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CARVING SELF-IDENTITY

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CARVING SELF-IDENTITY
HOPI KATSINA DOLLS AS CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL EXPRESSION

By
SHANNA BALAZS DUNLOP, B.A., M.A.

A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (2004)
(Anthropology)

McMaster University
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Carving Self-Identity: Hopi Katsina Dolls as Contemporary Cultural
Expression

AUTHOR: Shanna Balazs Dunlop, B.A. (Wilfrid Laurier University), M.A. (Trent
University)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. T. Nicks

NUMBER OF PAGES: vii, 293

Abstract

Carving Self-Identity: Hopi Katsina Dolls as Contemporary Cultural Expression

Shanna Balazs Dunlop

This dissertation examines self-identity as expressed through contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving, an enduring Pueblo tradition and innovative art form. Although katsina dolls are produced by all Pueblo groups, only the Hopi, and to a much lesser extent the Zuni, produce figures for commercial sale. Consequently, this research focuses specifically on contemporary commercial Hopi katsina doll carvings. Within this dissertation, contemporary Hopi carving is considered as a highly expressive vehicle of representation in which carvers act as creative agents of cultural ideology. Following recent transcultured arts models, I argue for a linkage between the art of katsina doll carving, both process and product, and Hopi self-identity, asserting that new trends in carving articulate contemporary concerns regarding cultural continuity, survival, and self-determination in a modern world. In addition to exploring this thesis, my case study of commercial Hopi katsina doll carving also approaches several broader theoretical themes and pertinent issues, including discussions of: the processes of transcultural exchange and commodification embodied in acculturated art; the social agency of art consumers in the Western market; and, notions of authenticity and the social production of value associated with art objects.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation could not have been written without the guidance, encouragement, and support of many people. First I express sincere thanks to the foundations and institutions that supported this research, namely the Social Sciences Research Council of Canada (grant no. 752-97-123), the McMaster University School of Graduate Studies, the Royal Ontario Museum (Department of Anthropology) the School of American Research (and specifically the Ethel-Jane Westfeldt Bunting Foundation), and the Museum of Northern Arizona. I would also like to thank my dissertation supervisor, Dr. Trudy Nicks, and committee members, Dr. Bill Rodman and Dr. Matthew Cooper, for all of their valuable insight, direction and encouragement throughout the research and writing process.

Numerous individuals associated with various institutions must also be specifically thanked for giving so freely of their time and valuable perspective. From the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona, I would like to thank Bruce McGee, Anne Marshall and Gloria Lomaheftewa. From the Museum of Northern Arizona, where I was a Research Associate for the summers of 1999 and 2000, I would like to express sincere gratitude to Dr. Edwin Wade, Ramson Lomatewama, Deb Hill, Tracy Murphy, Carol Leone, Rachel Edelstein, Liz Gummerman, and Tony Marinella. Special thanks goes to Patty Wells who was instrumental in putting me in touch with Hopi carvers and to Janet and Dave Gillette who gave me a 'home away from home'. The School of American Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico was a great supporter of this research. I was Summer Scholar at SAR during 1999 and 2000, and was also invited to attend the SAR "Katsina Convocation" in 1999. Sincere thanks goes to

Nancy Owen-Lewis and to the SAR Indian Arts Research Centre staff (past and present) namely, Duane Anderson, Christy Sturm, Lee Goodwin, Deborah Dodge-Winton, and Shannon Parker.

I would also like to express my gratitude to the various art dealers, traders and scholars who took the time to advise on, or participate in, this study. Thanks go to Barton Wright, Tom Woodard, Joe Day, Jonathan Day, Ron McGee, Al Anthony, Phyllis Hogan, Barry Walsh, and Zena Pearlstone. Most of all, I want to extend sincere thanks to all of the Hopi carvers who participated in this study, especially Alfred "Bo" Lomahquahu, and Philbert Honanie. Without the input of Hopi carvers, this research and dissertation would not be possible. Thank you all for your time, patience, knowledge, experience, and perspective.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends and family who supported me throughout this academic journey. I appreciate all of your unwavering love, encouragement, and the care packages of hickory sticks airmailed to Flagstaff. And to my husband, who drove me all around the American Southwest (twice!), and who has been my biggest cheerleader throughout this process, Thank you. I owe you one very large Navajo Taco when we are back down that way.

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Chapter One

Introduction, Research Methodology and Theoretical Frameworks

Nine Hopi carvers, from all three mesas and various villages in Arizona, have gathered to work on their katsina dolls. Silas mends a small fracture in his piece, Daniel roughs out the shape of a new katsina. Armand adds detail with lightening speed using a wood-burning tool, Marlon works on a base for his abstract sculpture, Bertram and Philbert paint diligently. Busy pocketknives; the scratch of rasps; pungent smell of oil paints; soft piles of wood shavings; the vibrant colors of natural pigments. Traditional style katsinam that seem to have stepped in from an earlier time, fluid abstract carvings, “action” dolls that appear ready to spring into dance. A flash pops suddenly as a photographer busily documents the katsina carving demonstration: questions from researchers punctuate the lively conversation between artists. The carvers are not on the Hopi reservation, in fact, they are many miles from home.

In November of 1999, the School of American Research Indian Arts Center hosted its 6th annual “Native American Artist Convocation”, focusing, for the first time, on katsina carving. Within the Center’s storage areas and Dubin Artist Studio, these Hopi artists have come together to share their ideas, insights, and artistic techniques. Young carvers listen attentively to the advice of the elder, more established ones. Joking and humor permeate the room. In both Hopi and English, carvers express admiration for each other’s creations.

Earlier, Silas Roy had noted that by “preserving knowledge” the convocation provided an important opportunity for Hopi carvers. Armand Fritz strongly echoed this sentiment and appreciated the chance to discuss the issues and challenges surrounding participation in a commercial market. All of the carvers agreed that such communication and exchange would probably never have happened back home, and they were proud to have been included in a forum representing the art and tradition of Hopi katsina doll carving.

Introduction, Scope and Key Terms

In this dissertation, I attempt to continue the meaningful discussion of contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving initiated at the 1999 School of American Research Convocation. Specifically, this study examines self-identity as expressed through contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving, an enduring Pueblo tradition and innovative art form. Although katsina dolls are produced by all Pueblo groups, only the Hopi, and to a much lesser extent the Zuni, produce figures for commercial sale.¹ Consequently, my research focuses exclusively on contemporary commercial Hopi carvings. Within this dissertation, contemporary Hopi carving is considered as a highly expressive vehicle of representation in which carvers act as creative agents of cultural ideology. I argue for a linkage between the art of katsina doll carving, both process and product, and Hopi self-identity, asserting that recent trends in carving articulate contemporary concerns regarding cultural continuity, survival, and self-determination in a modern world. In addition to exploring this thesis, my case study of commercial Hopi katsina doll carving also approaches several broader theoretical themes and pertinent issues, including discussions of: the processes of transcultural exchange and commodification embodied in hybrid art; the agency of indigenous artists in the Western

¹ Please see Figure One: “The Navajo, Hopi, and Pueblo Nations of the American Southwest”. The Pueblo peoples (including the Hopi) are unquestionably descendants of the prehistoric Anasazi of the American Southwest, while the Navajo are relative newcomers to the area, arriving in the late 15th and early 16th centuries (Cordell 1984: 14 -16; Plog 1997: 16-18). The relationship between the Hopi of Arizona and the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico, including differences regarding the production of katsina dolls and the secrecy of katsina ceremonies, is discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

market; and, notions of authenticity and the social production of value associated with art objects.

Barton Wright, a leading scholar in the area of katsina doll carvings, notes that these figures are not recent innovations in the Pueblo world. Though their origins remain obscure, archaeological evidence of katsina-like motifs on pottery and kiva murals speak of their antiquity (Wright 1977: 8). Since the American Southwest was first “opened” by the Santa Fe railway in 1880, ethnologists, art collectors and tourists have remained fascinated with Hopi katsinam, and in particular with acquiring examples of katsina dolls. Commercial production of Hopi katsina dolls burgeoned in the mid-1940s, and these carvings have developed in increasingly innovative directions ever since. Today, Hopi katsina figures and sculptures continue to be extremely popular among visitors to the American Southwest, as well as on the international art market.

This research will contribute to an emerging field of study within anthropology, the investigation of “acculturated”, or more appropriately, “transcultured” arts. Recent contributions in this area consider transcultured arts as highly expressive and culturally meaningful vehicles of representation, and emphasize the consideration of both process and product. Existing studies of Hopi katsina dolls and carving tend to be largely descriptive and rooted in Western notions of art and aesthetics. Most studies of katsina doll carving have adopted an “art-oriented” approach and are geared towards a “collector” audience. My study marks a clear departure from existing accounts in being

one of the few firmly rooted within anthropological theory and method, and the first to apply a “transcultured arts” model to Hopi katsina doll carving.

A brief note regarding terminology is required before moving to matters of methodology and field research. The term “acculturated arts” is generally used in current literature to refer to the art commodities of marginalized and colonized peoples that are produced for external consumption, and are characteristic of stylistic or cultural hybridity (Phillips 1991; Phillips and Steiner 1999). In addition to “acculturated arts”, “souvenir arts”, “tourist arts” and “hybrid arts” are also terms utilized in existing literature to refer to such art commodities. I employ all the above terms of reference within this dissertation, but wish to acknowledge the problems and limitations associated with each. The term “tourist art”, connotes mass production and inauthenticity in Western circles, and is also considered as having trivializing connotations within Native communities (Phillips 1998: 9). “Souvenir arts”, is also not considered particularly fitting for my specific study, as katsina carvings are produced for a wide range of markets, including a high priced collector audience. “Acculturated arts”, implies an overly linear process of artistic change, which does not fully account for the agency of art producers. The terms “hybrid arts”, or, “transcultured arts”, though less commonly utilized, are considered the most appropriate terms for this study, as they most aptly communicate the cultural exchange and artistic amalgamation inherent in contemporary katsina carvings.

Ethnographic Background, Methodology and Field Research

Social and cultural anthropologists, as well as archaeologists, have conducted field studies in the American Southwest for well over a century. Subsequently, an

immense body of writing on a wide variety of topics has been produced pertaining to the indigenous peoples of the region. I attempt here to provide a brief overview of ethnological research, specifically among the Hopi.² As with most indigenous groups in North America, the earliest contact of Hopi people with Western culture came largely through interaction with missionaries (1858), the U.S. military (1863), Indian agents (1869), and traders (1875) (Clemmer 1995: 47). By 1879, anthropologists were beginning to initiate individual fieldwork and major expeditions in the area. The first anthropologist to visit Hopiland was Major John Wesley Powell, a one-armed Civil War veteran and the head of the United States Geological Survey. Powell had visited Hopi briefly in 1870, and returned again in 1879 as the head of the newly formed Bureau of American Ethnology accompanied by anthropologists Frank Cushing, Matilda Coxe Stephenson and her husband Colonel James Stephenson. Cushing returned to Hopi in 1881 and 1882, and Alexander Stephen made a brief visit in 1881 before taking up near permanent residence in 1883. Jesse Walter Fewkes³ arrived at Hopi in 1890 and would carry on where Stephen left off after his death at Walpi in 1894 (Clemmer 1995: 47). These early ethnographic efforts were met with varying responses: many researchers were successful in forming positive relationships and acquiring useful data; others met

² Keith Basso provides a concise history of early ethnological research in the Southwest in Volume Nine (The Southwest) of the Handbook of North American Indians (1979). Additionally, Basso has completed a critical review of Southwestern ethnological research and writing from 1968-1972, located in the Annual Review of Anthropology, Volume Two, 1973. Also see Marsha C. Bol's article "Early Euro-American Ethnographers and the Hopi Tihu", in Katsina: Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals. Zena Pearlstone, ed. Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum.

³ As will be discussed in Chapter Three, Jesse Walter Fewkes' 1894 work "Dolls of the Tusayan Indians" is recognized as the first published study specifically dealing with katsina dolls.

with passive resistance or hostility; and some, “through a lack of diplomacy or meddling in village affairs”, provoked outright controversy⁴ (M. Simmons 1979: 219).

Peter Whiteley observes that the Hopi are substantially represented in practically every theoretical paradigm since Morganian evolutionism⁵ (1998: 7). Early ethnographic endeavors, including those of Frank Hamilton Cushing, Matilda Coxe Stevenson, and Jesse Walter Fewkes, were situated within a “salvage mode” and focused on cultural inventory and mapping. Furthermore, two schools of thought were pervasive within American anthropology during this period, namely unilineal evolutionism and historical particularism. However, as the problematic nature and significant limitations⁶ of these theoretical orientations became apparent to researchers, the existing ethnographic tool-kit was gradually modified to include more suitable techniques and frameworks.

Ethnography among the Hopi burgeoned in the 1930s and 1940s, coinciding with changes in Indian administration, the Indian Reorganization Act, and developments at Hopi involving the reduction of reservation land (Whiteley 1998: 8). Anthropological research during this period⁷ was greatly influenced by two dominant theoretical frameworks, namely structural functionalism, as formulated by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, and the culture and personality paradigm propounded by Edward Sapir and Ruth Benedict. Although disparate currents of thought, both approaches shared the

⁴For a detailed historical account of the relations between Native peoples and anthropologists, see Nancy Oestreich Lurie, “Relations Between Indians and Anthropologists” (1988), in the Handbook of North American Indians (Volume Four).

⁵ Peter Whiteley provides a comprehensive “historical palimpsest” of Hopi ethnography in his 1998 work, Rethinking Hopi Ethnography.

⁶ Namely romantic, ethnocentric and hierarchical implications (Clemmer 1995: 51) as well as the untestable and speculative nature of such descriptive accounts borne from comparative, natural science based methodology (Basso 1979: 15; Clemmer 1995: 53).

⁷ Noted Southwestern ethnologists of this period include Frederick Eggen (1936), Elsie Clews Parsons (1939), Mischa Titiev (1944), and Laura Thompson (1946).

fundamental assumption that all cultures were systems of individual yet interrelating parts, connected by a set of underlying principles. Unlike the previous anthropological generation, the task of the ethnographer was not to inventory and classify each “part”, but instead to understand the function and significance of all parts in relation to the wider cultural system (Basso 1979: 17). Furthermore, the blending of functionalist method with historical analysis directed the attention of ethnographers to issues of cultural reconstruction and studies of cultural change during this period of ethnographic research (Basso 1979: 18).

This move towards a more holistic understanding of cultures as systems is also reflected in the style of ethnographic writing prevalent at this time. Erasmus and Smith suggest that a significant shift in emphasis from description to increased explanation and criticism is evident within anthropological writings since the 1930s (1967: 112-113). With regard to the foci of ethnographic research during the thirties and forties, material culture, religion and ceremony, myth and folklore, and kinship and social organization continued to be pervasive themes, while emergent areas of study included cultural change and political organization. These two new areas of research were obviously reflective of wider socio-cultural influences. For instance, the increasing interaction between Western and Native societies prompted scholars to direct their attention to the resulting processes of cultural exchange and diffusion, and, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 prompted anthropological investigation of Hopi political organization (Connelly 1979: 550).⁸

⁸ To further illustrate these points, Frederick Eggan and Mischa Titiev (two prominent scholars of the structural-functionalist stream) wrote extensively on Hopi kinship, ceremonial and social organization, and on ceremonial organization and cultural change, respectively. Extensive discussion of Hopi kinship appears

The 1930s and 1940s represent an intense period of theoretical activity in Southwestern ethnology, and within the discipline as a whole. The next few decades were marked by the refinement of dominant theoretical frameworks and the enhancement of existing analytical strategies. Additionally, most ethnographic work of this period reflected an increased attempt to account for variation within individual societies (Basso 1973: 223). Studies of culture and personality continued to be “numerous, fashionable, and influential” throughout the 1950s (Basso 1979: 18), before coming to a “virtual halt” in the seventies (Basso 1973: 223). Additionally, studies of cultural change initiated in the thirties persisted, becoming a major research theme during the 1950s to 1970s. In directing their attention to issues of acculturation, resistance, and revitalization movements among Native nations, anthropologists, however, were caught with, in the words of Richard Clemmer, their “theoretical cupboards bare” (1974: 214). This in turn prompted increasing numbers of Southwestern anthropologists, including Laura Thompson and Edward Spicer⁹, to focus on these and other aspects of cultural change over the next several decades (Basso 1973: 222; Clemmer 1974: 216-217).

Furthermore, since the 1940s, anthropological research increasingly took to the direction of what is today identified as “action” or “applied” anthropology. Working primarily through government agencies, Southwestern ethnographers applied their anthropological knowledge and training to health, social, political, legal, and educational

in Eggan’s *The Kinship of the Hopi Indians* (1936), and a detailed account of kinship, ceremonial, and social organization is included in Titiev’s *Old Oraibi: A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa* (1944).
⁹ Edward Spicer’s approach to acculturation theory is perhaps the most prominent of the period. In particular his 1962 work, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Southwest*, is considered a seminal contribution to studies of cultural change. Laura Thompson has also written a substantial amount on this research topic, including her 1950 work *Culture In Crisis: A Study of the Hopi Indians*.

issues affecting Native cultures of the American Southwest. For instance, since the 1960s, the testimonies of anthropologists in land claims have become instrumental in establishing Native occupancy in a court of law, this trend continuing to the present day (Simmons 1979: 219). Additionally, researchers such as Laura Thompson¹⁰ have been concerned with evaluating the effectiveness of government policies directed towards indigenous groups (Babcock and Parezo 1988: 112).

Basso notes that, since the 1960s, there has been no one underlying theme that characterizes the diverse interests and research aims of Southwestern ethnology. Throughout the 1950s to 1970s, socio-cultural anthropologists continued research in a variety of topical areas, the most prominent being: history and ethnohistory; kinship and social organization; cultural stability and change; and, religion and worldview (Basso 1973). Basso further points to the increasing specialization and compartmentalization which has characterized the field as a whole since the sixties, this development being considered a response to the continuous introduction of new methodological approaches¹¹ (1979: 20). Research on the Hopi in recent years has investigated a variety of themes from various theoretical perspectives, ranging from studies concerning culture change (Loftin 1991, Clemmer 1995) to religious hermeneutics (A. Geertz 1994). As will be demonstrated in Chapter Three, studies of katsina culture and katsina dolls remain a focal point for Southwestern ethnographers, who continue to contribute to an abundance of literature on the topic.

¹⁰ For example, Thompson's The Hopi Crisis: A Report To Administrators (1946), and Personality and Government: Findings and Recommendations of the Indian Administration Research (1951)

¹¹ Sherry Ortner provides a detailed overview of dominant approaches in her article "Theory in Anthropology Since the Sixties" (1984), including, symbolic anthropology, cultural ecology, structuralism, structural Marxism, political economy, and, anthropological praxis.

The foregoing section has provided a brief historical overview of links between broader anthropological contexts and the specific history of ethnographic research in the American Southwest. I turn now to an examination of methodological approaches relating to the present study, situating the discussion within the broader framework of contemporary anthropology and considering present problems associated with ethnography in general, and at Hopi in particular.

In his recent work Rethinking Hopi Ethnography (1998), Peter Whitely offers a humorous reflection of a fieldwork experience:

Following the Musanguvi Home Dance a few years back, I was quietly wending my way down the hill-path from the village, when an earnest, not in the least subdued, voice shattered my contemplations with “Excuse me, excuse me! Are you an anthropologist?” I shrank into the pathway, seeking to avoid overt identification by a phrase that can be the local equivalent of “Are you a leper?” From my bemused state of invaded privacy, I brushed him off, not without some inner irony, “No, I am just a tourist, like you.”...[H]e had cracked my delicate shell of self-identification as the “culturally sensitive outsider”. In hindsight, I wanted to say to him, “Yes, I am, but I am not like those other anthropologists.” For some Hopis, I am indeed like any other anthropologist who has “made a career off Hopi culture,” and occasionally I am bluntly reminded of this (213n.14).

The above anecdote, fraught with issues of representation, authority and ownership characteristic of the contemporary ethnographic enterprise, fittingly opens this discussion of methodology and field research. Indeed, such concerns have consistently shaped my own research. I begin with an examination of my research area and methods, after which I return to further consider the problematic nature of conducting

ethnography in a postcolonial world, specifically considering the problems I encountered at Hopi.

