Our People, Our Land, Our Images

International Indigenous Photographers

Edited by Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie and Veronica Passalacqua

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C. N. Gorman Museum, University of California, Davis
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Preface

My name is Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie,

Born into the Bear and Raccoon Clan of the Seminole and Muskogee Nations.

Born for the Tsinajinnie Clan of the Diné Nation.

At the University of California at Davis, I am Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie,

Assistant Professor and Director of the Carl Nelson Gorman Museum.

In considering this introduction, words seemed to be elusive until recently…

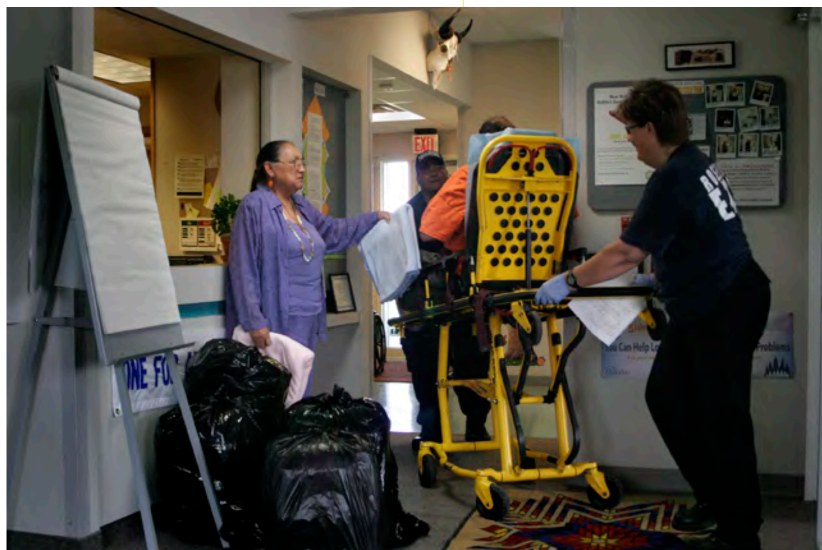
Friday evening, July 7, 2006. I flew into Rapid City, South Dakota, rented a midsized American car with unlimited mileage. Checked into a comfortable hotel, shopped at the local grocery store for Saturday's lunch, and then turned in early, hoping to get as much sleep as possible.

Saturday morning, July 8, 2006. The sun was appearing in the east and I was fueled with fresh-roasted coffee and the asphalt on Interstate 90 was warming up. The first segment of the day was a 150-mile jaunt to Mission, South Dakota. Muriel Antoine was waiting for my arrival. We were on for a road trip. Destination: Pine Ridge, South Dakota, Nellie Two Bull's thirtieth annual family pow-wow. I would be documenting Grandma Two Bulls for the First Peoples Fund, an organization that recognized her with a Community Spirit Award.

Muriel had also received a First Peoples Fund Community Spirit Award, six years ago. As she closed the door to her house, she mentioned stopping at the Rosebud Dialysis Center. She had made forty blankets as gifts for the patients, and she wanted photographs of the giveaway. The giveaway was a *wopila*, a thank-you gesture, for her grandchildren graduating. The images documenting the *wopila* would not be printed in a newspaper; they were simply images for Muriel, to remember.

We continued on our journey and Muriel shared moments from her life that made the 120 miles to

Nellie Two Bulls, 2006



Muriel's Wopila, 2006

Grandma Nellie's pow-wow a breeze. We arrived in the early afternoon at the Young Man Afraid of His Horses Ceremonial Grounds. Directed to the house where Grandma Nellie and her family were preparing for the afternoon, Muriel and I introduced ourselves as we brought in groceries for the community lunch. We drove back to the ceremonial grounds along with cars full of families that parked around the shade arbor. Muriel and I were invited to sit on the chairs under the shade of a huge cottonwood tree. Lunch was announced: chicken, stew, frybread, potato salad, pasta salad, *woshapi* (a warm berry pudding), watermelon, and endless cake. As soon as lunch was finished, the Porcupine Singers drum started the pow-wow. I photographed Nellie Two Bulls as she called together her family, blood and adopted, new family members and new names recognized. There was wiping of the tears and two memorials.

Muriel and I were gifted with the memorial chairs. Muriel received the chair of a wife who had passed the previous year and I received the memorial chair of Calvin Jumping Bull, a cousin to Grandma Nellie. The gifts from the Two Bulls family were generous. Muriel and I addressed the family circle; I introduced myself as I do and then thanked the

Young Man Afraid of His Horses Ceremonial Grounds, 2006

family with words about my family and education.

As the pow-wow continued, Muriel would let me know when I needed to put my camera aside to dance and shake hands. Muriel also helped with the judging for the little girls' dance, when the sun was at its hottest. I took photos of the winner. The last announcement was about 6:30 p.m., and the veterans requested to retire the flags. I had forgotten that Muriel had served in the Air Force in the early fifties, and she and another veteran folded the American flag. We gathered our gifts, said our good-byes, and then drove back to Mission feeling good about the day.

Coalition to Defend Bear Butte, 2006

I dropped Muriel off at her house at about 9:30 p.m. Before heading back to Rapid City, Janeen, Muriel's daughter whom I have known forever, called to thank me for taking her mother to the pow-wow and suggested, "Hulleah, you should go to Bear Butte in the morning. It's only about thirty miles north of Rapid City and there's a Protect Bear Butte encampment. You should do some photos for them." I told her I might check it out, and she said, "You should; it's a sacred site." When I told Muriel that her daughter wanted me to visit Bear Butte, she was in agreement, and with that I hugged Muriel good-bye and started back to Rapid City.

Sunday Morning, July 9, 2006. I drove to Bear Butte and met with the Intertribal Coalition to Protect Bear Butte. I introduced myself to the encampment community after the pipe ceremony conducted by Oliver Red Cloud, grandson of Chief Red Cloud. This is how I introduced myself:

> *My name is Hulleah Tsinhnahjinnie, born into the Bear and Raccoon Clan of the Seminole and Muskogee Nations. Born for the Tsinajinnie Clan of the Diné Nation. I originally came to photograph Nellie Two Bulls's family pow-wow and then was told to go to Bear Butte, that images could be utilized by the encampment. I have been photographing for thirty-five years, but the photographs I take are not for White people to look at Native people. I take photographs so that Native people can look at Native people. I make photographs for Native people.*

Mato Paha (Bear Butte) is sacred. Veteran activists, young children, Natives, non-Natives—everyone defending Mato Paha's honor filled me with courage and pride. I burned a DVD full of images and gave them to the organizers before I left to catch my plane.

Seven hundred and twenty-six miles since Saturday morning. As I sat on the plane

Sunday evening heading toward California, I knew what I would write for this catalogue. I would write my heart.

As an Indigenous photographer it is important to maintain an Indigenous presence, an Indigenous perspective. It is important to remember why we do what we do. Sometimes that means traveling 726 miles.

