MEDIATING MODERNISMS

INDIGENOUS ARTISTS, MODERNIST MEDIATORS, GLOBAL NETWORKS

Ruth B. Phillips and Norman Vorano | EDITORS

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MODERNIST EXCHANGES

General editors: Ruth B. Phillips

and Nicholas Thomas

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MATERIAL CULTURE, AND REPRESENTATION

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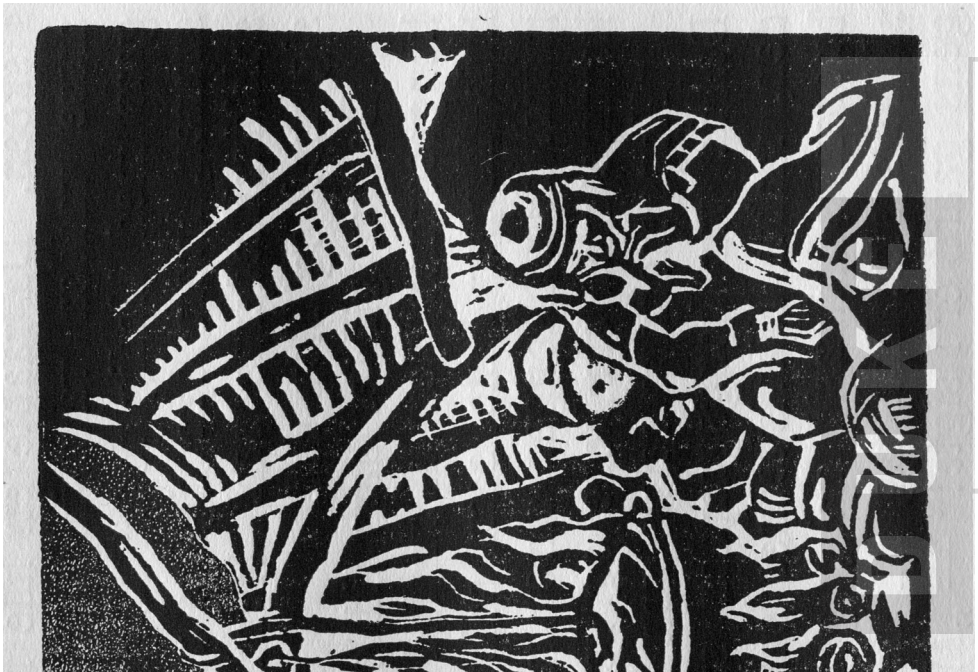

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GENERAL EDITORS' FOREWORD

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, the second of two 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, Aotearoa 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 long-standing and continuing enthusiasm for this project.

RUTH B. PHILLIPS AND NORMAN VORANO

PREFACE

This volume is the second to be produced by the Multiple Modernisms collaboration. In the genealogy of our project, however, the focus on mediation came first and provided the point of departure for the broader project. The book thus complements our first publication, *Mapping Modernisms: Art, Indigeneity, Colonialism*, coedited by Elizabeth Harney and Ruth Phillips, which introduces key issues that arise out of the Indigenous uptake and cocreation of twentieth-century artistic modernism. That volume both frames and extends the case studies presented here.

Mediation is an ever-present issue for scholars who study the modernist arts produced by Indigenous and colonized peoples. To be sure, mediatory processes lie behind the emergence of all artistic forms across time, but for twentieth-century Indigenous arts, such processes were inevitably enmeshed within matrices of post/colonial cultural politics and their related discourses of anthropology, fine art, craft, and tourist art. Mediation haunts accounts that assign primary agency for the emergence of these arts to outsiders who taught, marketed, commissioned, bought, or otherwise promoted the works of Indigenous artists who had previously been assigned to and confined by the category of primitive art. Equally, however, it haunts narratives that credit Indigenous artists as the sole originators of these arts, representing them as unique and autonomous actors.

For us, as editors, as for many of our collaborators, that haunting has been both personal and professional. Each of us encountered the phenomenon of mediation and the miasma of compromised authenticity it generates early in our careers. For Phillips it arose in the 1960s when, as an undergraduate interested in African art, she visited her parents who were working in northern Nigeria. Her mother had recently seen two local exhibitions, one displaying art produced by young Yoruba artists in the workshops organized by Ulli and Georgina Beier at

Oshogbo (see chapter 1, this volume), and the other wooden panels produced with the support of a Ford Foundation program that encouraged Nupe carvers to adapt their tradition of relief carving on wooden doors to a new production of self-standing, marketable panels that could be hung as works of art in expat living rooms. "Are these art forms authentic?" her mother asked. How to answer that question would preoccupy Phillips for decades to come.

For Vorano, the problem of mediation arose from an arresting juxtaposition that struck him as an undergraduate student in the mid-1990s. He had read the recently released autobiography of James Houston, *Confessions of an Igloo Dweller*, before proceeding to the Art Gallery of Ontario to view a large exhibition of Inuit art. The modern gallery's aestheticization of Inuit sculpture, which presented the art within an isolated and atemporal "ethnographic present," obscured the complex networks of influence, interaction, and intervention that were plainly evident throughout Houston's memoir as he recounted his efforts to create the formal market for Inuit art in the 1950s and early 1960s. For Vorano, Houston's activities elicited a complex admixture of admiration, circumspection, and curiosity and raised uneasy but necessary questions about the ethics of intercultural work in Indigenous and colonial contexts. Are intercultural efforts doomed to reinscribe the very imbalances they purport to dismantle, or, in our increasingly globalized world, are such efforts more necessary today than ever before?

Surely, these histories have much to offer to our contemporary moment, in which we celebrate the prominence of global contemporary arts while navigating the revivals of cultural essentialisms, new tribalisms, and ethnic nationalisms. Like many others, we and our contributors have had to negotiate the pull of art historical narratives toward simplistic origin stories for Indigenous modernisms. As the case studies presented in this volume illustrate, the histories of Indigenous modernism have shown themselves to be much more complex, reflecting global networks and dialogic interactions that unfolded through relationships and encounters that were pedagogical, commercial, collegial, friendly, or a combination.

The problem of mediation inspired the launch-gathering organized by Ruth Phillips in 2011 and generously supported by the workshop program of the Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachusetts. The initial group of ten art historians and anthropologists who assembled there on two memorable days in May to discuss "Global Indigenous Modernisms: Primitivism, Artists, Mentors" included many of the contributors to this book as well as other important voices.[1] We are indebted to the Clark Art Institute for providing an

ideal venue for our initial discussions and to all the participants for helping us to map out the project as a whole. The design of the book has also greatly benefited from the helpful comments of the anonymous reviewers engaged by Duke University Press. With their encouragement, we have broadened the volume's initial geographical and conceptual scope by including additional chapters that address Australian Aboriginal, Sámi, and Mithila modernisms.

This volume's more specific origin lies in the second of our symposia, held in 2013 at Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge. We thank both Corpus Christi College and the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology for their warm hospitality and support of that conference. We are especially indebted to the Leverhulme Trust for the International Network Grant it awarded to Nicholas Thomas that funded the Cambridge meeting and the two that followed in New Zealand and South Africa. The grant also funded the salary of our network facilitator, Georgina Amos, who ably organized the Cambridge conference and coordinated communications and arrangements for the others. The award of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada research grant to this volume's editors supported additional research and the invaluable research assistance of Lisa Truong, without whose patient and efficient help this volume could never have come into being. Queen's University generously provided financial assistance for this publication while in-kind support was provided by Carleton University.

This book has taken far longer to complete than any of us could have foreseen. The global halt imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic was, of course, a huge brake on its completion, but beyond that, several contributors and their close family members have experienced serious health crises that brought about further delays. We cannot sufficiently express our gratitude to them and to our other collaborators — including Duke University Press — for their patience and commitment to seeing the publication through to completion amid so much personal and societal turmoil. We hope and trust that the results more than fulfil their faith in the importance of the project.