Implicit in its very name, the defining characteristic of anthropological “fieldwork” traditionally involves the location of the researcher within a fixed site, where they are able to learn about culture from the “inside out”. Though such conventional practices are currently contested and under renegotiation, fieldwork remains an integral part of the discipline (Clifford 1997: 89). Reflecting such “renegotiation”, my study challenges conventional concepts of the “field” in that I have used a multi-sited ethnographic approach. Rather than focusing on a single, bounded locale, my “field” consists of multiple sites related to the production and consumption of contemporary Hopi katsina dolls. An emergent methodological trend in anthropological research, multi-sited ethnography involves the adaptation of traditional modes of ethnographic practice to more complex objects of study (Marcus 1995: 95). George Marcus argues that moving from a focus on single sites to the consideration of multiple locales allows for the examination of the “circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space” (1995: 96).

Marcus and Fischer argue for a more “mobile” fieldworker involved with “covering a network of sites that encompasses a process” (1986: 94). Rejecting existing “object-oriented” approaches, I contend throughout this dissertation that Hopi katsina doll carving must be understood as *process*, and in direct relation to associated historical, cultural and economic contexts. Multi-sited ethnography enables the study of such process through both time and space, and through multiple perspectives. In

employing this technique, I have been able to study the multiple locations of katsina doll carving: tracing and tracking katsina carvings both historically and currently; following the paths of carvings created for both ceremonial and commercial purposes; and exploring the views of both katsina carving producers and consumers. Research conducted in the American Southwest focused primarily on sites in Arizona and New Mexico, though I also visited two additional locations in California and Colorado. Flagstaff (Arizona) and Santa Fe (New Mexico), as key sites and areas of extended data collection, were visited five or more times over a one-year period.

Though multi-sited ethnography is becoming increasingly more common within anthropology and is recognized as a significant tool for this investigation, certain “methodological anxieties” (Marcus 1995: 99) remain. Marcus notes that the idea of ethnography expanding from its “committed localism” may seem “antithetical to its very nature and thus beyond its limits” (1995: 99). Similarly, Clifford suggests, “multi-locale *fieldwork* is an oxymoron” (1997: 57). While I acknowledge disciplinary concerns regarding compromising the “depth” of field research (Clifford 1997: 57-58) or attenuating the kinds of knowledge and competencies expected from conventional fieldwork (Marcus 1995: 100-101), I maintain that utilizing a multi-sited approach, in combination with accepted modes of ethnographic inquiry, enables a more informed understanding of a local indigenous artistic process enmeshed within a wider global system.

James Clifford defines ethnographic fieldwork as “a cluster of disciplinary practices through which cultural worlds are represented” (1997:8). My research

involved five months of fieldwork in the American Southwest. I employed a number of qualitative ethnographic methods, including: informal, semistructured, and unstructured interviews; participant observation; and, archival and collections research. Information derived from my interviews and participant observation form the core of data utilized in this analysis, while my archival and collections research¹² provide critical context regarding the history and place of Hopi arts and crafts within the Southwestern art market.

Interviewing was the primary ethnographic tool used throughout my field research, thirty-three being conducted during a total of five trips. Although two-thirds of these interviews were with Hopi carvers, I also consulted katsina doll consumers (including traders, art dealers, collectors and museum professionals). I used what can best be described as a double “snowball sample”¹³ method for locating interview participants. The technique of snowball sampling was well suited to my research situation with Hopi carvers, a relatively small, bounded, and difficult-to-find group of people who are generally in contact with one another (Bernard 1995: 97). Furthermore, the snowball sampling method also proved effective for connecting with individuals involved in consuming katsina carvings, namely art dealers and collectors. Senior staff

¹² Five institutions with significant katsina doll collections were visited during my fieldwork. Varying degrees of access were permitted at each institution. At the School of American Research – Indian Arts Center (Santa Fe, NM) and The Museum of Northern Arizona (Flagstaff, AZ), I was allowed full research privileges and studied both collections extensively. At the Heard Museum (Phoenix, AZ), I was only able to view those carvings on exhibit, approximately 1,000 in total. At the Southwest Museum (Los Angeles, CA) I was able to view the institution’s total collection, partially through a small permanent exhibit, and entirely through a CD-ROM. Finally, at the Denver Art Museum (Denver, CO), I was only able to examine those katsina dolls on display – unfortunately only totaling six in number. Viewing these collections was instrumental in my gaining familiarity with katsina names and types, and with stylistic/artistic changes and techniques.

¹³ Bernard notes that “in snowball sampling you locate one or more key individuals and ask them to name others who would be likely candidates” (1995:97)

at the Indian Arts Research Center (School of American Research) were key in identifying for me both a Hopi carver and an Indian art dealer who were willing to participate in my study and able to name other individuals who would be suitable for my research. In this manner, two snowball samples were initiated, with Alfred (Bo) Lomahquahu introducing me to other katsina doll carvers, and Tom Woodard naming individuals involved with collecting Hopi carvings. The sample of Hopi carvers thus produced for this study included: both urban and reservation based; a range of ages (from late 20s to late 70s); varying degrees of commercial involvement (from none to full); and, representation from all three mesas and most Hopi villages. My sample, however, does not include women carvers, as my only conversation with a female carver was brief and informal. The participation of Hopi women in commercial katsina doll carving is a relatively recent occurrence, carving traditionally being restricted to male participation due to religious considerations. As such, women carvers were difficult to find, and therefore the one segment of the Hopi katsina carving population that is not adequately represented in this research.

Helen Schwartzman argues that one of the primary differences between ethnography and other forms of research is that ethnographers do not automatically assume that they know the correct questions to ask in a given setting. In fact, she continues, “both questions and answers must be discovered in the social situation being studied” (Schwartzman 1993: 54). I found this to be especially true during my initial,

exploratory research trip¹⁴, where I employed the technique of informal interviewing, characterized by minimal structure or control (Bernard 1995: 209), to elicit input and feedback regarding my proposed research topic. These early, informal conversations aided greatly in establishing rapport and in making contacts, but were especially useful with regard to refining and focusing my research problem. Through the use of informal interviews during the initial phases of my fieldwork, I was able to better direct later, semistructured and unstructured interviews towards addressing core topics and questions.

H. Russell Bernard suggests that semistructured interviewing, based on the use of an interview guide, but still allowing for less directed responses from the interviewee, is best utilized in situations where researchers will not have more than a single chance to interview someone (1995: 209-210). Although I was able to develop ongoing communication with a number of carvers, semistructured interviewing was used most consistently due to its flexible nature, and because it permits a degree of exchange and interaction between the two parties involved. Furthermore, as I consider the views and opinions of Hopi carvers to be of critical significance to this study, a semistructured technique helped to ensure that collected data reflected the ideas of the individual being interviewed, rather than being conditioned by my own perceptions. Finally, I was afforded the opportunity to conduct discussions with groups of Hopi carvers during the 1999 Katsina Carving Convocation at the School of American

¹⁴ Two weeks were spent on preliminary data collection at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona. In addition to studying their permanent and temporary displays of katsina dolls and observing a katsina doll carving demonstration, I was able to speak with various museum staff regarding my research.

Research. Following an unstructured interview format, carvers discussed various topics while examining katsina dolls in the institution's collection. The interaction and exchange between carvers during such sessions produced unique data and insights that were not often revealed in one-on-one interviews.¹⁵

The technique of participant observation was also utilized throughout my field research. Bernard suggests that while anthropologists are divided on epistemological issues, “almost all of us use the strategic method of participant observation to collect our primary data” (1994: 171). Participant observation requires the researcher to become immersed within the society under consideration in order to gain an “insider”, or, “emic”, understanding of the cultural system at hand (C. Geertz 1983: Chapter Three; Spradley 1980: 56-58). Participant observation is key in building rapport with the community under study, and is what makes it possible to collect life histories, attend ceremonies and festivals, conduct interviews, and discuss sensitive issues (Bernard 1994: 171). Furthermore, as suggested by Clifford, participant observation “serves as shorthand for a continuous tacking between the ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of events: on the one hand grasping the sense of specific occurrences and gestures empathetically, on the other stepping back to situate these meanings in wider contexts” (1988: 34).

In particular, I employed participant observation during visits to art galleries, trading posts, and tourist sites, as well as Indian art markets and juried shows. Levels of

¹⁵ Although I do not consider these group conversations to be “focus groups” (a form of qualitative research that is especially useful as a preliminary exploratory tool), David Morgan notes that the hallmark of focus groups is “the explicit use of the group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group” (1988:12).

participant observation varied with regard to both site and particular social situation, ranging from my passive observation of the daily activities of a Second Mesa Trading Post, to my active involvement with Hopi carvers during the School of American Research Katsina Doll Carving Convocation.¹⁶ Participant observation, supplemented with informal and semistructured interviewing, has been an important tool in my understanding of both Hopi and “art market” perspectives regarding contemporary katsina doll carving.

Hopi carvers were contacted on an individual basis¹⁷ regarding participation in this study for a number of reasons. As my primary focus was on documenting their views regarding issues associated with contemporary carving, individuals were approached as artists for personal commentary on their art form. I emphasize these voices and perspectives throughout this study in order to communicate their insights and concerns. Secondly, my application to carry out this project was never acknowledged by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (HCPO), and consequently, I was not able to conduct research in association with the Hopi Tribe or reside on the Hopi reservation.¹⁸ Intellectual property laws, aimed at exercising control over outside

¹⁶ Spradley (1980) describes various levels of participant observation, including: nonparticipation, passive participation, moderate participation, active participation, and complete participation (58-62)

¹⁷ Through the previously discussed method of “snowball sampling”.

¹⁸ As per the Hopi Tribe’s “Office of Historic and Cultural Preservation and Protection Protocol for Research”, I submitted a detailed research proposal in February of 1999. I was able to confirm (by phone conversation) that my application did arrive, however, I have never received a response regarding the status of my proposal despite numerous attempts to contact representatives from the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (HCPO). This may be in part due to the HCPO’s public non-endorsement of the commercial sale of tithu (Hopi Tribe 2001: Tihu). All institutions and individuals that participated in this study were made aware of this situation and no person objected to my project or refused participation based on these (or any other) grounds. All participants gave written consent regarding their involvement in the study and my use of resulting data. The data included in this dissertation has been drawn from interviews with Hopi carvers that took place off the reservation.

representations of Hopi peoples, are currently of major interest to the Hopi Tribe, and more specifically to the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. Their “Protocol for Research” document clearly articulates the desire of the Hopi Tribe to protect their rights to privacy and in and to Hopi intellectual resources. Citing “the continued abuse, misrepresentation and exploitation of the rights of the Hopi people”, the document asserts the necessity for the establishment of, and adherence to, rules governing projects and activities involving Hopi intellectual resources (HCPO 1999a: HCPO Policy and Research). An additional document regarding respect for Hopi knowledge explains that Hopi tradition does not share the worldview of the dominant society with respect to scientific inquiry and assumed “rights of knowing”, and further, that specific activities are considered the private domain of particular clans, societies, or individuals (HCPO 1999b: Respect For Hopi Knowledge). Consequently, all research pertaining to Hopi culture and intellectual resources must be reviewed and approved by the Office of Historic and Cultural Preservation through a “permitting process or other contractual agreement” (HCPO 1999a: Policy and Research).

Among other researchers,¹⁹ Peter Whitely has commented regarding the changing nature of anthropological research on Hopi culture:

¹⁹ Further reflections on the complications of conducting academic research at Hopi can be found in Thomas Mails’ The Hopi Survival Kit (1997:129-133) and Annie Acker’s unpublished M.A. Thesis Hopi Kachina Doll Carving: Reflections On Cultural Change (1993). Mails’ controversial work on Hopi prophecy presents his personal gripes with Leigh Jenkins Kuwanwisiwma (HCPO Director) and warns regarding the negative implications of Tribal control over research for both academics and Hopi people. Acker (specifically discussed in Chapter Three), who received a response of “non-endorsement” for her proposed project from the HCPO, chose to go ahead with research, even residing on the reservation. She recounts her tale of “fieldwork woes” emphasizing the non-cooperative nature of the HCPO and her inability to find Hopi participants (1993: Chapter Four).

Ethnography has reached a precarious point, perhaps a terminus, at Hopi. The very idea, for example, of a formal fieldwork project, hatched as a theoretical “problem” in a university setting, underwritten by an exogenous granting agency, and without internal consultation, is no longer conceivable. The hypostasized academic envelope of detachment, purporting to inoculate metropolitan ethnography from local vectors of representation and interest, is irreversibly permeated. Hopis, ever more encompassed by the world system, are in general keenly aware and deeply mistrustful of anthropological research as, fundamentally, commodification – of themselves, their ideas, and their practices (1998:1-2).

Reflective of wider postcolonial conditions and enmeshed in shifting relations of power, ethnographic fieldwork and writing have become the center of much theoretical debate and innovation over the past two decades.²⁰ Concerned with issues of cultural representation and the production of anthropological knowledge, interpretive and postmodernist streams of anthropology have critically assessed classic forms of social analysis, redirecting the primary interest of ethnography from an emphasis on description to an increased sensitivity towards broader political, economic, historical, and philosophical contexts (Marcus and Fischer 1986: vii; Rosaldo 1989: 28). Challenges to anthropology’s traditionally authoritative voice and recognition of the “partial” nature of ethnographic truths (Clifford 1986: 6-7) have been central to this dialogue. The changing conditions of a postcolonial world necessitate the alteration of traditional ethnographic

²⁰ In particular, the volumes *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (eds James Clifford and George Marcus, 1986) and *Anthropology as Cultural Critique. An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences* (George Marcus and Michael Fischer, 1986), are regarded as seminal works in the debate surrounding, what Marcus and Fischer have termed, the “crisis of representation”. Central to this issue are uncertainties regarding anthropology’s subject matter (traditionally “the other”), its method (traditionally participant observation), its medium (traditionally the monograph), and its intention (traditionally that of informing rather than practice) (James, Hockey and Dawson 1997: 2).

roles.²¹ Ideally, anthropological representations should be produced by partners who share power, rather than on an asymmetrical “observer-observed” basis. The aims of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office in establishing intellectual property laws and research protocols echoes this belief, and in theory, offers a vehicle by which researchers and indigenous peoples can work productively and collaboratively. However, my failure to receive acknowledgement from the HCPO for this study reveals the reality and complexity of the situation at hand.

I appreciate and respect the intent and right of the HCPO and Hopi Tribe to protect cultural resources, and understand the need for such research regulations. I further recognize the need for contemporary researchers, including anthropologists, to become more fully aware of the political and moral implications of their representational practices. My own research, though never formally acknowledged by the HCPO, was not denied, and has been conducted under strict ethical guidelines.²² Unable to work in association with the Hopi Tribe, I became affiliated with and operated through two reputable cultural institutions, the Museum of Northern Arizona (MNA) and the School of American Research (SAR).²³ Both have positive working relationships with the Hopi Tribe and with individual Hopi artists, and were instrumental in validating my research, identifying initial contacts, and fostering my relationships with Hopi carvers. My affiliation with the MNA and SAR involved adherence to institutional research guidelines

²¹ James Clifford (1986, 1988) and Robert Paine (1990) provide detailed examinations pertaining to issues of ethnographic authority and representation.

²² See footnote eighteen.

²³ I was a Research Associate with the Museum of Northern Arizona, and a Summer Scholar at the School of American Research, during the summers of 1999 and 2000. I resided, conducted research, and participated in various events relating to my study, at each institution. Their support of my research has been instrumental in completing this study.

and ethical considerations. Furthermore, every participant interviewed was made aware of my pending research status with the HCPO, and completed a consent form pertaining to their participation in the study.

Although my research was not officially approved by the HCPO, it was very well received and supported by the carvers I interviewed. Many carvers expressed that they felt that the study was timely and of benefit to Hopi peoples because of its potential to educate non-Hopi regarding the significance of contemporary carving, and to raise the issue of the imitation carvings currently flooding the market. This opportunity to inform an external audience regarding issues that Hopi carvers themselves identify as important is the primary reason I chose to continue my study without formal consent from the HCPO. As previously noted, at the start of each interview I indicated to the participant carver that my research had not received HCPO approval. The most common response I received to this statement was a marked lack of concern, and no carver ever declined participation because of it. Rather, carvers often expressed the opinion that, while the HCPO represents themselves as acting in the interest of preserving culture, their actions in preventing research may actually be resulting in cultural loss. Furthermore, most carvers explained that the HCPO is in direct opposition to their own perspective on commercial carving, namely that some representatives of the HCPO feel that the traditional meaning and significance of katsina dolls is compromised as a result of being offered for sale. In effect, through my fieldwork experience I became enmeshed in what Michael Ames terms the “politics of representation”, namely the question of who can represent whom, and through what means (1992: 146). That the HCPO has never

responded to my research application certainly raises questions²⁴ regarding the existing system of tribal restrictions on Hopi intellectual knowledge. Furthermore, the disjunction of tribal and individual perspectives on commercial carving that became evident during my study further complicates questions surrounding Hopi intellectual property, especially regarding authority and ownership at group versus individual levels. This issue is further discussed in the context of federal legislation in Chapter Six.

Anthropologists, in becoming more aware of the “politics” and problematic nature of their representations, have responded with alternate ethnographic strategies, new approaches, and revised techniques. A trend of “reflexivity”, or self-critique, has lately permeated the discipline, most notably in the works of interpretive anthropologists.²⁵ Such evaluations of the bias and colonialist assumptions apparent within the ethnographic method are, however, most commonly associated with the writings of social historian James Clifford (1986, 1988, 1997). In addition, a clearly identified and continuing concern within interpretive anthropology is the need for innovative or “experimental” ways to represent experience and explain cultural processes, while accounting for contemporary realities and shifting postcolonial conditions (Marcus and Fischer: 1986: 24). While ethnographic experimentation does not involve any radical break with past anthropological practice, it does constitute a

²⁴ Questions that will, unfortunately, remain unanswered due to the fact that my attempts to contact a representative from the HCPO during my fieldwork were unsuccessful. It should be noted that Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Director of the HCPO, has presented his views on contemporary Hopi carving in a recent contribution to the volume *Katsina: Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals* (2001), edited by Zena Pearlstone. The article, entitled “From the Sacred to the Cash Register – Problems in Protecting the Hopi Patrimony”, outlines Kuwanwisiwma’s opposition to Hopi peoples carving tithu for commercial sale.

²⁵ The “Rice Circle”, a group of anthropologists from Rice University in Texas including George Marcus, Michael Fischer and Steven Tyler, are strong advocates of reflexivity, commonly utilizing this mode within their writings.

fundamental reorientation within the discipline, encompassing creative techniques such as dialogue, inter-referentiality and polyphony (C. Geertz 1988: 131; Marcus and Fischer 1986: 40).

The writing of experimental ethnography has tended to focus on the metaphor of dialogue, diminishing earlier importance accorded to text. Dialogue, a two-way and two-dimensional exchange, has become one accepted and effective strategy for expressing the ethnographer's interactive communication process with another culture (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 30-31; Mannheim and Tedlock 1995: 2-3). The concepts of inter-referentiality and polyphony relate to ideas of deconstruction in that they both suggest a multiplicity of meaning within a text. A means of "perspectival relativity" (Tyler 1986: 127), polyphony is an effective technique that enables plural voices to exist within a single text. Steven Tyler maintains that this method is not a means for evading authorial authority, but instead corresponds with the realities of contemporary ethnography (1986: 127). Similarly, inter-referentiality, multiple, comparing views presented within a single text, also produces a range of meaning, and addresses broader contexts (Fischer 1986: 230-232). Once restrained in conventional, monophonic ethnographies, polyvocality is rapidly becoming an accepted and highly utilized mode for textual production (Clifford 1986: 15). Additionally, this technique, with its emphasis on diversity and multiplicity, is highly compatible with current conceptions of culture as dynamic and contradictory.

I recognize the inherently political nature of the production of anthropological knowledge and the representation of cultural others. In the introduction to the recent

volume After Writing Culture: Epistemology and Praxis in Contemporary

Anthropology (1997), James, Hockey and Dawson point to the multiple meanings of the term “representation”: representation as interpretation, communication, visualization, translation, and advocacy (p.2). This study has, of course, involved a degree of interpretation: the representation conveyed of Hopi carvers is, ultimately, my own translation. It is, however, the communicative aspect of representation that I emphasize within this ethnographic endeavor. This dissertation will contribute to current debates surrounding transcultured arts, highlighting the culturally meaningful messages communicated through the art commodities of indigenous peoples. More importantly, it acts as a medium through which the Hopi carvers I interviewed are able to convey their ideas to a broader audience, expressing contemporary concerns, identifying current issues, and sharing commentary regarding their art form, culture and self-identity.

