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5	Editoriale
7	Editorial
	Alessandro Schiavetti
9	Noi Inuit. I Popoli del Freddo Artico
13	We Inuit. The peoples of the Cold Arctic
	Jeannine Bromundt
17	Inuit Art: A contemporary art form rooted in tradition
30	L'arte Inuit: una forma d'arte contemporanea radicata nella tradizione
	Raffaella Maria Iorio
37	L'arte Inuit di Villa del Balbianello: la Groenlandia raccontata attraverso le spedizioni di Guido Monzino
48	The Inuit art of Villa del Balbianello:
	Greenland seen through the expeditions of Guido Monzino
	Philip A. Mcgillivary
55	Shamanic items from Alaska
63	Oggetti Sciamanici dall'Alaska

Hanno collaborato a questo numero:

Jeannine Bromundt, Maria Pia Casarini, Luisella Fojadelli, Raffaella Maria Iorio, Philip A. McGillivary, Daniela Passerini, Alessandro Schiavetti

Foto di copertina: John Kavik. CIVETTA (*okpik*). Steatite. Una scultura Inuit che si trova nel Museo Polare, acquistata a Rankin Inlet da Silvio Zavatti nel 1969 dallo scultore stesso, allora ottantenne, denominato "il Michelangelo dell'Artico". Kavik non "fotografa" quasi mai gli animali, ma li ricrea come la sua fantasia li immagina. In quest'opera la civetta è umanizzata, come avviene anche in molti racconti della mitologia eschimese (Silvio Zavatti). Foto di Alessandro Schiavetti

Cover Photo: John Kavik. OWL (*okpik*). Soapstone. An Inuit carving in the Polar Museum, bought in Rankin Inlet by Silvio Zavatti in 1969 from the artist, called "the Michaelangelo of the Arctic". Kavik does not "photograph" his animals but recreates them through his imagination. In this work the owl is rendered human, as it happens in many tales of eskimo mythology (Silvio Zavatti). Photo by Alessandro Schiavetti

INUIT ART: A CONTEMPORARY ART FORM ROOTED IN TRADITION

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Abstract. Anthropological research undertook remarkable efforts in order to record traditional knowledge of Inuit Elders of the Canadian Arctic. These records offer a chance to broaden the understanding of some enigmatic works in contemporary Inuit art¹. Although the phenomenon of art production in the Arctic was economically motivated and customers influenced the choice of subject, stylistic differences evolved within specific regional borders. These artistic areas correlate with the traditional ethnographic subgroups of Inuit tribes. Occasionally carvings done by Inuit bear formal parallels to prehistoric artefacts, suggesting that traditional ideas may reverberate within contemporary works of art.

NOTE: All artworks reproduced and discussed in this article belong to Inuit Galerie am Central, Zurich, Switzerland.

Riassunto. L'arte Inuit: una forma d'arte contemporanea radicata nella tradizione. La ricerca antropologica si è impegnata con notevoli sforzi a registrare le conoscenze tradizionali degli Anziani Inuit dell'Artico canadese. Queste raccolte di informazioni offrono la possibilità di ampliare la comprensione di alcune opere enigmatiche dell'arte inuit contemporanea¹. Sebbene il fenomeno della produzione artistica nell'Artico fosse stato dettato da interessi economici e la scelta dei soggetti influenzata dalle richieste dei clienti, differenze stilistiche si sono evolute all'interno di specifici confini regionali. Le aree artistiche sono correlate ai sottogruppi etnografici tradizionali delle tribù Inuit. Talvolta delle sculture fatte dagli Inuit presentano dei paralleli formali con reperti preistorici, suggerendo che idee tradizionali possono riecheggiare in opere d'arte contemporanee.

^INOTA: Tutte le opere riprodotte e discusse in questo articolo sono di proprietà della Inuit Galerie am Central di Zurigo, Svizzera.

Résumé. Art Inuit: une forme d'art contemporain ancrée dans la tradition. La recherche anthropologique s'est évertuée à documenter les connaissances traditionnelles des Anciens Inuits de l'Arctique canadien. Ces récoltes d'information offrent la possibilité d'approfondir la compréhension de quelques œuvres énigmatiques de l'art inuit contemporain'. Bien que le phénomène de la production artistique dans l'Arctique ait été assujetti à des intérêts économiques et le choix des sujets influencé par les exigences des clients, des différences stylistiques ont évolué à l'intérieur de spécifiques frontières régionales. Ces aires artistiques sont liées à des sous-groupes ethnographiques traditionnels des tribus Inuits. Parfois, certaines sculptures réalisées par les Inuits présentent des parallèles formels avec des pièces préhistoriques, suggérant que des idées traditionnelles peuvent être évoquées dans les œuvres d'art contemporain.

