

THE ART OF WORK AND THE WORK OF ART: BECOMING AN ARTIST AND PRACTICING ART IN YUP'IK ESKIMO ALASKA

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Abstract: The Western conception of art for art's sake does not necessarily apply to many of today's indigenous artists. Most commonly, such artists learn their craft from family members in a small village; later they often move to the city where they have access to different buyers and where they come into contact with other artists and types of artwork. In this paper, I use the case study of one Yup'ik Eskimo artist to reflect on these issues. Born, brought up, and trained by family members in the rural community of Hooper Bay, she moved into Anchorage as a student and stayed on after graduation to take advantage of the greater opportunities in the city. In her own words, she describes her family art training and considers the effect of city living on her work as she grew more confident of her abilities. Overall, she might be said to have moved from an artist who made work largely for economic reasons, to one who more closely approximates a Western art professional for whom the satisfactions of creativity are uppermost.

Keywords: Yup'ik Eskimo Art, Art and Economics; Urbanization and Acculturation, Anthropology of Work, Anthropology of Art

Introduction

"Artists," as Stuart Plattner (1996:78) points out, "face the existential problem of making a living as well as making art." Since the rise of humanism and its attendant emphasis on the individual, however, one of the loftiest imperatives of Western culture has been that a true artist is one whose commitment to creativity somehow transcends the economic realities governing other human enterprises (Plattner 1996). Explicitly or implicitly, we measure the value of art by the extent to which an artist privileges his or her allegiance to the creative spirit above economic necessity. In his insightful analysis of the St. Louis art world, Plattner (1996) classifies artists into three groups according to the prominence of economics in their lives. "High-art" artists adhere most strictly to the "art over money" norm; "business artists" are willing to sacrifice cultural significance in their work to the realities of generating an income; and "hobbyist artists" invest so little time and energy into making art that economic gain is relatively inconsequential (Plattner 1996:79).

Native American artists are one group for whom Plattner's art/money analysis is insufficiently descriptive. Most¹ fall under the rubric of business artist because they, too, are governed by economic necessity, yet, for a variety of reasons that I will consider here, the relationship between earning a livelihood and creativity is more complicated among Native American business artists. Artistic freedom, pricing, and access to raw materials are a few of the reasons. The cultural biography of one such artist, Rosalie Bunyan-Serovy, a Yup'ik Eskimo from southwest Alaska, offers a rich case study in which to examine the interplay of art and money among Native American artists more generally. This article is dedicated to my close colleague and friend, Mikhail Bronshtein, and overlaps with his research in its focus on the art of the arctic and the artists who create it (cf. Bronshtein et al. 2002).

¹This analysis does not include the small number of Native American artists who have joined the world art system through going to art school, having dealers, selling their work in galleries, and becoming subject to mainstream art criticism (cf. Graburn 1999:347-350).



Fig. 1: Hooper Bay, May 1980. Photograph by James Barker.

Hooper Bay: the Setting

Hooper Bay, Alaska, the Yup'ik Eskimo village where Rosalie Bunyan was born (Fig.1), is a community of some 1,500 people located in the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta of southwestern Alaska. The Y-K Delta, as it is known familiarly across Alaska, is almost certainly the least acculturated region of the state if not the US. Located at the edge of the shallow, muddy Bering Sea, Hooper Bay is situated in the low-lying country between the mouths of the Yukon and Kuskokwim rivers, an area laced with streams and rivers and offering abundant fish and wildlife for subsistence activities. Because of the shallowness of the Bering Sea, the village (known as *Naparyarmiut* in the Central Yup'ik language), was virtually inaccessible by the Russian, then American, ships that plied northern waters during the 19th century. The earliest explorer to leave a description of the settlement was Smithsonian ethnologist Edward Nelson who, in 1878, identified it as Askinuk and reported that its residents "..... ran out at our approach, unharnessed our dogs ... and carried our bedding into the [community house] with the greatest goodwill" (Nelson 1899:297).