By using interpretive ethnographic strategies such as inter-referentiality and polyvocality, I seek to include Hopi carvers in this representation of contemporary katsina doll carving. The making of this anthropological representation is therefore to be understood as the outcome of a complex process of liaison between myself, as researcher, and Hopi artists, as communicators of cultural meaning (James, Hockey, Dawson 1997: 11). Following self-reflexive ethnographic approaches, I question the unchallenged dominance of the author’s voice while maintaining, as translator and editor, some degree of interpretive agency (Josephides 1997: 17). Furthermore, through the inclusion of a diversity of Hopi voices, perspectives and insights, I actively attempt

to upset the asymmetrical relations of power characteristic in traditional ethnographic representations. The construction of such “polyphonic ethnographic authority” is, however, not an unproblematic exercise (Clifford 1997: 167). Arranging and presenting Hopi perspectives in relation to anthropological theories requires much “staging and translation” (Clifford 1997: 167). I recognize this, and maintain that the voices represented in this account act as “powerful indices of a living people” (Clifford 1997: 167), providing critical and “badly needed” (Whiteley 1998: 184) Hopi perspectives. The dialogue created within this project addresses contemporary situations and issues that Hopi carvers have identified as significant and deserving of meaningful discussion. Actively involving Hopi peoples and voices in the representation of their own culture, in my opinion, works within the spirit of the previously outlined Hopi Cultural Preservation Office protocol, and constitutes a more responsible ethnography appropriate to a postcolonial world.

Theoretical Overview and Key Concepts

This study considers how art functions in Hopi society as expressive culture. Connected to this central investigation are questions relating to the relationship between artistic innovation, self-representation, and cultural identity, as well as broader themes of transcultural exchange and issues of authenticity. I examine these queries within the specific context of recent transcultured arts theories. Transcultured arts models offer an appropriate framework in which to examine contemporary commercial Hopi katsina doll carving. In particular, the work of Ruth Phillips (1991, 1998) and the

recent volume edited by Phillips and Christopher Steiner (1999) have provided valuable discussions of the meaningful messages communicated through indigenous art commodities. These sources, which are discussed in detail in Chapter Three, are drawn on throughout the dissertation. Other literature specific to tourism and Native artistic production within the American Southwest, and more particularly, writings regarding Hopi katsina dolls, have been extensively consulted and inform all aspects of this study. To begin with, however, a brief overview of my own specific understanding of key concepts and issues directly relating to transcultured arts models is required to effectively situate my analysis.

The traditional “culture” concept, anthropology’s core trope, has increasingly become contested theoretical terrain. Anthropologist Alan Hanson, notes that scholars in the fields of history and anthropology recently have become “acutely aware...that ‘culture’ and ‘tradition’ are anything but stable realities handed down from generation to generation” (1989: 890). Current, and abundant, discourse on the issue seldom calls for the outright abandonment of the notion of “culture”, but consistently and convincingly asserts the need for a rethinking, reworking, and rearticulation of existing paradigms. A detailed examination of anthropological literature pertaining to this debate is beyond the scope of this dissertation²⁶. It is, however, crucial that I delineate “culture” as it is understood within the context of this study, linking my perspective with the broader academic dialogue.

²⁶ Influential sources for my understanding of the issue have included. Fabian (1983, 1991), Rosaldo (1989), Clifford (1986, 1988, 1997), Abu-Lughod (1991), Friedman (1994, Chapter Four), Keesing (1994), Kuper (1999), and Sewell (1999)

I support the prevailing criticisms of the classic culture concept and reject the idea that cultures form “neatly coherent wholes” that are “logically consistent, highly integrated, consensual, extremely resistant to change and clearly bounded” (Sewell 1999: 52). I further recognize the inherently problematic nature of conventional approaches to culture identified by many critics, namely its hierarchical overtones (as, for example, suggested by Abu-Lughod, 1991), inclusion of hidden agendas (as discussed in Keesing, 1994), and exclusion of alternate histories and broader contexts (as investigated in Fabian 1983 and 1991: Chapter 10). In accordance with recent anthropological critiques, I assert that a more critical culture theory, one reflective of contemporary global processes and postcolonial conditions, must consider and account for the phenomena of hegemony, countervailing identities, and both dominant and subaltern discourses (Friedman 1994: 25). Static, homogenizing concepts must be replaced with more “liquid” notions which support the dynamic, shifting, fluid, creative, contested, and contradictory nature of culture (Meyer and Geschiere 1999: 3; Fabian 1991: Chapter 10; Sewell 1999: 52-54).

In the prologue to the volume Routes (1997), James Clifford reflects on his earlier critiques of the traditional culture concept, namely those articulated within The Predicament of Culture (1988):

I worried about the concept’s propensity to assert holism and aesthetic form, its tendency to privilege value, hierarchy and historical continuity in notions of common ‘life’. I argued that these inclinations neglected, and at times actively repressed, many impure, unruly processes of collective invention and survival (p. 2).

As will become evident throughout this dissertation, such “impure, unruly processes of collective invention and survival” are located at the very heart of this study on Hopi katsina doll carving. A traditional art form in process²⁷, contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving, is a dynamic and creative cultural expression, firmly situated in both traditional and commercial contexts. These carvings speak at once of enduring tradition, artistic innovation, cultural contact and exchange, and community survival. Often incorporating the traits and ideas of other cultures as a creative stimulus²⁸, the artistic and stylistic form of Hopi katsina dolls has frequently changed through time,²⁹ due in part to the influences of the commercial market, but also because of individual artistic innovation and expression. As a “transcultured” art form, commercial katsina doll carvings have often been considered as “inauthentic” or “non-traditional” within Western discursive categories of exclusive pairs: secular vs. sacred, commercial use vs. indigenous, and acculturated vs. authentic (Phillips 1991: 20). However, I draw on the ideas of Bruner (1994), Hanson (1989), Nahwooksy (1994) and Nicks (1999), and argue for an approach to commercial Hopi katsina doll carving that views this art form as a dynamic and creative tradition, emerging from a culture that is continually changing and reinventing itself in an effort to maintain continuity within the legacy of

²⁷ I take the term “traditional art in process” from James Clifford’s essay “Four Northwest Coast Museums”, in *Routes* (1997). He sees this portrayed in the mix of old and new Northwest Coast indigenous artifacts displayed in the Masterpiece Gallery of the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology. The term aptly describes the dynamic and creative nature of Hopi katsina doll carving, an art form firmly rooted in tradition and ever-changing in response to a commercial market and artistic innovation.

²⁸ Helga Teiwes uses these words (1996:xx) to describe a Hopi jack-o’-lantern carved as a Koshare clown (adorned with characteristic horns and corn-husk tassels) which she saw at Songòopavi, Second Mesa in 1993. Her words regarding the “borrowing” of cultural traits by Hopi artists perfectly describe my observations of this phenomenon occurring in modern and historic Hopi katsina doll carving.

²⁹ As illustrated by the studies of Wright (1976, 1977, 1989) and Erikson (1977).

colonial and global systems. It becomes obvious then, that a fluid, accountable concept of culture is essential for this study in that it is able to contain two key processes central to this research. “transculturation” and “hybridity”.

Mary Louise Pratt puts forward several concepts in her 1992 work Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation that are applicable to, and useful for, this study of contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving. Her notion of the “contact zone”³⁰ refers to “the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict” (Pratt 1992: 6). Clifford further considers the intrinsic nature of contact zones as areas for “cultural action” and the “making and remaking of identities”, recognizing these as “places of hybrid possibility and political negotiation, sites of exclusion and struggle” (1997: 7, 212). “Transculturation”, the key phenomena of the contact zone, is the process by which subordinated or marginal groups select and invent from materials introduced by an external, dominating culture. Pratt, drawing on the theory of transculturation outlined by Fernando Ortiz, stresses the agency of the indigenous recipient in determining what they absorb into their own culture, and how it is used (1992: 6). Accordingly, I consider “transculturation” to be an appropriate and accurate term to describe the complex and intersecting process of cultural transition and negotiation which occurs within the contact zone, these phenomena being completely obscured when labeled with the overly linear and syncretic term “acculturation” (Ortiz

³⁰ Pratt’s idea of the “contact zone” has been further developed by, and applied to, contemporary museums by James Clifford (1997) and to tourist art by Ruth Phillips (1998).

in Phillips 1998: 16; Clifford 1997: 7). Finally, I draw on Pratt's concept of "autoethnographic expression" within my study, specifically applying it to contemporary Hopi carving. The latter term refers to instances in which colonized peoples undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer's own terms, and involves collaboration with, and appropriation of, the idioms of the dominant culture (Pratt 1992: 7).

Pratt's theory regarding the contact zone, and its related processes of transculturation and autoethnographic expression, is useful to my analysis at both conceptual and practical levels. Historic and modern katsina doll carving can be considered as a contact zone in which Hopi identity and culture has been continuously challenged, suppressed, and reaffirmed. Hopi carvers, as members of a marginal indigenous group, have actively selected and invented from artistic ideas and materials derived from a dominant society, namely Western traders, collectors, and art patrons. Through the manipulation of art techniques, and application to specific Hopi traditions and contexts, carvers are creating powerful expressions in the struggle for self-determination and cultural continuity.

Contemporary Hopi carving, as an expressive artistic process, reflects broader socio-historical contexts and acts as a window through which to view modern Hopi society and self-identity. Katsina doll carving documents the specific process of transculturation occurring at the artistic level, namely the negotiation and exchange between art producers and consumers, but also reflects broader social and historical conditions. For example, I consider both inclusions and exclusions of Western ideas in

Hopi carving as active statements regarding the dominant society. Furthermore, such inclusions and exclusions affirm the agency of contemporary indigenous artists in the production of commercial arts. At a broad level, the active involvement of Hopi carvers in contemporary commercial katsina doll carving, in contrast with the opposition of this practice by most Western Pueblos³¹, speaks to the differing historical conditions and colonial encounters experienced by these groups. More specifically, the limitations that Hopi carvers impose on the ideas they incorporate into their carving, and the subsequent boundaries they maintain, directly relate to social and religious expectations articulated by Hopi society, but are also shaped by each artist's personal interpretation.

Finally, Ruth Phillips notes that Pratt's concept of "autoethnographic expression" perfectly applies to the production of tourist arts. She asserts that "[t]he vocabulary of transculturation is a powerful tool for the analysis of art commodities, objects that characteristically take on hybrid forms in order to become economically and culturally viable" (1998: 17). To consider katsina dolls as autoethnographic texts, one must view Hopi katsina doll carving as the medium, and the associated artistic expression as the message. As an example, the emerging abstract sculptural style of Hopi carving involves the adoption of Western techniques, tools, and materials. A hybrid form, such sculptures diverge from traditional carvings, yet are powerful communicators of Hopi symbols and legends, and express statements of self-identity, language and cultural survival. Transcultured objects, as autoethnographic expression, thus make political statements,

³¹ See footnote number one and also Figure One.

acting to reinforce cultural identities and providing a vehicle for the promotion and renewal of cultural values.

The concept of cultural hybridity, inextricably linked with processes of transculturation, is also central to this study and requires more specific consideration. The baseline component of cultural hybridity is the mixing and melding of cultures. The term, and process, however, is complex. Hybridity is compatible with more recent perceptions of culture as fluid, dynamic and ever-changing, though it maintains negative connotations in some anthropological and art historical circles as “impure” and thus “inauthentic” (Coombes 1998: 487). Such tension between purity and hybridity is especially obvious in the contemporary indigenous art market, where judgments of Western value equate the former with notions of the “genuine” and the latter with “nontraditional” forms and cultural contamination. Commercial arts, with their characteristic hybrid style, often are relegated outside the boundaries of legitimate artistic expression, and their true nature as challenging and revitalizing art forms denied. I agree with J.C.H. King that the concept of the “nontraditional” is a value-laden judgment, reflecting stereotyped ideas regarding indigenous peoples and idealistic expectations of the art appropriate to “noble savages untainted by Western society” (1986: 78). King further examines the narrow scope of the term “traditional”, noting that it has been commonly applied to those artifacts solely produced for indigenous use and thus excluding commercial products:

By this definition, an artifact may be entirely traditional in technique and symbolic content, and nontraditional only in that it was sold rather than used. This simplistic definition

avoids consideration of the political and economic context in which art objects are produced, and without which we cannot say art exists (King 1986: 87).³²

Anxiety regarding the supposed corruption of “pure” cultural forms also is evident in the debate surrounding the concept of “invented tradition”.³³ This model presents culture as characterized more by invented constructs (created to suit contemporary needs) rather than fixed traditions. This dynamic and creative view of culture and tradition, however, creates a dilemma with regard to authenticity. For example, Jocelyn Linnekin expresses concern that the very notion of the “invention” of culture may weaken the cultural authority of indigenous peoples by calling into question their authenticity. She goes on to examine the problematic aspects of the term: that outside of the discipline of anthropology, invented tradition is often understood as meaning “inauthentic”, “made up”, or “not genuine”: and that authenticity, from a Western perspective, is consistently equated with the consistency of transmission of tradition through time (1991:446-47).

I feel it important to note the limited application of the “invention of culture” approach to my own research on a dynamic Hopi art form. The Hopi katsina carving tradition clearly illustrates that “art” and “culture” must never be considered as absolutes: that indigenous arts naturally change and evolve as in any other culture. The

³² At this point, I should clarify my own use of the term “traditional” within the context of this study. I do utilize the term “traditional” in contrast to “commercial” katsina dolls, based solely on the criteria of intended use or function. I do not however, equate traditional with “authentic” or deny the cultural significance and authenticity of commercial carvings. The term is employed primarily to differentiate between the two types of carvings and is not associated with aesthetic connotations or judgments of “value”.

³³ Associated with such scholars including Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), Hanson (1989), Linnekin (1991) and Bruner (1994)

invented tradition paradigm supports this perspective by understanding that elements of creativity, innovation, and invention will be inherent to any living cultural or artistic expression, and, through the rejection of static and biased notions of authenticity. Far from being isolated or static, Native artistic production is a creative enterprise, influenced by cultural contact and exchange. Many Native arts involve “cultural borrowing”, with intriguingly innovative results when one considers (among many examples) Haida button blankets (Irwin and Farrell, 1996), Navajo “rugs” (M’Closkey, 1994), Huron and Micmac moosehair-embroidered bark objects (Phillips, 1991), or Iroquoian beaded “whimsies” (Nicks, 1999).

Specifically considering transcultured objects in a museum setting, curator Annie Coombes recognizes hybridity as an “important cultural strategy for the political project of decolonization” but acknowledges that such objects do not themselves clearly articulate broader contexts, namely associated struggles and political agendas (1998: 487, 492-495). Certainly, simplified approaches to hybridity, such as the baseline ‘hotchpotch’ metaphor, do not adequately address the role of power relations in structuring the hybrid mix and instead suggest a character of equality (Tomlinson 1999: 145). Rather, a more critical position towards hybridity, one directly linked to ideas of transculturation and autoethnographic expression, recognizes and accounts for the hegemonic structures and wider socio-historical conditions of cultural influence and transformation. In this study, I will consider transcultured or hybrid objects as signifiers of broader processes of postcolonial situations, conveying statements regarding cultural revitalization and self-determination in a contemporary world.

In summary, my study has been built on, and conditioned by, a fluid conceptualization of culture that specifically accounts for the inventive and creative processes of transculturation and hybridity. Culture and tradition are viewed as dynamic processes rather than fixed products. This fluid approach emphasizes both the dialogic aspect of cultural contact and exchange, and the communicative nature of artistic expression. Furthermore, the category “traditional” as applied to non-Western arts must be viewed as an interpretive rather than descriptive term (Smith, in Handler and Linnekin 1984: 273). Just as culture is a dynamic process, so too is the development of traditions, as elements of culture (Nahwooksy 1994: 87). Mohawk and academic Deborah Doxtator, vividly illustrates these points, maintaining that:

“[t]radition clearly isn’t a static thing but something that changes constantly...tradition is really kept alive more by a community of people dynamically using, enacting and changing knowledge...it is these processes, and not how much static content is actually preserved, which is important...” (1995: 12).

The idea of artistic traditions as communicators of cultural meaning is another important idea requiring examination in relation to this specific study. The core argument of my dissertation is built upon the notion of the integration of art and culture.³⁴ Contemporary Native artists Jaune Quick-to-See Smith and Doreen Jensen articulate this connection in the following:

³⁴ There is much anthropological writing regarding the link between art and culture. To offer just two examples, directly related to my own research are the studies of Helga Teiwes (1996) and Lydia Wyckoff (1990). Teiwes’ research on Hopi basket weaving illustrates the link between this art form and the social interaction and structure of Hopi society, while Wyckoff’s analysis concerns the relationship between ceramic arts and politics/religion on the Hopi Third Mesa

Art and identity are linked in the process of living. Art is a celebration of life and a reaffirmation of identity. (Smith, in Irwin and Farrell 1996: 60)

Our art is our cultural identity; it's our politics. (Jensen 1992:20)

These voices succinctly express the deep bond between art and identity and illustrate that art cannot be considered a mere “aspect” or “element” of a culture, as the two are one and the same. This holistic approach to art and culture stands in contrast to conventional academic analyses of indigenous arts, which tend to focus on the object rather than process and emphasize aesthetics rather than cultural context (West 1994: 10). Native authors are increasingly challenging this application of isolating and hierarchical models, criticizing the imposition of Western frameworks and asserting the need for indigenous artistic expression to be understood within the context of the worldview in which it has been created. For example, Richard Hill suggests that most Native languages do not have words for “art” or “culture”; that these concepts are completely integrated into the daily lives of indigenous peoples (1994: 6). Similarly, Deborah Doxtator maintains that Native thought conceptualizes art as “permeating everything in every day life” (1995: 18).

George Marcus and Fred Myers note that the “discursive separation of art from culture created a part of culture that, like anthropology itself, had culture as its object” (1995: 7). As with the previous discussion regarding the nature of culture and tradition, it is my intention here to highlight the need for viewing the relationship between art and

I do not attempt to offer, or argue for, a “definition” of art here, either cross-culturally or within Hopi culture. Rather, I focus on the contrast between Western and Native approaches to artistic expression. On a technical level, however, I should note that this study focuses on “plastic” arts (i.e. ceramics, weaving, sculpture, etc.) rather than on performative arts.

culture in a manner different than conventional models. That many indigenous cultures traditionally did not identify their expressive works as “art”; that the *process* of creating objects is considered as meaningful as the end product by most Native artists; and that Native authors emphasize the inseparability of art from all other aspects of life; are all indications that existing academic frameworks fail to account for the contexts and meanings in which indigenous artistic expression is produced. A more holistic³⁵, or integrated, perspective that considers art *as* culture, and accounts for both process and product, therefore provides the most appropriate framework for my analysis of Hopi katsina doll carving. Such an approach is considered compatible with the “fluid” concept of culture discussed earlier, and considered essential to this study, in that it accounts for broader contexts, influences, and the meaning of artistic process.

Highly expressive and culturally meaningful, art encompasses philosophy and worldview, history and tradition, social beliefs and values, ceremony and religion. Art provides an outlet for the creative interpretation of the modern world, a forum for political statements, and a medium for cultural continuity (Brascoupé 1994: 96; Nicks 1999: 311; Nahwooksy 1994: 86). Richard Hill best describes these points in his statement that “[a]rt is the record of the past, the thinking of the present and the hopes for the future” (1994: 6). Similarly, Simon Brascoupé asserts that “[a]rt communicates meaning and information over time” (1994: 93). In accordance with these ideas, this dissertation argues that objects make cultural statements. Specifically, I demonstrate that

³⁵ To clarify, the “holistic approach” suggested here is not to be confused with that found in classic ethnographies, which sought to represent cultures as well-integrated cultural “wholes”. Additionally, I do not intend to imply that a “holistic perspective” is equated with a “Native perspective”. Rather, I propose a holistic view, which accounts for, and integrates, multiple perspectives, meanings and contexts

recent innovations in Hopi katsina doll carving encode modern Hopi values and concerns, communicating local meanings³⁶ regarding the contemporary situation of an indigenous society enmeshed in a wider global system. Hopi scholar Emory Sekaquaptewa contends that the language, rituals and customs of a people “continue to call up memories of the past that have meaning to the present and future” (in Nahwooksy 1994: 85). To this wisdom, others would add that objects also may act as “memory aids” which draw on cultural meaning (Rickard 1992; Cruikshank 1995; Irwin and Farrell 1996; Clifford 1997; Nicks 1999) communicating information as they move through time, space and context, and providing “metaphors for making sense of the world” (Doxtator 1995: 15). Hopi katsina dolls, viewed through this framework, become culturally important mnemonic devices which are, at the same time, both internally defining (encoding fundamental cultural values within the context of Hopi religion and worldview) and, outwardly expressive (communicating meaning and identity externally).

