

# Shaped by the Loom: Weaving Worlds in the American Southwest

Hadley Jensen

I found a new appreciation for the complexities of Navajo weaving when I took a two-week workshop, taught by Lynda Teller Pete and Barbara Teller Ornelas, at Idyllwild Arts Foundation in 2016. As fifth-generation Diné (Navajo) weavers who grew up at the fabled Two Grey Hills Trading Post in northwestern New Mexico, their knowledge of this art form is deep and personal, and has, in turn, enlivened my own understanding of its histories, materials, designs, and techniques. Supported by a Craft Research Fund Project Grant and inspired by historian Pamela H. Smith's work on the Making and Knowing Project, I was interested in exploring what craft knowledge can bring to academia.<sup>1</sup> Crucially, how might Indigenous ways of knowing related to the process of weaving – as art form, cultural practice, and lived experience – deepen one's interpretation of its finished product? After many frustrating and humbling days spent plotting designs with pencil and graph paper, training my unskilled eyes and hands, and learning to accommodate a stiff back and sore fingers, I finally emerged with a small woven piece of my own.



Weaving in process (left) and completed weaving (right), Idyllwild Arts Foundation, 2016.

Photos: Hadley Jensen.

Through that workshop and in our subsequent collaborations, Lynda and Barbara have helped me understand the importance of embodied and sensory craft knowledge, and of the weaver's tacit expertise and material literacy. By engaging in the bodily rhythms of weaving, becoming attuned to the hand feel of different yarns and the distinctive “thump” of the weaving comb (at a different force and pace for every weaver), I learned to both listen and see. I began to recognize the practice of weaving as a way of making knowledge and as a mode of storytelling, even if its capacity for holding and carrying such knowledge is variously conceived and

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understood. The philosopher and historian Etienne Gilson contends that “knowing is making”; these connections between thinking, making, and knowing ultimately became the currents that molded the themes of this exhibition.<sup>2</sup>



Lynda Teller Pete and Barbara Teller Ornelas, first collections consultation with the curator for *Shaped by the Loom*, American Museum of Natural History, New York, 2018. Photos: Hadley Jensen.

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*Shaped by the Loom: Weaving Worlds in the American Southwest* evolved in part from a desire to provide a new thematic and interpretive lens for reconsidering the historic Navajo textile collection at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), New York, largely acquired by anthropology curators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The innate challenges of mounting a physical display of these items alongside the uncertainties created by the COVID-19 pandemic prompted us to consider the advantages offered by an online platform. Although a virtual exhibition precludes the visitor's encounter with the physical "object," it invites greater accessibility, retention, and longevity, particularly for multiple publics and, importantly, for descendent communities. As these ideas developed, it became a more intellectually and curatorially expansive project, relying on several forms of media in an effort to document the ecology of relationships that shape the land-based and relational practices of Navajo weaving. By creating multiple pathways for the website visitor, we hope that this collaborative initiative will provide an immersive experience of the animate landscapes and geographic dynamics of the Navajo Nation.

In service to these ideas, a Navajo dye chart is the "map" for the guided journey of this virtual exhibition, as well as one of its primary points of focus. A kind of visual index or ecosystem of Navajo weaving in miniature, this object (an art form in itself) includes the thoughts, materials, and labor through which weaving is generated and performed. As the conceptual architecture for the site's homepage,



this weblike chart creates nonlinear connections that offer various routes for navigating exhibition content. We consider how the materials and practices of weaving are sustained, adapted, transformed, or reconfigured over time through six thematic sections: Homeland and Cosmology; Ecology; Dyeing and Coloring; Techniques and Technologies; Design Elements; and Value and Exchange. They feature short, catalogue-style essays, written by Bard Graduate Center students in the seminar “Objects of Colonial Encounter: Native Arts of the Southwest and Northwest Coast,” which have been thoughtfully edited and revised.<sup>3</sup> Each “In Focus” section includes approximately three historical items from the AMNH collection placed in conversation with one contemporary work by a Diné artist to demonstrate ongoing engagement with the concepts expressed in each theme.



Isabel Myers-Deschinny (Diné), Navajo dye chart, date unknown. Collection of Ira Jacknis.

Image courtesy the owner.