Compared to other parts of Alaska, the Y-K Delta is not only isolated but also poor. Subsistence hunting and fishing are the most stable source of food, but harvesting the catch requires expensive equipment such as guns, boats and snow machines and the fuel to run them (Hensel 1999). According to the US 2000 Census, the yearly median household income in Hooper Bay is about \$27,000 and unemployment there can reach as high as 37%; 50% or more of Hooper Bay's households receive some form of welfare, and most are still without running water or sewer hookups (US Census 2000).

These grim statistics, however, tell only part of the story. Long a center of cultural and artistic richness, Nelson and other 19th century ethnologists found Hooper Bay a fertile site for collecting Yup'ik Eskimo artifacts. There, Nelson traded glass beads and other imported goods for masks, fur clothing, snuff boxes, ivory and trade-bead jewelry, sleds and memorial grave posts (Nelson 1899:966). Today, the village is famous for its finely coiled grass baskets; its distinctive masks were danced in ceremonies well into the 20th century.



Fig. 2: Rosalie Bunyan, Bethel, Alaska, April 2003. Photograph by James Barker.

Becoming an Artist in a Yup'ik Eskimo Village

Rosalie Bunyan was born 47 years ago in Hooper Bay into a family of artists (Fig. 2). Her grandfather, George Bunyan, was a shaman and, like many of this profession, was a famous mask maker (Bunyan-Serovy 2003, personal communication; Fienup-Riordan 1996:290) (Fig. 3). Her father, Dick, was also a great artist and made the last traditional Hooper Bay kayak in the 1980s (Zimmerly 2000:44-45; Fig.4). To keep himself and his family afloat in the mixed cash-and-subsistence economy characteristic of rural Alaska, Dick Bunyan made and sold artifacts to visiting school teachers and health aids or on infrequent trips to Anchorage, over 1000 km miles away. Rose says:²

I used to watch my dad when he made stuff...Like, he carved wooden bowls and ladles and masks and snow goggles. And then I also watched him carve ivory story knife [pp. 7-8] And then if somebody wanted something, maybe my sisters would tell him, that certain people wanted stuff [p. 11].

Rosalie's artistic education followed the standard Eskimo style of learning—through-watching rather than the Socratic method of instruction typical of post-industrialized cultures. The Eskimo method requires that children observe—and observe so acutely that they can often perform a task adequately on the first try. As adults, they often recount these experiences. Rosalie tells the following story in which Dick Bunyan's role as a mentor in his daughter's artistic development is evident:

I always followed him around, wherever he went [she recalls], And then one day he wanted to go gathering some wood. I must have been about maybe six. And I said, Can I come with you? And he said, No, you're gonna make me go slow. And I said, I can run, and I won't make you go slow. And he said, You're gonna get tired. I never get tired. And then he said, You're gonna get cold. And I said, I won't get cold, I have a parka. And he said, Boy, you have an answer for everything. So he let me follow him along. And I ran. I didn't want to slow him down. And I was panting and he says,

²This and all quoted material that follows are drawn from the transcript of my interview with Rosalie Bunyan-Serovy held in Bethel, Alaska on April 4, 2003. Pages are cited in brackets following the transcript manuscript notation.



Fig. 3: George Bunyan, Rosalie's grandfather, 1946. Photograph by Alfred Millotte.

Are you tired? I said, No. So we stopped and rest. And then we got to the beach ... And then I was playing and there was something that the waves had brought in ..., and I got scared. I saw it and I said, Dad, what is that over there? And he got his binoculars, What is that? And [he] said, Let's

go see ...what it is. And my heart was pounding. And we got there, it was a little walrus. And the last thing that I remember was he was chopping the head off. And so many years after that, after I moved to Anchorage and started carving, my dad sent me this box; it had some walrus teeth and a small little tusk. So I cut the tusk up and carved it. And then when I went to Hooper Bay, he gave me the other side of the tusk, and then the rest of the walrus teeth. And he goes, Do you remember where this came from? And I said, no. That was the one that you had found when you were only a little girl [pp. 5-6].



Fig. 4: Dick Bunyan, Rosalie's father, bending a kayak rib, 1976. Photograph by David Zimmerly.