Note

1. The Clark participants were Bill Anthes, Peter Brunt, Elizabeth Harney, Sandra Klopper, Ian McLean, Kobena Mercer, Anitra Nettleton, Chika Okeke-Agulu, Ruth Phillips, Jackson Rushing, Nicholas Thomas, Susan Vogel, and Norman Vorano. Michael Ann Holly, Keith Moxey, Griselda Pollock, and other Clark staff and fellows sat in on a number of the discussions and made important comments.

RUTH B. PHILLIPS AND NORMAN VORANO

INTRODUCTION **INDIGENIZING MODERNISM, MODERNIZING PRIMITIVISM**

Mediators and Artists in Twentieth-Century Global Art Worlds

Four Moments of Mediation

The global history of modern art is punctuated by innovative modernisms mediated through the encounters of creative artists from Indigenous and colonized communities with cosmopolitan men and women who conveyed the tenets of artistic modernism into local art worlds. Consider, for a start, four nearly contemporaneous vignettes from the early 1960s:

> ***Maphumulo, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa*** *The young Swedish artists Peder and Ulla Gowenius, recently married graduates of Stockholm's Konstfack, begin to teach at the Evangelical Lutheran Church mission, later to become the home of the Rorke's Drift Arts and Crafts Centre. In accordance with the missionaries' desire to impart remunerative skills to African students, they focus on "crafts" that can be marketed to tourists and settlers. Azaria Mbatha, one of Peder's first students, is drawn instead to graphic expression and the medium of black and white linoleum prints. His images blend elements of his Christian and Zulu identities but also reference the brutal violence of the apartheid system.*[1] *For Western modernists, Mbatha's prints are reminiscent of German Expressionist woodcuts. Five years later, in 1967, Mbatha's powerful images are among the first works created by a South African artist to be acquired by New York's Museum of Modern Art.*

Red Lake, Ontario, Canada *Nine-thousand miles away, artist and educator Selwyn Dewdney, a graduate of the Ontario College of Art, is pursuing research on Indigenous rock paintings in the northern Ontario mining town of Red Lake. He befriends an Anishinaabe "informant," an aspiring young artist named Norval Morrisseau, and the two begin an active correspondence. In his letters, Dewdney describes modern easel painting techniques and advises Morrisseau on how to sell his paintings in urban galleries. Morrisseau sends him his drawings and transcriptions of Anishinaabe oral traditions and Dewdney sends back his copies of rock paintings no longer known to most Anishinaabeg. Access to this ancestral graphic tradition proves critical to Morrisseau's reinvention of Anishinaabe pictorial representation in a modernist mode and leads to his 1962 breakout exhibit in a Toronto art gallery.*[2] *Morrisseau's paintings, inspired by Anishinaabe stories and spirit beings, are snapped up by cosmopolitan collectors and museums and launch a new art movement. In 2007, he becomes the first First Nations artist to be given a retrospective exhibition at the National Gallery of Canada.*

Ruatoria, Aotearoa New Zealand *Gordon Tovey, a professionally-trained artist and civil servant in Aotearoa New Zealand's education ministry, is devising innovative school art programs that include both traditional Māori arts and modernist European concepts and practices. His teacher-training program attracts a coterie of young Māori students, including Ralph Hotere, Para Matchitt, and Clifford Whiting, who begin to work in modernist modes alongside their employment as art teachers.*[3] *A critical moment comes in 1960 when Tovey invites discussion of the relationship between Māori tradition and modernist innovation at a national hui, or meeting, at Ruatoria. Master traditional carver Pine Taiapa explains the rules of traditional design and advises the young Māori artists: "In tackling anything new, study the old first. Having absorbed it, pick up its best points . . . then launch out." Tovey responds: "I think, from what you've said, that as a very learned Māori . . . you would have no quarrel with a chap with a sensible changing of the symbols." "Correct," says Taiapa, "I'm all with him, all the time."*[4] *Matchitt, Whiting, and other artists respond, speaking to the ways in which the new practices and aesthetics offer opportunities to express their lived experiences as modern Māori. The meeting publicly legitimizes the modern Māori art movement.*

Osogbo, Nigeria *Ulli Beier, a young linguistics professor at the University of Ibadan, and his wife Georgina, a British-trained artist, begin running art workshops for students from the countryside who have had little access to formal art training. The Beiers invite the modernist Guyanese painter Denis Williams to run painting classes that introduce the students to Western materials and techniques derived from dada, surrealism, abstraction, and other European modernist movements foreign to traditional Yoruba modes of visual art production.*[5] *A young performer, Olaniyi Osuntoki, gravitates toward the free-form abstract painting exercises taught by the Beiers and Williams. His paintings re-imagine traditional Yoruba stories and cosmology in colorful, densely patterned compositions and are exhibited to great acclaim in the bustling metropolis of Lagos. Taking the name Twins Seven Seven, the young artist soon rises to prominence through exhibitions in modern and contemporary galleries around the world. Before his death in 2011 he becomes the subject of a book-length study by a renowned specialist in folk art and is appointed a* UNESCO *ambassador for art and peace.*[6]

The mediatory processes and dialogic relationships illustrated by these episodes are the subject of this book. Its chapters document and analyze twentieth-century exchanges between Indigenous artists living in colonial or neocolonial societies and men and women imbued with modernist aesthetics and ideologies who bridged highly diverse spaces of artistic production. These fertile relationships enabled artists to create new fusions of modernism with Indigenous art traditions. In many cases their experiments initiated or advanced innovative artistic movements through which art-world hierarchies and other barriers that prevented the recognition of Indigenous modernisms were broken down. They resulted in new genealogies of the modern and, we argue, fostered the wider institutional and discursive practices that have created the conditions for today's "global contemporary" art world to come into being. Yet despite their importance to Indigenous and world art histories, these critical episodes of mediation and the histories of heterodoxical modernisms to which they gave rise have been poorly documented, silenced, and mythologized. When studied, they have been considered in isolation from each other and, as a result, their shared features and historic interlinkages have stayed beneath the surface of standard narratives of artistic modernism.

It would be impossible in a single volume to survey the many such episodes that mark the twentieth-century history of global modernisms. Rather, this

book presents a set of case studies that draw on recent research and, at the same time, represent a larger historical pattern. Their juxtapositions reveal shared ideological and aesthetic dynamics produced at the juncture of modernism, colonialism and postcolonialism and call out for focused scholarly attention. Our comparative framing reveals the structural parallels that link artists' negotiations of the dual duress of colonial educational policies and primitivist definitions of authenticity in different parts of the world. It yields insights into the dynamics of power as constituted and exercised by mediators and artists operating in an art world being rapidly reshaped by decolonizing, nationalist, and globalizing forces. Equally, by placing side-by-side episodes of mediation that occurred in Africa, North America, India, Scandinavia, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific, we reveal the historical and cultural contingencies that made each iteration distinctive.

The fine-grained explorations of complex interactions and projects of cultural translation presented in this book also instantiate the variety of roles mediators have assumed as teachers, friends, patrons, dealers, advisers, and mentors, allowing us to posit a typology of mediatory roles. A further product of our comparative framing is the identification of networks of circulation that enabled ideas, people, texts, and objects to travel across widely dispersed sites around the world, interconnecting artists, mediators, markets, and institutions. These transnational networks were forged by colonial bureaucracies, individual and collective educational projects, migration, commerce, wars, exile, and travel, as well as by the concomitant flows of artworks, images, and media. These networked circulations of people, objects, and texts set modernism in motion, conveying modernist ideology and its stepchild, modernist primitivism, through an expanded global arena. By excavating little-known histories alongside better-known examples, we offer, then, a multisited exploration that demonstrates the generative potential of modernist ideology in colonial contact zones. These first-generation Indigenous modernists and the mediators with whom they worked laid the groundwork for the epochal shift from twentieth-century colonial matrices of institutional and political power to the global ecumene of today.