¹NOTE: Toutes les œuvres reproduites et décrites dans cet article appartiennent à la Inuit Galerie am Central de Zurich, Suisse. [*L.F.*]

Introduction

Inuit art is a phenomenon that has attracted much more attention from anthropologists than art historians.¹ The stimulus of this art development was, and still is, economic in nature and thus differs in no way from Western art traditions (Swinton 1968). Nevertheless, Inuit art was soon to be either outclassed as "Airport-Art" (Graburn 1967: 28-33) or it served – labeled with the romantic term "primitive art" – as a projection surface for Western cultural concepts. By now, Inuit art has outgrown the above generalizations. The current generation of young Inuit carvers has joined the ranks of Canadian "Contemporary Artists" and reflects current issues of their time while referring to Western art concepts.

"Mimesis" and the "sananguaq-concept"

For centuries faithful imitation of the visible reality was an aspiration to be claimed in artistic creation throughout the western world. Mimesis, the process of true artistic imitation, was a Greek concept that nourished western ideals. Although no term for "art" exists in Inuit language, the concept of mimesis has an exact correlation in Inuktitut. The word that is used to describe the process of carving is "sananguaq": sana refers to the activity in the sense of "making"; the syllable -nguaq refers to the idea of "model, imitation or likeness" (Swinton 1992: 129). Inuit art therefore can be regarded as a "description of reality". Unlike in the western world, there exists no difference in value between the dreamlike imaginary reality and the visible reality. Also the animistic world view of traditional Inuit society does not set the animate apart from the inanimate. All phenomena within the cosmos arise from the natural and the supernatural and are equally animated by *inua*, the stimulating force within the phenomenal world (Merkur 1991: 41-73).²

Carvings (as well as prints) created by the first generation of artists, who started to produce artworks from around 1947, portrayed their world view and their way of life (Swinton 1968: 230-31). Those works were created without any underlying concepts of "art". However, Inuit language knows a large number of linguistic terms relating to form and space; factors that were crucial for survival in Arctic surroundings. This may be one of the reasons why skilled carvers who create outstanding artworks are strikingly numerous among Inuit.

Since the beginning of art production in the Arctic the choice of subjects depended on the preferences of the buyers. However, those dynamics of the newly developed Inuit art market were not the only guideline artists were subjected to. The desire of some Inuit carvers to work on new and less popular subjects were apprehended. During a stay in the Arctic the anthropologist Nelson Graburn heard that Inuit were discontented with the repetitive subjects of their artworks, that were well accepted in the southern art market. In order to address these concerns he



Fig. 1. Levi Alasua Pirti Smith. Fantastic figure. Puvimituq, 1973.

launched an influential competition in Puvirnituq (North Quebec). Graburn encouraged artists to illustrate topics that had never been seen before (*takushurngnaituk*). The result of this project was that Inuit artists had a keen interest in three major topics: 1. The mixture of human and animal forms, 2. Sex and 3. Religion.

One of the participants in the above-mentioned competition, Levi Alasua Pirti Smith (1927-1986), was first asked what his fantastic creature (Fig. 1) meant. He replied: "They do not mean anything".

When the question was asked again he said the creatures embodied malevolent male spirits (Tunis 2001: 24-28). This example may show how traditional concepts are reflected in contemporary Inuit carvings. And, as George Swinton was able to show, some of these roots can even be traced back as far as prehistoric times (Swinton 1992: 112-13, 114 ff.).

"Born in the igloo"

The author recalls a visit of three young men to a gallery. Chuckling and strikingly agitated they turned to a spectacular piece by Davidialuk Alasua Amittu



Fig. 2. Davidialuk Alasua Amittu. Igloo-camp. Puvirnituq, early 1970s.