The photographers in this catalogue have similar stories and images. They have strong memories given to them by their ancestors, and personal memories of community and family. I believe that this is the difference between a connected Indigenous photographer and a non-Indigenous Western photographer (and a non-connected Indigenous photographer). Connection to the sacred, connection to community, connection to land, connection to visions of strength, and a steadfast vision of continuance. The vision makers in this catalogue have taken on the honorable and weighty responsibility of continuance.

The International Indigenous Photographers Conference had many goals, one of which was to provide an environment for Indigenous photographers to converse, network, and continue dialogue after the conference. Another goal achieved was to establish an Indigenous photographic presence without wasting precious time on countering Western philosophy. During the conference, photographers enacted Indigenous visual sovereignty and proceeded to establish an Indigenous photographic ideological presence by speaking and presenting their work. An action achieved by awakening memory.

It is my hope that the International Indigenous Photographers Conference participants remember the incredible rainbows that appeared the afternoon they arrived. And that they carry the warmth generated from the conference on their travels.

Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie
Director, C. N. Gorman Museum
Native American Studies Department
University of California, Davis

Introduction

Veronica Passalacqua

The impact of photography as a tool of colonialism has affected Indigenous communities worldwide. As photographic technologies developed and improved, Indigenous peoples were increasingly imaged as part of governmental surveys, documentation, expansionism, curiosity, and tourism. These images, such as the North American works of Edward S. Curtis, created and continuously contribute to the persistent stereotypes of Indigenous peoples. This is further complicated by the purpose and means by which early images were acquired, often without consent or by lawful force, all of which renders the medium one of the most pervasive and effective weapons of colonialism.

The abundance of academic research that explores the vast collections of photographic images of Indigenous peoples by non-Indigenous photographers reinforces a privileged presence. Remarkably, though, despite the photographers' intentions, the images depict relatively little about Indigenous peoples compared to the degree of information they reveal outside of the frame about the cultures creating and consuming such images. The images are a precise fragment of time arrested in the lens that obscures a history before and after the moment, everything except what is conveyed through the vision of the photographer as witness, documentarian, and artist.

Shifting this interpretative power to Indigenous peoples is one approach to contextualizing their complex relationships with photography. Even so, a great deal of research remains one-dimensional, with Indigenous peoples on one side of the camera. Even though Indigenous peoples appropriated the camera as early as the 1880s in North America and New Zealand, there is astonishingly scant documentation of Indigenous photographic histories.

As early as 1899, Benjamin A. Haldane (Tsimshian) had opened his own professional portrait studio in Metlakatla, Alaska. At the same time, Jennie Ross Cobb, a young Cherokee girl in Talequah, Oklahoma, began photographing her community, utilizing her closet as a darkroom. On the East Coast, at the Carlisle Indian School, John Leslie (Puyallup) began selling his photography, publishing a book of his works in 1895, and by 1906, the school had built "one of the finest and best equipped photographic studios in the state,"[1] formally educating Native students about the burgeoning technology.

What information that is known about these multiple histories—which clearly parallels the development of photography and expansionism—has been the result of research by Indigenous photographers and writers. These efforts have established a starting point from which Indigenous photographic histories need to be further explored and developed. Such discussion and documentation is essential to the growth and future of the

canon of Indigenous photography. The very same medium that exacerbated colonial tensions is now used as a tool for Indigenous empowerment and sovereignty by exerting an authority over how, when, and why Indigenous peoples choose to be imaged.

A century later, on April 6, 2006, an historic event occurred at the C. N. Gorman Museum, at the University of California, Davis, when twenty-six international Indigenous photographers gathered for four days to meet, discuss, and share their professional and personal experiences in photographing their communities. Aided by translators, everyone was able to participate in the exchange of photographic histories that included the recognition of mentors and early Indigenous photographers.

Some of the artists knew each other previously, through professional artistic and academic networks, making the event a reunion of sorts, but more than that, it was an opportunity for artists to meet with peers working and creating photo-based artworks from the global Indigenous community. Major international Indigenous artist gatherings, such as Te Mata held in New Zealand, inspired the development of this gathering, which was distinct for its specific focus on the field of photography as practiced by Indigenous artists.

Unlike a traditional academic conference, the event was organized to enable artists to discuss their concerns amongst each other, to create new networks, and to learn protocol for future travel to other Indigenous territories. The first two days of the gathering were closed sessions, where artists were in roundtable discussions presenting and exchanging artwork. The latter two days included several panel presentations that welcomed the public, launched by the exhibition opening.

Of the twenty-six artists featured in the exhibition, four are researchers who bring important historical photographers to the group, some of whom are direct ancestors. There are also sixteen mature photographers, from Canada, Peru, New Zealand, and throughout the United States, as well as six promising students of photography, four of whom are currently enrolled in Master of Fine Arts programs in this country and abroad. All are vital to the dialogue.

From the outset, the ideology behind the gathering and exhibition has been to initiate documentation of the long-standing practice of photography by Indigenous peoples around the world. At the same time, we felt it was critical to develop a truly collaborative experience and exhibition that presents images and artist voices in an unmediated fashion in order to demonstrate the ownership, knowledge, and authority held by Indigenous artists who photograph and represent their own communities. To do so we asked each

artist to select four images for publication and two for the exhibition, as well as to provide an artist statement.

One critical aspect of the exhibition and catalogue is that artists themselves are writing about their own works, providing audiences and readers with the authority of first-person accounts. Pursuant to this collaborative effort, this essay presents several of the artworks in the exhibition from the artists' perspectives by incorporating text directly from the artist statements and providing the reader with a strong sense of the individual artistic voices that, considered collectively, create and inform the field of Indigenous photography.

Developing Histories

It is intriguing to think about the early Native American and First Nations photographers. While they were living in their ancestral communities, photographing and documenting life—reality as it was—non-Indigenous photographers were traveling or relocating to these regions with the express purpose of imaging the North American Indian and developing their own truths and visions. With institutional and governmental mechanisms supporting their interests, these non-Native photographers saw their disconnected images widely published and distributed. But what about the works of Indigenous photographers? After the tourists leave, they remain immersed members of their communities, fluent in their languages and cultures, documenting their environments over a lifetime of dramatic change. Fortunately, although their photographs were widely disseminated into private collections over the last century, many have found their way into regional and national archives.

The development of contemporary Indigenous photography fueled the search for early photographers, a pursuit that broadens each year. Like many other academics, Mique'l Askren, currently a doctoral student at the University of British Columbia, conducted research in her own community (Metlakatla, Alaska), and discovered the work of **Benjamin A. Haldane** (Tsimshian, 1874–1941). Askren's[2] research showed that Haldane opened a portraiture studio in Metlakatla in 1899, and during his travels he also photographed numerous communities throughout southeast Alaska and British Columbia, developing an extensive archive of portraits, community life, historic events, Native-owned industries, bands, sports teams, and landscapes. At great risk, Haldane also photographed and participated in potlatches on the Nass River at a time when the

ceremony was still banned by the Canadian government.