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In addition to the voices of these student curators and those of the artists and makers cited extensively throughout, we are honored to include Lynda Teller Pete's reflection on what "process" means in her own practice, through an illustrated account of her family's deep history of weaving. A theoretical framework for the project is provided in my essay, "Knowing, Making, Naming," and the late Ira Jacknis details the institutional history of the AMNH's Navajo textile collection in his essay, the first study of its kind to be published on this historic body of work. These essays are accompanied by an online catalogue of approximately two hundred and fifty Navajo weavings from AMNH, providing free and accessible research content to the broadest possible audience of artists, educators, collectors, and scholars. Visitors to *Shaped by the Loom* at the Bard Graduate Center Gallery, New York, will also encounter stunning panoramic views of the Navajo Nation, presented for the first time with 360-degree imaging, with a soundscape by Diné artist Connor Chee. On view from February 17 to July 9, 2023, the physical version of this exhibition provides the opportunity to fully explore the complementary possibilities of the project.

*Shaped by the Loom* is more than an exhibition – it is both a broader curatorial project and a methodology that strives to advance collaborative exhibition practices and enable new forms of scholarship, particularly in response to new digital platforms. It is structured as several distinct parts, all of which work in

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tandem to create a larger narrative about the histories, material cultures, and contemporary expressions of Indigenous weaving traditions in the Southwest. Through its many components, we hope that you become acquainted with a living art form through the voices and stories of its individual makers, situated alongside the perspectives of scholars, students, conservators, traders, and dealers.

To know Navajo weaving, one must also understand the complex network of relationships that sustains a larger world – or ecosystem – of craft production in the American Southwest. By exploring the various modes and contexts of intercultural influence, adaptation, and exchange in the region, we examine the transhistorical conditions for change in this particular medium, and how it is intertwined with materials, objects, and social practices that articulate both cultural and regional identities. With a primary focus on Navajo textiles, comparisons are made with Pueblo and Hispanic weaving traditions to show regional variation in – and transmission of – motifs, materials, techniques, and technologies. Across the region, this world of craft production includes the sheep, the seasonal cycles that guide the harvesting of dye plants, the individual and communal rhythms of making, the cosmologies that inform a weaver's work, and the songs, stories, and prayers that are woven into every rug. *Shaped by the Loom* places Indigenous aesthetics and ways of knowing at the center of Navajo textile production, highlighting the localized and land-based knowledge systems that guide the process behind the finished product. Rather than reifying the “object,” this perspective foregrounds the active

and generative practices – the “current of activity” – that shape and animate this art form.<sup>4</sup> Just as the Navajo language is powerfully verb-oriented, weaving metaphors are equally action-oriented, reflecting the connection between mind, body, and material inherent to the making process.

*Shaped by the Loom* brings into dialogue multiple aspects of process, including the tangible and the intangible, the visual and the tacit. Through new interpretive lenses it strives to deformatize Navajo weaving: to shift analysis away from the development of periods, designs, and styles, and toward an alternative framework – one that emphasizes Native agency and experience in the history of textile production. As a result, we re-center weaving as a cultural practice, a mode of engagement with the natural world, and a system of Indigenous knowledge production and transmission, in addition to acknowledging its predominantly non-Native economic and institutional history. Striving to bring specificity to the documentation and interpretation of AMNH’s historic collection, *Shaped by the Loom* elevates the voices of contemporary Native artists and makers to express the cultural legacy and continued vibrancy of weaving traditions in the American Southwest. This story is inherently multivocal, bringing different cultures of knowledge production into conversation and highlighting the diversity of perspectives embedded within these narratives.

Within the scope of this exhibition, we will come to see this kind of craftwork (and curatorial work) as a fertile and unexplored site of inquiry. Through profiles of



contemporary Diné artists and practitioners whose work unpacks these larger ideas in different ways – from a digitally influenced form of Navajo weaving to histories and analyses of specific materials, objects, and artworks – we aim to move the conversation beyond human making to consider the dynamic connections between people and their environments.