Discourses and Politics: Colonial/Postcolonial, Primitive/Indigenous

Each of the case studies is deeply entangled not only in imperial systems and localized experiences of twentieth-century modernity but also in anti-colonial movements and post–World War II geopolitics. Our focus on the twentieth

century, and particularly on its middle decades, thus attends not only to the historical origins of many modernist Indigenous movements but also to the period — the Cold War looming in the background — when the formal structures of colonialism were beginning to break down. In this context our use of the term *indigeneity* requires explanation. In different parts of the world the term has been differently imposed, rejected, and embraced in relation to the colonial, postcolonial, and decolonial political dynamics that have played out during the past two centuries.[7] Indigenous identity (with a capital *I*) is claimed today by peoples who remain internally colonized in settler nations across the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, South Asia, Scandinavia, Russia, and elsewhere. In Africa and the independent nations of the Pacific, in contrast, self-identification as *indigenous* or *native* has become anachronistic and can be deemed politically compromised because it references evolutionist theories and colonial racial hierarchies. In East Asia — a regrettable omission in this volume caused by limits of space — *indigenous* is an evolving and highly contested concept and references yet another contrasting set of meanings.[8]

We use *Indigenous* here as a historically contingent construct assigned by colonial regimes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. During this historical period, designation as *Indigenous* or *native* carried significations of the primitive, the timeless, and the a-historical and legitimized the imposition of repressive social, political, and educational policies. It created similar barriers to and possibilities for artistic production in colonial societies around the world and stimulated recurrent patterns of relationship between artists and mediators in the geographically and culturally dispersed case studies we examine in this book. The cross-cutting and global applicability of indigeneity thus enables comparisons of shared systemic obstacles that had to be negotiated in order to access modernist art training and art world acceptance. Indigenous arts, we argue, continue to be haunted by these specters, which continue to shape institutional practices in relation to contemporary Indigenous arts and hinder the full recognition of twentieth-century modernisms.[9]

Virtually all the mediators whose activities are documented here were initially drawn to work with Indigenous artists because, as modernists, they were attracted to what they initially saw as survivals of "primitive art" doomed to soon disappear. As numerous scholars have shown, early critical appraisals of these pioneering modernists' work were also filtered through the temporal conventions and geographic hierarchies of midcentury modernist primitivism, preventing full acknowledgment of the artists' originality and contemporaneity while often positioning Indigenous artists as "lagging behind" or

emulating their European and American counterparts.[10] The discursive possibilities offered by the category of "primitive art," like those associated with "folk" art, were simultaneously enabling and limiting. Identification with "primitive" or "folk" traditions might be the price of admission to a more cosmopolitan art world, exposure in national and international art magazines and exhibitions, and sales to a global clientele, but it also interposed a reductive and marginalizing lens and presented a key challenge to Indigenous artists drawn to modernism by associating them with the premodern.[11]

During the middle decades of the twentieth century, artists and mediators were thus differently motivated in their appropriations of ancestral traditions. Mediators treasured — at least initially — what they saw as precious remnants of disappearing traditions, while artists might appropriate primitivist discourse to create a space within modern Western art worlds for the affirmation and reinvigoration of ancestral beliefs. Our studies of mediation demonstrate, in other words, that modernist primitivism was not *just* a barrier to the recognition of the Indigenous modernisms but could also serve as a portal to the creation of new artistic amalgams of ancestral traditions and modernist formal innovation. Our studies of this "primitivist perplex" reveal how artists and mediators negotiated these apparent contradictions and, in the process, transformed not only modernism itself but also the preconceptions of mediators who gradually came to understand the new art forms as valid expressions of the artists' own modernity.

High stakes were and are involved in historical and current evaluations of Indigenous artistic modernisms. As the modern artistic productions of Indigenous peoples have come to be recognized as such, the impacts have reverberated well beyond the art world and into the world of politics and policy, preparing the ground for and supporting movements of social and political decolonization. In throwing off the identification of these arts with the "primitive" or the "folk," and affirming them as modern, artists claimed for themselves and their societies an equivalent modernity with colonial (or former colonial) mother countries and compelled a broader recognition of the survival and viability of Indigenous traditions within modernity. In modernism, then, artists and mediators discovered modes of expression whose value was at once personal and political. This point was expressed poignantly during research for this book in an interview with Peder Gowenius, who recounted meeting Paulo Freire, the influential Brazilian theorist of liberation pedagogy, at an educational conference in Africa in the 1970s. Freire described Gowenius's work with Black South African artists as "doing in practice what I have only written about."[12]

The expansive and transformative possibilities of modernism, albeit initially offered through a primitivist appreciation for folk arts, are also explored by Jyotindra Jain in this volume through his discussion of the painter Ganga Devi's development from her rural "folk" heritage of Madhumani mural painting to the intensely personal expression of her experiences of social marginalization, international travel, and ultimately fatal battle with cancer.

Global Paths of Dispersion: Refugee Modernists, Settler Nationalists, and Indigenous Artists

Our mid-twentieth-century focus also brings into relief the central importance to histories of Indigenous modernism of the diasporic movements of key bearers of artistic modernism that was set in motion by the rise of National Socialism in Germany and the global convulsion of World War II. These men and women were not only artists but also teachers, scholars, art dealers, patrons, museologists, and collectors. Anitra Nettleton notes the importance of refugee German Jewish art historian Maria Stein Lessing at the University of Johannesburg in introducing Cecil Skotnes — who would become a key teacher and mentor of Black South African artists in the 1960s — to African art. Other mediators imbued with a love of modernism who had been flung out of Europe and around the globe by World War II include Ulli Beier, introduced in one of our opening vignettes and further discussed by Chika Okeke-Agulu in his chapter. Beier arrived in Nigeria in the 1950s from England where he had found refuge as a youth with his German Jewish family.

The representative nature of these case studies is borne out by the agencies of other refugee artists such as Victor Lowenfeld and Olga Fisch, both of whom were trained in modernism in continental Europe art schools during the prewar period. Lowenfeld, an Austrian Jew who had studied art in Vienna, fled to the United States in 1938 and found a job teaching art to African American students at Hampton University in Virginia. One of his students, John Biggars, would become a leading figure in African American modernism and would, throughout his career, acknowledge the formative impact of Lowenfeld's tutelage and introduction to African art.[13] After his move to the University of Pennsylvania Lowenfeld would come to have a major influence as a theorist of art education designed to encourage children's creativity and mental growth. "The absolute necessity of this freedom of expression," writes Robert Saunders, "had become increasingly important to Lowenfeld as he fled with his family during the pogroms and purges of the Third Reich."[14] Olga Fisch had trained in modernist

craft in Hungary and painting in Germany before fleeing to New York and then to Ecuador to escape Nazi persecution. Her primitivist tastes immediately led her to seek out Indigenous Ecuadorian "folk artists" with whom she worked to develop new textile genres that could be marketed through her gallery. One of the first clients for her rugs was the Museum of Modern Art, whose director she had met in New York City. Fisch's work with Indigenous Tigua artists resulted in a new genre of commercially viable paintings made by artists who had previously painted their pictorial scenes on ceremonial drums.[15]

The stories of Lowenfeld and Fisch are paralleled by that of George Swinton, the son of Austrian Jews whose family converted to Christianity soon after his birth and later fled Vienna for Canada after the Nazi Anschluss of 1938. After the war, Swinton studied art at the School of the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and New York's Art Students League. He became an enthusiastic collector of the new Inuit soapstone carvings during the 1950s after joining the art faculty at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg, where shipments of the sculptures were sent semiannually by the Hudson Bay Company. For twenty-five years Swinton made annual trips to the Arctic, befriending Inuit artists and writing about their work in widely read books and magazine articles. Although he had initially believed that he was witnessing the last phase of an authentic primitive art tradition, Swinton came gradually to understand and write about it as a fully modern aesthetic expression in the contemporary world, aligned with rapidly modernizing Inuit life ways and political goals.[16]

