition, innovation,



and appropriation. We also, crucially, focus on how myriad mechanisms and institutions of imperialism turned specific spaces into places of oppression or resistance. The microhistories featured in this volume reveal that colonial powers in widely distanced locations from New Zealand to Canada to South Africa employed remarkably similar mechanisms of control and exclusion. Most important for our focus on Indigenous modernisms, aspiring artists, with few exceptions, were denied access to professional art schools. Yet despite such restrictions, they engaged with modernist tenets in many different ways. Artists traveled within their home countries and to the centers of empire, and for many, these travels resulted in new states of diasporic identity that were, inevitably, culturally syncretic. Although the number of artists able to travel was small, their influence on other artists as transmitters of new aesthetic ideas and solutions was often powerful. Many are today recognized as vital pioneering figures within their own communities.

As many critics have argued, the recognition of difference within models of global modernity can be a strategy that ultimately leaves in place European centrality and primacy. By working with ideas of mobility through both physical and conceptual spaces, we can complicate the assumed cartographies, genealogies, and visual histories of modernity and shift what Walter Mignolo has called the “geopolitics of knowledge.”<sup>65</sup> We take our cues from the work of urban geographers and postcolonial theorists who enacted a “spatial turn” in the scholarship of the 1990s, urging us to imagine the work of modernity in terms of networks resembling the nodal structures of a rhizome and to envision a wider spread of centers that ebbed and flowed in power and significance according to local, national, regional, and global forces.<sup>66</sup>

Whether we invoke Edward Said’s discussions of the “voyages in” to Europe of exiles, intellectuals, and artists, or the work of James Clifford, Irit Rogoff, and Kobena Mercer on the significance of movement, exchange, travel, and spatiality in the crafting of modernist subjectivities, we are led to fundamental reconsiderations of how the histories of global engagements in modernity have been told.<sup>67</sup> Arjun Appadurai’s writings on global flows of people, products, images, and ideas ushered in textured readings of the machinery of globalization and the linkages between location and identity in both earlier and more recent periods. This emphasis on movement also challenges the essentialized vision of indigeneity, as a state in which one is limited to localized sets of spaces—reservations, boarding and residential schools, and real and imagined ties to ancestral lands. Clifford’s work on “traveling cultures” shows these habits of travel to be long standing.<sup>68</sup> He questions the processes



by which traditions are essentialized, locating authenticity in a pure and immobile state of attachment to place, thereby denying actual historical patterns of indigenous mobility, diasporic relocation, and urbanization.

Travel and mobility play a central role in the case studies included in part 3. W. Jackson Rushing's study of the pioneering Anishinabe (Chippewa) modernist George Morrison argues that although the Native American painter developed his work in art metropolises like New York and Paris, his Lake Superior home came to deeply inform his modernity and his practice. Morrison's career entailed more than three decades of expatriate training and work, taking him into the heart of vanguardist (particularly surrealist and abstract expressionist) activities. Yet, during the last decades of his life and in the context of the liberation movements of the 1970s, he returned to his ancestral homeland to investigate, through modernist painting, the roots of his identity in the land.

Peter Brunt's chapter contributes an evocative, poetic, and vivid micro-history. His account of the unique partnership of a French-Russian migrant modernist, Nicolaï Michoutouchkine, and a Pacific Islander modernist, Aloï Pilioko, alerts us first to nomadism as a "mode of inhabiting modernity" and then to the role of transitory exhibition and collection practices in the shaping of "island modernisms" in the South Pacific. During a life of perpetual travel, these two artists left a provocative series of diaries, notebooks, and sketches of life in transit, amassing a remarkable collection of ethnographic artifacts that they displayed alongside their own works. In the process, they contributed a critical intervention to the histories of primitivist discourse. Inspired by the tone and tenor of these archival traces of mobility, Brunt sketches for us a compelling tale of cross-imperial travel and modernist imaginative worlds.

In Elizabeth Harney's study of the careers of painters Gerald Sekoto and Skunder Boghossian, who found their way from South Africa and Ethiopia to Paris in the immediate postwar period, she considers how each engaged and played with ideas of modernist primitivism. Sekoto's social commentaries seemed to capture the lost dreams of a generation of black South Africans who saw their experiences of modernity increasingly shaped by apartheid. Boghossian's canvases creatively reconciled elements of Ethiopian aesthetics and mysticism with discoveries of his pan-Africanist subjectivity through a decidedly surrealist approach. Both operated under the weight of constrictive analytical categories; both joined in diasporic demands for decolonization; both endured the pleasures and melancholies of exile.