Rosalie is an artist of greater range than normal for someone trained in an indigenous culture, where divisions of labor between the sexes are standard (Teilhet 1977). She sews coiled grass baskets and furs - woman's work - but also carves wood and ivory and makes masks, occupations that by and large are left to men. Her life circumstances explain this unusual range. When she was four or five, her mother died, leaving Dick Bunyan to raise his children alone. Rosalie

remembers worrying about mastering the skills that would be required of her later as a Yup'ik woman:

Whenever I got together with my cousins, we sewed grass. That's where I learned to make baskets. And then I learned how to do skin sewing by watching the elderly women [p. 6].... Whenever I went to my friend's house, whenever I've seen their mother sewing, I would watch them because I was worried about when I got older, I wanted to know how. I was thinking I got to learn how to sew because if I -- if I get older and I have a husband, I don't want people to think that I'm dumb because I didn't know how to sew [pp. 8-9].

At the same time, though, Rosalie was mastering the skills of mask-making, a decidedly male art form:

[My dad] made about a dozen masks one time. Wooden masks. And when he painted them, I was ... maybe 12 years old. ... And I said I can help you paint them ... I know how. I seen some wooden masks that were painted. And so he goes, Well, if she knows how, do it. And so then so he let me help him paint it [p. 11].

Developing an Artistic Career

After finishing elementary school in Hooper Bay, Rosalie moved into Anchorage to live with her sister and attend high school, graduating in 1977. A year or so later she dropped out of community college to become an artist:

...When I was a little girl I used to think some day when I grow older, I'm going to make stuff and sell them and make my money that way. And then I forgot all about it ... And then one of my friends said, You should work for yourself, and I was thinking how am I going to do that [p. 10]?

It was then that she first took up ivory carving, an art form at which both her father and grandfather had excelled:

The very first time that I ever worked with ivory was a walrus ivory tooth. I sanded it all by hand. And made it real smooth. And I made that into a necklace... I might have been 19...Then after that, I did some scrimshaw on walrus slabs. And then made little Eskimo figurines with walrus teeth [p. 22].

Unlike most Alaska Native artists, for whom consumer expectations largely govern output, Rosalie traveled to the beat of her own drummer:

I made what I wanted. I first started doing... a lot of little figurines, and then after about ... a year or two, I decided to make Eskimo dolls. My very first Eskimo doll that I had made was when I was a little girl somewhere around six, seven, eight years old... [It] was made... from the -- the cover of [a] ...homemade blanket... I stuffed it with the scraps from the material that I had cut out. And for the hair, I used that imitation fur off of my jacket... And... that was my first one [p.14].

Before long, Rosalie combined her doll-making and ivory-carving skills to create an ivory-faced doll of her own invention (Fig. 5):

...When I started making the ivory face dolls, ... I made them with ivory feet and ivory hands ...I had to really think about it. I had invested into... fur, leather, and ivory, and I sat [on them] for a few years ...I wanted to use my materials wisely And so I drew my own patterns [p. 15].

The doll was so successful that it won Best of Show at the Anchorage Fur Rendezvous craft sale several years ago. Dick Bunyan was especially proud of his daughter's ivory carving abilities and encouraged the high standards of workmanship for which Eskimo artists have long been known:

He -- he was really proud and when he first seen me start making my ivory face dolls, he would watch me for hours and he would tell me always -- always try to do a good job. And don't -- don't rush when you're, doing your work [p. 9].

Still, after some time, she grew dissatisfied:

...I decided ... I'm tired of making the same thing over and over, so I'm going to build up my inventory, starting with a small something, like the earrings or necklaces...I want people that can't afford much, to have something when ... they go to the shows, [so] they can take something home. ..It took me a few years to build that [inventory] up. And now that there's enough small stuff, I decided I better start making the big stuff [again] [p. 17].



Fig. 5: Rosalie with one of her ivory-headed dolls, April 2003. Photograph by James Barker.



Fig. 6: Edna Mathlaw shows Anthropologists Chase Hensel, Phyllis Morrow, and Molly Lee goods for sale at the Camai Craft Fair, Bethel, April 2003. Photograph by James Barker.