Unlike Lowenfeld, Fisch, and Swinton, Leonhard Adam was neither a professionally trained artist nor a man of means. He was, rather, a trained ethnologist specializing in law and anthropology who had held prominent positions in Berlin as the editor of a major journal and an associate of Berlin's ethnographic museum. Forced to flee to England after the Nazi purge of Jewish civil servants, Adam was interned as an enemy alien and sent to Australia after the outbreak of war. He remade his career as founder and curator of the University of Melbourne Museum and persuaded an indifferent university administration to create important ethnographic collections.[17] His evolving understanding of the aesthetic sophistication and contemporary authenticity of Australian Aboriginal bark paintings was manifested in his curatorial work for two major exhibitions of "primitive" and Australian art during the 1940s. Adam is, however, best known for making the subject of primitive art accessible to general audiences through the introductory survey he wrote for Penguin Books. First published in 1941, Adam's *Primitive Art* and its subsequent revisions testify to the changes that occurred in his understanding of his topic after he, like

Swinton, found himself living in a settler society with an Indigenous population still viewed through the lens of cultural evolutionist theory and subjected to racist laws and policies.[18]

The patronage role-played by other refugees could be equally influential. Walter Koerner, for example, a member of a Jewish family who collected old master and modernist art, fled Czechoslovakia for Canada in 1938. His impact would manifest itself through major projects of philanthropy and his friendship and support for the pioneering Haida artist Bill Reid. In a brief autobiographical account that prefaced the unpublished catalogue of his collection of historic northwest coast art, he contrasted Europe "as Hitler struck dread in the hearts of millions" to Canada, "a new land of hope." Traveling north in British Columbia to develop his lumber business, he commented that "to me, the endless forests, the gigantic size of the country, and the unknown were most exciting. Understandably, nothing seemed more desirable than to learn and see more of the indigenous people of this new land."[19]

Many other such men and women whose roles are less well known were joined in their mediatory projects by settler and Indigenous artists, teachers, and other intermediaries similarly imbued with modernist tastes and ideologies. In 1957, for example, the Brazilian graphic artist Servulo Esmeraldo adopted an abstract style in his prints after studying in Paris with Johnny Friedlaender, a modernist graphic artist who had fled Eastern Europe in 1937 as a Nazi refugee. By the early 1960s, Esmeraldo invited the Brazilian woodcut book illustrator of mixed African and Portuguese descent Mestre Noza to create a set of images for the Paris publisher Robert Morel. Esmeraldo's encouragement helped transform the woodblock prints made for ephemeral *cordal* booklets into framed "fine art" prints, which were soon featured at the São Paulo Biennial and picked up by commercial art galleries.[20]

In contrast to the refugee cohort, settler mentors were often motivated by additional goals that could include socialist or neoliberal political sympathies, opposition to racism and support for movements of social justice, and desires to forge distinctive national art movements that arose as their societies sought to free themselves from their own colonial and Eurocentric cultural dependencies. In the interwar years, Marsden Hartley and John Sloan in the United States, Margaret Preston in Australia, and Emily Carr in Canada focused attention on Indigenous arts through their quest to create an authentic national iconography. Preston cocurated (with Leonhard Adam) the first exhibition to position Australian Aboriginal bark paintings as admired "primitive art," while Carr mentored George Clutesi, a pioneering Nuu-chah-nulth artist who

was developing his own artistic career by combining Western pictorial formats and easel painting with his ancestral northwest coast stylistic traditions and visual iconography. These widely dispersed and varied examples follow patterns of interaction that are modelled by the rigorously researched case studies offered by this volume. They — and no doubt many other still obscure episodes of modernist mediation — await fuller excavation that reveal the processes by which Indigenous modernisms emerged from local traditions in negotiation with Western modernism.

Like modernist primitivism itself, such projects were ridden with unresolved contradictions. Debates over the appropriation of Indigenous imagery by Preston, Carr, and other settler artists are ongoing, while accusations of paternalism striate these and many other mediatory encounters.[21] Yet, viewed within the terms of their own times, the mediatory activities of these artists appear more complex. Hanna Horsberg's chapter discusses an early twentieth-century encounter between Johan Turi, a Sámi man aspiring to represent his culture in text and image, and Emilie Demant Hatt, a young Danish art student who was fascinated by the nomadic life of Sámi reindeer hunters. As T. J. Jackson Lears has argued with regard to early twentieth-century American artists and intellectuals, such responses typify the antimodernity movement sweeping through industrializing and urbanizing Western nations.[22] Yet the relationship Turi and Hatt developed combined elements of friendship and bidirectional mentoring — foreshadowing the later engagements of Carr, Preston, and James Houston with Indigenous peoples and their arts. Friendship, rather than a pedagogical or commercial agenda, was central to the relationship of Zulu sculptor Alson Zuma and white farmer David Fox as discussed by Sandra Klopper in her contribution. Klopper's chapter describes the affinity created by a shared sense of the absurd that nurtured their productive engagement over many years. It also speaks to the value of friendships in contexts where artists have little or no support from educational or commercial institutions. Many settler mediators shared with European refugees and exiles the modernist's admiration for primitive art, and for both, the horrors fomented in Europe by racism during World War II could engender a missionary zeal for disseminating modernism's presumed liberatory and universalist ideology. This is amply demonstrated in the biography of Selwyn Dewdney, whose voice is heard in the document section edited by Ruth Phillips. Well before meeting pioneering Anishinaabe modernist painter Norval Morrisseau, Dewdney had been active in socialist political movements and had resigned his position as a high school art teacher in protest against an anti-Semitic episode at his school. That Morrisseau

considered Dewdney as his friend is clearly stated in their voluminous correspondence. This volume offers an expanded critical and historical framework within which to reconsider the activities of Dewdney and other key modernist mediators in ways that cut across their national and media boundaries.

Writing Mediation: Silences and Mystifications

Intercultural negotiations in the art world have become an increasingly active research area since the late twentieth century. Anthropologists of art began to examine touristic production and the advent of a market for Indigenous fine arts as part of their return to the anthropology of art and material culture studies in the 1970s. Nelson Graburn's introductory essay for his pioneering 1976 anthology *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* offered an initial typology of intercultural modern arts and addressed the impacts of outside buyers and the introduction of Western techniques and materials. He classified the Indigenous modernisms we discuss here as "assimilated [fine] arts," situated them at one end of a spectrum ranging from "functional traditional," "replica commercial," "reintegrated," "souvenir," and "popular" arts, and defined them as "characteristic of extreme culture domination and hence a desire to assimilate."[23] Paula Ben-Amos brought together studies of patron-artist interactions in contemporary African art in a 1980 issue of *African Arts* and investigated underlying social networks and interpersonal relations.[24] Comparing modern Indigenous art forms to pidgin languages, she argued for the value of a linguistic model of creolization in understanding their creative syncretic and creative aspects. James Clifford's analysis of the Western art-culture system in *The Predicament of Culture* (1988) offered a theoretical model for conceptualizing the periodic reclassifications and movements of objects across categories of value; his book has provided a critical point of departure for many authors and remains an important reference point for the histories traced here. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner's 1999 edited volume *Unpacking Culture*: *Arts and Commodities in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* returned to Graburn's global comparative scope and focus on touristic and commercial production, while Fred R. Myers and George E. Marcus's introductory essay and the anthologized essays in their 2005 *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology* explored global flows and exchanges of art forms and the late twentieth-century convergences of contemporary art criticism and anthropological theorizations — central areas of interest to the case studies here.[25]