Accepting the premise that art communicates meaning, the study of contemporary expressions in Hopi katsina doll carving then becomes an exploration of broader statements of self-identity. This perspective requires that contemporary katsina dolls and contemporary carving be viewed within the models of culture and art previously outlined, thus involving an understanding of both the holistic relationship between art and culture, and the recognition of change, appropriation and invention as intrinsic aspects of cultural identity. This perspective further requires a working approach to identity for purposes of

³⁶ I borrow the term “local meanings” from Good (1997) to denote the interpretations of Hopi peoples regarding community concerns in a modern world.

this dissertation, since the very term has become, in the words of Anthony Cohen “an awful portmanteau, carrying all sorts of murky cargo” (1993: 195).

Following Cohen, “identity” is understood at the most basic level as the “way(s) in which a person is, or wishes to be, known by certain others” (1993: 195). Applied to this study, statements of identity communicated at the individual level of the Hopi artist are understood as self-representation, or as assertions of “self-identity”. Central to such statements are symbols, the primary vehicles through which meaning is articulated (A. Cohen 1993: 196, 201; 1994: 17-18). Cohen’s approach to identity is appropriate to this study in two ways. First Cohen treats culture as that which aggregates, rather than integrates, people and processes. This distinction recognizes *difference* rather than similarity within a group (A. Cohen 1993: 195-196; 1994: 118-119). Similarly, he perceives symbols as malleable, imprecise, and multivocal (A. Cohen 1993: 201; 1994: 17-18). Thus, Cohen’s approach to cultural identity insists that “individuals are more than their membership of and participation in collectivities”, and “that collectivities are themselves the products of their individual members” (1994: 133). Stressing the individual’s contribution to the making and remaking of collective identities, Cohen therefore regards ethnographic attention to the individuals’ awareness of their relationship to their society as an appropriate way to understand the collectivity (1994: 133).

Cohen’s approach offers a valid framework for the interpretation of the statements and representations of individual Hopi carvers as connected with broader societal conditions. By approaching Hopi society from the level of the artist, this research permits

some consideration of connections between the individual and collective. Furthermore, this approach accounts for culture difference and offers a means of avoiding sweeping generalization. Cohen's approach can be broadly linked to Lila Abu-Lughod's concept of "ethnographies of the particular", a strategy for "writing against culture" (1991: 149-157). She argues that generalization, the characteristic mode of operation and writing style of the social sciences, can no longer be regarded as neutral description, and she maintains that:

one powerful tool for unsettling the culture concept and subverting the process of 'othering' it entails is to write 'ethnographies of the particular' (1991: 149).

Furthermore, Abu-Lughod suggests that by focusing closely on specific individuals and their changing relationships, researchers "can subvert the most problematic connotations of culture: homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness" (1991: 154).

Finally, art, as a space in which identity is produced and contested, is symbolically meaningful in terms of both individual self-image and collective representation. Artistic expression in this sense also becomes connected with "ethnicity", what Cohen defines as politicized cultural identity (1993: 198), as it plays a crucial role in the related processes of decolonization and self-determination while acting as a vehicle for the reclaiming of cultural memory, voice, and identity (Brascoupé 1994: 96). Art has frequently played a significant role in the struggles of many Native peoples to regain control of their destinies (Nahwooksy 1994: 86), and can thus be considered as contributing to what Berlo and Phillips (1998) have termed "an emerging postcolonial re-presentation of Aboriginal history and culture" (p.4).

Dissertation Aims and Chapter Outlines

This study investigates statements of self-identity expressed through the medium of Hopi katsina doll carving and highlights issues and concerns identified by those Hopi artists consulted for this study. Situated within a transcultured arts framework, this research marks a clear departure from existing object-oriented studies of katsina dolls, and contributes to the understanding of indigenous commercial arts as meaningful cultural expression. In this introductory chapter I have surveyed the ethnographic, methodological and theoretical space in which I locate this study. I have also presented the key concepts that define this examination of contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving.

Chapter Two provides critical historical and cultural contexts for understanding contemporary commercial Hopi carving as cultural expression. Several rationales motivate my decision to include a detailed historical and cultural overview within this dissertation. First, many of the carvers I interviewed stressed that an understanding of the meaning and importance of katsina dolls cannot be achieved without comprehending their place within Hopi culture. Accordingly, the inclusion of such context is necessary on an empirical level. Secondly, this study aims to highlight the perspectives of the Hopi artists interviewed for this research. As the views articulated by participant carvers regarding commercial carving are directly linked with the broader conditions of Hopi society, historical and cultural overviews must be provided to facilitate later discussions regarding katsina doll carving as contemporary cultural expression.

Chapter Three discusses existing approaches to the katsinam, contrasting traditional Hopi perspectives with existing academic frameworks. In investigating

Western studies of katsina dolls, I identify the need for the application of new conceptual frameworks that both account for broader contexts and processes involved in the production of commercial arts and incorporate Hopi views and concerns. Recent studies that contribute to this examination are examined, with particular attention given to transcultured arts models.

Chapter Four discusses the rise of the art market in the Southwest in general, and investigates the influence of early traders and curio dealers, art patrons, and tourism on indigenous arts. Chapter Five builds on this discussion and considers contemporary katsina doll carving in relation to the Western art market, exploring the history of interaction and exchange between Hopi artists and consumers. Case studies in commercial carving are presented to illustrate the agency of Hopi artists within the art market system. The concept and construction of “authenticity” is key to this discussion, and both Western and Hopi perspectives on this topic are explored.

Chapter Six draws on my field interviews and investigation of trends in carving to demonstrate how katsina dolls serve as a form of cultural expression, and how statements of self-identity are articulated through carving. Issues and concerns voiced by participant carvers are emphasized throughout this chapter and linked to the wider context of contemporary Hopi society. The two most recent trends in contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving, the “new” old-style and the abstract sculptural style, are shown to be linked to current efforts to revitalize Hopi language and to reconnect with cultural tradition.

In the Conclusion, key issues presented throughout the dissertation are integrated within a discussion of the “dual roles” of commercial katsina doll carvers, as both

contemporary artists and keepers of Hopi tradition. Pratt's notion of the "contact zone" provides an ideal framework for this investigation.

Finally, I wish to make one further note regarding chapter beginnings. Most chapters open with a quote and related short anecdote from a Hopi carver involved in this study. Alph Secakuku, Alfred "Bo" Lomahquahu, Philbert Honanie, and Armand Fritz, have been instrumental in my understanding of the powerful messages communicated through Hopi katsinam and katsina doll carving. It is only appropriate that I open each chapter with their words and wisdom.

Chapter Two The Hopisinom (Hopi People)

*Let me give you a history of where the beginning point is...
- Alph Secakuku, Hopi Artist and Gallery Owner*

During my very first visit to Hopi in July of 1999, my husband and I made a stop at the “Hopi Fine Arts” Gallery on Second Mesa. It was here that I purchased my first tihu, a “Sosopa”, or cricket katsina, in the “new” old-style¹ of carving. In addition to acquiring this treasure, I was told, to my delight, that there would be a Niman (Home Dance) at Songòopavi² the next day. Never will I forget standing atop the mesa and hearing the rattles of the katsinam pick up rhythm and intensity as they emerged from the katsina house, near the kiva. My breath caught as I first glimpsed the tops of tabletas, and I could barely contain my astonishment as a line of about twenty Hemis katsinam entered the plaza. As they danced it began to rain – softly at first, then steadily to a downpour. I stood drenched and in positive wonder, watching the katsinam I had read so much about.

Recalling this, my first experience with the Hopi katsinam, I am reminded of the many conversations I have had with Hopi carvers throughout my research regarding tihu, katsinam, and their relationships to Hopi culture. Perhaps one of the most poignant teachings to me was a result of correspondence with Alph Secakuku³, katsina doll carver and owner of Hopi Fine Arts. In response to my inquiries regarding contemporary carving, Alph stressed that any such learning must always start at the “beginning point”. To understand the meaning of the katsinam and katsina dolls, he explained, it is first necessary to consider their context – Hopi culture. The katsinam and Hopi culture are inextricably linked – one does not exist without the other.

The obvious starting point for this study is an overview of Hopi history and culture. From the outset, two critical points must be articulated. First, although Hopi

¹ The contemporary “traditional” or “new” old-style of carving is a fairly recent trend among carvers, and is characterized by simple/stylized carving, and the use of natural pigments and materials for decoration

² With regard to Hopi Village names, I have adhered to the spellings included in Jonathan Day’s “Glossary of Place Names”, in Traditional Hopi Kachinas (2000), unless directly quoting an author who uses an alternate spelling. Day’s glossary follows the spellings included in the Hopiikwa Lavàytutuveni. A Hopi English Dictionary of the Third Mesa Dialect, compiled by the Hopi Dictionary Project

³ Data presented here are drawn from electronic correspondence with Alph Secakuku during July 2004

history, culture, economics, religion, and art are discussed within sub-sections of this chapter, by no means does this practice represent divisions that exist in Hopi thought. Rather, I wish to stress the integrated aspect of the Hopi worldview, that “[a]rt and agriculture and religion are all part of the same totality for the Hopi” (Lee 2001: 23). This idea directly connects with the second point I wish to emphasize, and relates back to the opening epigraph of this chapter. The teachings of Alph Secakuku and other carvers have brought me to the realization that Hopi culture cannot be divided into neatly coherent parts for purposes of analysis. Consequently, this dissertation would not be complete in the eyes of the Hopi carvers I interviewed without the inclusion of this chapter in its entirety. Furthermore, in this chapter, I emphasize Hopi voices and perspectives, those who live the culture, rather than my own interpretation. I consider this chapter to contain more than “background” or “contextual” information that has informed my discussion of commercial katsina carving. Rather, I understand that this chapter on the Hopi people is the foundation on which my examination must be built, as katsina doll carving is woven deeply into the fabric of Hopi culture.

Historical and Cultural Paths of the Hopisinom

Emergence and Settlement

We Hopi are descendants of an ancient people, the Hisatsinom. Hopis and our ancestors lived in these arid

lands long before the coming of the Paiutes, Navajo, Apaches, Spanish, and Americans.⁴

According to Hopi origin stories⁵, humans emerged from a strife-filled Third World to this one, the “Fourth World”, by climbing up a hollow reed through the “sipapuni,” an entrance way said to be located by the Little Colorado River in the Grand Canyon (Waters 1963: 17-27; Feher-Elston 1988: 1-2; James 1994: 2-8; Eggan 1994: 7; Parezo 1996: 240-241). As such, this present life is referred to as the Fourth Way of Life for the Hopi (Hopi Tribe 2001: Emergence). As the climbers passed through the sipapuni and emerged into the Upper World, Yawpa, the mockingbird, sorted them out, assigning every person to a tribe and giving them a language (Hopi Tribe 2001: Emergence).⁶ Additionally, as groups of people moved from the Third to the Fourth World, they encountered the caretaker of the land, Maa’saw, who gave the people fire, permitted them to settle on his land, and explained the rules of life in the Fourth World (Waters 1963: 17-27; James 1994: 2-8; Eggan 1994: 7; Parezo 1996: 240-241). Hopi legend recounts that Maa’saw offered an ear of corn to every group, with each ear relating to, and bringing with it, a specific way of life. Other groups took the largest ones, leaving the Hopi with a short blue ear of corn:

The leader of the Navajos reached out quickly and took the yellow ear that would bring a short life but much

⁴ Quote taken from the “Special Visitors’ Guide: Welcome to Hopiland”, produced by the Hopi Tribe, Office of Public Relations and Tutuveni Graphics (1999)

⁵ There are many different versions of Hopi origin legends. The following is a brief summary based on existing published accounts.

⁶ The Emergence Story provided on the Hopi Tribe’s 2001 website is based on Harold Courlander’s “The Four Worlds” from The Fourth World of the Hopis (1971).

enjoyment and prosperity. The Sioux took the white corn. The Supais chose the ear speckled with yellow, the Comanches took the red, and the Utes took the flint corn. The leader of the Apaches, seeing only two kinds of corn remaining, chose the longest – the *kwakwi* grass with the seeds on top. Only the stubby ear of blue corn was left for the Hopis. So the leader of the Hopi picked it up, saying, "We were slow in choosing so we must take the smallest ear. We shall live a life of hardship, but it will be a long-lasting life. Other tribes may perish, but the Hopi will survive all adversities." Thus the Hopi became the people of the short blue corn (Hopi Tribe 2001: Emergence).

In this way, the Hopi peoples came to understand the difficulties they would face in the Fourth World, and realized that they would have to learn their way of life from the corn:

Cultivating corn has therefore been a profound experience for the Hopi and has shaped their lifeway, which is based on humility, cooperation, respect and earth stewardship (Hopi Tribe 2001: Culture).

Hopi religion and cultivation are completely entwined. The important themes of moisture, growth and fertility are symbolized in all Hopi ceremonies, particularly Powamuya. Occurring in February at the beginning of the ceremonial cycle, the Powamuya "implores the katsinam to appear among the Hopi so life for all mankind can have substantial growth and maturity" (Secakuku 1995: 16). New bean plants are sprouted in the warmth of underground kivas, germinating under the watchful eye of the katsinam, and signifying the success of the upcoming year's crop (Teiwes 1991: 8).

Today the Hopi produce seventeen varieties of corn, the result of cross-pollination between traditional strains that have been adapted over the centuries to the Hopi method of dry-farming (Hopi Tribe 2001: Farming). Through the technique of dry-farming,

which depends completely on natural precipitation, Hopi farmers manage to coax corn, beans and squash from the arid soil. Rather than ploughing, Hopi farmers traditionally leave rows of natural vegetation in the fields to retain soil and moisture, and serve as windbreaks (Hopi Tribe 2001: Farming). Additionally, Hopi farmers have perfected special planting techniques⁷ and have developed drought-hardy seeds suited to the desert climate (Hopi Tribe 2001: Farming; Day 2000: 2). Another method of cultivation long used by Hopi farmers involves gardening on self-irrigated terraces along the mesa walls, below villages. Terrace irrigation is made possible because of the perennial springs at each village, which originally permitted settlement (Hopi Tribe 2001: Farming). Through the adoption of such farming techniques, as well as spiritual help from the katsinam, the Hopi successfully yield harvests from a seemingly barren environment.

In recent generations, agriculture has become a primarily symbolic and ceremonial, rather than subsistence, activity (Parezo 1996: 262-263). According to the Hopi Tribe, over the last fifty years the total acreage under cultivation has significantly declined. This of course is directly related to Hopi participation in the market economy and the availability of wage employment on the reservation (Hopi Tribal Council 1997: Agriculture). Nonetheless, farming continues to be an essential part of Hopi culture, an act of “faith” that provides “religious focus” and reinforces traditions and customs in each new generation (Hopi Tribal Council 1997: Agriculture). As one Hopi gardener has said, "This is not about growing vegetables; it is about growing kids" (Hopi Tribal Council 1997: Agriculture).

⁷ Such as using a long digging stick in order to place the seeds deep in the earth without opening large holes, which reduce ground moisture.

Both myth and the archaeological record present a picture of the Hopi as a nomadic people who became increasingly sedentary as they learned the techniques of agriculture and pottery. Archaeological research indicates that agriculture was introduced to the Southwest from present-day Central America and southern Mexico as early as 1500 B.C.E. (Hopi Tribe 2001: Farming; Adams 1991: 2-3; Brew 1979: 514-515), and shows that from A.D. 700 to 1100 the Hopi's ancestors were building pueblo type⁸ structures such as the ones located at Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, Aztec, Wupatki, Betatakin, and Keet Seel (Waters 1963: 118). The period of greatest occupancy within the pueblos, located in what is now known as the Four Corners region, was from approximately A.D. 1000 to 1300 (Teiwes 1991: 21; Waters 1963: 118). Archaeological evidence suggests that most of these settlements were abandoned because of a period of drought during A.D. 1276 to 1299 (Waters 1963: 118). This period of upheaval coincides with the establishment of the first Hopi villages atop the three Hopi mesas. Initial settlement in the present Hopi homeland is believed to have occurred early in the twelfth century, with a multitude of clans arriving soon after from surrounding abandoned pueblos (Waters 1963: 118).

Hopi migration stories also provide similar accounts of journeys to the four points of the compass, and eventual settlement on what are now the Hopi Mesas:

Then Masauwu told everyone to leave sipapuni and migrate across the continent, each group in a different direction, in order to learn their way of life before reaching their final

⁸ “Pueblo” or “Puebloan” (capitalized) refers to the cultural grouping of Native peoples in Arizona and New Mexico, while “pueblo” refers to the multi-story, contiguous structures built of adobe and masonry.

destination. So the Hopis went in search of their promised land (Parezo 1996: 241).

Some clans stared to the south, others to the north, retraced their routes to turn east and west, and then back again. All their routes formed a great cross whose centre, Túwanasavi [Center of the Universe], lay in what is now the Hopi country...and whose arms reached to the four directional *pásos*. As they turned at each of these extremities they formed of this great cross a swastika, either clockwise or counter-clockwise, corresponding to the movement of the earth or of the sun. And then when their migrations slowed as they reached their permanent home, they formed spirals and circles, ever growing smaller. All these patterns formed by their four migrations are the basic motifs of the symbols still found today in their pottery and basketware, on their *kachina* rattles and altar boards (Waters: 1963:35).

The paths taken by the Hopi's ancestors are recorded both in oral tradition⁹ and in the "footprints" of the ancient ruins of the northern Southwest, sites at which the Hopi peoples believe their ancestral clans lived before arriving at the Hopi Mesas (Parezo 1996: 238-239). Archaeologists concur; the evidence they have found demonstrates the cultural continuity between the Hopi and the ancient "Anasazi" peoples of the Southwest. The earliest occupants of the Hopi Mesas are believed to have migrated from nearby Kayenta Anasazi and Sinagua settlements, with later groups arriving from other ancient communities such as Mesa Verde and Wupatki (Parezo 1996: 238-239, 242). The Hopi, however, refer to their ancestors as "Hisatsinom" (People of Long Ago) and object to the "Anasazi" designation because it is a Navajo term that translates as "ancient enemies" (Hopi Tribe 2001: History; Parezo 1996: 238-239, 242; Benedek 1992:48-49).

⁹ See: Waters, Book of the Hopi (1963). Part Two – "The Legends. Migrations of the Clans", Courlander, The Fourth World of the Hopis: The Epic Story of the Hopi Indians As Preserved in Their Legends and Traditions (1971) – "The Migrations"; and James, Pages from Hopi History (1994) – "Clan Migrations"

Directly linked with these early migrations is the complex system of Hopi clans and clan societies. Hopi tradition understands clans as being descended from the independent migratory groups that arrived in the Hopi “tutsqua” (ancestral lands)¹⁰, at varying times and from different directions (Whitely 1998: 60; Hopi Tribe 2001: Clans). The origin of specific clan names is believed to be directly related to an episode with a totemic object, which occurred during each clan’s migration (Whitely 1998: 60). For example, according to Hopi oral tradition, one migrating clan came upon the body of a deceased bear near the Little Colorado River during their journey. Considering this a significant omen, they decided to call themselves the Bear Clan. A later migratory group came across the same bear, and having difficulty transporting their possessions, cut long strips from the bear’s hide to facilitate bundling. This group became known as the Strap Clan (Waters 1971: 63). It is generally accepted that the people of the Bear Clan were the first to arrive at what are now the Hopi Mesas (James 1994: 17; Hopi Tribe 2001: Clans; Whitely 1998: 60; Waters 1963: 109). As such, when other clans came to settle on the mesas, they were required to petition the Bear Clan for access to the land, and demonstrate what they could contribute in the way of ritual knowledge and rain-bringing power (Parezo 1996: 243; Whitely 1998: 60).

A Hopi individual is born into the clan of his or her mother and gains a group of allied kin through the father. The Hopi clans are clustered in unnamed exogamous phratries, and the clan-phratry system delineates an individual’s relationship to other

¹⁰ Hopi clan markings and ruins of ancestral villages clearly mark the traditional homeland that the Hitasinom once occupied – a large territory stretching from the Grand Canyon to what is now called Navajo Mountain, north toward the Lukachukai Mountains near the New Mexico/Arizona border and south to the Mogollon Rim (Hopi Tribe, Office of Public Relations 1999: Vital Ancient History) That many of these sacred sites are now on Navajo land is a major issue of concern for the Hopi.