Anitra Nettleton's chapter peels back the assumptions made about moder-



nity and modernism in relation to urban and rural spaces of twentieth-century South Africa. Examining the works of two black artists, contemporaries Sidney Kumalo and Jackson Hlungwani, she shows how their very different paths through the armature of modernism in South Africa featured, respectively, travel and networking beyond the national frame and retreat to a rural homeland. The works of both artists were recognized as authentically African, but in different ways. The arguments surrounding their proclaimed connection to place and time echo the debates on invented identities, reclaimed heritage, and exilic living seen in Harney's chapter on diasporic modernist painters who often found an Africa they sought within the framings of European primitivist mediations and within the storehouses of imperial museums.

Artists and art patrons moved within and across the mapped borders of modern nationhood, challenging the attempts of colonialism to limit movement, and carrying objects, images, technologies, and ideas with them. Erin Haney's chapter documents just such itineraries through an investigation of the photographic histories of the Lutterodt family of Accra. Their prolific careers depended on wide-ranging networks extending from their Gold Coast base to Lagos, Fernando Po, Luanda, London, and Liverpool. These mobile, cosmopolitan photographers disseminated their works through innovative pop-up studios, documentary projects for colonial authorities, and commissions that satisfied the needs of a growing local bourgeoisie eager to reflect its successes and identity. Along the way, they trained a generation of modernist photographers whose own careers continued to shape urban tastes and reflect modern subjectivities into the era of decolonization.

The patterns of these movements need better recognition, for, as we have noted, most scholarship on multiple modernisms has positioned individual artists and movements or schools within local, national, or continental art historical narratives rather than broader transnational frameworks. In *Modern Art in Africa, Asia, and Latin America*, for example, the editors acknowledge the vital place of "extraterritorial dynamics," migrancy, and travel in the stories of modernism by stressing the centrality of cosmopolitan world cities as crucibles for artistic vanguardism. Nonetheless, they ultimately adhere to nationalist framings, arguing, "The national perspective dominates not only because it is the standard for art historiography, but also because, more substantively, the nation and nationalism held a central place in the political and cultural unconscious of most modern artists; and as a governing construct of modernity, the nation effectively determined the shape of modern identity, politics and official culture."<sup>69</sup>



In documenting Indigenous modern arts, all the contributors engage with the interrelated scholarly project of investigating modernity as a global historical condition. The current silences and erasures do not simply signal a failure to consider the transnational routes of modernity. Rather, they neglect to acknowledge the coproductions of modernity in all their varieties. As we have argued, the current omissions of indigenous modernisms are owed, in part, to the residual agency of aesthetic primitivism still deeply embedded within museums, the academy, and other art institutions. Yet, they also stem from the tendency of recent art criticism to telescope the historical phase of modernist production with the global politics of contemporary art. The compression of the time-space coordinates of modernity and contemporaneity reinscribes primitivist modes of thinking by hiding from view the *longue durée* of indigenous peoples' active participation in modernity. These approaches ultimately flatten out histories of exchange by invoking oversimplified binaries of local and global, or by minimizing the profound imbrications and refractions at work in all histories of modernity.

Reading the case studies as a loosely aligned and provocative exchange of narratives about modernity and modernism allows us to question the mechanisms of power often occluded by pretensions of universality and to revisit debates about the politics of representation and enunciation, the nature of history writing, and the poetics of exhibiting and collecting. Critically, we focus on the heavy and often circuitous traffic of modernist forms, ideas, and artists across borders and cultures. These histories show that the artistic exchanges of the past have led not to the wholesale importation of concepts, forms, and techniques into hitherto closed cultural units, but to the emergence of myriad creative and generative misreadings, deliberate deformations, and counter-discursive reclamations that address the weight of colonial denigration, exoticization, and rupture.<sup>70</sup>

#### Notes

1. Shelly Errington, "What Became of Authentic Primitive Art?" *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 2 (1994): 201–26.
2. See Partha Mitter, "Interventions—Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery," *Art Bulletin* 90, no. 4 (2008): 531–48; the four-volume series Annotating Art's Histories: Cross-Cultural Perspectives in the Visual Arts, edited by Kobena Mercer: *Cosmopolitan Modernisms* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005); *Discrepant Abstractions* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006); *Exiles, Diasporas and Strangers* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008); and *Pop Art and Vernacular*



*Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007). See also further development of this critique in Veronica Sekules, George Lau, and Margit Thöfner, eds., “Local Modernisms,” special issue, *World Art* 4, no. 1 (2014).