Askren concludes that, "Unlike the dominant colonial narrative of Metlakatla's history, which positions our community as the epitome of successful missionization and assimilation, [Haldane's] photography reveals a counter narrative by documenting the subversive means through which our ceremonies were continued. The recent recovery of these images has been empowering for our community and his family as we continue to practice these traditions."

At the same time, in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, a young **Jennie Ross Cobb** (Aniyunwiya (Cherokee), 1881–1959) received her first box camera from her father when she was six or seven years of age. According to extensive research by Joan Jensen, Cobb was primarily self-taught from books and later developed Kodak dry plates in a living room closet. By the time she attended the Cherokee Women's Seminary, where she photographed her schoolmates and friends, she was already a skilled photographer.

Jensen writes that in these works, Ross "moved away from the formal poses usually demanded of the young women and captured them as if in movement, which makes her images far more lively and engaging. Two of her finest photographs show how Ross used receding lines and off-center framing to compose the group of young seminary women. In both, the figures of the women recede in a line that carries the eye through the image to the background. The technique here is precise and accomplished. They are lively, dynamic, and engaging photographs."

A few years later, in 1905, **Martín Chambi** (Quechua, 1891–1973) was fourteen years old and living in a rural Quechua-speaking community in Peru when he met a British photographer assisting the Santo Domingo Mining Company and became "obsessed with the medium."[3] Within two years he was an apprentice, and by 1920 he was operating his own studios in Sicuani, near Cusco. Chambi is revered as one of Peru's greatest photographers, and was the first Indigenous photographer in the Americas to attract international attention. Over the course of thirty years, Chambi created an enormous archive, "recording the most relevant aspects of his cultural environment, the bourgeoisie as well as Indigenous communities, both sectors of enormous anthropological and photographic interest."

Chambi's work continues to be an inspiration for Indigenous photographers worldwide, and his inclusion here epitomizes the mission and purpose of the exhibition by demonstrating what is a truly Indigenous perspective. Such a perspective also considers protocol,

which made it necessary to obtain permission from the Chambi family to exhibit the works. Remarkably, it was Chambi's grandson Teo Allain Chambi who hand-carried the works from Peru and participated in the exhibition by discussing his grandfather's works and sharing his own contemporary images.

Theresa Harlan also presents her own family archive through memory and stories while poignantly addressing their removal from ancestral land. Through the images of **Bertha Felix Campigli** (Coast Miwok, 1882–1949) Harlan illustrates and describes her family's relationship to Tomales Bay, California, where they have lived since the mid-1800s, identifying themselves as "'Tomales Bay' Indians rather than their formal identifier of Coast Miwok." Harlan continues, "After my grandmother passed in 1949, my grandpa and my mom's brother Victor Sousa…continued to live at the old house. This ended in 1955 when Vic was served with eviction papers. A dairy rancher declared he owned the land. Vic fought back. Family and friends testified that the land belonged to the Felix family long before the rancher settled into Tomales Bay. Since there were no paper documents to support ownership, however, Vic lost.…The ranch is now part of the Point Reyes National Seashore. The park at one time planned to apply for the Park Service's National Register of Historic Places as an early Coast Miwok settlement."

The lifetime of image making by historical photographers is undisputable evidence of modernity, innovation, technological brilliance, vision, and dedication to the medium. Their images stand profoundly apart from those of non-Indigenous photographers through a clearly discernable familiarity with and love for the sitter, place, and community. As historical photographers continue to be recognized, one by one, the canon of Indigenous photography demonstrates its significance, endurance, and strength.

Looking at the Present

Much like the historical photographers, contemporary artists have been creating lens-based artwork and developing a field that is both distinct from traditional forms of Native art and with a sovereignty from mainstream interests; Indigenous artists use photography as yet another artistic medium through which to visually interpret stories, histories, family, and politics. Some artists, like Lee Marmon and Dugan Aguilar, choose to document events and members of their community for individual and collective memory, while

others, like Teo Allain Chambi and Will Wilson, create works that speak to their cultural memory. Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie and Zig Jackson confront issues of land use and ownership, Shelley Niro and Shan Goshorn create work about their children, themselves, and their families, and Natalie Robertson and Aimee Ratana explore the larger issue of cultural appropriation. The wide-ranging diversity of subject matter is one of the unique aspects of this expanding field. As many of these artists prove, the camera, in the hands of Indigenous visionaries, becomes a tool or weapon that possesses the power to confront and deconstruct stereotypes, politics, and histories.

The lifelong photographic practice of **Lee Marmon** (Laguna Pueblo) has inspired several of the artists in this exhibition. Photographing since 1947, Marmon is the oldest photographer included, and his work demonstrates a seamless continuation of the practice by those before him. His works, particularly those from the forties through the sixties, are not only technologically sublime but vital in documenting the Laguna Pueblo elders and families, traditional dances, and important events. His vast archives are invaluable, and his enduring commitment is truly inspirational.

The importance of creating archives about community cannot be understated. While being cherished portraits, they also establish history and memory and by their very existence fulfill political roles of self-representation and cultural survivance. **Dugan Aguilar** (Paiute/Pit River/Maidu) photographically documents communities and organizations from throughout California and Nevada, including numerous gatherings of the California Indian Basketweavers Association, countless events, and community portraits. In creating works for various organizations and artists, Aguilar's images are a vital form of self-determined representation by the sitter, while also contributing to his larger archive of the region.

Another form of cultural memory can be seen in the work of **Teo Allain Chambi** (Quechua) as he images daily life in Cusco, Peru, that stands apart from the tourist perspective. Like his grandfather, he creates works that reflect an intimacy with community that is situated in both the past and the present in this ancient capital city of the Incas. His imagery reflects how modernity in the Quechua community still retains strong ties to the past.

Whereas Teo Allain Chambi looks at the past, **Will Wilson** (Diné) considers a post-apocalyptic future that focuses on the relationship of Navajo people with the land.[4] "This imagined environment includes comforting symbols of cultural persistence, such as a

hogan (a traditional Navajo dwelling), coexisting with computers, wires, and futuristic furnishings."[5] His large-scale works create panoramic views that develop a feeling of multiplicity—physically through digital collage, and contextually by reflecting the multidimensionality of Navajo life today through a thoughtful inquiry of the future.

Whether in the past, present, or future, the central issue for Indigenous people worldwide will always be about land. **L. Frank Manriquez** (Tongva/Ajachmem) looks closely to the landscape in *The Three Graces* (2005) as she images the datura plant, a sacred plant for her community that holds great medicinal power but when improperly used can be fatal. She writes, "This is a plant of reality. A sacred plant that exposes all to the deserving."

Many artists in this exhibition have accepted the responsibility to advocate and interrogate for land rights and usage. The stark and brutal reality of *Kennecott Copper Mine, Tooele, Utah* (2000), by **Zig Jackson** (Mandan/Hidatsa/Arikara) is truly overwhelming. The size and scope of the open-pit strip mine—one of the largest in the world—is almost incomprehensible. Jackson sits at the edge as witness to the devastation and as political protagonist by photographing and exhibiting it.