Hopi peoples (Connelly 1980: 54). Each of the thirty-four living Hopi clans is distinct, but related to other clans within their phratries (Hopi Tribe 2001: Clans). The explanation of the clan system given by the Hopi Tribe is worth relating here, as it communicates a Hopi perspective on clan identity and its role in Hopi life:

Special duties are associated with membership in each clan...Each clan is also responsible for hosting ceremonies, and for keeping and honoring certain sacred objects...Clan membership even determines how one acts around certain individuals. Hopi are forbidden to marry anyone from their own or related clans, since the entire phratry is considered family. Hopi must take care of clan members and treat them with great respect. In particular, the mother's clan, which is the primary clan, is owed special respect and responsibilities. For instance, the mother's sister's family is nearly as close to a person as their immediate family. The father's relatives are also important, but individuals can feel more free to tease and joke with members of that clan (Hopi Tribe 2001: Clans).

As noted, the establishment of a permanent homeland atop three widely separated mesas¹¹ began with the Bear Clan, who founded the village of Songòopavi at the foot of Second Mesa.¹² Later, the Bear Clan also settled the villages of Orayvi¹³, Musangnuvi¹⁴, and Supawlavi (Waters 1963: 118; Hopi Tribe, Office of Public Relations 1999: Hopi Village Life). The village of Wálpi on First Mesa is the second oldest settlement in North America, dating to 1150 A.D., (Hopi Tribe, Office of Public Relations 1999: Hopi Village Life) and is believed to have been settled by the Fire Clan

¹¹ See Figure Two, "Map of the Hopi Mesas and Villages".

¹² Songòopavi is now located on the mesa top.

¹³ Orayvi is a Third Mesa village branched from Songòopavi and considered to be the oldest continuously inhabited settlement in North America, dating to 1100 A.D.

¹⁴ Musangnuvi is now located above its original site on Second Mesa.

(Waters 1963: 119). Sitsom'ovi, the middle village atop First Mesa, was built in the 1600s due to a population overflow from Wàlpi, while the village of Hanoki was established in the early 1700s by Tewa speaking peoples who joined the Hopi from the eastern Pueblos (Hopi Tribe, Office of Public Relations 1999: Hopi Village Life). The village of Hotvela was established on Third Mesa in the early 1900s by the Fire Clan, as a result of the “Orayvi Split”, while the nearby village of Paaqavi was settled by the Spider clan from Hotvela shortly after the latter was founded (Hopi Tribe, Office of Public Relations 1999: Hopi Village Life). Kiqötsmovi is one of the newest Hopi villages, branching from Orayvi in the 1900s, and Mùnqapi, located fifty miles west of Third Mesa, was established as a farming community by the Pumpkin Clan from Orayvi (Hopi Tribe, Office of Public Relations 1999: Hopi Village Life; Waters 1963: 119). While the Hopi traditionally located their villages on mesas for defensive purposes, they were by no means the entirety of Hopi territory. Land surrounding the mesas was divided between clans and families, while certain areas were held in common for medicinal and religious purposes. The Hopi established boundary markings hundreds of miles away from their villages to demarcate their ancestral homeland and use area, called the “tutsqua”, which is estimated to have once covered over 18 million acres (Hopi Tribe 2001: History).

Today, going from east to west on Highway 264, Keams Canyon is the first community one encounters on the Hopi Reservation. It is, however, not a Hopi village, but the site of the Hopi Bureau of Indian Affairs Agency and various other government facilities and privately owned businesses (Hopi Tribe, Office of Public Relations 1999:

Hopi Village Life). While each village remains relatively independent, exercising traditional self-government and implementing their own religious cycles, the influence of the twentieth century and Western society is clearly apparent in the existence of a Hopi Tribal Council, established on December 19, 1936, to represent the union of self-governing villages (Secakuku 1995: 1).

Contact, Conquest, Survival

We [the Hopi] have struggled hard to maintain our livelihood and protect our land.¹⁵

Hopi prophecy long anticipated the arrival of “Pahaana”, a contemporary term for non-Natives and the legendary lost white Hopi brother who was separated from the rest of the Hopi at an early stage of their migrations. From the first Spanish explorers to contemporary international tourists, contact with outsiders has seldom been without negative impact for the Hopi. Lydia L. Wyckoff suggests that Francisco Vásquez de Coronado’s expedition to find the Seven Cities of Cibola in 1540 set the tone for Hopi-White relations. She argues that, although different in their approach, Spanish and American strategies have had in common military domination, followed by policies of assimilation aimed at “civilizing” the Hopi through conversion and education (Wyckoff 1990: 27).

¹⁵Quote taken from the “Special Visitors’ Guide: Welcome to Hopiland”, produced by the Hopi Tribe, Office of Public Relations and Tutuveni Graphics (1999).

The first arrivals in Hopi territory, or what the Spanish called “Tusayán” lands, were a small westward expedition in 1540 under the leadership of Don Pedro de Tovar (Feher-Elston 1988: 12; Wyckoff 1990: 29; Brew 1979: 519). Although early Spanish incursions were limited and sporadic, contact accelerated between 1628 and 1680 as a result of proselytizing (Feher-Elston 1988: 12-13; Brew 1979: 519). In 1629, Franciscan missionaries built the first mission at the Hopi village of Awatovi, purposely constructing the new church directly over the main kiva so as to demonstrate the “superposition” of Christianity over Hopi religion, while at the same time destroying Hopi ceremonial artifacts and kiva murals (Brew 1979: 520; Benedek 1992: 53; James 1994: 47). Contact with Spanish missionaries brought livestock and new crops to the Hopi Mesas. This contact, and later contact with other European groups, would also introduce smallpox, which over the centuries periodically reduced the population on the mesas from thousands to hundreds in devastating epidemics (Hopi Tribe 2001: History).

Acting together for the first and only time, the Hopi joined the Pueblos of New Mexico in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, which forced the Spanish out of the Southwest for twelve years. Offering their support because they too had been subject to the cruelty of the Franciscan friars, the Hopi murdered four priests, including those serving at Orayvi, Songòopavi, and at Awatovi (Wyckoff 1990: 31; Brew 1979: 521). Regardless of missionary presence, the influence of Christianity upon the Hopi Pueblos during this early period seems to have been quite minimal, and faded almost entirely after the 1906 revolt (Wyckoff 1990: 31). Although the Spanish were successful in reconquering the

Pueblos of New Mexico, they were never able to firmly re-establish themselves among the Hopi:

The struggle lost by the Christian God in Tusayán in 1680 stayed lost. The kachinas won and the kachinas have held the field since (Brew 1979: 521).

Soon after Spanish reconquest, missionaries were once again sent to the Hopi mesas. All villages, with the exception of Awatovi, strongly rejected these religious endeavors. Deciding to permanently eradicate the Christian presence in 1700, forces from Orayvi, and possibly Songòopavi and Wàlpi, destroyed the village of Awatovi in a pre-dawn attack, killing all men and absorbing the remaining women and children into other villages (Brew 1979: 522; Wyckoff 1990: 32; Parezo 1996: 252; Waters 1963: 263-265). Since the destruction of Awatovi, the rejection or acceptance of Western values and Christianity has continued to act as a catalyst for conflict, both within and between villages.

In the late 1600s, during the period of Spanish rule, Navajos began moving into Hopi territory, appropriating rangeland, farmland, water resources, and conducting frequent raids against villages for animals, women and children. Having adopted the use of horses, the Navajo became the chief enemy of the Hopi people (Hopi Tribe 2001: History; Hopi Tribe, Office of Public Relations 1999: Vital Ancient History). By 1819, Navajo raids, specifically for slaves, had reached such proportions that five Hopi representatives traveled to Santa Fe to request Spanish protection (Wyckoff 1990: 34). However, the declining Spanish government was unable to respond to the request and when the Hopi fell under Mexican jurisdiction in 1821 after the Mexican War of

Independence, the new government also failed to bring Navajo raiding under control. The raids continued with force as the outbreak of the United States-Mexican war in 1846 permitted Navajos to act at will (Wyckoff 1990: 34). Such incursions lasted until 1848, when the United States and Mexico signed the Treaty of Guadalupe de Hidalgo and Hopi territory became part of the expanding United States – the third outside government with which the Hopi would have direct contact (Hopi Tribe 2001: History; Wyckoff 1990: 34).

By the time the Southwest was acquired by the United States, the Hopi were desperate for protection from the Navajo, and from 1850 until 1863 they repeatedly petitioned the U.S. government for protection of their land rights, economy and culture (Hopi Tribe 2001: Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute). In October of 1850, the Hopi sent a group of seven representatives to appeal to the Indian Agent, John S. Calhoun for assistance in defending against Navajo raiding parties (Wyckoff 1990: 34). The United States government first approached the problem of Navajo raiding with treaties, however, this method was largely unsuccessful as the Navajo nation had no central authority, and agreements signed by one headman were not binding for other bands (Benedek 1992: 65-66). To more actively deal with the situation, the U.S. War Department established military posts at Fort Defiance in 1851, and from this location conducted forceful campaigns against the Navajo until 1858 (Wyckoff 1990: 34; Benedek 1992: 66; Feher-Elston 1988: 25). In 1863, New Mexican military commander General James Carleton prepared to launch a continued assault on the Navajo and Mescalero Apache, with the end goal of forced evacuation and

resettlement. To oversee this removal effort, Carleton built a garrison at a location called “Bosque Redondo” (which would later be named “Fort Sumner”) and enlisted Colonel Christopher (Kit) Carson to drive the Navajo to surrender through a scorched earth campaign. Carson, with the aid of the First New Mexico Volunteer Infantry, was ordered to round up all fleeing Navajo and take them, as prisoners, to Fort Sumner. In March of 1864, twenty-four hundred Navajos were forced to take the “Long Walk”. A year later, more than 9,000 Navajos were imprisoned at Fort Sumner (James 1994: 81-82; Kammer 1980: 22-23; Clemmer 1995: 37).

In 1868, the Navajos signed a treaty with the U.S. government that established a portion of the Navajo homeland as a reservation. However, within a few years of entering into this treaty, Navajo peoples would once again return to Hopi country in violation of their agreement (Hopi Tribe, Office of Public Relations 1999: Vital Ancient History; Brugge 1994: 24; Kammer 1980: 26-27). Also during this period the appearance of outsiders became increasingly common on the Hopi Mesas. In addition to the arrival of the first “Indian Agents” in 1869 (Clemmer 1995: 47), both missionaries (Mennonite and Mormon) and traders began to infiltrate Hopi territory. The first sustained contact the Hopi had with Americans, other than soldiers, was with the Mormons whose interest in the Hopi was both ideological and practical. In addition to gaining converts among the Hopi whom, as American Indians, the Mormons considered to be “of the blood of Israel”, the missionaries also hoped that Hopi converts would move north and act a “buffer” between Mormon settlements and other more hostile Native groups (Wyckoff 1990: 34-35). The Mormons were successful in

founding a colony known as “Tuba City” to the west of Third Mesa in 1875 (Wyckoff 1990: 38). To the east, the trader Thomas Keam established the village of “Keams Canyon” near First Mesa and developed a successful business with the Hopi in the 1880s. The major difference between the settlements at Tuba City and Keams Canyon was that the United States government had a presence in the latter. In 1874, the first Indian Agency in Hopi territory was erected in Keams Canyon (Wyckoff 1990: 38).

In response to the ongoing issue of Navajo encroachment, as well as increasing Mormon incursions onto Hopi land (Wyckoff 1990: 40; Kammer 1980: 26), President Chester Arthur, by Presidential Executive Order, established a 2.5 million acre reservation in 1882, “for the use and occupancy of the Moqui [Hopi] and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon” (Kammer 1980: 27). Obviously the arbitrary boundaries imposed by the U.S. government did not adequately reflect Hopi conceptions of *tutsqua*, with hundreds of Navajo being included within the borders, and the Hopi village of *Mùnqapi* being completely excluded (Kammer 1980: 27; Brugge 1994: 26). The 1882 Executive Order Reservation would set the stage for the ongoing Navajo-Hopi land dispute and the “Second Long Walk” a century later.

Throughout the 1880s, contact with non-Natives took on a new form and occurred with even greater frequency, as anthropologists and tourists increasingly took to exploring the area. The activity of early ethnographers has already been documented in Chapter One, and while the topic of tourism is investigated in Chapter Four, it should

be noted that the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad are considered to have pioneered tourism in the American Southwest.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, Hopi-U.S. relations were characterized by continued efforts by the government to exert control over Hopi land and culture. The passage of the Dawes Act in 1887 allowed the U.S government to develop policies aimed at assimilating Native Americans into the dominant culture. Under its provisions, children were rounded up and forced to go to government schools and the Hopi faced intense pressure to convert to Christianity. Furthermore, the government's assimilationist policies resulted in personal violations to Hopi people, and they were often subjected to cruel treatment at the hands of officials. For example, Hopi men and boys were ordered to cut their hair, and all Hopi individuals were "deloused" with sheep-dip (Hopi Tribe 2001: History; James 1994: 185-190). The U.S. government also attempted to establish a program of land allotment during this period, even though within Hopi tradition no individual could own land (Wyckoff 1990: 40; Hopi Tribe 2001: History; James 1994: 163-167, 185-190; Brugge 1994: 28-29; Benedek 1992: 116-117). Challenges to both culture and ancestral homeland would continue for the Hopi peoples into and throughout the twentieth century.

Into The Twentieth Century

For many residents of Third Mesa the division of Oraibi in 1906 separates time.¹⁶

¹⁶ Wyckoff 1990: 45

A common aspect of post-contact Hopi life was the strained relations that existed between those who accepted the ways of the dominant Western society and those who tried to resist them and maintain a traditional way of life. In 1906, these tensions reached a breaking point when, in the village of Orayvi, divisions between Progressives, or “Friendlies”, and Traditionalists, or “Hostiles”, culminated in a village split. On September 8, 1906, the leaders of the opposing factions – Youkeoma of the Hostiles, and Tawakwaptewa of the Friendlies – put their hands on each other’s chests and engaged in a “pushing contest”. Youkeoma and the Hostiles were pushed over a line drawn in the sand and literally driven out village to found their own settlement. Hotvela was thus established, with a less conservative faction of the exiled Hostiles branching off to found Paaqavi soon after (Waters 1963: 301-306; Whiteley 1988: 5-6; James 1994: 136, 138).

There are many theories regarding the Orayvi Split, as this event came to be known. According to Wyckoff, the differences between Progressives and Traditionalists reflected the uneasy relationship between Hopis and the “modern world of the White man”, and more specifically concerned “whether or not to accept the forced education policy of the United States government” (1990: 3-4). She maintains that although the line between Hopi and Western values is constantly shifting, the bottom line issue of ‘acceptance or rejection of American ways’ remains the fundamental difference between Progressives and Traditionalists today (Wyckoff 1990: 4). Whiteley, however, challenges such conventional theories regarding the Orayvi Split, arguing that the divisions between the two factions were rooted in Hopi politics

and clan affiliations. He further maintains that the split was a “deliberate act” orchestrated by Orayvi’s politico-religious leaders, directed at motivating radical change in the structure of Hopi society (Whiteley 1988).

The dispute at Orayvi would prove to be the impetus for alterations in Hopi social organization; specifically it strengthened the village as the unit of identity and increased the power of the “kikmongwi”¹⁷ (Clemmer 1995: 125-126). Until the 1930s, U.S. government policies of assimilation had been tied to strategies of political isolation, which in effect permitted Hopi political systems to remain relatively unchanged up to the passage of the Hopi Constitution in 1936, under the provisions of John Collier’s New-Deal Indian Reorganization Act (Wyckoff 1990: 54; Clemmer 1995: 144-146). The Hopi Constitution, which defines the Hopi Tribe as “a union of self-governing villages” gave considerable authority to the village kikmongwis. It also gave the Tribal Council the legal power to oversee functions such as the regulation of tribal funds and commercial enterprises, the protection of Hopi arts and ceremonies, and the removal of non-tribal members deemed harmful to Hopi society (Thompson 1950: 84). While this government imposed Tribal Council continues to exist in contemporary Hopi society and represents the Hopi people in matters external to the tribe, Hopi villages maintain quasi-independence. According to the Hopi Tribe:

Of the 12 villages, only 3 have adopted constitutions and established a truly western form of government. The remaining 9 villages vary in the degree to which they adhere to the traditional Hopi form of governance. Oraibi remains strictly traditional in its governing structure and

¹⁷ Village Chief.

does not accept funds or any other form of assistance from the Tribal government. Other villages merge traditional with western governing policies by maintaining a village Kikmongwi (chief or leader) but also having representatives on Tribal Council (2001: History).

Traditionalists do not accept the authority of the Tribal Council, which they see as contrary to the Hopi's religious-political system. Instead, these individuals continue to follow traditional religion and advocate traditional kikmongwi leadership (Wyckoff 1990: 54).

In addition to the imposition of a Hopi Tribal Council, the 1936 Indian Reorganization Act also implemented several other programs that caused great distress among the Hopi peoples. When forced livestock reduction was introduced, it disrupted traditional subsistence patterns. Equally disruptive was the establishment of "Land Management District Number Six" in 1943, which expanded the Navajo reservation boundaries and permitted the Hopi exclusive use of a mere fourth of what they had been led to believe was their own reservation (James 1994: 202-203). The federal government's indifference towards the protection of the Hopi Reservation led to the Hopi peoples being threatened with a complete loss of their lands to the Navajo (Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute). As explained by the Hopi Tribe, "fearful that they would never be able to reclaim or use their *tutsqua*, the Hopi decided to use the modern court system to help them keep their land" (Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute). Subsequently, in the 1958 case of "Healing vs. Jones", the Hopi Tribe sued the Navajo over title to the 1882 Hopi Reservation and argued for the return of all land within those boundaries (Hopi Tribe

2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute). Much has been written regarding Navajo-Hopi relations, particularly regarding the land dispute¹⁸, with various perspectives and arguments being reflected in each piece. Here, I attempt to briefly convey the opinions articulated by the Hopi Tribe. In their “History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute”, the Hopi Tribe notes that much literature and media exposure regarding the “so-called Hopi-Navajo ‘Land Dispute’ ”¹⁹ emphasizes the hardships of the resisting Navajo living on Hopi Partitioned Lands. In the Hopi Tribe’s opinion, these perspectives “provide little, if any, explanation or background about the anthropological history of the area and subsequent competing land claims. This leaves the impression that the affected Navajo individuals are being unfairly and irrationally penalized for no apparent reason” (Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute).

To briefly summarize, following the “Healing vs. Jones” case, the Hopi were given, in 1962, exclusive rights to a 650,000-acre unit within the reservation known as “District 6”. The court’s decision, however, also allowed for squatters’ rights and permitted Navajo claim to a fifty percent interest in the remaining area of the Hopi Reservation. This became known as the “Joint Use Area”, to be shared by both nations, and was considered by the Hopi people to be a devastating loss (Hopi Tribe 2001:

¹⁸For instance, see, Kammer, *The Second Long Walk: The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute* (1980); Fehrer-Elston, *Children of Sacred Ground. America’s Last Indian War* (1988); Benedek, *The Wind Won’t Know Me: A History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute* (1992); and, Brugge, *The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute. An American Tragedy* (1994).

¹⁹ The Hopi refer to the Land Dispute as “so-called” since they believe it was never an issue for the Hopi to claim rights to the 1882 Hopi Reservation. Considering this area as part of their ancestral lands, the Hopi peoples believe they were rightfully attempting to protect what they regarded as their own (Hopi Tribe 2001 History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute)

History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute). In effect, Hopi ancestral lands were reduced to under nine percent of their original size, from over 18 million acres to a mere 1.6 million acres (Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute). According to the Hopi Tribe, the court's motive for establishing a "Joint Use Area" for the two nations was premised on a "misguided belief that the Hopi and Navajo shared the same culture and traditions and would learn to live side-by-side in a peaceful manner" (Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute). The Hopi Tribe further asserts that, in fact:

Nothing was further from cultural reality, and the ignorant belief that "all Indians are the same" proved to be unwise. For the Navajo, "Joint Use" meant "No Hopi Use" and they continued to claim all of the land for themselves (Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute).

The Hopi fight to regain their ancestral lands continued, and in 1974, the matter was taken before U.S. Congress and resulted in the passing of Public Law 93-531, the Navajo-Hopi Settlement Act, which saw the "Joint Use Area" divided into the "Hopi Partitioned Lands" (HPL) and the "Navajo Partitioned Lands" (NPL) (Benedek 1992: 153; Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute). This act involved the "voluntary relocation" of those living on the "wrong" side of the boundary, these families and individuals being expected to move, at the expense of the federal government, to the appropriate area within a five-year period (Clemmer 1995: 246; Benedek 1992: 153-155; Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute). While this relocation impacted both Hopi and Navajo, the greatest strain was felt by the latter nation, with

approximately 8,000 Navajo individuals being affected in contrast to one hundred Hopi (Feher-Elston 1988: 93).