She has now begun to do just that, experimenting with ivory bas reliefs, and scrimshandered³ tusks and baleen strips. She hopes to begin on a full-sized Hooper Bay-style mask like her grandfather's sometime soon.

Selling Her Work

Urban-based artists such as Rosalie have a variety of venues in which to sell their work. Like many, Rosalie began by marketing her ivory-faced dolls at flea markets around Anchorage. She sold out several times and then decided to move up a notch to participate in the cycle of arts-and-crafts fairs held annually in Alaska's regional and urban centers (Fig. 6). Crafts-fair participation represents a more serious commitment on the part of an artist as it requires a cash investment of a hundred dollars or more for renting table space. So an artist must be confident that he or she can make that back and more. Rosalie does well from the sale of her handmade Yup'ik ivory and bead jewelry. Her ivory-faced dolls sell out so fast she cannot keep them in stock (Fig. 5). Always concerned to deepen public perceptions of Alaska Native art, she likes to bring with her to craft fairs unfinished

dolls she is working on and plans to enter in competitions later. She enjoys showing them to customers even in their unfinished state. But if she does that, there are sometimes unintended consequences, as she explains:

[When I do that, my] dolls don't make it to the show, [she says], most of the time, I bring them... not to sell them, but to show them, and they buy them, and then I don't have anything for [later] shows [p. 18].

Several years ago, Rosalie decided to try her hand at retail. The death of her father, Dick, in 1989, was a severe blow, and she decided to make a change:

I couldn't concentrate on my dolls after he was gone. So I asked my friend at the One People Gift Shop... She always asked me if I wanted to work for her. And so I worked with her for a few months to get over [his death] [p. 21].

³To apply scrimshaw to a surface.



Fig. 7: Rosalie Bunyan and her husband, Jim Serovy, Bethel, Alaska, April 2003. Photograph by James Barker.

Later on, deciding to strike out on her own, Rosalie opened a small shop in midtown Anchorage where she planned to sell only her own work. Soon, though, she discovered that keeping the shelves stocked with what she, herself, had made was running her into the ground.

When I first opened, I was gonna just fill it up with my own work... And it was getting close to Christmas and people were placing their custom orders, I got busy right away...When I did the shows, I told them where I was and people started placing their orders. .. Around Christmastime, I would work until two o'clock in the morning. I would open up at 10:00. And as soon as I opened, I would start sewing. And then I was thinking, boy, if I keep making my own stuff, I'll always have empty shelves... I've got to do something... So I started buying, my relatives' works... And then...sometimes tourists would come [in and say] I'm going to go fishing in Homer, I'm going to be back in three days. I want an Eskimo doll like that. And...I would be working all night... before they came and pick up their stuff. And after they picked up their stuff, I would go to bed [p. 29].

When Rosalie married Jim Serovy in 1997, she gave up the shop and moved with him to Glennallen, a community about two hours' drive from Anchorage (Fig. 7). As often the case with Alaska Native artists, Rosalie has found Jim's influence on her career and his encouragement in following her own path to be critical (Bydalek 2006:7). At one point, someone teaching marketing had suggested that Native artists provide certificates of authenticity with their work (Fig. 8). Jim helped Rosalie write hers and edited it on their computer. At his urging, she also began numbering her dolls and got together a book of family photographs to show potential customers, especially tourists.

After experimenting with different sales approaches, Rosalie seems to have settled on the crafts shows as the best venue for her work, especially as it brings her into contact with her customers:

I like to do shows because I like meeting people and seeing people that I know, [especially because] when I work at home, I work from morning way into the night [p. 19].