(1910-1976), which was on display in the showroom (Fig. 2). Lost in thought, one of the young men put both his hands on the prominent curvature of the sculpture. Each in turn touched the artwork. It seemed as if its soft curves played on the young men's fantasies. They recognized feminine charms in the outline silhouette of the sculpture. This wouldn't remain the last episode regarding this work. Most of the viewers missed the less exciting aspect of the scenery: it simply shows three adjoining igloos nestled in a snow-covered landscape. Distinctive ventilations holes, *igalaks* (ice windows) and a sledge are subtly worked into the stone. The third igloo appears in cross section revealing a disproportioned human figure, foetus-like, embedded in its igloo. Davidialuk's typical narrative style opens up a scope of associations. Whether intentionally or not it remains open. However, it might be no coincidence that during the period this carving was done, Davidialuk passed on details about traditional beliefs to Bernard Saladin d'Anglure regarding convictions connected to the foetus, which is considered to be a miniature human being, and about the existence of *sipiniq* (a term used for newborn babies, who change sex postpartum) (Saladin d'Anglure 1968: 42). The question, however, why Davidialuk Alasua Amittu chose to depict his igloo camp obviously in an ambiguous way may find a corresponding answer within traditional beliefs in Inuit society.

Bernard Saladin d'Anglure documented individual memories of prenatal existence inside the womb, which occurs in Inuit narratives. Uqsuralik Ottokie reports:

"There is a saying that babies in the womb do remember. All of us are aware of what is happening from the time of conception. I think that's why women have to follow certain rules when they conceive. There were certain rules that we had to follow. I guess this was because the baby knows exactly what was happening. It is only the very few that do remember. Most of us forget. My uncle Peter Pitseolak clearly remembers from the time of his conception. This is not only a story. I heard it directly from the person who had the experience" (Saladin d'Anglure 1968: 45).

Peter Pitseolak (1902-1973) wrote down his memoirs, which were published in 1993 and where he states: "It will be hard to believe what I am about to write: I can remember before I was born. It seems like a dream. I remember I had to go through a very narrow channel... I didn't realize the passage was my mother – I thought it was a crevice in the ice. That ice crevice must have been my mother's bones" (Pitseolak and Harley Eber 1993: 49).

In the year 1974 the Inuit Elder Rosa Iqallijuq from Igloolik dictated her memories of the intra-uterine environment, which were drawn on paper by Leah Idlaut d'Argencourt. The drawing clearly shows the exact interior view of an igloo (Saladin d'Anglure 1968: 46). The man's weapons are placed on one side, the woman's tools placed on the other side of the room and a dog's nose is intruding into the entrance of the igloo. Within the Inuit world view the igloo itself functions as a metaphor embodying the safe wellbeing of an individual inside the uterus.

Reconsidering Davidialuk's artwork with these conceptions in mind, it points to a mythical quality. It is not by mere coincidence that his carving gets viewers caught

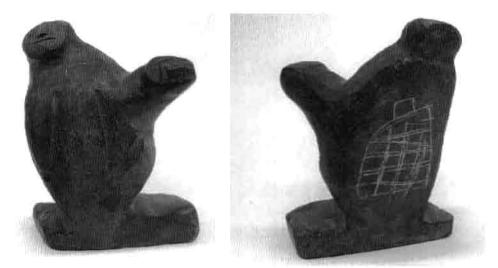


Fig. 3. Lucy Tasseor Tutsweetook. Mother and child. Arviar, 2001.

up in speculation that the work may allude to the female body. As if the artist intended to bring the ancient metaphor to mind, he included a cross-section view revealing the foetus-like individual inside the igloo. This way the mythical link between uterus and igloo – symbolizing mother and home – is captured within an artwork that carries traditional ideas on into the present.

Against this background a special carving by Lucy Tasseor Tutsweetook (1934-2012) gains a further reaching meaning as well (Fig. 3). It differs from her usual creations featuring family groups or mother and child topics, which had become well-known due to their almost modernistic appeal. The sculpture discussed here is reminiscent of the mother and child subject, although the two people are rather tangled up than unified. A strongly repelling impulse dominates the two figures growing out of one solid body. The main individual may be interpreted as a mother figure. She is belching out her child at the side of her massive torso. On the back of the sculpture the artist incised the scheme of an igloo with a sharp-ended tool. This sign opens up the associative scope of this atypical carving, tracing it back to the ancient metaphor recalling the prenatal existence.

Sources of inspiration

Within the animistic world view all phenomena of the universe are efficacious in themselves. *Inua* is a term that describes the spiritual quality that dwells within all things and has the power to not only give them shape but also to animate them. This traditional belief may have served as a source of inspiration for artistic creation. Janet Kigusiuq (1926-2005) reports that she gets ideas while watching "floor dirt or stains,



Fig. 4. Mary Kahootsuak Miki. Animals. Arviat, 1970s.

or (watching) the sky"³ (Coward Wight 2014: 26); a creative impulse that is wellknown in Western art as well, but induced by a different cultural background.