While most Navajo complied with the relocation, working with the Navajo-Hopi Indian Relocation Commission (Clemmer 1995: 246), these peoples were obviously deeply affected by such forced resettlement.²⁰ In particular, elderly Navajos were put under extreme strain, and during the early 1990's, President Zah of the Navajo Nation came before the Hopi Tribal Council to request that the Hopi find a way for such individuals to remain on the Hopi Partitioned Lands. The Hopi Tribe began settlement discussions with those affected and in October of 1992, the Navajo Nation reached an Agreement in Principle with the Hopi Tribe. This subsequently grew into an Accommodation Agreement under which the Navajo families could remain on Hopi land under a 75-year lease, these agreements being ratified in 1996 with the passing of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute Settlement Act by U.S. Congress (Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute).

Today, the majority of Navajo families who resisted relocation and continued to occupy Hopi lands have either accepted relocation benefits and resettled, or, signed a lease with the Hopi Tribe (Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute). The highly political and culturally sensitive nature of the Navajo-Hopi Land dispute cannot be denied, and continues to influence contemporary relationships between these two nations. Kammer, for example, has strongly asserted that the passage of the Navajo-

²⁰For a much more detailed discussion of the Navajo perspective on relocation, see Kammer, The Second Long Walk. The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute (1980) and Benedek, The Wind Won't Know Me: A History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute (1992)

Hopi Land Settlement Act was “fundamentally a victory of Hopi property rights over Navajo human rights” (1980: 91), while Brugge suggests that the treatment of Navajo peoples during the Land Dispute and settlement was clearly influenced by a pre-existing Western discrimination of Navajo peoples (1994: 248-257). Furthermore, a small group of “Navajo resisters” have undertaken what the Hopi Tribe sees as “an extensive ‘religious freedom’ and public relations campaign” aimed at garnering support in their fight to remain on Hopi land (Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute). In particular, the resisters’ strategy has included “playing on such sensitive issues as ethnic cleansing and genocide” (Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute). However, the Hopi Tribe strongly maintains that:

The allegation that the Hopi people are engaged in ethnic cleansing or genocide of Navajo people is not only a capricious fabrication, it is utterly absurd. It is difficult to believe such claims when one learns that: Hopi homelands were forcibly diminished by 91%; at no time during negotiations for partitionment did the Navajo Nation request that the Big Mountain area (occupied by the resisters) be included in the NPL; the Hopi Reservation is completely landlocked by the Navajo Reservation and thereby places the Hopi utterly at the mercy of the Navajo government; Hopi are denied religious access to shrines and sacred places on ancestral land. ...If there is genocide, then surely it must be the Hopi that are being systematically destroyed through revisionist history; untruthful reporting by so-called United Nations observers, outside agitators and so-called “activists”; grossly inaccurate media documentaries; and usurping their land and resources upon which they have depended for physical and cultural survival over the centuries (Hopi Tribe 2001: History of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute).

As anthropologist Richard O. Clemmer has commented, the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute and its outcome involved much more than the interests of these two Native groups. Ultimately it resulted from a history of non-Indian jurisdiction and bureaucratic control, and was conditioned by U.S. political and economic interests (1995: 270). More specifically, the idea of a “Mineral Conspiracy” was widely discussed in both the media and among those involved in the “Big Mountain” Navajo relocation controversy. Proponents of the conspiracy argument alleged that the actions of U.S. Congress were motivated by its ties to energy and development corporations, including the Peabody Coal Company (Feher-Elston 1988: 50; Clemmer 1995: 267).²¹ Peabody Coal, however, adamantly maintained that they were not involved in any way with the federal relocation program and no documents have ever surfaced which convincingly prove such allegations (Feher-Elston 1988: 51; Clemmer 1995: 267, 269). Yet, mineral leasing, most specifically with the Peabody Coal Company, has played a large role in Hopi economic life since 1964 when the Hopi Tribal Council signed a lease with them for mineral exploration on Black Mesa, and later a mining lease (Clemmer 1995: 215).

Mineral leasing has also been a target for criticism from many supporters of the Traditionalist movement who claim that such exploitation by the Tribal Council constitutes illegal action. Clemmer notes that while the Hopi Tribal Council was revived in 1950, “in part for the specific purpose of negotiating mineral leases”, the Hopi Constitution of the time “explicitly authorized the Council to *prevent* leasing”

²¹ See Clemmer (1995), Chapter Eight and Benedek (1992), Chapter Ten, for a comprehensive overview of the Hopi Tribe’s involvement with mineral leasing.

(1995: 214). In 1961, on the request of a Tribal attorney, the Acting Secretary of the Interior authorized the Council to grant mineral leases regardless of the Constitution, an illegal action from the perspective of many traditional leaders of the time (Clemmer 1995: 215). Citing both environmental and cultural concerns, Hopi Traditionalists began to actively protest mineral leasing in 1964. Strip mining by the Peabody Coal Company, argued Traditionalist leaders, would devastate much of Black Mesa and place great stress on the area's already precarious water resources through the use of a slurry pipeline for coal transportation (Clemmer 1995: 216-224). Furthermore, Traditionalists viewed mining as a violation of Hopi values regarding the sacredness of the earth (Clemmer 1995: 225-226; Wyckoff 1990: 54-55). Though protests and lawsuits by Traditionalists have failed to completely eradicate mining on Black Mesa, these actions did result in some positive change, specifically increased environmental stipulations in lease renegotiations (Clemmer 1995: 223-226).²²

In addition to voicing their opposition to mineral leasing, the Traditionalist movement has also concerned themselves with issues of Hopi cultural survival and sovereignty.²³ Clemmer sees the Traditionalist movement as both nativistic, "because it attempted to revive or perpetuate certain selected aspects of its culture", and millennial, "because it sought to bring on a 'New Age'" through the rejection of Euro-American political and economic ideology (1995: 179). Often viewed as non-conformists,

²² Also of note is that much of the income gained through the mineral leases of the 1960s was unsuccessfully invested by the Tribal Council in a BVD undergarment factory near Winslow, Arizona (Clemmer 1995: 227-229), again, a target for criticism by Traditionalists as well as many other Hopi peoples.

²³ For a more detailed discussion and analysis of the Traditionalist movement, see Clemmer (1995) Chapter Seven

Traditionalists sometimes refer to themselves as “hopivitsukani” – living the Hopi way. For these individuals, living the Hopi way means adhering to ideological principles that: preserve the right of Hopi cultural and political sovereignty; assert the authority of Traditional religious-political leaders and reject the authority of the Tribal Council; follow traditional Hopi prophecies, and continue the search for Pahaana (Clemmer 1995: 180, 190). One of the most critical elements of the Traditionalist movement is the belief that the Hopi’s lost white brother will, one day, return to aid the Hopi in overcoming their problems. This belief, according to Clemmer, may explain why Traditionalists have often turned to non-Hopis in an effort to secure allies and garner support for their activities²⁴ (Clemmer 1995: 190).

Contemporary Hopi Society

[R]epatriation in a broader sense refers to the return, or reassignment of control...Hopis have been struggling with issues of control over Hopi culture for a century.²⁵

As of May 2002, there were 11,323 Hopi/Arizona Tewa individuals recognized as enrolled members of the Hopi Tribe, though the actual population may be slightly

²⁴ A contemporary example is Thomas Mails’ 1997 publication The Hopi Survival Kit: The Prophecies, Instructions, and Warnings Revealed by the Last Elders. In the book’s addenda, Mails appeals to the reader that “[t]he Traditionalist Hopi desperately need our help. Their letter that follows will tell you how you can do this. It is a way you can thank them personally for what they have given you” In addition to prayer, readers are encouraged to send “TAX DEDUCTIBLE contributions for our Legal Fund”, to pay for lawyers, court costs and technical experts. The Hopi Tribe has subsequently posted a warning on their website regarding Thomas Mails, urging readers not to donate money to the author, nor to purchase his publications (Hopi Tribe 2001. Culture).

²⁵ Clemmer 1995: 273

higher since a number of eligible individuals choose not to formally register and many enrolled members do not live on the Hopi Reservation (Hopi Tribe 2001: Demography). By the 1990s, the majority of Hopi households had electric power lines, and 20% had telephone lines (Clemmer 1995: 277). Hopi, a Uto-Aztecan language, is still spoken in different dialects on each of the three mesas, though language survival has become a concern in contemporary Hopi society. Being a matrilineal society, women inherit property through their mother's clan, and 63.8% of Hopi houses are therefore owned and headed by a female²⁶ (Hopi Tribe 2001: Demography; Hopi Tribe 2001: Clans). The average annual income on the Hopi Reservation is \$17,521 U.S., with 22.9% of the population considered to have very low incomes and 56.5% being below the Health and Human Services poverty level (Hopi Tribe 2001: Demography). As of 2001, 27% of the Hopi population is unemployed, though only 16.6% receive income from public assistance sources (Hopi Tribe 2001: Demography). Unemployment has caused many Hopi individuals to leave their land and homes. By 1980, one-quarter of the population had left to pursue work opportunities elsewhere (Parezo 1996: 265). Yet, on a more positive note, Hopi-owned small business and arts and crafts enterprises began to thrive during this same period (Clemmer 1995: 276; Wyckoff 1990: 72). By the 1980s, 45% of available jobs on the reservation were provided by the Hopi Tribal government (Clemmer 1995: 276).

²⁶ Farmland, houses and other property remain in the clan and are passed from mother to daughter. As well, clan membership in Hopi society is traced through the mother. If a woman is the senior female member of a clan, she is responsible for much of its decision-making and she is referred to as the "Clan Mother" (Parezo 1996: 248, Secakuku 1995). In both traditional and contemporary Hopi societies, women control resource distribution. For example, a husband will work in his wife's fields and can build a house, but has no claim to ownership. When a man's wife passes, he must move back to the house of his mother or a sister (Parezo 1996: 248).

In an effort to counteract the negative effects of unemployment, education, including formal classes in the Hopi language, has become a major concern for contemporary Hopi peoples. Northland Pioneer College, a Flagstaff-based state community college, now offers classes in Hopi communities and a Hopi High School has been built on the reservation (Parezo 1996: 264; Clemmer 1995: 280). A Hopi dictionary, *Hopiikwa Lavàytutuveni*, was published in 1999, a cooperative effort by Hopi scholar Emory Sekaquaptewa and the Applied Anthropology Department at the University of Arizona (Martin 1999). Perhaps the most pressing priority of Hopi society in the modern world concerns the repatriation of Hopi cultural property, including objects, intellectual knowledge, and the right to control the representation and interpretation of Hopi culture. This struggle for control is played out most notably in the relationships the Hopi have with the contemporary art market, museum world, and academia, as well as in dealing with the processes of cultural commodification associated with the tourist trade. As indigenous peoples worldwide become ever more aware of the critical link between self-representation and self-governance in a postcolonial world, the repatriation of cultural property becomes increasingly important.

Despite ongoing challenges to Hopi culture, religion and ceremony continue to play critical roles in modern Hopi society. Nancy J. Parezo comments:

[a]mid the modern realities of intertribal land disputes, unemployment, internal political disagreement, and off-reservation jobs, corn and Kachina ceremonies remain a central part of Hopi identity (1996: 262).

Of course, as Parezo goes on to explain, there have been changes and modifications within Hopi society and ceremonial structure in response to the pressures and influence of a contemporary world. For example, many ceremonies are now scheduled on weekends so that individuals living and working off reservation can return and participate. Additionally, membership in some of the religious societies is diminishing, and some Hopi clans are no longer able to perform certain rituals. Yet, katsina ceremonies continue to thrive in Hopi society, and many young Hopi individuals are becoming more aware of the critical need for their participation in the ceremonies that affirm ties with the “footprints” left by their ancestors (Parezo 1996: 264).

An Introduction to Pueblo Katsina Culture

The “Pueblo” peoples are divided into “Western” and “Eastern” groupings. The “Western” group includes the Hopi (of Arizona) and the Zuni, Acoma and Laguna villages (of west-central New Mexico). The “Eastern” Pueblos include the communities of Taos, Picuris, San Juan, Pojoaque, Nambe, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Cochiti, Santo Domingo, Jemez, Zia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Sandia, and Isleta (of the Rio Grande Valley area in north-central New Mexico). Although the languages spoken by these peoples are diverse, they are grouped as “Puebloan” by archaeologists and anthropologists due to clear similarities in pre-contact economy (farming), architecture (multi-story adobe and masonry structures) and religion (the Katsina Cult). All of these Pueblo groups share the same fundamental cosmological beliefs, including: emergence

from an opening in the underworld: migratory journeys to their current village sites; and, a dichotomy between the underworld and upperworld, which results in a strong degree of dualism in Pueblo society (Plog 1997: 16-18).

Katsina ceremonialism is a central element in all Pueblo societies, although there do exist significant differences between the Hopi and other Pueblo groups regarding the behaviour of katsina participants, the secrecy of katsina ceremonies, and the use of katsina imagery (Pearlstone 2001: 84). For example, the Western Pueblo groups tend to make their ceremonial dances more publicly known than do the Eastern groups who impose significant restrictions on outside attendance at ceremonies. Likewise, although all groups create katsina dolls for ceremonial use, the Hopi are the only ones to produce carvings for commercial sale. The Zuni²⁷, and to a much more limited extent Acoma and Laguna peoples, have been known to produce dolls for commercial sale, though this practice still meets with much opposition within these communities. The Rio Grande communities do not produce dolls for commercial sale, and thus there are limited examples of these in museum or private collections. It must be clearly noted that katsina masks (friends) are considered as sacred religious objects and are not reproduced or sold by any of the Pueblo groups, including the Hopi. Some katsina masks have been acquired by museums, however, and there is currently an ongoing effort by the Hopi and other

²⁷ The Zuni represent a “gray area” between the Hopi and the Rio Grande Pueblos in that the community has not completely restricted public access to katsina ceremonies and that they produce limited katsina dolls for commercial sale, although these have at times been subject to certain restrictions imposed by community and religious leaders (Wright 1989: 70). Currently, commercial carving continues to elicit social disapproval by many in the Zuni community and the practice is not nearly as widespread as it is at Hopi. It should also be noted that Zuni katsina dolls differ in appearance and technique than those produced at Hopi. In particular, Zuni katsina dolls are “dressed” in miniature garments and are only painted on the areas not covered by the clothing. Detail on Hopi katsina dolls is instead rendered through paint and fine carving (Pearlstone 2001: 88).

Pueblo groups to repatriate these sacred objects under NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection Act) legislation.²⁸

Before progressing to an examination of the origin, function and meaning of the katsinam in the Pueblo and Hopi worlds, it is important to make two brief, yet critical, notes concerning terminology or language. First, with regard to the descriptive term ‘mask’ (to refer to the headpiece of a katsina dancer), many Hopi peoples object to this term because it stands in complete opposition to the manner in which they conceptualize the katsinam (Ricks et al. 1993: 8). The katsinam who appear during ceremonies are quite often misunderstood by Westerners to simply be Hopi men “costumed as”, “imitating”, or, “portraying” katsina spirits. As a non-Hopi, I also am at a loss to fully understand or clearly articulate the nature of the katsinam. I can, however, offer several points stressed to me by my Hopi teachers. Use of the term “mask” suggests that the dancers are simply costumed, and fails to take into account the complex and sacred role of the dancers as spiritual intermediaries. The term “friend” was often suggested to me as a sensitive alternative. Most appropriate, however, would be refraining to speak of such things, especially during ceremonies and in the presence of young, uninitiated children. All Hopi ceremonies are highly spiritual, and must always be viewed and respected as such.

²⁸ NAGPRA (Public Law 101-601) was approved on November 16, 1990. This legislation assigns ownership and control of Native American sacred cultural items, human remains, and associated funerary objects to Native Americans and provides for the protection, inventory and repatriation of these items. The Act also sets out requirements for the treatment of Native American human remains and cultural/sacred objects found on federal (United States) lands, and establishes civil penalties for museums failing to comply with the requirements of the Act.

Secondly, the word ‘katsina’ (kahts-ee-nah), rather than the more commonly used ‘kachina’ (kah-chee-nah), is consciously and consistently used here, as it is linguistically more correct (the Hopi language does not possess a ‘ch’ sound) and is preferred by those who speak the Hopi language (Secakuku 1995: viii).²⁹ The term ‘katsina doll’ must be recognized as a Western designation, and is properly called a ‘tihu’ (pl. tithu), more specifically ‘katsintihu’ (pl. katsintithu) by Hopi peoples. In the Hopi language, “tihu” means both “child” (or offspring) and “katsina doll”. Thus, according to Sekaquaptewa, the small wooden replicas of the katsinam are considered the children of the katsinam (Teiwes 1991: 39). Though the Hopi designation “tihu” is most appropriate, the term kachina doll is widely utilized within popular literature, and by the majority of art market consumers. Furthermore, although most of the carvers I interviewed informed me of the proper term “tithu”, they generally refer to their carvings as “katsina dolls” when speaking in English. Within this dissertation, I utilize all terms with the exception of kachina, most frequently employing “katsina doll”.

Finally, it should be noted here that there are more exact Hopi names for specific carving styles³⁰, tihu forms, and individual names for each katsina. The Hopi Dictionary lists several hundred – from “Áhooli” to “Yuuyuuwina” (Hopi Dictionary Project 1998: 828). There are many types of katsinam, such as the “Mong” (chief) katsinam, or the “Hototöm” (racer) katsinam. New katsinam may be added, while others may disappear from ceremonies and reappear in later decades (Pearlstone 2001: 43). Whereas Western

²⁹ Additionally, in the Hopi language the plural form of katsina is formed by adding an ‘m’ – thus ‘katsinam’, rather than katsinas.

³⁰For example, the specific term given to the “action” style katsina carvings (with arms gesturing, depicting movement) is “mäasaki’ytaqa” (Hopi Dictionary Project 1998: 828).

scholars and collectors have consistently felt a need to classify and order the katsinam into neat groups, the Hopi have no such compulsion. Some Hopi katsina names can be given an English “equivalent”. for instance “kwewu” meaning “wolf”, or, “wakaskatsina” meaning “cow katsina”. However, many katsina names refer to a specific attribute they possess, or, in the case of the “Hoote” katsina, a particular call it makes, and therefore cannot be easily translated. Finally, a number of katsina names are considered untranslatable, such as “Hoo`e” and “Qööqöqlö (Breunig and Lomatuway`ma 1992: 4).

The Pueblo Katsina Cult: Origin and Function

Hopi oral history tells us that the katsinam once lived side by side with Hopi people in the Underworld. However, upon becoming taken for granted, the katsinam decided to leave the Hopi, but not before teaching them their ritual songs and dances so that the Hopi peoples could continue their interaction with the deities (Washburn 1980: 43; Eggan 1994: 9). The katsina cult is a pan-Pueblo religious system, with membership being extended to all Hopi individuals above the age of seven or eight years (Wright 1976: 68). Initiation into the cult is dependant on each individual’s awareness of ceremonial happenings, and includes ceremonial whipping, indoctrination regarding the identity and function of the katsinam, and instruction pertaining to the inherent obligation of the Hopi peoples to the katsinam (Wright 1976: 69-70). Both boys and girls are initiated (together) into the katsina cult, and although ritual and dancing obligations are performed solely by males, women provide an important social

support system for ceremonial activities and elaborate katsina performances (Connelly 1980: 60).

According to archaeologist E. Charles Adams, evidence to support the existence of a prehistoric katsina cult is “best recognized through icons that are similar to ones found in the modern religion” (1991: 5). He notes that what does survive in the archaeological record (manifested in remnants of kiva murals, rock art and ceramics) are paintings and carvings, which are interpreted as katsina masks (Adams 1991: 4). Based on evidence obtained from archaeological excavations, Adams believes that the katsina cult had a major influence on Pueblo culture after A.D. 1300 (Teiwes 1991: 22). Through archaeological evidence, the origin of the katsina cult has also been linked to Mesoamerican culture, particularly to Casas Grandes in Chihuahua, Mexico (Teiwes 1991: 22-23). The oldest evidence of a katsina type carving was found near Phoenix, Arizona and dates to the twelfth or thirteenth century (Tanner and Tanner 1980: 81; Teiwes 1991: 23).³¹

The katsinam have multiple roles within Hopi life. As mentioned, the katsinam primarily act as rain bringing spirits and promoters of growth and fertility. Additionally, many aspects of the katsina cult and its associated ceremonies encourage inter-clan cooperation and community ideals. The katsinam also function as disciplinarians in Hopi society, to both children and adults. During Powamuya the Ogre katsinam, or “Soo`so`yoktu”, make a strong impression on Hopi youth, commanding respect and obedience during their visits to uninitiated children

³¹ For a comprehensive examination of reasons for the development and spread of this religion, see Adams 1991.