In their edited volume *New Histories of Art in the Global Postwar Era: Multiple Modernisms*, Flavia Frigeri and Kristian Handberg neatly summarize the proliferation of regional and transgeographic studies of modernist traditions that have created an expanded field of discrepant modernisms around the globe.[26] Close studies of patronage and mediation in the world of modernist Native American painting from the Southwest have been undertaken by J. J. Brody, Bruce Bernstein and W. Jackson Rushing, and Michelle McGeough, among others.[27] Nicholas Thomas's *Possession: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture* (1999, rev. ed. 2022) considered the cross-appropriations of modern and Indigenous artists in New Zealand, while important monographs and surveys by Myers, Howard Morphy, Ian McLean, and others have included analyses of the critical, commercial, and cross-cultural forces at work in the rise of Australian Aboriginal fine art. For Africa, the connections between artistic modernism and anti-colonial nationalist movements are explored with particular rigor by a number of scholars, including Elizabeth Harney in her study of Senegalese modernism, *In Senghor's Shadow: Art, Politics, and the Avant-Garde in Senegal, 1960–1995,* and Chika Okeke-Agulu in his book on mid-twentieth-century Nigeria, *Postcolonial Modernism: Art and Decolonization in Twentieth Century Nigeria*.[28] Scholarship on Southeast Asia, in particular focusing on the legacy of the Bengal School of Art, has added to the expanding frame of global mid-century modernisms, with R. Siva Kumar's 1997 exhibition and catalog *Santiniketan: The Making of a Contextual Modernism*, Partha Mitter's *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-Guard, 1922–1947*, and Sonal Khullar's *Worldly Affiliations: Artistic Practice, National Identity, and Modernism in India, 1930–1990*, offering particularly detailed studies.[29] Indeed, these and other critically important analyses bring into focus the processes of commoditization, colonial power relations, and creative self-invention in transcultural art worlds that have partly inspired the chapters presented in the current volume.[30]

Our current project of decolonization is adding a further level of analysis to the consideration of the profoundly colonial interactions considered here. Revisionist and global scholarly perspectives on hegemonic constructs of the modern and the postcolonial have animated major scholarly journals such as *October* and *Art History* and have produced numerous exhibitions, catalogs, and monographic accounts of key twentieth-century artists who fit this pattern of Indigenous or colonial modernism.[31] The studies in this volume contribute to these discussions by drawing unrecognized and marginalized artistic modernisms into a comparative framework and problematizing the

silences and mystifications that obscure the importance of the mediatory figures and processes critical to their emergence.

Without more accurate accounts of both inter- and intra-cultural mediation, issues central to the growing fields of world art history and multiple modernisms will continue to be poorly understood. Perhaps most at issue has been the modernist insistence on a universal linear temporality, which has generated the widespread view that Indigenous and other non-Western modernisms are retardataire copies and imitations of European models. The reframing of constructs of temporality and periodization in the work of Susan Stanford Friedman and others undercuts the central premises of Western artistic modernism's cult of primitive art and its elevation of the avant-garde. In keeping with Friedman's argument that we need to recognize the possibility of "polycentric modernities and modernisms at different points of time and in different locations," the case studies in this book are not organized according to an overarching temporal unfolding but, rather, to demonstrate the equal validity of different global temporalities.[32] Our comparative approach reveals with particular clarity that the timelines of modernism in different locales were contingent on specific histories, themselves often activated by the movements and networks formed by individuals within colonial and neocolonial structures of possibility. They also demonstrate that the new concepts, practices, technologies, and artworks introduced by artists and mediators functioned not as models or templates to be copied but as catalysts. They led not to secondary and imitative replays of European modernism but to reinventions whose hybrid vibrancy has turned modernism in new directions unanticipated by the mediators themselves.

The originality of these reinventions emerges most clearly when the works of Indigenous artists are compared with those made or introduced by the mediators. As already noted, many of these intermediaries were teachers trained as modernists in professional art schools. Mark White's discussion of Sioux painter Oscar Howe's master's studies at the University of Oklahoma makes the originality of the modernist work he produced for his master's degree clear in its careful comparison with the practices of his adviser John O'Neil and other art department faculty. The intense interest of these modernists in "myth and metaphor," White argues, was supported Howe's own research into his ancestral Sioux traditions, which "encouraged him to see his project as parallel to that of other modernists." Although trained in art schools, most of the men and women who became mediators were making their own artwork as an avocation by the time they came to interact with aspiring Indigenous

modernists. For the most part, their work was figurative, influenced by the early twentieth-century modernist movements of postimpressionism, cubism, and surrealism and would have been judged retardataire in relation to the avant-gardes of the second half of the twentieth century. As a result, their art has been preserved primarily in the private collections of family and friends and remains largely unpublished, poorly documented, and insufficiently researched. We can presume that for aspiring Indigenous artists, the art made by teacher-mediators would have modeled the modernist movements they favored and influenced the formative phases of their protegee's work. These omissions thus exemplify the archival silences and gaps that inhibit studies not only of mediatory processes but also of Indigenous modernisms more generally. Both for this reason and in light of contemporary revaluations of art history's dominant avant-gardist bias, the artwork of the mediators also now invites a second look.

The problem of the archive is exacerbated by the silences and mystifications that characterize accounts of artist-mediator interactions given in monographic studies, exhibition catalogs, and mediators' autobiographies. Reading across such accounts, the reader is struck by a widely shared rhetoric of "nonintervention-tionist" teaching. This trope appeared early in writing about early twentieth-century Indigenous artists, teachers, and patrons in the southwestern United States. In his *Primitive Art*, for example, Leonhard Adam praised the non-Native mediators in the Southwest because they "wisely refrained from demonstrating to their Indian pupils 'how to do it.' . . . Instead, they strictly confined instruction to the technical side, but left it entirely to their students to choose their own subjects" — a view that is contradicted by later scholars who have systematically examined the roles played by teachers such as Dorothy Dunn at the Santa Fe Indian School or Oscar Jacobson at the University of Oklahoma in fostering the appreciation of their Native American students' work as folk art.[33]

In keeping with his judgement, however, Adam criticized the adoption of Western landscape painting conventions — which he, as a "Sunday painter," used himself — by the acclaimed Australian Aboriginal artist Namatjira and the Hermannsburg school as "irrelevant for the solution of a much deeper, and more important problem, namely the future of *real* Australian aboriginal art and the development of the aborigines' own artistic talent rather than their imitative ability."[34] As many studies in this volume clearly show, assertions of nonintervention belie the complexity of mediatory relationships and suppress the reciprocal influences that impacted not only artists but also mediators. Although the outward denial of influence drew from progressive education theories that

asserted self-realization as the primary aim of education, the noninterventionist rhetoric could be harnessed for more specific political ends. Ulli Beier sharply distinguished his art workshops in Osogbo from the more formalized modes of instruction found in the official art academies of Ibadan and Lagos established under the colonial regime that were modeled on British schools. In his widely read book *Contemporary Art in Africa*, Beier recounted the teaching method used by his artist-wife Georgina Beier in the influential workshops she ran between 1961 and 1965: "She has always refused to be called a 'teacher' because what she was aiming at was in fact a working community in which artists stimulate and criticize each other and she always maintained that she gained at least as much as she gave."[35] Beier's acknowledgment of reciprocal influence was exceptional for its time, but his presentation of the workshop as a kind of egalitarian artistic kibbutz and his reticence about his wife's privilege as an educated white European oversimplify the power dynamics at work in these encounters. James Houston, the "discoverer" of modern Inuit art — whose promotion of modern Inuit art is sampled in the document section edited by Norman Vorano — also fits this pattern. One of Houston's first essays about Inuit sculpture, published in the Hudson Bay Company journal *The Beaver* in 1951, made the emphatic claim that "none of these crafts has been *taught* . . . they are age old in the Eskimo culture. The enormously strong creative urge of the Eskimo is found in children."[36] While this might make for effective marketing copy, it obscures the depth, character, and complexity of his relationships with Inuit artists.