3. Hans Belting and Andrea Buddensieg, introduction to *The Global Contemporary: Art Worlds after 1989* (Karlsruhe, Germany: zkm Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe, 2011), 6–7.

4. Nicolas Bourriaud, ed., *Altermodern: Tate Triennial* (London: Tate Publishing, 2009).

5. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

6. Mitter, “Interventions—Decentering Modernism,” 532.

7. For considered analyses of what “world art” might be, see James Elkins, ed., *Is Art History Global?*, vol. 3 of *The Art Seminar* (New York: Routledge, 2007); John Onians, “World Art: Ways Forward and a Way to Escape the ‘Autonomy of Culture’ Delusion,” *World Art* 1, no. 1 (2011): 125–34; David Carrier, *A World Art History and Its Objects* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008); Whitney Davis, “World without Art,” *Art History* 33, no. 4 (2010): 711–16.

8. Three recent congresses of the Comité international d’histoire de l’art (CIHA), which have included papers on Indigenous arts across time, are notable exceptions; see the program of the 2004 Montreal congress, “Sites and Territories of Art History,” accessed September 16, 2016, [http://ciha2004.uqam.ca/ciha\\_htlm/v\\_anglaise/accueil.html](http://ciha2004.uqam.ca/ciha_htlm/v_anglaise/accueil.html); Jaynie Anderson, ed., *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration, and Convergence* (Carlton, Vic: Miegunyah Press, 2009), the proceedings of the 2008 Melbourne congress; and G. Ulrich Grossmann and Petra Krutisch, eds., *The Challenge of the Object* (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 2013), the proceedings of the 2012 Nuremberg congress.

9. For other key texts on world art history, see Kitty Zijlmans and Wilfried van Damme, eds., *World Art Studies: Exploring Concepts and Approaches* (Amsterdam: Valiz, 2008); David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon Press, 2003); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); John Onians, ed., *Compression vs. Expression: Containing and Explaining the World’s Art* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).

10. Kapur and Mitter on India; Enwezor, Harney, Okeke-Agulu on parts of the African continent; and Mosquera, Garbara, and Guinta on sites in Latin America. These studies parallel those conducted on Indigenous modernities in settler societies in North America, Australia, and Oceania by Rushing, Phillips, Thomas, Anthes, Myers, Smith, Vorano, Skinner, and others.

11. Several other comparative studies have come out in recent years, most notably John Clark, “Is the Modernity of Chinese Art Comparable? An Opening of a Theoretical Space,” *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 10 (June 2014): 1–27; Mercer, *Cosmo-*



opolitan Modernisms; Elaine O'Brien et al., eds., *Modern Art in Africa, Asia, and Latin America: An Introduction to Global Modernisms* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013); Fuyubi Nakamura, Morgan Perkins, and Olivier Krischer, eds., *Asia through Art and Anthropology: Cultural Translation across Borders* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).

12. See Robert S. Nelson, "The Map of Art History," *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 1 (March 1997): 28–40.

13. Laura Doyle and Laura Winkiel, eds. *Geomodernisms: Race, Modernism, Modernity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 3.

14. Walter D. Mignolo, "Delinking," *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2 (2007): 449–514.

15. Terry Smith, "Modernity," in *Grove Art Online*, Oxford Art Online, Oxford University Press, January 1998, <http://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T058788>.

16. "Modernism," Tate, accessed September 12, 2016, <http://www.tate.org.uk/learn/online-resources/glossary/m/modernism>.

17. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove, 1968), 169.