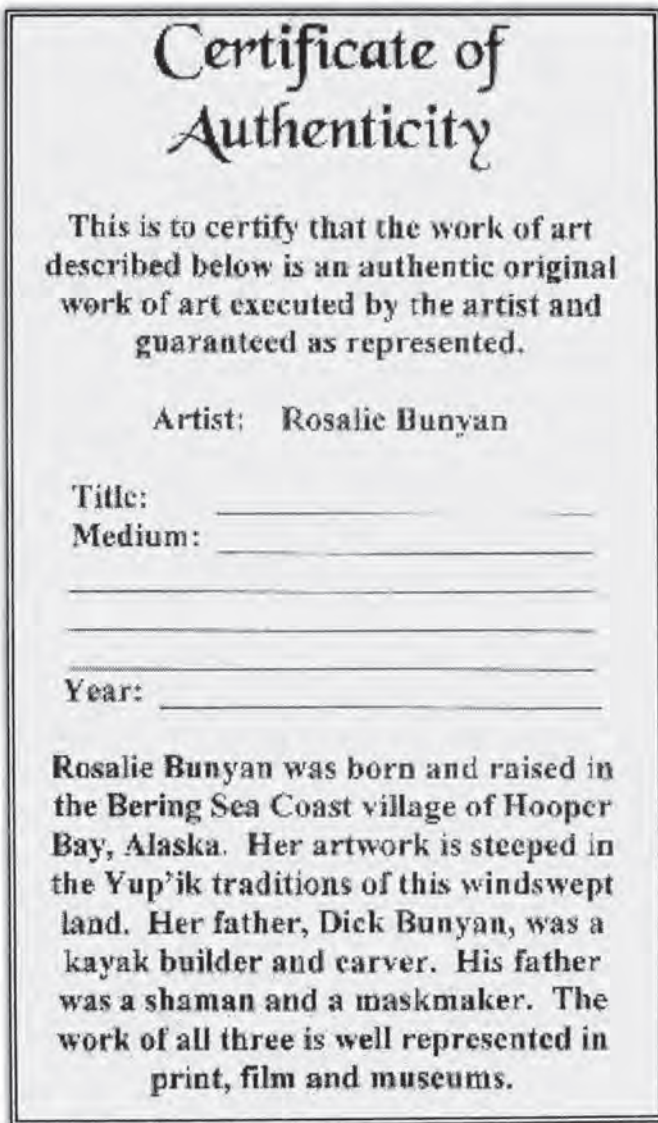


Fig. 8: Rosalie's certificate of authenticity designed by Jim Serovy. Photograph by Angela J. Linn.

Hard though the work may be, she still finds it rewarding:

I like working on everything that I do. ..[she reflects,] When I think about it, I love to do arts and crafts [p. 34].

Discussion

If we are to define work as “purposive activity directed toward meeting physical and social needs satisfying to those who either produce or consume goods and services” (Nash 1984:45), then business artists—those whose para-

mount need is to make a living even if it means sacrificing some amount of creativity—are doing work as well as making art. With the exception of those who go to art school and become part of the world art system, most Alaska Native artists, including Rosalie, fall into the business-artist category. Before her marriage, Rosalie was among the 17% of Alaska Native artists whose sole support was her work (Bydalek 2006:6). Yet there are a number of special circumstances that Native American business artists share. For one thing, the choice of items they can make and sell is far more limited than is that of a mainstream business artist. For Native Americans, selling art means creating something that is ethnically identifiable, either because it is made out of exotic materials or because it resembles a prototype that buyers associate with Native Americans generally or, as in the case of Rosalie, a particular sub-group (Graburn 1999:347). Rosalie's ivory-faced dolls are a good example. They are made from ivory and fur, both of which collectors associate with Eskimo/Inuit culture. When Rosalie tired of making them she shifted to beadwork and other identifiable object types, that are identifiably Eskimo; if she wants to sell her work, she must conform to this expectation.

Another problem faced by Native American artists trying to make a living out of selling art is that the option of mass production is not open to them. A mainstream ceramicist can switch from making hand-molded coffee mugs to making others in less time-consuming techniques and still attract buyers. Native American business artists, however, do not have this latitude. Beyond its identifiable ethnicity, the single most important feature of a Native American artwork is authenticity. As Rosalie's descriptions of developing her ivory-faced doll reveal, to be authentic³ the work of art must not only look “ethnic” but must also look handmade. Some years ago, Rosalie's husband, Jim, wishing to attract more high-end customers for his wife, printed out certificates of authenticity for Rosalie to attach to her art works. They also put together a family album with photographs of Rosalie's father and grandfather for Rose to take with her to selling venues to establish that she came from a family of Yup'ik Eskimo artists.