The motivations for such disavowals are more complicated than a simple modernist desire to foreground the artist's individual freedom. They are both discourse and market driven. They have reinforced the audience's romantic view of the Indigenous artist as existing in an untainted ethnographic present, making it possible to collapse the modern artistic productions of Indigenous artists into the admired and desired category of "authentic" primitive art. At the same time, they have also allowed both private dealers and government-sponsored marketing agencies to sell the work of Indigenous artists as forms of fine craft and/or as affordable survivals of primitive art. In this context, the art historical omissions around mediatory histories bring into even higher relief the contradictions inherent in modernist primitivism and the politics of authenticity and agency it imposed on Indigenous artists.

On another level, however, the aversion to acknowledging patronage and influence could — and can still — reflect a postcolonial discourse of Indigenous resistance and agency and arise from a concern that awarding too much credit to mediators represents Indigenous artists as passive recipients of colonial

teachings and reaffirms colonial power structures. Yet this approach, in our view, simply replaces one set of mythologies with another and further obscures the reciprocal influences and agencies of both the artists and the mediators. As suggested earlier, mediators have tended to be heavily invested in their own self-fashioning, most readily accomplished by writing about the new Indigenous arts and their own involvement in their development. Examples of mediator self-fashioning through memoir abound. Houston, to return to this example, left the Arctic in 1962 after having established the formal marketing structure for Inuit sculpture and prints. A compelling storyteller, he subsequently wrote numerous books of fiction and nonfiction. His recollections of his early efforts to develop Inuit art in the first of his three memoirs, *Confessions of an Igloo Dweller*, echo Leonhard Adam's noninterventionist language. Despite its title, Ulli Beier's *Decolonizing the Mind: The Impact of the University on Culture and Identity in Papua New Guinea, 1971–1974* is as much a memoir of his shift from Africa to Papua New Guinea as a documentation of his organization of the Centre for New Guinea Cultures and its art program at the University of Papua New Guinea. Dewdney, too, documented his personal life's work in *Daylight in the Swamp: Memoirs of Selwyn Dewdney*, a book that glances over his relationship with and influence on Norval Morrisseau during the early 1960s. These and other autobiographies make for captivating reading, but their strategic gaps, uncanny parallels, and glossings over provoke key questions explored in this book.

The mirror image of such omissions and distortions is the allegation that the mediator relationship was inherently controlling or paternalistic. Such an accusation collapses the production of modern Indigenous arts into a narrative of hegemonic Western cultural domination. Accusations of paternalism could, however, be supported by a mediator's own narrative that stresses his or her benevolent mentoring and prescient moments of "discovery." If, then, marketing strategies that silence the role of the mediator have given too little credit to the roles they have historically played, decolonization politics that exaggerate their controlling power have sometimes given too much. Both forms of misrepresentation intervene in the recognition of the authenticity and originality of modern Indigenous arts.

Another important issue obfuscated by the silences and mystifications that surround mediatory relationships is the intersectional nature of power and the different degrees of (in)visibility associated with gender, race, nationality, sexuality, and other components of identity in modernist art worlds. As shown, for example, by Roberto Conduru's chapter in this volume, the Afro-Brazilian sculptor and mediator of modernism Agnaldo Manuel dos Santos found it

expedient to strategically deploy different components of his identity in different contexts. In 1957, he actively positioned himself as an "Afro-Brazilian" artist at the Oxumarê Gallery in Bahia, northeast Brazil, but as a "modernist" sculptor at the São Paulo Biennial later that year. Five years later, in 1962, he saw himself as a "Brazilian" folk artist at his exhibition at the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis. His race, artistic lineage, and nationalism were carefully stage-managed as he moved through different circles of patronage, criticism, and support. Such negotiations are powerfully revealing of racist, primitivist, and other discourses that shaped the climate of reception for Indigenous modernisms. In this context, too, mediators' accounts can on occasion be deeply confessional, illuminating the transformations and self-questioning arising from their work with Indigenous artists. When mediators engage in reflexive self-examinations their analyses can transform the ways in which they project themselves and their expertise. In this volume, Peter Brunt discusses the relationship between New Zealand artist Tony Fomison and his close friend Sulu'ape Paulo, master of the traditional Samoan art of *tatau*—or tattooing. After he was tattooed by Paulo in the early 1980s, Fomison began a series of allegorical body paintings that reexamined his personal anxieties as a settler in New Zealand during years when the state was adopting policies that would ostensibly mark its shift from a colonial to a postcolonial nation—a project that demonstrates the transformative impact an Indigenous artist could have on a mediator.

The apparent nervousness that informs most existing accounts of global modernist artistic mediation is, then, rooted in colonial power relations on the one hand and responds to a postcolonial politics of representation on the other. These silences and mystifications remain anomalous in light of the traditional centrality of studies of patronage and influence to art historical study. Through the research presented here we hope to rebalance these accounts. Our contributors bring the lens up close in order to assess the economies of power and agency that had to be negotiated by artists and mediators alike under colonial and neocolonial regimes. At the same time, they acknowledge the creativity and humanity of the actors who were party to these mediations while remaining sensitive to the limitations and possibilities offered by particular historical contexts. They seek to reveal the dialogic nature of mediatory relationships and the ways in which they could profoundly transform mediators' understandings of the projects in which they were engaged, altering the concepts of the primitive and the modern that had initially drawn them to Indigenous artists.[37]

In the remainder of this introduction, we offer a set of analytic tools for the studies that follow by positioning mediators of Indigenous modernisms

within broader theorizations of the cultural broker, examining key historical patterns that controlled the global diffusion and reinvention of artistic modernism during the twentieth century and identifying in more detail the roles and modalities of mediatory processes.

The Modernist Mediator as a Cultural Broker

The art-world mediators we discuss here are a subset of the "cultural broker," an intercultural figure who has long preoccupied anthropologists, sociologists, literary scholars, and historians. An early theory of the cultural broker was schematized in sociologist Georg Simmel's "The Significance of Numbers for Social Life" (1908), which emphasized the broker's self-interest in navigating between competing social groups.[38] Simmel argued that the broker — whom he described as "the third" or *tertius gaudens* — was motivated by self-interest, a premise that is both supported and complicated by a number of the case studies in this volume.

Anthropologists turned to the figure of the cultural broker during the 1950s as a means of challenging models of research and representation that viewed cultural groups as isolated and self-contained communities. In studying how the "local community" is conjoined to a much larger world system — a key problematic of this volume — these anthropologists sought new ways to conceptualize what Robert Redfield described in his 1956 book *Peasant Society and Culture* as the "two-way relationship" between "primitive tribal people" and the "towns and cities" that empowered nation states and their institutions.[39] This schematic resonates with the political vectors traced by midcentury mediations of Indigenous and modern traditions through which artists living on the peripheries of Western art worlds produced local styles, regional modernisms, and "national cultures" by adopting elements of global modernism.

As we have noted, many modernist mediators were themselves artists. For the West African painter Demas Nwoko, discussed by Okeke-Agulu in his chapter, aesthetic modernism was a means of challenging the neotraditionalism advocated by British colonialists and creating an artistic subjectivity that expressed a new "national art" for a postcolonial Nigeria. Other examples demonstrate that, even when artists did not adopt modernism to advance their ethno-regional or nationalist ambitions, their art is often taken up by other "nation elites" as affirming unique national cultures. In short, Redfield's model, which considers the cultural broker as a figure who mediates relationships between rural communities and urban nation-elites, is applicable to a fundamental dynamic

informing our case studies. It illuminates the role artists played in reworking their "local" traditions for a larger art world associated with metropolitan institutions and global centers of cultural authority and economic power.