Carvings by Mary Kahootsuak Miki (1920-1993) (Fig. 4) or John Pangnark (1920-1989) (Fig. 5) baffle western viewers due to their minimalistic approach. At first sight the carvings look like mere pebbles which can be found on the shores of Hudson Bay near Arviat. However, those who seek to observe more precisely will



Fig. 5. John Pangnark. Two figures. 1970s.

discover tiny hints with remarkable impact. Pairs of eyes, ears and references to flippers suggest that Mary Kahootsuak Miki envisioned tiny living creatures while watching the random outlines of the stones and animated them with minimal modifications. John Pangnark acted similarly. The schemes of faces engraved in his elegantly carved works imbue them with a lively personality. His "living stones" may remind viewers of past times when the breath of all thing on earth was still audible and even stones were animated.

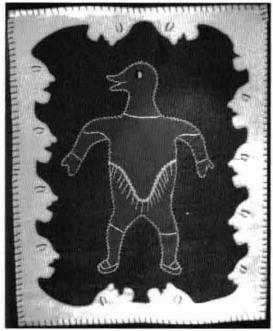


Fig. 6. Irene Avaalaaqiaq Tiktaalaq. Wallhanging depicting spirits. Baker Lake, ca. 2013.

Also Irene Avaalaaqiaq Tiktaalaq (*1941) captures the numinous world in her drawings and wallhangings (Fig. 6). The outline shapes that dominate many of her textile works are embodying spirits, which are looming within bizarre formation of rocks and hills at twilight when night falls. The artist remembers: "It is kind of scary sometimes – imagination. The thing is not really there but you think you see it. As soon as it gets dark when I am out hunting (...) I get really scared" (Nasby and Avaalaaqiaq 2002: 43).

Shamans and helping spirits

The first generation of Inuit carvers – some of them are still alive – is familiar

with the semi-nomadic life in the tundra. Traditionally the supernatural and the invisible world were given an integral place within the Inuit society. Certain individuals of a group would have been awarded the power of a shaman who was able to get in touch with the supernatural world. After conversion to Christianity some shamans reported their knowledge to western explorers, hence it is possible to refer to details of their secret practice (Laugrand and Oosten 2010: 53 ff).⁴

Exposed to solitude, the shaman, called *angakok*, underwent a demanding initiation process in order to gain superhuman strength and power. According to the shaman Aua from Igloolik, who was acquainted with Knud Rasmussen during his Thule expedition, a shaman had to be able to anticipate his own decomposition into a skeleton: "Though no shaman can explain to himself how and why, he can ... divest his body of its flesh and blood, so that nothing remains but his bones. And he must name then all the parts of his body, mention every single bone by name ... (using) only the special and scared shaman's language..." (Rasmussen [1929] 1976: 114). During the course of this ritual the helping spirit revealed itself to the shaman. Images of such shamanic visions depicting skeletal human figures do exist in contemporary Inuit art (Seidelmann and Turner 1993: 48). Occasionally the topic appears formally reduced to mere linear structures worked into the surface of the sculpture. Distorted body shapes are a feature of transformation subjects in this context as it is presented in a disconcerting sculpture by Josiah Nuilaalik (1928-2005)



Fig. 7. Josiah Nuilaalik. Distorted figure. possibly a shamanistic scene. Baker Lake, 1992.

(Fig. 7). The figure seems to be melting into the ground during the process of disembodiment. Remains of the skeleton form a linear ornamentation on the back.

In 2002, when Tuulimaq Aupilaarjuk was asked where helping spirits (pl. *tuurngait*) would come from, he answered: "A *tuurngaq* could come from anywhere. It could even be a rock. It could be any object. It could be a living thing, it could be anything. It could be land, something alive, something that had died. It could be a dog" (Saladin d'Anglure 2001:

40). Although the Arctic has been christianised for several decades (the Kivalliq region adopted Catholicism around 1912) (Laugrand and Oosten 2010: 57 ff) sharmanistic knowledge is still known in Inuit society, where Inuit Elders are respected as the 'living memory' of the past.