In the work *This is not a commercial* (1998), **Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie** (Seminole/Muskogee/Diné) also advocates for land rights as she challenges our memory by photographing a red-rock mitten from Monument Valley that has been the basis of countless marketing campaigns. This land, however, is firmly located within the Diné reservation, about forty miles from her family home, and from Tsinhnahjinnie's perspective this land and all it represents is not for sale. She reaffirms ownership by assaulting false visual claims.

For **Sama Alshaibi** (Iraqi/Palestinian), land rights are intertwined with human rights. Living in exile in America, she creates self-portraits that are based on personal experiences and "uses the body as a symbol, the retrospective witness that links our present to a time before we were refugees, exiles, and 'terrorists.'" She addresses the diaspora resulting from the forced migration of four million Palestinians and their descendants. Her work is inherently political, but the expression and imagery is a personal and family testimony.

The inclusion of family, whether literally or metaphorically, is one of the strongest themes within Native North American photography. The artworks can be personal, thoughtful reflections of self and family, and at the same time public declarations of self-determined identity and ownership of representation. **Shelley Niro** (Mohawk)

frequently creates photographic work that "has revolved around and involved" her family. "I've used photos of my mother, my children, and my sisters in much of my work. I have always done this. Using their images has made me feel closer to them as I have spent a lot of time in the darkroom. So much time has had to be invested in the separation from family and loved ones to create." Her latest work, *Girls* (2006), depicts Niro and her daughters in photobooth strips, evoking memories known only to the artist as she shares a glimpse of her maternal bond.

When **Shan Goshorn** (Cherokee) was pregnant in 1996, she created a photographic act of contemplation that focused on giving birth to a healthy daughter by visualizing "the nurturing and healing qualities for which I longed." The resulting *Earth Renewal* series is "an ongoing body of hand-tinted black-and-white, double-exposed photographs (layered in the darkroom, not by computer) that illustrate the original teachings—that we still honor our role as caregiver to our mother, the earth."

In these pieces, both Niro and Goshorn address the relationship with their daughters, whether they are placed inside or outside of the photographic frame. Many of the artists in this exhibition have at some point created works that focus on particular family members.[6] In so much as the artists are willing to share, the viewer is given a personal insight into artistic development and motivation. It may seem surprising that, in many ways, works that include family members are perhaps the most complex to read as they require both a high degree of Native cultural capital as well as specific knowledge about the artist's life and career.

The idea of addressing "identity politics" has in recent years been highly criticized. But in effect, all artwork, and particularly photographic work, must reflect some trace of the artist's identity, whether it is as activist, mother, or community member. In the context of this exhibition, the concept of self-determination is paramount—the sitters are deciding when, where, and how they will be photographed, and the artists are deciding who, what, and why they are creating certain images. All of these factors contribute to the expression of individual identity, or perhaps a more appropriate description is that they are exerting control over the representation of identity.

Natalie Robertson (Ngati Porou/Clan Donnachaidh) poignantly illustrates and reinforces Maori protocol in introducing oneself. She explains how "identification with land and migration journeys is a central tenet of Maori culture. It is customary for Maori to introduce

themselves formally through *pepeha* (proverbs belonging to ancestral mountains, rivers, lakes), and then through significant *waka* (canoes), and finally through tribal affiliations." The piece *Ngati Porou Pepeha* (2006) depicts Auckland street signs that have appropriated these important places—Robertson's own heritage—for common directional use.

The street signs of Auckland reflect the realities of Indigenous artists creating work that emerges from living in an urban context, while at the same time it is a political commentary about Indigenous urban modernity. **Pena Bonita** (Apache/Seminole) has lived in Manhattan for a number of years, and her work reflects the strong Native American community that surrounds her in that massive metropolis. **Jeffrey Thomas** (Iroquois/Onondaga) directly confronts the issue by establishing artwork that deconstructs the romanticized vision of "stoic Indians in full regalia living on the land in remote areas." Moving to urban centers and becoming part of a mythical "melting pot" is all too frequently seen as successful assimilation, which, as with the numerous residential school programs enforced upon Indigenous communities worldwide, is problematic, to say the least.

It is not just places but also cultural objects that frequently experience appropriation. For **Aimee Ratana** (Ngai Tuhoe: Ngati Haka Patuheuheu/Ngati Raka), these objects are embodied representations of her ancestors, a form of collective memory and presence. She represents these *taonga* (treasured cultural heritage items) in abstract imagery "for people to reinterpret and read, whether they are registering the form, the color, or the aesthetic or ethereal beauty of the object." She images the *hei tiki* in her 2005 series of the same name, referencing the friends and family that have passed on and are a reminder of "what was before, and also what has been lost. They reflect memories, times of hurt and times of laughter that have been shared between people, land, and objects."

In particular, Ratana explains how portraits of *tupuna* (ancestors) are displayed in the *wharenui* (meeting house) and that "these hold as much significance and importance as the carvings, weaving, and paintings. This practice, which has been demonstrated for over one hundred years, shows the acceptance and appropriation of this Western technology, photography by Maori. It brings to light the significant context in which photography is placed within Maori culture."

To consider that Indigenous peoples would not utilize new technologies is, at best, naïve. Some argue that as a Western apparatus, the camera somehow diminishes the authenticity of the artwork as being Indigenous or Native North American. When a carver

utilizes a chainsaw instead of an adze is it somehow less traditional? What about acrylic paints and commercial canvas? I would argue that the image and the subject matter are so deeply embedded in Native cultural capital and intellectual property that any such marginalization is baseless. With the rise of digital technologies, these loathsome arguments have resurfaced in discussions about photography and Native American art. But as Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie once said, "It has always been traditional to be innovative and try new things."[7]

Rosalie Favell (Métis) has worked digitally for a number of years, utilizing spatial dynamics to develop works that challenge the boundaries of photography. Seascapes, cyberspace, television, the universe, all are landscapes for Favell's explorations. She writes, "My quest to find my place in the world has taken me many places physically, intellectually, and spiritually. My work comes from a culmination of searching for a way to comment on the worlds that I live in, investigating issues of personal and cultural identities."

Another digital voyager is **Larry McNeil**, (Tlingit) whose *fly by night mythology* series has developed considerably since its debut in 1998. As in many of the works from this series, McNeil places the *Yéil* ("raven," in Tlingit) as the instigator and trickster to look at "some of the absurdities of our American culture." The piece *Yéil* (1998) "is one of four images about questioning why the great Chief Pontiac of the Ottawa is a hood ornament and car, and George Washington is revered as a cultural icon and 'father of our country.' He is certainly not the father of my country, the Tlingit Nation. When George Washington was a young man, he fought with the British against a coalition of Nations led by the Ottawa. The Ottawa won the battle and drove them out of their country. It was a stark reminder that George Washington was a foreign invader in the Americas and Pontiac persevered in defending the homeland."[8]

The images and artwork created by these artists not only actively defy conventional categorizations but also speak to numerous discourses of interest. As leaders of the field, these artists have published, lectured, and explained their artwork to an incredible diversity of audiences. Their topics naturally include photography and Native American art history, but also extend further to include literature, history, Indigenous politics, land claims, human rights, art history, anthropology, and Indigenous nations' histories. These artistic visionaries utilize photography as their language of choice.