(Washburn 1980: 44; Secakuku 1995: 30). The katsinam also ensure that Hopi adults fulfill their community obligations, being present to supervise the annual draining and cleaning of natural springs, “whipping” any indolent individuals into action (Washburn 1980: 44-45). The Hopi believe that a person is transformed into a katsina spirit upon their death, and will return again each year bringing life-giving rain (Secakuku 1995: 5). The living and the dead are therefore inextricably connected in the Hopi religion and worldview:

Death makes life possible because the Kachinas are the breath of the deceased; Kachinas feed the Hopi, and the Hopi ritually feed the Kachinas...reciprocity is necessary in order to maintain life (Wyckoff 1985: 20).

Katsina Culture in Contemporary Hopi Society

Emory Sekaquaptewa,³² states that there is no adequate English translation for the concept of “katsina”, the benevolent rain-bringing spirits completely intertwined with Hopi life and religion. Furthermore, the very concept of “katsina” is complex and multifaceted – not easily explained even by Hopis themselves. There exist three aspects of a katsina – as spirit, as ceremonial dancer, and as carved representation. First there are the spirit beings who live in the San Francisco Peaks (Nuvatukya`ovi) near Flagstaff, Arizona when they are not living among the Hopi for roughly half of each year. There are also the katsinam which appear during ceremonies, when initiated Hopi men who are invested with the essence of these ancestor spirits are able to serve as intermediaries between the spiritual and natural worlds (Jacka and Jacka 1998: 61). Finally, there are the

³² In Adams 1991: 4.

carved representations of the katsinam, commonly, but mistakenly, referred to as “kachina dolls” by non-Pueblo peoples. These carvings are not considered as katsinam, but are instead perceived as personifications of the katsina spirits, originally created by the katsinam in their physical embodiment³³ (Secakuku 1995:4).

Katsinam and Hopi Religion – The Ceremonial Calendar

“Everything that is Hopi is spiritual”

- Peter Nuvamsa, Hopi Elder³⁴

In his introduction to Religion and Hopi Life in the Twentieth Century (1991), John Loftin writes that “[a]nyone familiar with the literature on Hopi religion knows implicitly that every significant aspect of Hopi existence embodies a religious dimension and meaning” (xiv). He goes on to note the “serious need for an interpretive study of Hopi religion that deciphers the various modes of religious experience and expression”, and initiates in his work an attempt to “articulate the religious meanings embodied within the Hopi way of life (Loftin 1991: xv). An adequate examination of the work of Loftin (and countless other scholars) on Hopi spirituality and religion is not possible within the present study. However, several points outlined in Loftin’s study need to be presented here to effectively communicate the nature of Hopi spirituality and the way in which the katsinam relate to the whole of Hopi life.

³³ See Figure Three.

³⁴ In Loftin 1991:xv.

Loftin echoes the sentiment of many carvers interviewed for this research in his statement that there exists no dichotomy between the “practical and the religious” in Hopi worldview:

[P]ractice and religion are so interconnected in Hopi eyes that one cannot speak of one without the other. And this interconnectedness is apparent in two modes: the practicality of religious acts and the religious dimension of prayer blessings (1991: xviii).

In the first “mode”, Loftin includes “significant aspects of Hopi life”, such as: kinship classifications (clans and phratries), subsistence modes, rites of passage, and basic perceptual processes (Loftin 1991: xviii). Likewise, “Hopivotkwani”, or the Hopi Path of Life, is a comprehensive philosophy that emphasizes the interconnectedness between the secular and the sacred, between daily activities and religious practice. Parezo notes that the philosophy of Hopivotkwani touches the lives of most Hopi individuals on a daily basis, as it includes every part of Hopi society and culture: kinship and family, religious ceremonies and beliefs, political organization, concepts regarding ownership, farming, and worldview (1996: 238).

The second “mode” of the connection between practice and religion in Hopi life, as identified by Loftin, deals with the Hopi ceremonial calendar and associated prayer rites (1991: xviii). Annual ceremonies emphasize how religion is completely interwoven in Hopi life. Walter Hough once commented that “if we could pick the threads of religion from the warp and woof of Hopi life, there apparently would not be much left” (in Loftin 1991: xv). The Hopi ceremonial cycle stresses the relationship

between religion and agriculture, and by extension, the interconnectedness between life and death (Wyckoff 1985: 17). Annual ceremonies are focused on the ever-present need for rain, and they emphasize the fertility, germination, growth, and maturity of crops (Breunig and Lomatuway'ma 1992: 3). Rites and ceremonies highlight the need for cooperation among individuals, and in specific cases, the ability to work with the katsinam.

Theoretically, Hopi ceremonies are clan-owned, with tradition associating each ceremony with a particular clan. In recent times however, there has developed a need for participation and support beyond the single clan group, because increasingly there are situations in which a clan is no longer able to maintain its ceremonial responsibility. Today, ceremonies are sometimes performed by societies whose membership cuts across clan divisions, thus requiring inter-clan cooperation (Connelly 1980: 60; Eggan 1994: 13). Likewise, ceremonies are increasingly organized at the village level, rather than tribal level, following a general model that permits flexibility and variation (Frigout 1979: 564).

The ceremonial cycle consists of two major periods, the katsina season and the non-katsina season. The former begins in late December with a ritual opening of the underground ceremonial chambers called “kivas”, believed to be entrances to the spirit or underworld (Wright 1977: 12). The katsinam first appear during “Soyalangwu”, the winter solstice ceremony that marks the new agricultural year. They perform their first major ceremony, the “Powamuya”, in which children are initiated into the katsina in February, and continue visiting the Hopi until the “Niman” or “Going-Home Dance” in

July, at which time the katsinam return to Nuvatukya’ovi (Wright 1977:12; Breunig and Lomatuway’ma 1992:5, 8; Connelly 1980: 60; Secakuku 1995: 10, 16; Frigout 1979: 564).³⁵ It is also important to understand that, while outsiders commonly label all the dancers in katsina ceremonies as katsinam, some performers are actually gods, social dancers (clowns), or caretakers³⁶ (Pearlstone 2001: 45).

Though ceremonies involving katsinam are most recognizable to the outside observer, these are only one part of the Hopi’s complex religious organization. Alph Secakuku stresses the existing web of Hopi societies and ceremonial structures, explaining that “katsinam are only a part of the ceremonial calendar – there are other important things that happen as part of the cycle” (personal communication). Following the departure of the katsinam, the non-katsina season begins with the Snake-Antelope ceremony, or, the Flute ceremony, in alternating years. In autumn, the three women’s societies (the Maraw, Lakon, and O’waqölt) perform ceremonies expressing fertility and maternal ideals, completing the Hopi ceremonial calendar (Secakuku 1995: 98-99). During the “Kelmuya” season in November, the religious calendar is formalized (Secakuku 1995: 6) and the “Wuwuchim” or ceremonies of the four men’s societies (Agave, Horn, Wuwuchim and Singers) occur (Connelly 1979: 559; Frigout 1979: 565). Upon initiation into one of the major societies mentioned above, the Hopi individual becomes recognized as an adult, gaining identity as both a clan member and

³⁵ For a detailed account of each ceremony occurring during the katsina season, see Secakuku’s Following The Sun and the Moon: Hopi Kachina Tradition (1995).

³⁶It should also be noted that outsiders often (and mistakenly) refer to another category of carvings produced by the Hopi, including these social dancers and sacred clowns, as katsina dolls.

as a member of an inter-clan group within the larger Hopi community (Connelly 1980: 61).³⁷

Katsina ceremonies clearly reflect the traditional Hopi view of their universe. One of the fundamental themes of the Hopi worldview is a bipartite universe, that is one divided into two realms, the upper world of the living and the lower spirit world (Breunig and Lomatuway'ma 1992: 3; Hieb 1979: 577). Prayers, offered during katsina ceremonies and carried by these spirit intermediaries, are then viewed and understood by the Hopi as operations of reciprocity and exchange between the two realms (Breunig and Lomatuway'ma 1992: 3; Hieb 1979: 577). Fred Eggan illustrates this point, noting “the equation of the dead with clouds and rain, by means of the concept of katsinas, provides a system in which the dead maintain their interest in the living and continue to help their relatives by sending rain” (1994: 10).

Tithu: Hopi Katsina Dolls

Though all Pueblo peoples produce katsina dolls for ceremonial purposes, factionalism does exist with regard to the production of these carvings for commercial purposes. The Hopi are the only group to consistently produce carvings for a commercial market, and as such, Hopi katsina dolls are the most recognizable on an international level. Carved from “paako”, the dried root of the water-seeking cottonwood tree, tithu are crafted to represent the katsinam who visit the Hopi for roughly half of the calendar year. During Powamuya and Niman ceremonies, the

³⁷ For a more detailed examination of Hopi religious organization, particularly religious societies, see Eggan 1994, Connelly 1980, and Titiev 1944.

katsinam bring traditional gifts and foods for Hopi children, including rattles and lightening sticks for boys, and katsina dolls for uninitiated girls.³⁸

The Hopi recognize four kinds of tithu, which correspond to various stages of fetal development. As outlined by Sekaquaptewa, the first doll given to a Hopi infant, a “putsqatihu”, is a simplified, flat carving, representing the earliest phase of fetal development.³⁹ The “putstihu taywa’yta”, given to toddlers, represents the second phase of development, and is characterized by a flat body, with a more detailed and three-dimensional head. The third stage of fetal growth is represented by the “muringputihu”, figures with stylized cylindrical bodies and fully carved, detailed heads. Such dolls are given to young female children. Finally, “tihu”, figures with fully carved heads and bodies, represent the final stage of postnatal development, and can be given to young girls and Hopi women (Teiwes 1991: 38-40).

Though the carvings given to Hopi infants and girls are of great cultural significance, they are not considered sacred ceremonial objects as in the case of katsina masks (friends). Katsina dolls are prominently displayed in Hopi homes, often being hung on walls. The carvings are not specifically meant to serve as toys, although children can and often do play with them.⁴⁰ Rather, Hopi katsina dolls are intended to act as

³⁸ There was a discrepancy among carvers interviewed regarding the question of infant males receiving katsina dolls. Some carvers responded that males never received them, while others said that infant males could. I believe that this difference in opinion reflects variation between the practices at the mesa and/or village level.

³⁹ Hahay’iwuuti”, the Mother of all katsinam, is the first specific katsina to be given to an infant (Breunig and Lomatuway’ma 1992: 8).

⁴⁰ Elder carvers commented to me that Hopi children of today do not handle, or play with, their tithu as much as was done in the past. Carvers believe that this new trend to preserve the dolls is related to their contemporary value as commodities in the Western art market system. This topic will be explored further in Chapter Six.

mnemonic devices, or “learning tools”, familiarizing young children with the katsina spirits and involving Hopi women in the religious life of the village.

Katsina Doll Carving on the Hopi Mesas

In her essay “The Contemporary Katsina” (2001), Zena Pearlstone notes that the economy of Hopi “is and has been for some time bound to its artists, and Katsina imagery is prevalent” (p.43). Today at Hopi it is estimated that there are several hundred carvers who produce katsina dolls for a commercial market (Pearlstone 2001:43)⁴¹. My own research among carvers supports Pearlstone’s observation that the practice of carving for a commercial market if not “condoned by all Hopis...is accepted by most as an economic necessity” (2001: 43). Katsina dolls are produced in a variety of sizes and degrees of artistic refinement. For example, a medium to large size carving that is of average artistic merit may sell for \$500-\$700 (U.S.), whereas a more intricately carved doll of the same size may sell for \$2,000 (U.S.). Miniature carvings, although smaller in size, include great detail and may also start at \$500 (U.S.). Carvings produced by artists who are established and have received awards can generally command much higher prices for their work.

Katsina doll carvings can be sold directly from carvers’ homes, from the Hopi Cultural Center shop on Second Mesa, or from a variety of trading posts and galleries on all three mesas. Katsina dolls are also sold by some carvers to area museum shops,

⁴¹ It is difficult to provide an exact number of Hopi carvers producing for a commercial market. Armand Fritz’s estimate is much higher than Pearlstone’s approximation. Fritz believes that the number of Hopi carvers (both on and off reservation) regularly producing for a commercial market would be about 2,000-3,000 (Fritz 1999).

galleries, or, tourist venues. Many carvers also participate in the annual “Indian Art Market” circuit, selling their work at these venues and entering some pieces into juried competitions.. Carvers who are more involved in commercial sales may also have established personal networks with dealers, galleries, and collectors across the country, or even internationally.⁴²

In response to the demands of collectors, the manufacture of katsina dolls for a commercial market burgeoned after 1945 and this growth prompted much artistic and stylistic change in carving and the adoption of new materials and tools.⁴³ Additionally, the commercialization of carving has had social implications for modern Hopi society. The carving of katsina dolls is not a traditional art form for Hopi women, as defined cultural rules restrict this. Until their initiation into the katsina cult at age seven or eight, Hopi children believe that it is the katsinam visitors who carve the gifts of katsina dolls. As such, men have traditionally carved in the seclusion of the kiva, away from women and children. However, the influences of a commercial art market and increasing financial pressures faced by many Hopi women have resulted in some participating in this art form. As well, due to the commercialization of carving, male carvers often will produce katsina dolls in their homes, and in the presence of their children.⁴⁴ The implications of this shift in carving practice brought about by the commercialization of the katsina doll will be an area of investigation throughout this

⁴² Chapter Six presents the perspectives of Hopi carvers interviewed for this study and provides a general overview regarding the range of carvings produced for the commercial market as well as the various marketing techniques utilized by artists.

⁴³ This topic is examined further in Chapter Five.

⁴⁴ As will be investigated in later chapters, many carvers who produce for a commercial market will still carve dolls intended for ceremonial gifts away from their children, or will trade dolls with other carvers, in an effort to protect the beliefs of uninitiated youth.

dissertation. Finally, the commercial market has also prompted the mass production of imitation katsina dolls by non-Pueblo and non-Native peoples – an issue of great concern among the Hopi.⁴⁵

Conclusions: Katsinam and Cultural Identity

Inevitable change has occurred within Hopi ceremonial structure and religious life due to the pressures of a modern world. Hopi women now carve katsina dolls for a commercial market. The katsinam may sometimes give candy bars and soda pop as presents instead of traditional foods like piki bread. Katsina-like motifs are emblazoned on everything from t-shirts to garbage cans in the American Southwest. Many non-Natives see these examples as supposed indicators of a “cultural degeneration” that is ailing contemporary indigenous societies, and mourn the “loss” of “cultural authenticity”. This chapter argues for the strength and continuity of Hopi peoples, and serves to challenge such naïve conceptions, highlighting instead the processes of adaptability and creativity. Like the short blue ear of corn, the Hopi have survived and thrived in spite of the cultures they have come into contact with. Religion, ceremony, and art continue to play critical and renewed roles in modern Hopi culture and the katsinam remain the uniting force of the Hopi people: the foundation on which the culture has been built, continues to grow, and survives.

The katsina religion is best understood as a microcosm of Hopi culture, reflecting societal values, ideological constructions, and worldview. As such, Hopi

⁴⁵ This issue will be considered in greater detail in Chapter Six.

cultural identity is communicated through the katsinam – in their ceremonies and in the carved representations they present to Hopi children. Hopi men have symbolically articulated Pueblo identity through the carving of tithu for generations, perpetuating their beliefs each time a doll is given during a ceremony. Contemporary Hopi carvers continue to express self-identity and cultural beliefs, utilizing commercial carving as a powerful medium to foster cultural renewal and convey social concerns. The statements articulated through contemporary commercial katsina carvings are therefore considered as a form of autoethnographic expression in that they are influenced by historical events and post-colonial conditions. Finally, the katsinam must be understood as inseparable from the complex whole of Hopi culture. This point has been illustrated throughout this discussion of the Hopisinom, and is further supported in the following chapter through an examination of traditional Hopi perspectives on the katsinam and how these contrast with existing Western frameworks.

Chapter Three

Katsina Dolls: Hopi and Western Perspectives

You can't learn katsinas – you have to live them
-Alfred Lomahquahu, Hopi Katsina Doll Carver

Alfred Lomahquahu – ‘Bo’ as his friends know him – was born at Keams Canyon, Arizona and raised in the small Hopi village of Paaqavi, Third Mesa. As explained by Bo, one of the turning points in his life concerning religion, his ‘Hopi way’, was his mother’s remarriage to his stepfather – a strong traditionalist. Additionally, advice given to Bo by one grandfather, a Hopi medicine man – to travel and gain new experiences – has also been particularly influential in the shaping of his life and principles. As a direct result of that counsel, Bo traveled extensively during his eight-year service with the U.S. Marines, observing many other cultures and subsequently, developing a deeper appreciation for his own. I first met this award-winning Hopi katsina doll carver at the School of American Research (SAR), in Santa Fe, New Mexico, where he was the 1999 Dubin Artist Fellow. Our lengthy conversations at SAR provided me with critical insight and his introductions to other carvers provided me with the necessary means to complete my study. Now, sitting at my computer, fieldwork long finished and ready to write, I recall a valuable lesson and listen once again to my first taped conversation with Bo. A simple sentence perhaps, but a lifetime of insight and meaning. “You can’t learn katsinas”, comments Bo, “You have to live them”. I therefore open this chapter concerning approaches to Hopi katsina dolls with a reminder of such a perspective.¹

This chapter introduces Hopi and Western perspectives regarding katsina dolls and expands on the discussion initiated in the opening chapter regarding the application of transcultured arts models to contemporary katsina doll carving. The Hopi katsinam, and particularly katsina dolls, have long been of interest to outsiders as ‘ethnographic

¹ The information presented in this segment was acquired through interviews with Alfred Lomahquahu (July 27, 1999 and August 4, 1999) and his personal promotional/marketing literature (Lomahquahu 1999).

objects’, ‘art pieces’, and, most recently, ‘souvenirs’. The following discussion contrasts such ‘object oriented’ perspectives (common in academic and art market contexts) with traditional Hopi approaches to the katsinam. As the focus of this research concerns contemporary Hopi katsina carving, the approaches presented here relate primarily to katsina dolls. The ‘Hopi perspectives’ presented within this chapter are drawn chiefly, but not exclusively, from the voices of the carvers consulted for this research.² These are carvers who *live* the katsinam. The section concerning Western perspectives is based on both literature review and fieldwork. The chapter concludes with the presentation of a theoretical framework that directly speaks to the dualism of contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving as both an enduring Pueblo tradition and expressive commercial art form.

Katsintithu – Hopi Views

As described in the previous chapter, the katsinam are benevolent spirit beings who live among the Hopi for approximately six months of every year. They have the power to bring rain, exercise control over the weather, assist in many of the everyday activities of the villages, punish offenders of ceremonial or social law, and generally function as messengers between spiritual and earthly domains (HCPO 1999c: Hopi Katsintithu). As such, the katsinam are completely integrated into Hopi life: “the very important, meaningful, and beneficial counterpart in a relationship invaluable to the Hopi religious beliefs” (Secakuku 1995: 3). Through a series of statements regarding the nature

² In particular, interviews conducted with Bo Lomahquahu, Armand Fritz, and Philbert Honanie inform this section. Additional information and quotations have been drawn from published sources which present research and interviews conducted with Hopi peoples.

of the katsinam and katsina dolls, this section highlights a range of traditional approaches to the katsinam.

In Hopi worldview, the katsinam are the spirit essence of all things. This basic concept of the katsina cult has been described as “all things in the world hav[ing] two forms, the visible object and a spirit counterpart, a dualism that balances mass and energy” (Wright 1977: 2). The dual nature of the katsinam is further reflected in the Niman ceremony where katsina spirits become visual entities through the appearance of Hemis dancers and their gifts of katsintithu. The carved representations given to Hopi infants and female children³ are intended as “prayer wishes” for health and fertility, and also act as reminders of the katsinam (Breunig and Lomatuway’ma 1992: 4). For over a century now, outsiders have sought to acquire Hopi katsina dolls, as ‘curios’, ‘ethnographic specimens’, ‘art objects’ and ‘souvenirs’. Secakuku, however, offers critical perspective with regard to such collecting, asserting that:

...we do not perceive the katsina dolls simply as carved figurines or brightly decorated objects...We believe they are personifications of the katsina spirits, originally created by the spirits to award virtuous behaviour and to publicly recognize special persons...(Secakuku 1995: 4).