Birds, the messengers of spring, lend their wings to the tuurngait, the helping

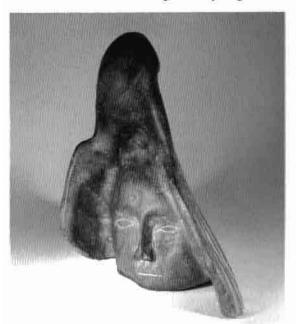


Fig. 8. Peter Sevoga. Transformation. Baker Lake, 1999.

spirits, on which powerful shamans performed the ritual of Ikiagginig, which is the mystical flight to the middle of the sky, between the celestial vault and the earthly ground (Fig. 8). In this supernatural realm the shaman acts as a mediator between humans and the spirits that he is willing to appease. Assisted by the spirit of the moon he gained the overview over all events on earth. His journey down to the spiritual being called Sedna (or Nuliajuk or Takannaaluk), who lives in the sea, ensures that game will be abundant and the hunt successful. The act of shamanic strenuous performance led to the stage of



Fig. 9. Loorie Nauyuk. Walrus shaman. Pangnirtung, 2002.

trance in which the shaman released his helping spirit. The anthropologist Franz Boas, who lived among Inuit on Baffin Island in 1883, reported what he saw: "Their hands are tied up and a thong is fastened around their knees and neck. Then they begin invoking their *tuurngaq* and all of a sudden their body lies motionless while the soul flies to any place they wish to visit. After returning, the thongs are found untied, though they had been fastened firmly with knots".

Furthermore, it was reported that tusks of walruses grew out of the

shaman's mouth while he performed. Rasmussen reported that it was not uncommon to enact these vibrant moments of spiritual encounters using requisites and stage effects in order to create the illusion of the shaman's transformation. Representations of this transitory process are a recurring subject in Inuit art and offered a source of inspiration for a wide range of surrealistic creations (Fig. 9). The humanlike aspects seen in such sculptures (as boots, faces or parts of a parka) embody the human nature of the shaman and set transformation subjects apart from artistic interpretations of spirits. Animals or parts thereof shown on top of a human face imply the shaman's release of the spirit (Fig. 10) (Seidelmann and Turner 1993: 47, esempio di John Kavik).

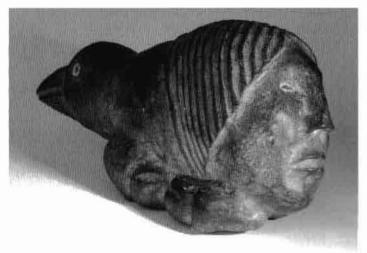


Fig. 10. Paul Toolooktook. Transformation. Baker Lake, 2000.



Fig. 11. Toona Iquliq. Bear and bird. Baker Lake,

Nanuk

The most powerful arctic animal was the polar beat, the one which dwells on the land and the sea. He is the king of the *ipinaqtait*, "those who make one frightened". The bear is considered as the most human-like of all animals. Inuit share their hunting grounds with Nanuk therefore he is the most respected and feared of all animals. Like shamans, polar bears are assigned powers of transformation. Inuit narratives pass on the legend that Nanuk removes his bearskin when he gets back into his den and there he acquires human appearance. Even today Inuit say that bears which don't wish to be hunted

turn into birds, foxes or blocks of ice (Fig. 11). An Inuit Elder reports: "...I just stood on the sled to shoot it (the bear) from there. When I stood up, suddenly it looked very small, and a bird flew away from where the bear had been, and it was so – a snowy owl, but just before that, it looked just like a large male bear" (Inuit Oral History Project: recording 323).

Respecting bones

The mythical world of the Inuit allowed orientation within the cosmos of animistic belief and provided explanations about the fundamentals coherencies within the world. Myths were the basis upon which the Inuit developed codes of behaviour and taboos which had to be observed. Hunters for example treat carcasses with utmost respect. The Inuit Elder Mariano Aupilaarjuk explains:

> "Inuit were told not just to remove parts. ... We were also told never to leave carcasses behind. According to the Inuit *priving* (the way things are), whoever left a carcass behind would be known to the wildlife. ... There are times you would come across bones. ... We were told if we came across bones on the ground we were to turn them around and then leave them. I still follow this practice today. I'll explain the reason for turning the bones. If I am in bed sleeping, I would become very tired if I just slept on one side, I would feel better if I were to move. In the same way, bones become tired from just lying in one way. It is in order for them to feel better, so we have to turn them the other way. That is *maligaq* (code that is followed) concerning bones" (Interviewing Inuit Elders 1999: 34).