The Future...

An important aspect of the conference and exhibition was the inclusion of the next generation of practicing artists: Nikki Isham, Nicole Staples, Erica Lord, Erena Baker, Simone Magner, and Rochelle Huia Smith. For emerging artists, the conference provided them an opportunity to meet and share their artwork with prominent artists in the field. In turn, it provided an opportunity for elder artists to gain insight into the issues and concerns facing younger artists and those currently in Master of Fine Arts programs in the United States and abroad.

Nikki Isham and **Nicole Staples** (both Ojibwe) are affiliated with the nonprofit organization In Progress, located in St. Paul, Minnesota, and are mentors in the Ogichidaakweg program. The program was established in 1998 "to help young Ojibwe women see their potential and act upon it."[9] Since its inception, more than two hundred young women, and more recently young men, have participated in weaving together lessons in history, culture, and political activism through the arts of digital media, dialogue, and writing. As media instructors and mentors, Isham and Staples teach younger students about digital film and photography.

Isham's work speaks about the world around her as she creates pieces using her own version of photographic memory, which has led her to identify herself as "an image saver, a video artist, a bit of a manipulator, and, as of now, a philosopher." With her eye for detail, she photographs everywhere that she goes, and she considers her subject matter from all angles.

It was the Ogichidaakweg program that introduced Nicole Staples to photography, and it was the creation of her first box camera that sparked Staples's commitment to the medium. Utilizing school cameras, she photographed everything around her, including landscapes, family, friends, and school. Photography has helped her overcome difficult circumstances and has helped her speak out about what she witnesses.[10]

Responding to her own heritage, **Erica Lord** (Athabaskan/Inupiaq) creates work at the intersections of cultures, "the space beyond singular identities—where worlds collide, merge, or resist each other." Her works are intended "to create a dialogue with others who also have to traverse cultural divisions and borders." In *Silence, Rural Wisconsin* (2005),

the movement of the camera and the captivity of the subject portray the enforced silence of a woman who has much to say.

Living in two worlds is also the central focus of **Rochelle Huia Smith** (Nga Puhi/Ngati Whatua). In her *Wharetangata* series (2006), she portrays her friends on the threshold of becoming the new *pou* (leaders). Each woman is photographed in front of a slightly open door, which for Huia Smith is a metaphor "to explain the 'insider' and 'outsider' aspects of being Maori." Through her work she explores the challenges of being Maori within an urban context and within a *Pakeha* (white) governed, multicultural society.

Erena Baker (Ngati Toa Rangatira/Te Atiawa/Ngati Raukawa) explores the long-standing cultural practice of *rama tuna* (eeling). In the proverb "Ko Tangaroa Ara Rau" (Tangaroa of the Many Pathways) the eels are referred to as Tangaroa, the god of all fish, whose elusive nature allows them to "regularly escape fisherman in their pursuit of this delicacy." To create this series Baker has undertaken the challenge of night photography to document this noctural practice and, most importantly, to represent the fisherman from an Indigenous perspective.

Like Niro and Goshorn, **Simone Magner** (Ngati Awa/Ngati Maniapoto) has created a series of works that include family, focusing on her father and a reconnection with her own cultural base. She incorporates old images of her father that have recently resurfaced and creates works of memory and love in a "quest for self-identity."

It will be exciting to see how the field of Indigenous photography shifts, moves, and expands as the next generation of photographers develop their work and teaching. The *Our People, Our Land, Our Images* exhibition represents Indigenous photographers who were actively creating work from as early as 1899 and continues to the students of today and teachers of tomorrow, spanning at least four generations.

Just as Larry McNeil focuses on the intersections of cultures, Indigenous photography has faced numerous crossroads, at times taking a few detours, but continuously moving forward regardless of structures imposed by outside forces, including academia, government, and mainstream art. Newly recognized lens-based artists are emerging each year, whether they come from the 1890s, from the 1930s or 50s, or in the new millennium. A history is being developed, documented, and published by the ultimate experts as artists write about their own images and cultures.

NOTES

1. "The Photographic Studio" and "Leupp Indian Art Studio," both from the *Carlisle Arrow.* Carlisle, Penn.: Carlisle Indian School, 1906 and 1907.

2. Unless otherwise noted, quotes are from the artist statements included in this catalogue.

3. Robin Lenman, ed. *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 112.

4. Wilson, artist statement.

5. Kathleen Ash-Milby on Will Wilson. *Auto-Immune Response*, National Museum of the American Indian, brochure.

6. Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie, *Dad* (2003); Larry McNeil, *Creation Story* (1998); Rosalie Favell, *Longing and Not Belonging* (1997–1999); and Simone Magner, *Man's World* (2005).

7. Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie, UC Davis, winter 2006.

8. McNeil, artist statement, April 2006.

9. Ogichidaakweg program statement, in-progress. C. N. Gorman Museum, July 2006.

10. Staples, artist statement.

Our Past...

Benjamin A. Haldane

Tsimshian *(1874–1941)*

Benjamin Alfred (B. A.) Haldane was thirteen years old when he participated in the migration of eight-hundred Tsimshian people who, in search of religious freedom and land rights, made a thirty-mile journey by canoe from British Columbia to Metlakatla, Alaska, in 1887. Overseen by William Duncan, a lay missionary from England, Metlakatla was considered to be a Christian utopia. Through colonial text and images it became the most highly publicized mission on the northwest coast.

In 1899, at twenty-five years of age, B. A. opened a portrait studio in Metlakatla. The Native sitters in his studio were photographed using conventions that emphasized wealth and respectability, which were commonly reserved for Euro-American settlers. A versatile musician and composer, B. A. also traveled to Native communities in southeast Alaska and British Columbia to teach music and take photographs. His extensive body of work that spans nearly forty years includes images of daily life in these communities, historic events, Native-owned industries, bands, sports teams, and landscapes.

One of the most significant aspects of B. A.'s work was his participation in, and photographs of, potlatches on the Nass River, which at the time were outlawed by the Canadian government. Using his photography as a means of resistance against Duncan's intrusion on this ceremony in his own community, B. A. also took photographs in Metlakatla that made explicit visual references to people's clan lineages and hereditary positions.

Unlike the dominant colonial narrative of Metlakatla's history, which positions our community as the epitome of successful missionization and assimilation, B. A.'s photography reveals a counter narrative by documenting the subversive means through which our ceremonies were continued. The recent recovery of these images has been empowering for our community and his family as we continue to practice these traditions.