18. Bruce M. Knauft, ed., *Critically Modern: Alternatives, Alterities, Anthropologies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 3. Heather Igloliorte takes up these issues of antimodernity in her essay in this volume, "'Hooked Forever on Primitive Peoples': James Houston and the Transformation of 'Eskimo Handicrafts' to Inuit Art."

19. Smith, "Modernity."

20. Andreas Huyssen, "Geographies of Modernism in a Globalizing World," *New German Critique* 34, no. 1 (winter 2007): 190.

21. George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1962); Timothy Mitchell, ed., *Questions of Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

22. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

23. Terry Smith, "Rethinking Modernism and Modernity Now," *Filozofski vestnik* 35, no. 2 (2014): 292.

24. Julian Johnson, "The Precarious Present," in *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 86.

25. Reinhart Koselleck, "'Spaces of Experience' and 'Horizon of Expectation': Two Historical Categories," in *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985), 267–88. This view mirrors Michel Foucault's explanation of multiple spatialities—what he called "heterotopias"—a juxtaposition or gathering of incommensurable spaces of the postmodern. See Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (New York: Routledge, 1997), 330–36.

26. Kubler, *Shape of Time*, 17, 83; Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Washington, DC: Howard University, 1972).



27. Leon Wainwright, *Timed Out: Art and the Transnational Caribbean* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 13.
28. Esther Garbara, “Landscape: Errant Modernist Aesthetics in Brazil,” in O’Brien et al., *Modern Art in Africa, Asia, and Latin America*, 353–61.
29. Edouard Glissant, “Free and Forced Poetics,” in *Ethno-Poetics: A First International Symposium*, ed. Michel Benamou and Jerome Rothenberg (Boston: Boston University Scholar Press, 1976), 95.
30. Chika Okeke-Agulu, “Natural Synthesis: Art, Theory, and the Politics of Decolonization in Mid-Twentieth-Century Nigeria,” this volume.
31. Homi Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 85–92.
32. Nelson, “Map of Art History,” 28.
33. Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Thinking* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).
34. David Turnbull, *Maps Are Territories: Science Is an Atlas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 55.
35. Huyssen, “Geographies of Modernism,” 194.
36. Mercer, *Cosmopolitan Modernisms*, 7; see also Mercer, *Exiles, Diasporas and Strangers*, 6–27.
37. Mercer, *Cosmopolitan Modernisms*, 9.
38. Doyle and Winkiel, *Geomodernisms*, 13.
39. These investigations complement those more specifically focused on questions of art and aboriginality by anthropologists like Howard Morphy and art historians such as Charlotte Townsend-Gault. See Morphy, *Becoming Art: Exploring Cross-Cultural Categories* (Oxford: Berg, 2007); and Charlotte Townsend-Gault, Jennifer Kramer, and Ki-ke-in, eds., *Native Art of the Northwest Coast: A History of Changing Ideas* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013).
40. For a valuable compilation of primary sources on primitivism, see Jack Flam and Miriam Deutch, eds., *Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art: A Documentary History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). See also T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Anti-modernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981).
41. Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).
42. Roger Fry, “Art and Life,” the introductory essay to his *Vision and Design* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1923), 12.
43. Fry, “Negro Sculpture,” in *Vision and Design*, 103.
44. Ruth B. Phillips, “Norval Morrisseau’s Entrance: Negotiating Primitivism, Modernism, and Anishinaabe Tradition,” in *Norval Morrisseau: Shaman Artist*, ed. Greg Hill (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2006), 42–77.



45. Simon Gikandi, “Africa and the Epiphany of Modernism,” in Doyle and Winkiel, *Geomodernisms*, 49.

46. On such educational policies across the empire, see, for example, Bruce Bernstein and W. Jackson Rushing, *Modern by Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995); Michelle McGeough, *Through Their Eyes: Indian Painting in Santa Fe, 1918–1945* (Santa Fe, NM: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 2009); Damian Skinner, *The Carver and the Artist: Māori Art in the Twentieth Century* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008); Scott Watson, “Art/Craft in the Early Twentieth Century,” in Townsend-Gault, Kramer, and Ki-ke-in, *Native Art of the Northwest Coast*, 348–79; and Ronald W. Hawker, “Welfare Politics, Late Salvage, and Indigenous (In)Visibility, 1930–60,” in Townsend-Gault, Kramer, and Ki-ke-in, *Native Art of the Northwest Coast*, 348–403.