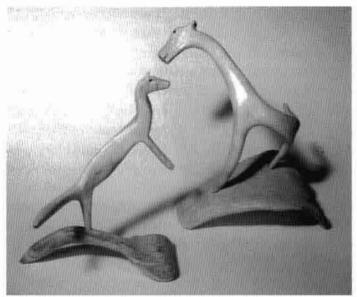


Fig. 2. Stylised animals made of caribou antlers. Left: attributed to Andy Miki, Arviat. Right: unknown artist, Baker Lake.

These statements express the well-known sensitivity Inuit have regarding nature; an appreciation which is also true regarding the material Inuit use for their artistic work.

The depiction of an animal skeleton is not only an image of death but also an image of the possessing spirit, *inua*, that will lead to renewal. This may be held true for the material itself and might be the reason why the artist Saima Qaunnaaluq Luuku (1930-+) populated a baculum (penis bone of a walrus) with birds, whales and bears, images of fertility and abundance (image in Swinton 1992: 36). This way the artist emphasized the spiritual way of the material and transferred it onto the subject of the carving itself. This recalls a statement of the shaman Aua: "All creatures that we have to eat and kill ... have souls, like we have souls that do not perish with the body, and which must therefore be propitiated lest they should revenge themselves on us for taking away their bodies" (Rasmussen [1929] 1976: 58).

Similarly, shed Caribou antlers, which hunters find on the land, are connected to the idea of regeneration (Fig. 12). Caribou antler is a material often used by Inuit. Survival in the Arctic depended strongly on the caribou and it was the main resource for those tribes later named as Caribou-Inuit. As a naturally sustainable resource antler represents the forces of regeneration and suggests that the symbolic quality of the material is also inherent to those artworks made thereof. The image of two jumping animals from the hand of two different artists from the Kivalliq area are the result of the random shapes of caribou horns. The atypical lively movement of the carvings may reflect not only the artist's creative ability to detect formal analogies but they may as well be seen as visualizations of the animated quality Inuit attribute to the material antler as well.

The examples discussed in this article suggest that contemporary Inuit art has strong roots in animistic tradition. This holds especially true for the first generation of carvers. Young Inuit artists of today are about to find new paths to carry on their artistic carrier. The term "Inuit art", however, will have to find a more appropriate definition in the future as young Inuit artists of today are connected to the international art development and refer to current trends, rather than to traditional myths passed on by their ancestors.

NOTES

- Up to today the ethnic affiliation seems to be the crucial criterion when it comes to the term "Inuit art". This might be one reason why this specific artistic field caught the attention of anthropologists rather than art historians. The term "Inuit art" though appears doubtful regarding the young generation of artists living in the Arctic.
- 2. Regarding the complex term 'breath-soul' see: Merkur 1991: 41-73.
- 3. Janet Kigusiuq's quote recalls methods recommended by European artists. As early as the 15th Century Leonardo da Vinci mentioned in his "Trattato della Pittura" that a painter should closely observe the spots on the surface of a dry wall or watch the clouds in order to find fantastic sceneries that would inspire his work.
- Conversion to Christianity doesn't necessarily mean that shamanism was not practiced anymore. For a period of time both religious beliefs coexisted.

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www.arctic.uoguelph.ca (Inuit Oral History Project).



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Born in 1968 she has a Master's degree in Art History from the University of Zurich as well as a professional degree in Graphic Art Design from the School of Applied Art and Design of St.Gallen. She teaches Art History at the College of Art and Design in Zurich. As a freelance writer, lecturer and curator she devotes herself to topics of Western Art History as well as to early Inuit Art, which has been a personal field of interest for more than two decades. Jeannine Bromundt is the owner of «Inuit Galerie am Central» in downtown Zurich, where she curates Inuit art exhibits twice a year. In her monthly newsletter (www.galerie-central.ch) she writes about outstanding carvings and discusses specific topics in the field of Inuit art.

Nata nel 1968, Jeannine Bromundt ha conseguito un Master in Storia dell'Arte all'Università di Zurigo, e ha una laurea professionale in Design e Arti Grafiche dalla Scuola di Arti Applicate e Design di S. Gallo. È docente di storia dell'arte al College di Arte e Design di Zurigo. Come scrittrice freelance, docente e curatrice, si dedica a vari argomenti della Storia dell'Arte Occidentale, e così pure agli inizi dell'arte inuit, che rappresenta un suo interesse personale da più di vent'anni. È proprietaria della Inuit Galerie am Central, nel centro di Zurigo, dove allestisce mostre due volte all'anno. Nella sua Newsletter mensile (www.galerie-central.ch) scrive su sculture di particolare valore e discute di argomenti specifici nel campo dell'arte inuit.