Contemporaries of Redfield, such as Eric Wolf and Irving Hallowell, identified key attributes of the cultural broker that continue to resonate in studies of modernist mediation. Tracking the social integration of community-based groups within larger systems and national institutions in colonial Mexico, Wolf identified brokers as colonial entrepreneurs and "marginals" who "stand guard over the crucial junctures or synapses of relationship which connect the local system to the larger whole."[40] Wolf envisioned brokers as "Janus-like" figures who faced in two directions in order to buffer intergroup relations. For Wolf, these brokers were not only situated at the crossroads of conflicting interests but also actively invested in maintaining these conflicts in order to secure their own indispensability.[41] Put another way, the focus on modernist mediators in colonial contexts should be sensitive to the reality that while mediators were interested in creating networks — promoting artists with dealers and audiences — they often took steps to ensure that their own positions within the networks they cocreated were understood as inviolable. Rather than closing the gap between artist and audience, some sought, at critical moments, to ensure the *separation* of artists and audiences to confirm their own authority, whether by policing the boundaries of authenticity, exercising judgments of taste, or by becoming the self-appointed spokespersons for the artists they represented. Some artist-mediators also freely appropriated visual or stylistic elements from Indigenous art traditions in order to shape their own professional identities — Theo Schoon, for example, among Māori in New Zealand or Susanne Wenger among Yoruba in Nigeria. In such cases, mediators of modernism juggled potentially conflicting motivations to "help others" while advancing their own artistic careers.[42]

Cultural brokers typically operate in contact zones where they work to bridge colonial, settler, and Indigenous worlds. Thus, central to previous and contemporary understandings of cultural brokers is their ability to forge links between disparate geographical zones, stations of power, and cultural groups. In the context of artistic modernism, brokers manage the flow of information, the trade in objects, and exchanges of cultural knowledge. For anthropologist Robert Paine, brokers *manipulate* these flows — often, as already noted, by processing information to protect their own mediatory roles.[43] J. J. Brody shows, for example, how mediating figures in the American Southwest manipulated the economic and cultural value of Indigenous artworks at critical

junctures in the chain of production, distribution, reception, and commoditization while heightening their own value as "experts." The case studies in this volume instantiate the different ways mediators become invested not only in the peoples and cultures they promote but also in their own self-identification as "experts," "mentors," "teachers," or "dealers" who both create and control access between artists and audiences.

As Aaron Glass argues in his study of the Kwakwaka'wakw artist Mungo Martin, Indigenous artists have also performed the role of broker, often, as in Martin's case, in collaboration with settler mediators such as the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology's founders Harry and Audrey Hawthorne.[44] Megan Tamati-Quennell's chapter offers an illuminating discussion of the parallel and near contemporaneous brokering project to which we have already referred. Institutionalized through a school curriculum rather than a museum, it was created by master Māori carver Pine Taiapa and his settler collaborator Gordon Tovey.

Given the long history of cultural brokers in Indigenous and colonial situations, twentieth-century artistic mediators frequently stepped into familiar, if at times ambiguous, roles as cultural intermediaries. As Ian McLean discusses, prior to the arrival of art mediators at the Buku-Larrnggay Mulka art center at Yirrkala, Australia, in the mid-1950s, Yolngu clans had for several generations been using graphic expressions to mediate the new economic and knowledge systems first introduced by missionaries and anthropologists during the nineteenth century. Similarly, after he moved to the Arctic community of Kinngait, or Cape Dorset, in the early 1950s, Houston was appointed not as an "arts administrator" per se but as a civil servant and representative of the Crown charged with vast responsibilities, ranging from justice of the peace and game warden to the administration of social services. Art administrators among the Inuit, much like those at Yirrkala, fit the pattern of a white outsider as a de facto or official colonial representative. Thus, while the discourses around artistic modernism might stress "ruptures" between tradition and modernity, in practice mediators of modernism oftentimes represented a *continuation* of existing social and cultural practices characterized by power relations with outsiders. Una Rey's chapter explores how this pattern has played out in the Western desert art centers of Australia, in large part due to the interactions of manager Geoffrey Bardon with the Aboriginal artists of Papunya Tula. The model he initiated endures, as she writes, "of a federally funded transcultural cooperative, under the auspices of local government councils directed by Indigenous board members and managed by mediators on short-term contracts." As

Margaret Szasz, Arthur Ray, and other historians have shown, such brokering relationships have deep genealogies that are central to the very workings of the project of colonialism itself and share in its ambivalences and contradictions.[45] Our case studies instantiate and interrogate such complexities and the ways that they have shaped the global modernist art world.

Objects and Texts as Mediators

While the study of human mediators provides important perspectives on the globalization of the art world in the mid-twentieth century, it is also important to recognize the agency of material circulations of texts, images, and objects. The efflorescence of art publishing after the Second World War spread ideas about modern and primitive art to all corners of the world. Robert Goldwater's *Primitivism in Modern Painting* (1938), Herbert Read's *The Tenth Muse* (1957), Leonhard Adam's *Primitive Art* (1940), Franz Boas's *Primitive Art* (1927), along with the *Studio* (London), *Arts Magazine* (New York), *Cahiers d'Art* (Paris), and other books, journals, and popular magazines were physically carried by mediators into new and improbable contexts. Joseph and Esther Weinstein brought an art library and an art collection to the Northern Ontario mining town where he practiced medicine and where they became the young Norval Morrisseau's inspirational gateway to global art from prehistory to Picasso. Such circulations of books, journals, and works of art were also mediators, creating a far-flung, imagined community of critics, collectors, middlemen, gallerists, artists, and intellectuals. People and objects together helped to crystalize a globally shared "taste culture" for primitive and modern art, to use Herbert Gans's term, which was frequently associated with ideals of social progress, racial equality, and the refusal of European academic and beaux-arts traditions. They activated artists, curators, and galleries to create their own autochthonous and national iterations of modernism through amalgamation with Indigenous traditions.

Circulations of artworks themselves also exemplify the new art-world geographies within which periphery-periphery networks could begin to compete with the center-periphery models of the imperial age. As noted by Roger Butler, for example, exhibitions and publications of Inuit prints circulating through Australia and Papua New Guinea as early as 1963 were admired by the first Australasian Aboriginal printmakers and gave artists such as Bede Tungutalum direct inspiration to begin creating his own prints, promoted as a modern-primitive art.[46] The document section edited by Nicholas Thomas exemplifies this global circulation as represented by Georgina Beier, who went

on from working with artists in Osogbo, Nigeria, to work with Kauage and other Papua New Guinea visual artists in the creation of their modern prints and drawings. The chapters in this book provide further examples of the ways Indigenous artists inspired and influenced each other in the mid-twentieth century while challenging the reductive assumption that artists on the peripheries slavishly emulated the modern styles of New York City, London, or Paris.

Modes of Mediation

As is by now evident, the phrase *modernist mediators* encompasses a range of different roles and functions. Teachers, fellow artists, buyers and patrons, enterprising commercial gallerists, researchers, museum curators, government administrators, and, occasionally, missionaries were, however, at the center. We have grouped the case studies in this volume according to three broadly defined roles played by mediators: teachers and mentors, friends and collaborators, patrons and marketers. These categories, which we discuss in further detail in our brief introductions to each section, are overlapping rather than rigidly bounded. They describe key motivations that brought intermediaries and artists together, but they also intermingled and played out differently according to the institutional matrices through which these relationships primarily operated and the discursive authorities they invoked. Thus, although we placed Nettleton's chapter in the section on teachers and mentors because of the importance of classes given by Cecil Skotnes and others at the Polly Street Art Centre in Johannesburg, the "Amadlozi effect" she describes in the work of black South African artists was equally influenced by the mediations of his close collaborator Egon Guenther whose roles as gallerist and collector are the focus of the third section.

