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Author

McGreevy, Susan Brown

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(1971), which emphasizes public opinion during the period, and Paul Stuart's *The Indian Office*, which places the policy in its institutional setting, provide important contextual information. Clyde Milner's *With Good Intentions* focuses on Quaker work among the Pawnees, Otoes, and Omahas, and provides an essential reservation perspective missing from most policy studies. Still, if I were required to recommend only one book on Indian policy in this period, I would name Francis Paul Prucha's *American Indian Policy in Crisis*, which includes the Peace Policy years in a clear and balanced analysis of late nineteenth century reform, and provides all the detail most readers would need.

Helen M. Bannan
University of New Mexico

Navajo Sandpainting: From Religious Art to Commercial Art.
By Nancy J. Parezo. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1983.
251 pp. \$29.95 Cloth.

Parezo's book constitutes a milestone in studies pertaining to art and culture change. While there have been numerous important publications about Navajo sandpainting, including those by Reichard and Wyman, Parezo's study is the first to address the process of secularization and concomitant development of commercial sandpaintings. Because of the integral role played by sandpaintings in ceremonial life, the transition from sacred art to commercial art represents a particularly illuminating example of continuity and change in contemporary Native American societies. Parezo resolves the apparent anomaly of a secularized orientation of a sacred art by a sensitive analysis of the process by which traditional values adapt to new realities.

Cultures are dynamic: they can and do change, they can and do survive. Adaptability has been a salient characteristic of Navajo culture since the people arrived in the Southwest some time between A.D. 1000 and 1500. By the 18th century, the Navajos had borrowed a significant number of traits from the cultural inventory of the Pueblo Indians, the original inhabitants of the land. In addition to farming and weaving, certain aspects of the Pueblo belief system were integrated into Navajo ritual prac-

tices, including the use of ground mineral pigments to create sacred paintings. However, like the art of weaving, the sandpainting repertoire of the Navajos developed into more complex and elaborate forms than were present in Pueblo antecedents.

The outside world has been fascinated by Navajo sandpaintings for over a century. The first scholar to document the art was Dr. Washington Matthews, an army surgeon stationed at Fort Wingate during the 1880s and '90s. In a letter dated October, 1884, Matthews recalls his first Navajo ceremony: "It is generally supposed that they [Navajos] have no pictorial mythic symbols, and such was my impression until I made this excursion where I saw large and beautiful sketches . . . drawn on the floor . . . to represent different cosmogenic and religious conceptions." Since Matthews' pioneering work, subsequent studies have contributed additional insights regarding the sacred iconography contained in Navajo sandpaintings and the ceremonial function of this complex symbolic vocabulary. These studies establish an important context for Parezo's work since the commercialization of sandpainting art represents a radical departure from orthodoxy.

According to Western thought, the everyday life of the traditional Navajo seems permeated with supernatural significance. However, the sacred-profane, mind-body dichotomy that characterizes the philosophies of Western civilization is alien to the traditional Navajo belief system. Navajo cosmology interprets the universe in a complete, orderly construct of interdependent elements which respond to various and complex sets of axiomatic reciprocities. The Navajo universe is encompassed within four sacred mountains. Here, supernatural beings (Holy People) have conferred a legacy of ritual knowledge upon the People: knowledge that is to be used to maintain and restore individual and collective harmony, beauty and well-being. Navajo ceremonies focus on blessing, purification and curing. Their purpose is to expel evil and to compel good. All ceremonies are based upon a myth that narrates the origin of the ritual and elaborates procedures for performance. The use of sandpaintings is an integral part of most ceremonies. The sacred pictures unite mundane and mythological worlds. The complete and perfect execution of a sandpainting summons the intervention of the Holy People. Because the paintings serve as a source and conduit of supernatural power, they must be ritually destroyed af-

ter the ceremony. Thus, the creation of a permanent sandpainting is not only ceremonially irresponsible, it is antithetical to the Navajo belief system. The development of permanent sandpaintings as a commercial enterprise therefore constituted a cultural dichotomy with serious implications for the physical and spiritual well being of the Navajo People.

Although sandpaintings on boards began to be popular by the early '60s, the first substantive, scholarly investigation of this phenomenon did not emerge until Parezos' study fifteen years later. Her research took her to the Navajo Reservation and bordering communities where she interviewed traders, shop owners and 77 households of Navajos. She also visited numerous museums and archival repositories. After two years of field work, she had obtained information about 302 sandpainters. The results of her prodigious research culminated in a Ph.D. dissertation for the anthropology department at the University of Arizona, subsequently published by the University of Arizona Press. Parezo's book examines a complex subject in lucid and readable prose. Her exposition unfolds in an appropriately Navajo way: balanced and orderly.

She begins with a review of traditional Navajo culture, discussing the ceremonial system and the function of sandpainting art. The reader is thus provided with a basic understanding of the ritual context of sandpaintings in order to grasp the significance of subsequent commercial developments. The book continues with a recapitulation of the first permanent sandpainting experiments of the early-20th century, including the production of so-called "yei" and "yeibichai" rugs; the weaving of sandpainting textiles; and sandpainting demonstrations at museums and craft shows. In most instances, demonstrators and weavers were prominent and respected ceremonial practitioners. Not only were these men relatively immune from criticism because of their status, they also had the requisite ceremonial knowledge to appease the Holy People.