A third factor differentiating mainstream and Native American business artists is the difficulty and expense of obtaining raw materials and its reflection in the relatively high price they must charge to make a profit. This is especially true for urban-dwelling Alaska Native artists. Rather than requiring only a trip to the hobby shop, obtaining raw materials such as sealskin, basket grass, or ivory, necessitates

³To qualify an artist must submit documentation proving that he or she has no less than 1/4 Alaska Native blood quantum; is a tribal or Native Corporation member; resides in the state of Alaska; and is producing items for sale that are made primarily of natural materials. The program, administered by the Alaska State Council on the Arts, distributes annually 150 Silver Hand tags to eligible artists to attach to their work of art (Alaska State Council on the Arts 2006).

an expensive trip home or a family member who can secure these materials off the land and is willing to send or bring them to town. Because of the high cost of raw materials, souvenir buyers often find the price of Alaska Native art prohibitive. Instead, as often as not (Bydalek 2006:6), the buyers are Alaska residents who understand the market forces that are at work in the setting of such high prices.

Another problem differentiating Native American business artists is finding a profitable location for selling their work. This, of course, is dramatically different for Alaska Native rural- and urban-based artists and a compelling reason why many of them move to town. For the most part, selling art in the Alaskan bush is more haphazard and less profitable than in an urban center. In the Y-K Delta, the biggest unknown is travel. Scattered around the Yukon-Kuskokwim Delta and Calista corporate region are some 50 villages ranging in size from 41 inhabitants in the community of Platinum to 1,500 or so in Hooper Bay, excluding the 6,000 people in Bethel, the Y-K Delta regional center. Travel between nearby villages—by boat in the summer and snow machine in the winter—is routine, but almost none are reachable from the outside except by air and it is remoteness, more than size that characterizes rural Alaskan communities.

If Rosalie had chosen to remain in Hooper Bay, marketing her work would follow a distinctly different trajectory than in town. In most bush communities, the non-Native school teachers are the only local market. Art-making villagers sometimes travel to regional or urban centers, most often for health-related concerns: their travel is generally paid by one of the social service agencies. If so, they often take arts and crafts with them to sell at gift shops or to non-Natives they encounter. This is relatively infrequent, though, because of the cost.⁴

In rural Alaska, it is more common for arts-and-crafts consumers to come to the artist. In general, there are virtually no tourists in isolated southwestern villages. Instead, the buyers are people whose work brings them there, like construction workers, visiting nurses or dentists, a school-district representative, or a TV repairman. Whatever their profession, it is an unusual day when a flight from Bethel, the regional center in southwest Alaska, skids to a stop on the gravel air strip of a village without disgorging at least one potential consumer of arts and crafts.

In the bush, Artist-consumer transactions are easily arranged. In a small village, word of a visitor's arrival quickly

spreads. No sooner have they stowed their gear at the school⁵ than there is a knock on the door. An artist has come to sell a pair of ivory and baleen earrings or a colorful grass basket. Failing such encounters, seasoned outsiders in search of arts and crafts walk to the village store and make an announcement on the CB (Citizen's Band) radio to advise the community of their interest.

The transition from making art on the local level to developing the artistic repertoire and social skills requisite to the more cosmopolitan setting of Anchorage is no small feat. Rosalie undoubtedly learned hard lessons about the larger world after her move to Anchorage as a teenager. After a small village school, a large metropolitan high school is an experience that has sent many young Alaska Natives into a hasty retreat for home. But watching Rosalie interacting with her non-Native customers today suggests she has put the skills she picked up in school to good use. While confining herself to object types within the range of those associated with Native art in the minds of Western consumers, Rosalie has nonetheless remained flexible enough to experiment, and to have developed at least one specialty, her ivory-faced doll, uniquely her own. Through her non-Native husband, she has also developed marketing strategies—the certificate of authenticity, numbering her pieces, the photograph album—appealing to mainstream buyers in their search for the unique, the exotic and the authentic.