The multiple roles mediators often played could evolve over time, and any of these roles could also become a mentoring relationship. Despite the inherent difficulty of disentangling overlapping roles, each required different kinds of negotiations. The identification of these modalities can also help us discern cross-cultural and transnational patterns in artist-mediator relations and the networks of galleries and commercial collaborations that resulted in creative re-stagings of Indigenous visual traditions. Thus, while the typology that follows is inevitably oversimplified, we argue that it is nevertheless useful to the work of understanding the institutional and discursive contexts and the underlying power relations that framed relations between mediators and artists.

We complement these case studies with four "Archival Explorations" sections. The first, edited by Elizabeth Harney, opens the book by instantiating the complex and overlapping character of modernist mediations in newly independent Senegal, where mediators and artists directly encouraged by Leopold Senghor often played several roles as teachers, patrons, friends, and even dealers. The other three sections complement and make vividly present the three corresponding types of mediatory roles that structure our case studies in more specific ways. In each of these sections, a brief contextualizing discussion is followed by a set of primary documents that further illuminate mediatory processes in different parts of the world. These Archival Explorations serve two important purposes for the volume. First, they make it possible for the voices of artists and mentors to speak directly to readers, and second, they sample a historical record, both published and unpublished, that, for many Indigenous modernists and mediatory figures, remains ephemeral and unorganized. Their inclusion here operates as a kind of teaser, intended to raise awareness of the value — and also the fragility and vulnerability — of an archive that is not only documentary but also still oral, and the urgent needs for preservation if we are to develop its potential to arrive at new understandings of the mediatory processes in which Indigenous modernisms are historically embedded.

Notes

1. See Hobbs and Rankin, "Prints and the Politics of Culture," 160–206; and Gowenius, *The Hungry Red Lion*.

2. See Phillips, "Norval Morrisseau's Entrance"; Robertson, *Norval Morrisseau*; and Ace, "Norval Morrisseau."

3. See, for example, Henderson, *A Blaze of Colour*; Bieringa, *The heART of the Matter*; Christensen, *Cliff Whiting*; and Skinner, *The Carver and the Artist*.

4. Transcribed from Tovey, "Talk by Gordon Tovey, Copy of Tape One."

5. See Okeke-Agulu, "Ulli Beier and the Problem of Postcolonial Modernism," chap. 1, this volume; Beier, *Contemporary Art in Africa*; and Probst, *Osogbo and the Art of Heritage*.

6. Glassie, *Prince Twins Seven-Seven*.

7. On current deployments of "indigeneity," see Cadena and Starn, *Indigenous Experience Today*; Clifford, *Returns*; and Harney and Phillips, "Introduction: Inside Modernity."

8. On Indigenous Taiwanese and Filipino modernisms, see, for example, Flores, "Belatedly and Finally"; and Bernal, "Woven Together."

9. This persistence is illustrated by the installations of African, Pacific Islands, and Native North American art in many European and North American museums — for

example, the Louvre's Pavilion des Sessions and the Musée du quai Branly. See Price, *Paris Primitive*.

10. See, for example, Connelly, *The Sleep of Reason*; Torgovnik, *Gone Primitive*; Errington, *The Death of Authentic Primitive Art*; Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places*; Hiller, *The Myth of Primitivism*; Barkan and Bush, *Prehistories of the Future*; and Foster, "The Primitive Unconscious of Modern Art."

11. Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art*. Citation refers to 1967 edition.

12. Personal communication with Norman Vorano, Ruth Phillips, and Alexandra Nahwegahbow, Vaxjo, Sweden, June 25, 2016.

13. See, for example, Holt, "Lowenfeld at Hampton."

14. Saunders, "The Contributions of Viktor Lowenfeld to Art Education."

15. See Colvin, *Arte de Tigua*.

16. Phillips, "Aesthetic Primitivism Revisited," 12; and Phillips, "The Turn of the Primitive."

17. Slogett, "Dr. Leonhard Adam and His Ethnographic Collection at the University of Melbourne."

18. Phillips, "Aesthetic Primitivism Revisited."

19. Preface to the unpublished catalogue of the Koerner collection of Northwest Coast art, compiled by Madeleine Rowan, series 2, Walter C. Koerner Fonds, University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology Archives.

20. Known also as Inocêncio Medeiros da Costa or Inocêncio da Costa Nick. See, for example, Casimiro, *Mestre Noza*.

21. On settler artists and appropriation, see Thomas, "Indigenous Signs in Colonial Art.; Moray, *Unsettling Encounters*; Mundine, "Aboriginal Landscape 1941," 20; and Scott, *A Strange Mixture*.

22. Lears, *No Place of Grace*.

23. Graburn, "Introduction: The Arts of the Fourth World," 7.

24. Ben-Amos, "Patron-Artist Interactions in Africa," 56–57, 92.

25. See Zitzewitz and Ciotti, "Art and Anthropology."

26. Frigeri and Handberg, "Introduction: Toward a New Understanding of Globalism in Postwar Art."

27. Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons*; Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*; Bernstein and Rushing, *Modern by Tradition*; McGeough, *Through Their Eyes*.

28. Harney, *In Senghor's Shadow*; Okeke-Agulu, *Postcolonial Modernism*. See also Giorgis, *Modernist Art in Ethiopia*; Gerschultz, *Decorative Arts of the Tunisian École*; and Seggerman, *Modernism on the Nile*.

29. Kumar, *Santiniketan*; Mitter, *The Triumph of Modernism*; Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations*.

30. For helpful theorizations of global modernity relevant to artistic expression, see Mitchell, "The Stage of Modernity"; Friedman, "Periodizing Modernism"; Appadurai,

"Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy"; Chakrabarty, "Provincializing Europe"; Mitter, "Interventions—Decentering Modernism"; O'Brien, introduction to *Modern Art in Africa, Asia and Latin America*; Huyssen, "Geographies of Modernism in a Modernizing World"; Said, "Voyage in and the Emergence of Opposition"; Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*; and Mercer, *Cosmopolitan Modernisms*.

31. See, for example, Copeland et al., "A Questionnaire on Decolonization"; Grant et al., "Decolonizing Art History"; Gardner, "Whither the Postcolonial?"; Joselit, *Heritage and Debt*; Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality"; Mignolo, "What Does It Mean to Decolonize?"; Mignolo, "Delinking"; Grosfoguel, "Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political-Economy"; Harutyunyan, "Opting for Decoloniality"; and Watson and Wilder, *The Postcolonial Contemporary*.

32. Friedman, "Periodizing Modernism," 426. See also Friedman, *Planetary Modernisms*.

33. Adam, *Primitive Art*, 212. Adam praised the mediators while at the same time criticizing the "Hermannsburg school" in Australia, which had seen the emergence of Namatjira and other Australian Aboriginal landscape painters who had adopted aspects of Western perspective and naturalistic depiction. See Bernstein and Rushing, *Modern by Tradition*; and Horton and Berlo, "Pueblo Painting in 1932."

34. Adam, *Primitive Art*, 215.

35. Beier, *Contemporary Art in Africa*, 110.

36. Houston, "Eskimo Sculptors," 39. Emphasis in original.

37. Phillips, "Aesthetic Primitivism Revisited."

38. Simmel, "On the Significance of Numbers for Social Life."

39. Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture*, 23, 25.

40. Wolf, "Aspects of Group Relations," 1075.

41. Wolf, "Aspects of Group Relations," 1076.

42. On Schoon, see Skinner, *Theo Schoon*. On Wenger, see Probst, *Osogbo and the Art of Heritage*; and Beier, *The Return of the Gods*.

43. Paine, "A Theory of Patronage and Brokerage."

44. Glass, "From Cultural Salvage to Brokerage." Also see Hawthorn, *A Labour of Love*.

45. Szasz, *Between Indian and White Worlds*; Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*.

46. Butler, *Islands in the Sun*, 9.

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