This online exhibition is energized by an understanding that, if viewed together, each part contributes to the whole. When examined through the holistic framework of the dye chart, the process that brings a weaving to life is revealed, articulated in the space between idea and action, between creation and labor. Such processes also inform the project's departure from traditional methodological approaches to Navajo weaving. Diné weaver Wesley Thomas ascribes academic curiosity about the “other” to a lack of “wholeness” in eurocentric culture(s), whereas within a Diné worldview, the “countless parts and functions in the structure . . . make up the whole.” Thomas uses weaving as an example of creating wholeness from many elemental parts, distinguishing the abstraction of idea and theory from the experience and performance of creation:

Theories are considered to “have no life force [be'iina] of their own” and, therefore, can not make any valuable contribution to the lives lived by traditional Navajo people. **To be beneficial, thinking must be brought to life.**

It is given life through overlap with empirical concepts that make thoughts

absolute and real. They become tangible. Entities of all forms and shapes need be'iina. Thoughts and plans become real when coupled with speech, song, prayer, or action. . . . In the case of a dah'iist'ó [weaving], it is given be'iina through songs and prayers by the weaver. **This allegiance of “idea” (creation) and “enacting” (labor) is experienced daily by traditional Navajo weavers.**<sup>5</sup>

Thomas's insights about the aims and preoccupations of the academic world are confirmed in much of the scholarly and popular literature on Navajo weaving, which has largely consisted of taxonomic studies of geographic and/or stylistic variation. As the anthropologist Ann Lane Hedlund suggests, publications by non-Navajos have examined weaving through history and materiality, social organization and relations, linguistics, economics and marketing, collecting, semiotics and iconography, and artistry.<sup>6</sup> Many existing publications, particularly those geared toward the collector's market, emphasize textiles as aestheticized objects through a meticulous classification of periods, designs, and styles. Texts and exhibition catalogues by Diné scholars, curators, and artists are becoming more prevalent and have been highly influential for the field and for the spaces in which these items are displayed.<sup>7</sup> Collectively, these wide-ranging studies reveal the multifaceted, cross-disciplinary, and often shifting contexts of Navajo weaving.

Museological discourses may likewise have inhibited our understanding of Indigenous aesthetics, weaving knowledge, and art production in Diné communities. Over the last century, anthropological and natural history museums have functioned as agents in “the ordering and reordering of knowledge” through material things, often privileging particular ways of knowing and being in the world.<sup>8</sup> While museums have functioned as important sites for categorizing, preserving, and displaying cultural belongings, they are also filled with historical knowledge of conflict, violence, displacement, and loss. In favor of a more reflexive museology that relies on collaborative accounts to uncover and articulate our intersecting histories, such institutions might be reframed as containers of cultural memory, in which both research and exhibition can support processes of remembrance, knowledge sharing, restitution, reconciliation, and repatriation.<sup>9</sup> As the anthropologist and curator Joshua Bell notes, it is important to consider “how museums as relational entities – containing dynamic relations between persons and things, as well as generating them – are emergent processes.”<sup>10</sup> Within the context of this exhibition, Navajo weavings *emerge from* and are *constitutive of* museological processes “through which relationships are materialized and negotiated over time.”<sup>11</sup> In his essay on the history of the Navajo textile collection at AMNH, Ira Jacknis critically and insightfully analyzes many of these issues in relation to the institutional “home” of this exhibition’s items. Through a detailed discussion of the social actors involved in the formation of the collection, he examines the work that these objects perform

in various contexts of collection, storage, and display to consider what they actually *do* in the world.<sup>12</sup>

A construction of Navajo textiles as commercial commodities and ethnographic specimens, as described by Jacknis, has also led many non-Native scholars, dealers, and collectors to “privilege typology and chronology in their discussions of Navajo weaving knowledge and knowledge transfer.”<sup>13</sup> The distinctions imposed by these market-driven taxonomies often run counter to Indigenous – and specifically Diné – conceptions of interconnectivity and relationality.<sup>14</sup> As Navajo culture continues to be transformed, this project aims to deepen and enrich our understanding of Navajo weaving, contributing a new perspective that continues to move scholarship beyond an analysis of codified motifs, colors, and techniques to re-center the agency of the *weaver* within the history of Navajo craft production.





**Left:** Marie Begay with a finished weaving, Burnham, New Mexico, 2017. **Right:** Sheep shearing at Marie and Matthew Begay's ranch, Burnham, New Mexico, 2018. Photos: Howard Rowe.



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**Top, left:** Marie Begay's natural wool colors, Burnham, New Mexico, 2015. **Top, right:**

Marie Begay spinning wool into yarn, Burnham, New Mexico, 2015. **Bottom:** Marie Begay at her loom, Burnham, New Mexico, 2020. Photos: Howard Rowe.