Mique'l Askren, Tsimshian from Metlakatla, Alaska
Descendant of the first people to migrate to Alaska in 1887
Ph.D. Candidate, University of British Columbia

Haldane Studio, Metlakatla, Alaska, ca. 1907, Sir Henry Wellcome Collection, 1856–1936, courtesy of the National Archives, Anchorage, Alaska

Haldane Studio, Metlakatla, Alaska, ca. 1907, courtesy of the Tongass Historical Museum, Ketchikan, Alaska

Jennie Ross Cobb

Aniyunwiya (Cherokee)
(1881–1959)

Jennie Ross Cobb produced evocative views of ordinary Aniyunwiya people (mostly family, friends, and schoolmates) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to family tradition and Mary Elizabeth Good, a photographer who knew Jennie in later life, she received her first box camera from her father when she was six or seven years of age. Jennie's father gave her some preliminary instruction. The family can remember no formal or informal lessons, just her intense interest in photography. She learned mostly from books, later developing Kodak dry plates in a living room closet, and experimenting on her own until she could produce clear prints despite the humid summer weather. Jenny Cook, who was raised by her grandmother, recalled that Jennie never lost her joy in photography.

Between 1894 and 1904, Jennie Ross and her family lived in the Murrell House, a pre–Civil War mansion at Pine Hill, about four miles from Tahlequah, headquarters for the Cherokee Nation. She was the great-granddaughter of Quatie Brown Henley, who died during the forced removal West on the Trail of Tears in 1838, and John Ross, then Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation. Her father, Robert Bruce Ross, and mother, Fannie Thornton Ross, were active in the politics of the Cherokee Nation.

Graduating Class of 1902, Cherokee Female Seminary, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society

Photographs were common within the Cherokee community by the 1880s. The Ross family had daguerreotypes of the 1843 delegates who had gathered to discuss government removal policies and of the family of John's brother Lewis Ross. A daguerreotype of John Ross and his second wife, Mary Stapler, along with one of early women students at the Cherokee Female Seminary, both taken in the 1850s, still survive. A number of photographic images of the students and their seminary exist for the 1880s. (Jennie's older sister Fannie attended the seminary in the 1890s.)

Still, Jennie wanting to hold the camera herself at such a young age and experimenting on her own was unusual. The few photographs of hers that survive, preserved in the Oklahoma Historical Society archives, both illuminate her life and indicate her achievement as a photographer.

By the time Ross began to photograph schoolmates and friends, she was already skilled. She moved away from the formal poses usually demanded of the young women and captured them as if in movement, which makes her images far more lively and engaging. Two of her finest photographs show how Ross used receding lines and off-center framing to compose the group of young seminary women. In both, the figures of the women recede in a line that carries the eye through the image to the background. The technique here is precise and accomplished. They are lively, dynamic, and engaging photographs.

When the Train Came to Tahlequah, 1902, courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society

The achievement of Ross is in showing the movement and élan of the women. Photographer Hulleah J. Tsinhnahjinnie later wrote that Ross was a photographer who "truly imaged Native women with love, and a humanizing eye." Tsinhnahjinnie also commented that Ross, as a Native woman photographing Native women, produced images difficult for other photographers to emulate because "the eye of the beholder possesses love for the beheld." Ross's photographs offer the viewer an Aboriginal perspective.

Joan Jensen
Professor Emeritus
New Mexico State University

Backyard of George M. Murrell House, *Park Hill*, ca. 1896–1906, courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society

Watermelon Picnic near Park Hill, ca. 1896–1906, courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society

Martín Chambi

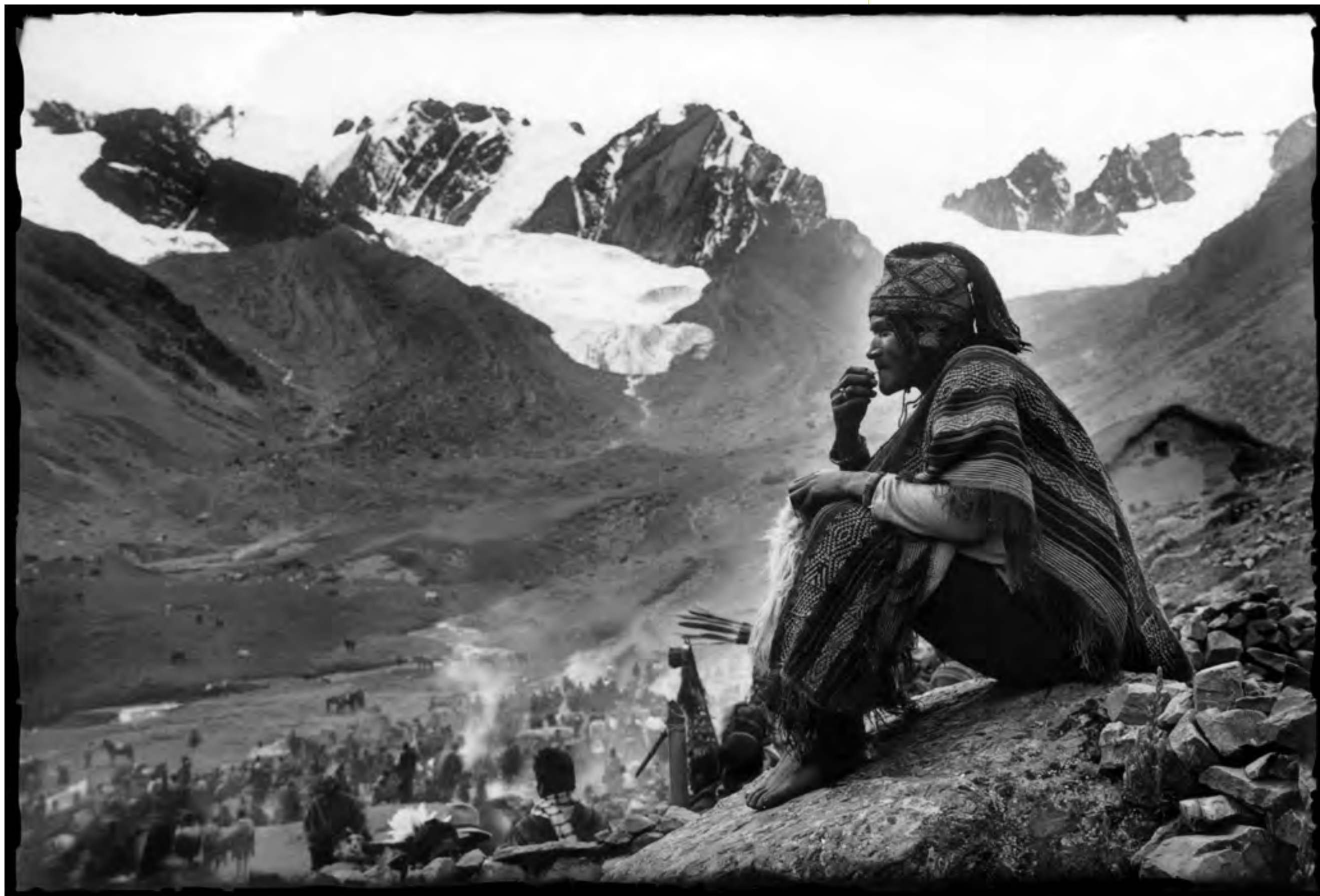
Quechua *(1891–1973)*

Indigenism is a difficult and slippery concept. Its meaning is determined according to the cultural and scientific perspective of the person using the concept. For example, to a European, Indigenous cultures are fascinating because of the exoticism related to their millennial cultures and "precarious" ways of life. To a scientist from the United States, the seduction of that which is Indigenous and its archeological vestiges is the stuff of "great discoveries." And so, the different readings of Indigenous cultures have a perspective that is cut off from reality and frequently elaborated from outside. But what happens when an Indigenous person looks at his own world?