Another factor that is different for Rosalie in Anchorage than it would be in Hooper Bay is pricing her work. Pricing Native art in rural Alaska is largely an individual concern. In Eskimo culture generally there is a reticence about personal matters that is born of respect. Artists seem to figure out what the market will bear by trial and error, though they might discuss it with a close relative. Consequently, prices tend to be all over the map, though a reasonable estimate would be 30% to 50% lower than what Rosalie can get in Anchorage or in other urban areas. One common problem in selling their work is that Alaska Natives charge too much because they do not understand the economic realities of urban marketing, where the price of artifacts is routinely doubled to allow for overhead costs such as rent and electricity. Rosalie may be an urban-based artist, but her training was decidedly rural. Her recollections of how she learned her trade and of the standards she brings to it is in many ways typical of someone who learned to make art in a non-market, in an economy in transition away from a non-market-based system. In such groups, education takes place in kin-based settings (Applebaum 1984:9; Weltfish 1979:226); from this

⁴In January, 2007, a round-trip ticket from Bethel to Scammon Bay is \$288, a distance of about 240 km (<http://www.state.ak.us/admin/dgs/cam/pdf/12fares.pdf>). On a web special the cost of a round-trip ticket from Fairbanks to Seattle, a trip almost 15 times the distance, can on occasion cost roughly the same amount.

⁵In Alaska, the village schools are the social hub of the community. Generally speaking they accommodate visiting personnel in rooms set aside for that purpose; sometimes the visitors sleep on the floor of the gymnasium.

perspective, her father's guidance and the inspiration both she and her father received from her grandfather's reputation fall within the acknowledged patterns of such groups. The same could be said of the work habits Dick Bunyan instilled in his daughter. As is the rule in transitional economies, his training was task-oriented, not time-oriented (Applebaum 1984:15). He emphasized taking time to do a job well rather than accomplishing it in a timely fashion, as would probably have been underscored by a mainstream parent. Rosalie's description of her long hours fulfilling special orders certainly lives up to her father's expectations. That a father would encourage a daughter to take up male occupations like wood- and ivory-carving, however, is more unusual. It goes against the accepted norm of the male/female division of labor, which as recently as half a century ago was strictly adhered to in Eskimo/Inuit culture (Giffen 1930). The most likely explanation is that Dick Bunyan, who interacted with visitors and outsiders on a regular basis in the selling of his own work, realized that to make a living as a craftsperson, Rosalie was going to need all the abilities he could provide her with, and that in modern times she was unlikely to be criticized for this transgression.

In conclusion, the case study of Rosalie Bunyan-Serovy contributes to general theory in the economics of cross-cultural art in that it comments on a special sub-group of those Plattner has called "business artists." Most indigenous business artists privilege economics over the cultural significance of their work, but they can be differentiated from mainstream business artists on the basis of their diminished choice of artworks they can sell. They are also different in having the difficulty and expense of obtaining raw materials, the high prices they must charge, and their selling venues. The better connected or more worldly either move into urban Alaska, as Rose did, and sell their work at the annual round of craft shows and/or some gift shop. But there are many who by choice or necessity never leave the village. Lacking the access to funding information for grants and other forms of assistance available to their urban peers (Bydalek 2006:3), they perforce rely on the slow-but-steady parade of school teachers, health and social-service aides, and construction workers for marketing their work. Whichever path they choose, making a living as a Native American artist requires hard work and ingenuity. Native artists in rural Alaska are further hampered by the expense of long-distance travel, and the problems of keeping up with the fluctuating preferences of non-Native collectors and tourists, and absence of any tools to educate their buying public (Bydalek 2006:6). Fortunately, many, such as Rosalie, find that art-making can be financially rewarding if they stay connected to the artistic models provided by their upbringing while at the same time seeking to interpret them in innovative ways. If they succeed,

they can avoid the pitfalls of seeking out occupations that take them ever further from their ties to the past.

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