The dye chart that serves as the conceptual framework for this project also signals the ways in which *Shaped by the Loom* builds upon and diverges from previous analytic strategies. It focuses on Diné aesthetics and ways of knowing in order to underline process – a mode of both understanding and performance – as a key component of Navajo weaving. Process is often obscured in exhibition contexts rather than displayed and analyzed as a critical part of making or as a form of “art” in itself. Here, the project is indebted to the work of Jessica Horton, who suggests verbs such as “making” and “becoming” for appropriately describing the dynamic processes by which artworks come to life within a Diné worldview. While her work examines the durational and multisensory experiences associated with demonstrations of Diné sand painting, the idea of transformation is relevant to a Navajo weaving *being made*, a process characterized by movement.<sup>15</sup> “Diné language and art emphasize a world in perpetual motion,” notes Horton. “This is expressed in a prevalence of verbs that emphasize ‘to go’ rather than ‘to be.’”<sup>16</sup> This premise was confirmed in a recent conversation with Lynda Teller Pete, who explained that, “Weaving is a moving force – what are you going to do next?”<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, for many Diné weavers, “value” in a textile is often defined by the

quality of raw materials, by time spent at the loom, and by knowledge shared and exchanged. Rather than relying upon the well-known biographical approach to the study of art, which reconstructs the life history of individual objects or their makers, I suggest an exploration of the *materiality of process* by examining the material culture of weaving (dye plants, samples of wool, tools, and looms), as well as its nonmaterial components (cosmological relationships, spiritual geographies, and kinship networks), which together form the substance of what Navajo weaving is today.



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**Top, left:** Black dye material (bundle), Chaco Canyon, San Juan County, New Mexico, date unknown. Sumac leaves and twigs (*Rhus Aromatica*). Courtesy the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York, Collected by George H. Pepper, between 1896–98, 1 / 5337. **Top, right:** Unwashed wool (bag), Chaco Canyon, San Juan County, New Mexico, before 1898. Wool. Courtesy the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York, Collected by George H. Pepper, between 1896–98, 1 / 5312.

**Bottom, left:** Diné artist, Navajo loom (two parts), before 1897. Wood. Courtesy the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York, Donated by James Douglas, 1897, 1 / 5066 AD. **Bottom, right:** Diné artist, Navajo loom with unfinished weaving (sash belt), before 1910. Wood, string, and wool yarn. Courtesy the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History, New York, Donated by B. T. B. Hyde, 1910, 50 / 8041.

To this end, the exhibition expresses several overlapping analytic aims through its content and related interpretation. First, it situates process as a narrative of Navajo weaving over time, emphasizing the agencies of the materials themselves – from preparation in the hands of the maker to later reconfiguration and reactivation in an exhibition context.<sup>18</sup> Second, it explores the social relations of production (the “kincentricity”) in which Navajo weaving is embedded, and that give it meaning and value. Finally, it positions knowledge formation about this art form as a process in itself – one that emerges from networks of exchange, as expressed by the interconnectivity of a Navajo dye chart. *Shaped by the Loom* unpacks the dynamics of multiple agencies and vantage points at stake in these processes,



striving to articulate the relationship between material culture, namely Navajo textiles, and the enmeshed social worlds that they inhabit, constitute, and produce.

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<sup>1</sup> See Pamela H. Smith, Amy R. W. Meyers, and Harold J. Cook, eds., *Ways of Making and Knowing: The Material Culture of Empirical Knowledge*, Cultural Histories of the Material World (New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2014); and “The Making and Knowing Project: Intersections of Craft Making and Scientific Knowing,” Center for Science and Society, Columbia University, <https://www.makingandknowing.org/>.

<sup>2</sup> Etienne Gilson, *The Arts of the Beautiful* (1965; Dallas: Dalkey Archive Press, 2000), 12. Gilson distinguishes between aesthetics, which situates art as a form of knowledge, and philosophy, which centers the presence of the artist’s inherent talent, arguing that art belongs instead to the category of “making.”

<sup>3</sup> Co-taught by Hadley Jensen and Bard Graduate Center associate professor Aaron Glass in spring 2021.

<sup>4</sup> Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), 346–47. For an insightful eco-art historical critique of inclusionary practices of generative thinking in relation to Indigenous art, see Jessica L. Horton, “‘All Our Relations’ as an Eco-Art Historical Challenge: Lessons from Standing Bear’s Muslin,” in *Ecologies, Agents, Terrains*, ed. Christopher P. Heuer and Rebecca Zorach, Clark Studies in the Visual Arts (Williamstown, MA: Clark Art Institute, 2018); see also Jessica L. Horton, “Ecolonial Holism,” *Bully Pulpit*, *Panorama: Journal of the Association of Historians of American Art* 5, no. 1 (Spring 2019).