Once in a long while a local genius is born—from the Indigenous culture in southern Andean Peru in this case—who questions his identity. Martín Chambi was one of these, from Indigenous roots, a Quechua speaker, a mestizo who carried a European camera in his hands, recording the most relevant aspects of his cultural environment, the bourgeoisie as well as Indigenous communities, both sectors of enormous anthropological and photographic interest. So what did Chambi think of these social and cultural aspects of Peru? Did Chambi intend to vindicate the Indigenous people? How did he resolve the Indigenist theme in his photography, keeping in mind that he conceived of his country, Peru, as a broad, complex cultural continent that could not be reduced to solely the Indigenous sector? How can we "see" his photos properly if we do not contemplate the historical and personal aspects that influenced the creation of his photographic body of work? Chambi was Indigenous, mestizo, and European, and with this richness discovered a way to look at what is human beyond color, language, and clothing.

Teo Allain Chambi, Quechua
Statement by Andrés Garay Albújar

El Gigante de Paruro y Victor Mendívil (The Giant of Paruro and Victor Mendívil), Cusco, 1925



Peregrino en Qoillor ritti (Person on a Pilgrimage to Qoillor ritti), Ocongate, Cusco, 1935

Opposite Top: *Músicos Populares en el Estudio (Folk Musicians in the Studio),* Cusco, 1934
Opposite Bottom: *Qôrilazos de Chumbivilcas,* Cusco, 1944

Bertha Felix Campigli

Coast Miwok
(1882–1949)

A View of Our Home: Photographic Recollections of a Tomales Bay Indian Family

What I know about my mom's life at Tomales Bay (in western Marin County, north of San Francisco), I learned at the kitchen table playing card games or listening to her talk and laugh with relatives. Deeply imprinted on me is how much they loved to laugh and how each possessed lightening-speed wit to deliver one-liners that jumped from one to another, each topping the last. I can still hear my Aunt Jill, "Hey Liz, remember the time when…" and the laughter would begin.

A View of Our Home, Tomales Bay, Calif., ca. 1940, courtesy of the Elizabeth Campigli Harlan Family Photograph Collection

My mother (Elizabeth Josephine Campigli, 1925–1998) and her seven brothers and sisters grew up surrounded by a large extended family and life on the bay. One of my mother's favorite memories was of following her dad, Arnold Campigli (Swiss Italian, 1890–1976) as they dug for clams. She loved to crack open a clam, wash the sand off in the bay, and eat it right there on the beach.

As women, my mom and her sisters wore vibrant colors that deepened their brown skin. Their hands were always dressed with diamond rings and red polished nails. As girls they wore boots ordered from Sears Roebuck by my grandfather and usually resoled by him. Their boots were sensible footwear for the morning trek up the dirt (and sometimes mud) road to their one-room schoolhouse, Pierce Point School.

My family's stories moved with energy and imagery. I can't remember the details. I can only invoke the feelings that would swirl around us like the smoke from their lit cigarettes. I wish I could dream the stories back. Stories that required quiet moments, my mother sharing them at the kitchen table as we played gin rummy. These were the stories about loss, racism, and poverty. These were the stories that would explain why my mom was a fighter—quick to strike with a penetrating stare or words—powerful enough to diminish any man or woman.

My family called themselves "Tomales Bay" Indians rather than their formal identifier of Coast Miwok. My grandmother Bertha Marcella Felix (Coast Miwok, 1882–1949) and her extended family lived in homes built by her grandfather on two neighboring coves at Lairds Landing across the bay from Marshall. My mother's house is still standing at the cove. The other family house is long gone. My grandmother remembered the family moved from Nicasio by horse and wagon to Lairds Landing. Not much was said about the move. My mom was a child when her mother told her, and my grandmother was a child at the time of the move. History tells us that after Coast Miwok people were no longer needed to build and labor in the Catholic missions, they were granted land in Nicasio by a San Rafael church. By the mid-1800s, the remaining Coast Miwok families were booted out of Nicasio.* Maybe that's when my grandmother moved to Lairds Landing. Maybe Lairds Landing was my family's original home before Spain wanted Mission San Francisco de Asís (Mission Dolores), Mission San Rafael Arcángel, and Mission San Francisco de Solano built. I do know my mother learned to speak Spanish from her mother. It's only now that I realize her ability to speak Spanish may have been a remnant from mission life.

Bertha Felix Campigli, Tomales Bay, California (Coast Miwok), ca. 1940, courtesy of the Elizabeth Campigli Harlan Family Photograph Collection

After my grandmother passed in 1949, my grandpa and my mom's brother Victor Sousa (1903–1966, a half-brother from a previous marriage of their mother) continued to live at the old house. This ended in 1955 when Vic was served with eviction papers. A dairy rancher declared he owned the land. Vic fought back. Family and friends testified that the land belonged to the Felix family long before the rancher settled into Tomales Bay. Since there were no paper documents to support ownership, however, Vic lost. My grandfather came to live with us in Napa and Vic moved to Santa Rosa and died soon after, in 1966.

When I was a child my mom and dad would go for long drives out to the bay. When we drove through Marshall, they would point across the water and talk about the house. My dad would always ask, "Do you want to stop by?" My mom would shake her head no. Nothing else would be said, as I watched from the backseat of our car. We would meander down Highway 1 to visit with my mom's niece Virgie (Virginia Jensen) at her oyster company in Hamlet.

*See the website of the Federated Indians of Graton Racheria (Coast Miwok and Southern Pomo), www.gratonrancheria.com/ourpeople.htm.

Sisters, Tomales Bay, 1933, Gilda Pozzi, Elaine Pozzi, Bertha Morse (daughter of Perfecta Felix and sister to Bertha Campigli), and Elizabeth Campigli, all are Coast Miwok, courtesy of the Elizabeth Campigli Harlan Family Photograph Collection

My family took lots of photographs of the ranch, family gatherings, and favorite pets. The photograph of the ranch has a handwritten note that reads "A View of Our Home, Tomales Bay, Calif." When I read the inscription, I feel the love of the land from the writer and a mournful sorrow over its loss. The ranch is now part of the Point Reyes National Seashore. The park at one time planned to apply for the area to be listed on the Park Service's National Register of Historic Places as an early Coast Miwok settlement. By some accounts my family lived at Lairds Landing since 1830 and others say 1880. I say my mother's ancestral homeland is Tomales Bay and predates any immigrant rancher, foreign occupier, or fledgling government.