The book's most provocative discussion is contained in two related chapters which describe Navajo responses to the creation of permanent sandpaintings and the concomitant process of rationalization that laid the groundwork for the development of commercial sandpaintings. As Parezo correctly observes, there was no real consensus regarding the outcome of this flagrant abuse of ritualized taboo; an ambiguity that persists even today.

However, a generalized apprehension concerning possible retribution by the Holy People, gradually became mitigated by the realization that the anticipated apocalypse had not materialized. Yet, since many Navajos continued to judiciously balance the weight of empirical evidence against the significance of ceremonial precedent, serious doubts remained concerning the propriety of creating permanent sandpaintings. These anxieties were tempered by a genuine desire on the part of some medicine men to preserve ritual knowledge. In addition, economic incentives intensified proportionately with increased market demands by Anglo collectors, who responded in growing numbers to the exotic appeal of sandpainting designs. Thus, Navajo sandpainters were challenged to resolve the emerging conflict between traditional values and new realities.

While the existence of altered design elements in commercial sandpaintings has been known for many years, Parezo's study formalizes the connection between these modifications and the rationalization process that was prerequisite to commercialization. This rationalization was predicated on the assumption that an imperfect sandpainting could not summon the Holy People to invest the painting with power, thus an altered picture became a secular rather than a sacred object. This pragmatic solution satisfied many Navajos and directly influenced the florescence of commercial sandpaintings. However, acceptance of the practice is by no means universal, and some conservative Navajos remain concerned that these pictures, even in modified guise, constitute a religious transgression. A discussion of the most characteristic alterations in the commercial sandpainting repertory provides additional insights concerning the organization of Navajo symbolic categories.

This continuing lack of consensus did not deter rapid escalation of the production of commercial sandpaintings and related market response. In the last chapters of her book, Parezo examines aesthetic, economic and social incentives for the growth of the craft. Once an appropriate strategy had been developed for the creation of non-sacred sandpaintings, there remained a critical, technical problem to be solved before the next step could be taken. Although there had been a variety of experiments to create an adhesive that would make the paintings permanent and portable, the invention of Elmer's glue was the unlikely catalyst

for change. Since the pigments are affixed to the surface of the board after the application of the adhesive—literally painting with glue—the availability of an inexpensive product quickly expanded the number of commercial sandpainters. The development of stencils to execute the principal design has provided an additional incentive for some less discriminating painters.

A series of maps documents the geographical distribution of commercial sandpaintings from 1962 to 1978. Parezo explains that like other Navajo craft arts, sandpainting is usually learned within the family circle, and the craft predominates within certain kinship networks. Although ritual sandpainting continues to be a man's occupation, many women have become commercial sandpainters. The craft provides them with a degree of independence and with personal gratification as well. Unlike other Navajo craft arts, commercial sandpaintings are not marketed through local trading posts. In many instances these stores are too isolated to attract many tourists. In addition, sensitive traders are concerned about alienating some of their more conservative Navajo customers. Therefore, Indian arts and crafts shops in Reservation border towns on the main tourist routes have become the principal marketing outlets, although in recent years commercial sandpaintings have been wholesaled to regions in other parts of the country as well.

Although Parezo presents a thorough discussion of the economic development of commercial sandpaintings, she does not neglect the aesthetic dimension of the craft. While she recognizes that there is a great degree of variability in the quality of the work, she argues that some sandpaintings have significant artistic merit. She also contends that all sandpainters believe they are, "producing objects of beauty which will show the world how the Navajos see beauty." This is a particularly revealing observation since the creation of beauty is integral to Navajo world view. Thus the sandpainter can believe that this new art-form is consistent with the highest precepts of the Navajo value system in spite of the imperative for secularization.

Within the four sacred mountains, Navajo medicine men continue to create sacred sandpaintings to summon the Holy People. The achievement of a harmonious and beautiful life remains the ideal for many Navajos. Within the four sacred mountains, commercial sandpainters continue to refine and define their new art

form. While this development can be seen as a response to the realities of the American cash economy, it also could be viewed as the most recent chapter in the long history of Navajo creativity and adaptability. Parezo's revealing study of the development of commercial sandpainting constitutes a major contribution to the existing literature on Navajo culture and also to the emerging field of the anthropology of art.

Susan Brown McGreevy
Wheelwright Museum of the
American Indian

Pueblo Indian Textiles: A Living Tradition. By Kate Peck Kent. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1983. 134 pp. \$30.00 Cloth, \$14.95 Paper.

Published by the School of American Research, this sociocultural and technological analysis of fabrics and weaving among the Pueblo Indians includes illustrations from, and a catalogue of, the textile collection of this institution. Documentation of the textiles is very thorough, including more than the source and date of acquisition that are often the only information presented for a textile or costume collection. The number of warp and weft yarns, yarn twist (whether s or z) and ply descriptions, color, dye type (synthetic or natural), and overall dimensions of the textile are given for each entry. Many color plates are included to depict actual designs. Although a chapter is devoted to the evolution of Pueblo Indian textiles in the historic period and some attention is given to the way in which the textiles are worn, the emphasis of the book is on an analysis of the production process and finished textiles of the classic period (1848 to 1880) of Pueblo weaving.

The author noted that Pueblo textiles have never achieved the commercial recognition, elaborate designs, and attention from authors that Navajo textiles have. This book provides attention from a scholarly author who has carefully researched Pueblo textiles. Kent also helps to provide an understanding of decreased commercial attention to these textiles. She suggested that one reason for the greater merchandising efforts devoted to Navajo