<sup>5</sup> Wesley Thomas, “Shił Yóólt’oot: Personification of Navajo Weaving,” in *Woven by the Grandmothers: Nineteenth-Century Navajo Textiles from the National Museum of the American Indian*, ed. Eulalie H.

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Bonar, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996), 36. Bold emphasis added by the author.

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed historiography of scholarship on Navajo weaving, see Ann Lane Hedlund, "Beyond Beauty: Exploring the Ethnoaesthetics of Navajo Weaving," *American Indian Art Magazine* 40, no. 3 (Summer 2015): 44–59. On history and materiality, see Joe Ben Wheat, *Blanket Weaving in the Southwest*, ed. Ann Lane Hedlund (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003); Kathleen Whitaker, *Southwest Textiles: Weavings of the Navajo and Pueblo* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002); Bonar, ed., *Woven by the Grandmothers*; Ann Lane Hedlund, *Beyond the Loom: Keys to Understanding Early Southwestern Weaving*, ed. Teresa Wilkins and Diana Leonard (Boulder: Johnson, 1990); and Kate Peck Kent, *Navajo Weaving: Three Centuries of Change* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1985). On social organization and relations, see Jill Ahlberg Yohe, "The Social Life of Weaving in a Contemporary Navajo Community" (PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 2008); Jennifer McLerran, ed., *Weaving Is Life: Navajo Weavings from the Edwin L. & Ruth E. Kennedy Southwest Native American Collection*, exh. cat. (Athens: Kennedy Museum of Art, Ohio University, 2006); Ann Lane Hedlund, "Contemporary Navajo Weaving: An Ethnography of a Native Craft" (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1983); and Ann Lane Hedlund, *Reflections of the Weaver's World: The Gloria F. Ross Collection of Contemporary Navajo Weaving*, exh. cat. (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1992). On linguistics, see Gary Witherspoon, *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977). On economics and marketing, see Kathy M'Closkey, *Swept under the Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002); and Teresa J. Wilkins, *Patterns of Exchange: Navajo Weavers and Traders* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008). On collecting, see Ann Lane Hedlund, *Navajo Weaving in the Late Twentieth Century: Kin, Community, and Collectors* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004); Laurie D. Webster, *Collecting the Weaver's Art: The William Claflin Collection of Southwestern Textiles* (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum Press, Harvard University, 2003); and Nancy J. Blomberg, *Navajo* Hadley Jensen, "Shaped by the Loom: Weaving Worlds in the American Southwest," *Shaped by the Loom: Weaving Worlds in the American Southwest* (2023), Bard Graduate Center, <https://exhibitions.bgc.bard.edu/shapedbytheloom/>. © Bard Graduate Center.

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*Textiles: The William Randolph Hearst Collection* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988). On semiotics and iconography, see Rebecca M. Valette and Jean-Paul Valette, *Weaving the Dance: Navajo Yeibichai Textiles (1910–1950)*, exh. cat. (Albuquerque: Adobe Gallery, 2000); Roseann Sandoval Willink and Paul G. Zolbrod, *Weaving a World: Textiles and the Navajo Way of Seeing* (Santa Fe: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); and Susan Brown McGreevy and D. Y. Begay, *The Image Weavers: Contemporary Navajo Pictorial Textiles*, exh. cat. (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 1994). On artistry, see Hedlund, *Reflections of the Weaver's World*; Ann Lane Hedlund, "A Turning Point: Viewing Modern Navajo Weaving as Art," *American Indian Art Magazine* 36, no. 2 (Spring 2011): 68–76; and Anthony Berlant and Mary Hunt Kahlenberg, *Walk in Beauty: The Navajo and Their Blankets* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1977).