47. David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).

48. “But since primitivism itself and the effort to achieve the absolute character previously noted are both products of the same situation in modern art, its primitivist features may be considered not merely accidents, but of its essential nature.” Robert Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1986), 271.

49. Particularly important and influential critiques are offered by James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places*; Hal Foster, “The ‘Primitive’ Unconscious of Modern Art, or White Skins Black Masks,” in *Recodings: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics* (Seattle, WA: Bay Press, 1985), 181–210; Thomas McEvilley, “Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief: Primitivism in Twentieth Century Art at the Museum of Modern Art,” *ArtForum* 23, no. 3 (1984): 54–61; Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture: Anthropology, Travel, and Government* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); and Shelly Errington, *The Death of Authentic Primitive Art and Other Tales of Progress* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). Several important edited volumes also contributed importantly to this critique, notably, Susan Hiller, ed., *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush, eds., *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995); and Flam and Deutch, *Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art*.

50. James Clifford, “Quai Branly in Process,” *October* 4, no. 120 (2007): 3–27; Sally Price, *Paris Primitive: Jacques Chirac’s Museum on the Quai Branly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

51. Barkan and Bush, *Prehistories of the Future*.



52. Quoted in Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn, introduction to *Indigenous Experience Today*, ed. Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 4.
53. Peter Geschiere, *The Perils of Belonging: Autochthony, Citizenship, and Exclusion in Africa and Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
54. Michael Yellow Bird, “What We Want to Be Called: Indigenous Peoples’ Perspectives on Racial and Ethnic Identity Labels,” *American Indian Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (1999): 1–21.
55. Steven Leuthold, *Indigenous Aesthetics: Native Art, Media, and Identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 5.
56. Cadena and Starn, introduction, 4–5.
57. *OED Online*, adj. “indigenous,” accessed November 15, 2005, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/94474?redirectedFrom=indigenous>.
58. Jamaica Kinkaid, *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000); V. S. Naipaul, *The Loss of El Dorado: A Colonial History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003); Edouard Glissant, *The Poetics of Relation*, trans. Betsy Wing (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).
59. James Clifford, “Varieties of Indigenous Experience: Diasporas, Homelands, Sovereignties,” in de la Cadena and Starn, *Indigenous Experience Today*, 198.
60. Mary Louise Pratt, “Afterword: Indigeneity Today,” in de la Cadena and Starn, *Indigenous Experience Today*, 400–402.
61. On settler artists and appropriation, see discussions about Margaret Preston in Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 127–43; and Djon Mundine “Aboriginal Still Life,” in *Margaret Preston*, ed. Deborah Edwards and Rose Peel (Melbourne: Thames and Hudson Australia, 1995), 208. On Emily Carr, see Gerta Moray, *Unsettling Encounters: First Nations Imagery in the Art of Emily Carr* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006); and Sarah Milroy, *From the Forest to the Sea: Emily Carr in British Columbia* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 2014). For Georgia O’Keeffe, see essays by Carolyn Kastner, “Changing Perspectives on Cultural Patrimony: Katsina Tithu,” and Alph H. Secakuku, “Katsinam: The Katsina Dolls in Pueblo Culture and as Depicted by Georgia O’Keeffe,” in *Georgia O’Keeffe in New Mexico: Architecture, Katsinam, and the Land*, ed. Barbara Buhler Lynes and Carolyn Kastner (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2012), 99–109 and 111–17. See also Ruth B. Phillips, “Aesthetic Primitivism Revisited: The Global Diaspora of ‘Primitive Art’ and the Rise of Indigenous Modernisms,” *Journal of Art Historiography* 12 (2015): 1–25, <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/phillips.pdf>.
62. In the future, it will undoubtedly be illuminating and desirable to establish a still wider and more varied comparative framework for our discussions of networked world modernisms—one that could include other Indigenous peoples such as the Sami of Scandinavia, the Ainu of Japan, the Adivasi (tribal peoples) of India, or those of



Latin America. The panorama we provide here is intended to begin a conversation, to leave the discussions open ended, and ultimately, to complicate matters.

63. See McLean, “Modernism and the Art of Albert Namatjira,” this volume.

64. Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth* (1968).

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