Local West Marin artist Clayton Lewis lived at the house until his death in 1995. His family wanted the land dedicated to him. The Park Service is still unsure of what it will do with the ranch. In the meantime, our family's ranch still sits across the bay from Marshall and now I point at it—as I drive by.

Theresa Harlan
Adopted by John and Elizabeth Harlan,
she is Santo Domingo and Jemez
Pueblo by birth.

Victor Nicolas Sousa, Tomales Bay (Coast Miwok), ca. 1940, eldest son of Bertha and Lawrence Sousa, courtesy of the Elizabeth Campigli Harlan Family Photograph Collection

Our Present...

Dugan Aguilar

Paiute/Pit River/Maidu

I am honored to be a part of this exhibition. As time has gone by, my thoughts about photography have been changing—not too far from where I started, but to other aspects of my life and family. Maybe I have been able to get back to my beginnings with this show. I have rekindled the feelings I had when I first started to document the people and places that I love. The title of this show, *Our People, Our Land, Our Images*, has brought me back.

The print *Leonard Lowry, Grand Marshall* is my tribute to my people. I photographed my Uncle Leonard, one of the most decorated Native American soldiers in U.S. history, when he was the grand marshall of the Lassen County Fair parade in my hometown of Susanville. The mural behind him was painted by artists Jean LaMarr and Jack Mallotte, and depicts some of the prominent Native Americans of the area, including my great-grandmother, Susie Evans.

Another photo is of Mimi Mullins and her great-granddaughter, Brandy, when Mimi was honored as grand marshall of the Gold Diggers Parade of Greenville. This photo of Mimi, 101, graced the cover of Heyday Books's publication ***Deeper Than Gold: A Guide to Indian Life in the Sierra Foothills***.

The last photo shows the sun's mystic highlights on the surface of the ancient spiritual lake of the Mountain Maidu, Jom Sidonum Picani. In this special place beats the heart of my people.

Mimi Mullens and Brandy, 1997

Leonard Lowry, 1998

Jom Sidonum Picani, 2004

Sister Star, Virginia Whipple, 2003

Sama Alshaibi

Iraqi/Palestinian

What is most denied to Palestinians by the international media is the ability to communicate their own story to a world that noted scholar Edward Said described as "hypnotized by a mythological Zionist narrative of an empty Palestine." In effect, Palestinians have been denied the "permission to narrate" their own story. We have been historically powerless to combat propaganda that asserts that Palestine was an empty land waiting for the return of Jews persecuted in Europe for centuries. The creation of the state of Israel in 1948 resulted in the expulsion of 800,000 out of the 900,000 Palestinians rooted in the region for nearly one thousand years. Subsequent wars/Intifadas and occupation have led to 4 million Palestinians and their descendants now living in Diaspora. Millions more have been internally displaced within their own country. The media's largest triumph, however, is the reduction of the Palestinian persona into a single crude terrorist "body."

My work is based on narratives of my family's forced migration from Palestine, to Iraq, and then to America, and culminates with my own return to Palestine, the land we as Arabs are forbidden to enter. The work forms a discourse that complicates accepted and official history. As witnesses to history, my family's memories act as personal testimony that objects to the effacement of events that have shaped geography and modern-day politics.

By utilizing the graffiti writing style over the pregnant belly (a symbol of our future), the work alludes to the architectural walls inside the West Bank, where a dialogue of written protest takes place. These writings act as discussions, declarations, and documentation of life under occupation. The writing on the surface of my skin connects my body in the United States to the surfaces of our land, Palestine. Excerpts of poems from noted Palestinian poets capture our voice of determination and longing. My work, based on my family's exile, uses the body as a symbol, the retrospective witness that links our present to a time before we were refugees, exiles, and "terrorists." As such, it defies attempts to obliterate our history and who we collectively are.

Olives from Gaza: the bitter dream, 2004

Headdress of the Disinherited, 2004

Return, 2004

In My Country's Embrace, 2004

Pena Bonita

Apache/Seminole

Apaches in Manhattan

It seems much of my work has to do with matters of recording the lives and travails of family. The camera documents fragments that are connected to our understandings of time and place. Nowadays, it seems like a documentation of the growing mechanization of our lives. When trying to make sense of clichés, chaos, and formal training, it seems necessary to break down fixed boundaries and explore the relationship between the real world and the point of inquiry as seen though the lens.

If there's any overriding theme coming from photography of natives, it's this: we are nomads.

Chief Clay of Central Park Tribe, 2006

Apache Fire, 2006

Skywalker, 2006

Tomorrow's Promise, 2006

Teo Allain Chambi

Quechua

The magic that one perceives in the city of Cusco has, without a doubt, historic roots. Cusco was the city the Incas made flourish as the capital of a grand empire whose territorial and cultural extent included the entire Andes mountain range and reigned over hundreds of peoples and communities in the sierra as well as the Pacific coast.

The cultural and historic richness of Cusco can cause all kinds of speculation and imagination to overflow just through the contemplation of the monumental character of its Incan architecture, which is the urban foundation of the city. One can even feel the energy of the stones, the strength of history, and the weight of time.

Nevertheless, we rarely comprehend that those who made this beauty and culture possible were human beings with traditions and ways of life so deeply rooted that they were transmitted from generation to generation. And if history is now presented as distant and romantic, as an object to be studied and always with interpretive controversies, it is important to point out that the history of civilizations is the history of people. The photographs of Teo Allain Chambi situate us precisely on this border, where history is adjacent to the future. His photos are constructed between the past and the future; he presents us with the daily life of the people who are the direct descendents of a world that only speaks to a few through stones and legends. With Teo's photos, the stones are not simply historic stones but are living people who reveal a time past that they make present through musical inspiration, who revisit their present steps in their own wanderings through the mountains; we are before people who take care to solemnify their dead, that is, their own histories.

En el cementerio (In the cemetery), Paucartambo, Cusco, 1989

It can't be easy to photograph in Cusco, unless one wants to achieve a tourist postcard image. This is not Teo's idea, since his images have not been categorized as touristic but rather as visual and artistic documents. Teo is Cusqueño, and his gaze responds to an intimacy, to a search for the sound that comes from the drums and the *quenas*, from the noise and the fiestas, from the group and from being alone; it is a gaze that is symbolized by a boy in an ancestor's regalia. His photographs emanate from the historic through the portraits of other Cusqueños, but these images do not show the obviation of the vestigial but rather the potential of a future. Hence his photographs are reinforced with two layers: the historic anchor provided by the surroundings themselves, and this horizon of modernity provided by his own gaze.

Andrés Garay Albujar

Músicos en el Ande (Musicians of the Andes), Cotabambas, Apurímac, 1985

Opposite Top: *Niña en Cotabambas (Girl in Cotabambas)*, Cusco, 1985
Opposite Bottom: *Niño "ukuko" en las nieves de Qoillor ritti (Boy "ukuko" in the snow of Qoillor ritti)*, Cusco, 1992