<sup>7</sup> Jennifer Denetdale, *Reclaiming Diné History: The Legacies of Navajo Chief Manuelito and Juanita* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007); D. Y. Begay, "Shi' Sha; Hane' (My Story)," in Bonar, ed., *Woven by the Grandmothers*, 13–27; D. Y. Begay, "Weaving Is Life: A Navajo Weaver's Perspective," in McLerran, *Weaving Is Life*, 48–53; D. Y. Begay, "Weaver's Statement," in *The Weavings of D. Y. Begay*, exh. cat. (Davis: C. N. Gorman Museum, University of California, 2013); Ruth Roessel, *Papers on Navajo Culture and Life* (Many Farms, AZ: Navajo Community College Press, 1970); Ruth Roessel, *Women in Navajo Society* (Rough Rock, AZ: Navajo Resource Center, Rough Rock Demonstration School, 1981); Ruth Roessel, "Navajo Arts and Crafts," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 10, *Southwest*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), 592–604; Kalley Keams, "Beeldléi Bäh Häne' (The Blanket Story)," in Bonar, ed., *Woven by the Grandmothers*, 43–45; Laurie D. Webster et al., *Navajo Textiles: The Crane Collection at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science* (Denver: Denver Museum of Nature & Science, 2017); *Tselani / Terrain: The Tapestries of D. Y. Begay*, exh. cat. (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 2018); Lynda Teller Pete and Barbara Teller Ornelas, *Spider Woman's Children: Navajo Weavers Today* (Loveland, CO: Thrums Books, 2018); D. Y. Begay, "Acknowledging Women in Navajo Society: Leaders and Weavers," in *Hearts of Hadley Jensen*, "Shaped by the Loom: Weaving Worlds in the American Southwest," *Shaped by the Loom: Weaving Worlds in the American Southwest* (2023), Bard Graduate Center, <https://exhibitions.bgc.bard.edu/shapedbytheloom/>. © Bard Graduate Center.

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*Our People: Native Women Artists*, ed. Laura Silver, exh. cat. (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Art, 2019), 248–50; Molly Bigknife Antonio, “‘Sitting to My Loom’: Weaving Sustainability Through Navajo Kincentric Wisdom” (PhD diss., Prescott College, 2019); Lynda Teller Pete and Barbara Teller Ornelas, *How to Weave a Navajo Rug and Other Lessons from Spider Woman* (Loveland, CO: Thrums Books, 2020); Velma Kee Craig et al., *Color Riot! How Color Changed Navajo Textiles*, exh. cat. (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2019); and Rechanda Lee, “A Search for Continuity in the Transmission of Technological Styles in Navajo Weaving Traditions,” *Kiva* 87, no. 3 (2021): 316–35.

<sup>8</sup> See Joshua A. Bell, “Museums as Relational Entities: The Politics and Poetics of Heritage,” *Reviews in Anthropology* 41, no. 1 (2012): 70–92; Michael M. Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992); and Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>9</sup> Bell, “Museums as Relational Entities,” 84.

<sup>10</sup> Bell, “Museums as Relational Entities,” 70.

<sup>11</sup> Bell, “Museums as Relational Entities,” 71. See also Christina Kreps, *Liberating Culture: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Museums, Curation, and Heritage Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2003); and Colin Renfrew, Chris Gosden, and Elizabeth DeMarrais, eds., *Substance, Memory, Display: Archaeology and Art* (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, 2004).

<sup>12</sup> Bell, “Museums as Relational Entities,” 72.

<sup>13</sup> Danielle Weindling, “Women, Weaving, Tradition (Weaving Knowledge)” (Final Essay, Bard Graduate Center seminar 496, “In Focus: Interlaced Traditions – Indigenous Textiles of the American Southwest,” Spring 2020), 1; and M’Closkey, *Swept Under the Rug*, 205.

<sup>14</sup> M’Closkey, *Swept Under the Rug*, 206–07.

<sup>15</sup> Jessica L. Horton, “Rebalancing the Cold War: Diné Sandpainting and Earth Diplomacy,” *Art Bulletin* 104, no. 3 (September 2022): 102–03.

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<sup>16</sup> Horton, “Rebalancing the Cold War,” 104. Horton references chants recited by Fred Stevens (1922–1983), “a Diné hataafii (healer, singer, ritual specialist)” in Diné Bizaad (the Navajo language) during a sand painting demonstration.

<sup>17</sup> Lynda Teller Pete, conversation with the author, September 20, 2022.

<sup>18</sup> See Jane Hutton, *Reciprocal Landscapes: Stories of Material Movements* (New York: Routledge, 2020); and Adam Drazin and Susanne Küchler, eds., *The Social Life of Materials: Studies in Material and Society* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2015).