Though the Hopi katsinam, and katsina dolls, have long been the subject of Western study, few investigations of this topic focus directly on Hopi interpretations.⁴ It has been indicated to me by various katsina doll carvers that such cultural information simply has no place outside of its Hopi context, especially with regard to specialized

³ Katsina dolls can also be given to Hopi brides and elder women (Secakuku 1995:88).

⁴ Recent notable exceptions include Secakuku (1995) and Day (2000), discussed in a later section.

knowledge, and in the protection of non-initiated children. Some aspects and details of katsina ceremonialism have already become public due to published accounts and studies, but have frequently been distorted by passing through the filter of Western interpretation. Carvers consulted for this research often reminded me of these considerations, some maintaining that there was much they were unable, or unwilling, to share with me due to the sacred nature of the katsinam. By listening to the voices of Hopi peoples (both carvers interviewed for this research and other recorded perspectives) several general, yet fundamental ideas become apparent regarding the katsinam. I aim not to ‘define’ traditional Hopi approaches to the katsinam, but rather illustrate what has been highlighted to me during the course of this research. The montage that follows communicates the key perspectives stressed to me by Hopi carvers regarding the katsinam and their role in Hopi life.⁵ These are the ideas of multiplicity, holism and expressive power.

Multiplicity...

“[Katsinam] represent the earth, the insects, the plants, the humans, the universe, the galaxies, the waters, the heavens. They represent all”.

-Manfred Susunkewa (in Cole, 1997)

“To begin teaching [Hopi] children about this kachina religion, little kachina dolls are made for them and given to them at an early age. The parents tell the children that kachina people are just like the rest of the human beings, except at times they are invisible, can appear as clouds and bring rain to the earthly people, and help the crops in their fields grow

⁵ Quotes were drawn from a variety of published sources as well as interviews by the author. All quotes maintain original spelling variations of ‘katsina’.

during the summer time. The kachinas are supposed to know every race of people on the face of this earth and the soul of every individual”.

-Edmund Nequatewa (in Plateau, 1948: 62)

“According to general belief among the Hopis, Nuvatikyao – San Francisco Peaks – down south near Flagstaff is where the kachinas have their real home... You hear some stories that say the kachinas live up north at Navajo Mountain, but most people believe it’s at Nuvatikyao that they stay. Now this is what you get in the stories, but the best informed and qualified Hopis – the ones most involved in the kiva ceremonies – tell us that the kachinas live in springs. They have this connection in their minds between kachinas and water, and numerous springs are called ‘kachina homes’”.

-Albert Yava (in Yava and Courlander 1978: 97-98)

“The Katsinas usually gave us gifts. At about sundown, the old man, their ‘Father’, asked them to go home and send us rain. They marched away toward the San Francisco mountains in the west. Everybody knew they were spirit gods”.

-Don Talayesva (in Simmons and Talayesva 1942: 42)

Holism...

“I believe [the katsinam] are really teaching tools for kids. Each and every one of them has something that they give us to make our full-life cycle. Katsinam are seasonal, but they leave examples for us to follow throughout the year. That’s what I believe we are supposed to do”.

-Larry Melendez (in Day 2000: 68)

“Hopis don’t worship Katsinas. Katsinas are intermediaries between the creator and humankind. They deliver the blessings of life – health and happiness and hope. Katsinas provide living examples of how life is conducted”.

-Ramson Lomatewama (in Green 1999: 88)

“The katsinam are the heart of Hopi life”.

-Emory Sekaquaptewa (in Teiwes 1991: 6)

Expressive Power...

“When you’re little, you look way up at the kachinas. They’re so tall, it’s sort of scary. You wait to see if you’re going to get anything. Then you receive a gift and you are so proud. You think, ‘I really must be good’”.

-Verma Nequatewa (in Jacka and Jacka 1998: 69)

“Katsinas reflect beauty. They are statements on life and harmony”.

-Leonard Selestewa, (July 2000)

“One by one, the katsinam take their places in the centre of the kiva. Amid loud sounds and rhythmic movement, they create an impression of many images repeated over and over in mirrors – a happy atmosphere of color, dance and sound. The middle katsina in the line leads by shaking his rattle. Turtle shells clack and clatter, bells jingle, and with a loud and deep chorus of singing the dance begins like a huge cloudburst of sound and motion, a burst of prayer for all life forms”.

-Alph Secakuku (1995: 34)

Multiplicity, holism, expressive power. In the above ‘polylogue’, multiplicity refers to both individual perspectives and interpretations concerning the katsinam, and, to their multifaceted nature as simultaneous ancestor spirits, ceremonial dancers, and carved figures within both traditional and commercial contexts. Holism represents the fact that such multiplicity exists within a wider system, and must be recognized and viewed in relation to the broader contexts of Hopi life and culture. Expressive power signifies that the katsinam embody the beliefs, values, and traditions of Hopi people, communicating

worldview on both internal and external levels. Western approaches to the katsinam often do not take account of these basic principles, or, they are obscured by foreign value judgements, aesthetic ideals, and imposed interpretations.

“Kachina” Dolls – Western Perspectives

The huge volume of works on katsina dolls, from popular and hobbyist accounts to art history and ethnographic studies, speaks to the long-standing fascination of outsiders with the Hopi katsinam. Though critiques of such popular works as Kachina Creations: Learn How to Make Your Own Indian Kachina Dolls (Miller 1977) and Cut and Make Kachina Dolls (Smith and Hazen 1992) would provide for interesting discussion, attention will be focused here on an investigation of published academic works specifically considering katsina dolls.⁶ More general articles (often appearing in Arizona Highways and New Mexico Magazine) and popular publications will not be considered, with the exception of several sources dealing with artistic criteria and collections.

Frequently and incorrectly referred to as ‘kachina dolls’, Western misinterpretation often reaches far beyond terminology to include imposed theoretical frameworks and aesthetic judgements. The theoretical constructs traditionally used by

⁶ Marcia Muth’s 1984 publication Kachinas: A Selected Bibliography contains many popular references regarding Hopi katsina dolls and carving. The recent volume edited by Zena Pearlstone, Katsina: Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals (2001), and in particular her essay entitled “The Contemporary Katsina”, provides insight into how the Hopi katsinam have become internationally recognized commodified symbols.

scholarship to study katsina dolls are influenced by a Western “collection” paradigm and include: scientific classification and description, ethnological and museological approaches, and artistic/stylistic criteria. The following sections survey literature specifically pertaining to katsina dolls in relation to these theoretical constructs.

On Western “Collecting”

Objects from Oceania, Africa and the Americas have been collected by Western society (explorers, missionaries, collectors, art dealers, and others) since the sixteenth century. Initially housed in private collections and museums of natural history, the ethnographic museums that classified and presented these artifacts as cultural specimens were not founded until the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Even later, ethnographic objects increasingly began to be ‘appreciated’ and exhibited as art for ‘aesthetic contemplation’ (Hiller 1991: 185). Recent critical histories⁷ of collecting argue that processes of accumulation and classification are hegemonic tools that reinforce a dominant ideological order and wider social agendas. Viewing Western collecting history through this critical lens, I suggest that the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Age of Discovery, with its emphasis on exploration and the collection of the ‘exotic’ was driven by a paradigm of ‘possession’. Similarly, I view the ‘cabinets of curiosity’ flourishing among the elite classes in early modern Europe throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as ideological exercises in imposing cultural ‘order’. I further argue that the romantic and authoritarian ‘salvage’ motif that pervaded ethnographic

⁷ For example: Clifford 1988, 1994; Elsner and Cardinal 1994; Pearce 1995; and Thomas 1991.

fieldwork and institutional collecting of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is directly related to the collection and study of Hopi katsina dolls. Through time, these carved representations have been transformed by Western collecting practices into ‘ethnographic specimens’, ‘art objects’, and ‘souvenirs’.

Early Scientific Classifications of Katsina Dolls

Jesse Walter Fewkes’ 1894 work “Dolls of the Tusayan Indians” is the first published scientific study of the katsina doll. A prolific writer on Hopi kinship, social organization and religion, his research usually precedes any other study conducted in this geographical area⁸ (Laird 1977: 191). The work of early ethnographers such as Fewkes is very much dominated by a “salvage” or “collecting” paradigm, which is characterized by cultural mapping, inventory and classification, and the systematic collection of material artifacts and cultural information (Hinsley 1983: 54-56). Furthermore, the ethnographic fieldwork of this generation characteristically demonstrates a commitment to a “descriptive, comparative, natural-science methodology” (Clemmer 1995: 53).

Fewkes clearly internalizes such ideals, his writings often reading “very much like notes from a field log” (Erasmus and Smith 1967: 118).⁹ His 1903 report for the

⁸ Laird further notes that subsequent research by ethnographers has frequently pointed out errors in Fewkes’ work (1977: 191).

⁹ This quote directly refers to Fewkes’ 1900 work, “The New Fire Ceremony at Walpi” (*American Anthropologist* 2: 80-138), though it can be easily applied to many of his other works, which remain firmly entrenched in systematic description.

Bureau of American Ethnology on Hopi katsinam¹⁰ includes descriptive notes on over 200 illustrations of katsinam drawn by Native artists. The nature of this particular study (the collection of a complete inventory of Hopi katsina dolls) is reflective of its broader ‘salvage ethnography’ context¹¹, namely a framework that emphasized the systematic description of parts without a holistic understanding of the (supposedly waning) cultural system of which they are a part. Although Fewkes’ study of Hopi katsinam can certainly be understood in relation to its broader context of existing Western conceptions and academic scholarship, critical examination of such descriptive frameworks clearly reveals the fragmented picture of Hopi katsina culture drawn by Fewkes. Curtis Hinsley notes that, “Fewkes belonged by training and temperament entirely to the established institutional worlds of American natural science...[he] was a good visual observer and sketch artist. But visual observation alone can actually distance the investigator, and mere description is not understanding” (1983: 67, 63).

Harold Sellers Colton’s 1949 publication Hopi Kachina Dolls: with a Key to their Identification, represents a lifetime of study.¹² Valued as a reference by collectors, the book is best described, in my opinion, as an exercise in katsina taxonomy. Colton’s elaborate cataloguing of katsina dolls reflects the emphasis placed

¹⁰Republished by Rio Grande Press (1969) and by Dover Publications Inc. in 1985 and 1991 (Revised edition).

¹¹ As an interesting aside, I note that the back cover of the Dover 1991 revised edition of Fewkes’ 1903 work perpetuates such ideas associated with a ‘salvage paradigm’ suggesting that “Anthropologists, sociologists, historians, teachers and anyone interested in American Indians will find Hopi Katsinas an indispensable reference and a valuable study of a *disappearing culture that contributed significantly to America’s heritage*” (emphasis added).

¹² The volume contains: general information on the manufacture, nature, meaning, and principal features of katsina dolls; detailed descriptions of Hopi katsinam and deities; and, a key for the identification of Hopi katsina dolls (Revised Edition 1959). His notes for a similar, unpublished, manuscript concerning Zuni katsinam are housed at the Museum of Northern Arizona Special Collections.

on the collection and classification of material culture, again a dominant theoretical approach during his scholarly generation, as well as his own training in zoology. As with Fewkes, Colton worked within a basic paradigm of salvage ethnography¹³, collecting and classifying parts and pieces without genuine consideration of the cultural whole and imposing dominant values and constructs in an effort to extend Western ‘understanding’ to the indigenous unknown. To illustrate the imposition of Western approaches on Hopi ideas, one needs only to consider the Museum of Northern Arizona’s storage methods for katsina dolls. Using Colton’s classification system, katsina dolls are stored according to type, and in numerical sequence. Having studied the museum’s extensive collection, I found this method to be extremely organized, easy to use, convenient, and ‘logical’ from my Western museological perspective. However, a Hopi carver who was familiar with the collection thought that the katsina dolls could be arranged in a manner more appropriate to Hopi thought, with katsinam that appear or interact with one another grouped together.

Theoretical and methodological limitations notwithstanding, the descriptive accounts of Fewkes and Colton are still useful for some contemporary purposes. For example, Fewkes’ 1903 report, supplemented with Colton’s 1949 work, continues to provide katsina doll collectors with an extensive reference base. Furthermore, Fewkes’ study reproduces the katsina drawings of a previous generation of Native (presumably Hopi) artists, and as such, acts a valuable resource for modern carvers, especially with

¹³As will be further demonstrated in a later chapter, the Colton’s primary research focus concerned the decline and loss of Hopi arts.

regard to rare or very old katsinam.¹⁴ During my visits with carvers, I often spied dog-eared copies of Fewkes' work among jumbles of pigments, paints, brushes, knives and unfinished katsina dolls. Additionally, many carvers commented on the value of such a resource when carving special orders for collectors requesting katsinam that rarely appear at Hopi. Though descriptive and classificatory approaches are greatly limited in contributing to a holistic understanding regarding the multifaceted and expressive nature of Hopi katsinam, they remain important in that they preserve immense amounts of invaluable and irreplaceable data (Basso 1979: 15).

Ethnological and Museological Classifications of Katsina Dolls

The next significant contributions to the study of katsina dolls appear during the late 1960s within the context of ethnological museums. The 'salvaged' material culture and associated systematic description from Fewkes' anthropological generation ultimately came to be 'preserved' and displayed within early ethnographic museums using 'social evolutionary', and later, 'culture area' display models. The social evolutionary display model employed by museums in the early nineteenth century was directly influenced by classical cultural evolutionism. This model further augmented the 'primitive vs. modern' dichotomy implicit in early cabinets of curiosity by 'scientifically legitimizing' ethnocentric notions in public forums. The culture area display model of the late nineteenth century, strongly influenced by Franz Boas, classified and presented

¹⁴ A recent, notable publication, *Kachinas: Spirit Beings of the Hopi* (Ricks et al, 1993), includes a series of lesser-known katsinam drawn by Hopi artist Neil David with commentary by Hopi peoples.

cultures by linguistic stock and geographical area.¹⁵ During the early to mid-twentieth century, the idea of the museum continued to grow and develop into the form of an authoritarian ‘public temple’, which functioned to present and validate dominant cultural values, and subsequently, provided a symbolic identity for Western museums as ‘protector and interpreter’ of indigenous artifacts and cultures (Ames 1992: 23-24, 147). Considering the supposed roles of ethnographic museums as ‘preservationists’ and ‘protectors’, the emphasis placed on material culture and its interpretation during this period becomes logical. In the case of katsina dolls, various ethnological museums, continuing in the descriptive and classificatory modes of Colton and Fewkes, published studies (most often in conjunction with a collection or exhibit) during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. These publications, key examples of which are discussed below, illustrate dominant approaches in the ethnological and museological study of katsina dolls.

The Goldwater Kachina Doll Collection (1969) and Kachina Ceremonies (1974), both Heard Museum publications, focus on the presentation of examples from the museum’s significant collection. The 1969 work includes Senator Barry M. Goldwater’s account of his efforts in establishing the collection and a general description of the katsinam by Byron Harvey III.¹⁶ The 1974 publication is similar in nature, though it includes additional information regarding the religious and cultural significance of the Hopi katsinam. Specifically focused on the object, these descriptive accounts provide limited cultural context. The dolls are situated clearly within the history and character of the Heard Museum collection, but their original context and

¹⁵ See Lester 1972, and Jacknis 1985.

¹⁶ Great grandson of the founder of the Fred Harvey Company.

meaning not fully explored. Similarly, the Museum of Northern Arizona's 1977 booklet An Introduction to Hopi Kachinas and the California Academy of Sciences' 1980 catalogue Hopi Kachina: Spirit of Life¹⁷ are publications developed in conjunction with associated exhibits of each museum collection. Though these works are expanded to include additional contextual material, they remain focussed on the object and maintain the primary purpose of providing supplementary information on specific dolls presented within the associated exhibits.

During the last two decades, the international museum community has undergone much change with regard to both its role in representation and methods of presentation. The postcolonial shift in relations of power and the increased assertiveness of indigenous groups in reclaiming the right to construct and represent their own identities, has profoundly affected the traditional practices of representation within the museum.¹⁸ Indigenous peoples worldwide are demanding an increased role in the representation of their cultures and identities, calling for a reconstitution of traditional imbalanced power relationships, and taking on new collaborative roles within cultural institutions. In response to criticisms from indigenous groups, international museums have been forced to evaluate the colonialist assumptions and bias inherent in both their supposed 'responsibilities' as guardians of indigenous cultures, and authoritarian methods of representation. More recent museum publications about katsina dolls reflect this shift by linking object to cultural context,

¹⁷ The volume is edited by Dorothy K. Washburn.

¹⁸ See Ames 1992, and Balazs 1999.

accounting for Western influences on katsina doll carving, and incorporating Hopi voice and perspective.

For instance, the Heard Museum's 1977 catalogue "Kachinas: An Evolving Hopi Art Form?"¹⁹, examines the evolution of carving styles in response to Western consumption, and Helga Teiwes' 1991 work Kachina Dolls: The Art of Hopi Carvers²⁰ examines the historical background and market influences on contemporary carving, including biographical interviews with twenty-seven Hopi carvers. The Museum of Northern Arizona's publications also reflect these trends, a 1990 museum bulletin²¹ and 1992 journal issue²² addressing the broader cultural contexts of the katsina doll, exploring responses to commercial carving, and incorporating Hopi perspectives. A final example, and the most significant museum contribution to date, is the Heard Museum's 1995 catalogue Following the Sun and Moon: Hopi Kachina Tradition. Featuring two hundred dolls from the museum's collection, the publication is the first book on katsina dolls authored by a Hopi person (Alph Secakuku).

In addition to museum studies, the work of ethnologist and former museum curator Barton Wright has significantly contributed to academic research on the Hopi katsinam. Wright's publications span four decades and specifically focus on katsina

¹⁹ Authored by Jon T. Erikson.

²⁰ Published in association with an exhibition of the Arizona State Museum.

²¹ Linda B. Eaton, A Separate Vision: Case Studies of Four Contemporary Indian Artists. Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona Press, 1990. Published in conjunction with the MNA's two year, multifaceted project entitled "A Separate Vision", an effort to record the experiences of modern Native artists. The publication features detailed interviews with four contemporary artists, including Hopi katsina doll carver John Fredericks.

²² "Hopi Kachina Dolls". Plateau, Volume 63(4). Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1992. This volume incorporates Hopi perspectives, through the involvement of Michael Lomatuway'ma as coauthor of the article, "Form and Function in Hopi Tithu", and through interviews conducted with two contemporary katsina doll carvers.

dolls, carving, and collecting. His most popular work Hopi Kachinas: The Complete Guide to Collecting Kachina Dolls (1977) provides a general introduction to Hopi katsinam and katsina dolls, detailed descriptions of katsina dolls (divided by function), and information on establishing collections. Other publications, including his Change and the Hopi Kachina Doll (1989) and The Changing Kachina (1994), specifically focus on processes of evolution and variation among Hopi katsinam and katsina dolls through time, and in response to both internal and external influences. Though focused on the katsina doll, carving styles, and Western collecting, I do not consider Wright's work to be completely object-oriented, as it attempts to account for broader cultural contexts and processes and is influenced by his research on Hopi oral tradition and with Hopi peoples.

Within object-oriented museological contexts, meaningful cultural artifacts often become transformed, through the processes of detachment, interpretation, and recontextualization, into 'anthropological specimens' or 'objects of ethnography' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991: 387). As *objects of ethnography*, cultural artifacts serve the purposes of Western scholarship, isolating broader cultural contexts and obscuring original meanings. Traditional studies of material culture centred on what the object could tell about a culture. Recent approaches, however, shift their focus away from the study of isolated objects toward understanding what *individuals* can share regarding the objects they own and create. As will be further discussed in a later section, my study emphasizes the latter "people-centred" approach, which recognizes the critical

importance of incorporating Hopi voice and perspective into academic studies of the katsina doll.

The Classification of Katsina Dolls as Art Objects

In addition to becoming ‘ethnological specimens’, Hopi katsina dolls have often been ‘elevated’ and ‘transformed’ into ‘objects of art’. Susan Pearce explains that the guiding principle behind many early art collections was not systematic, but influenced by notions of what was considered ‘high quality’. She further notes that the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the development of connoisseurship into a full theory of aesthetics, backed by the scholarly effort of art historians (1989:3). The definitive criteria of the Western world of art, as with ethnographic museums, consists of imposed aesthetic judgments. Sally Price asserts, “definitions have traditionally belonged to the definers, not to the defined” (1993:45). This idea is expressed clearly in recent publications concerning katsina dolls as art objects.

Western galleries and private collectors have long regarded Pueblo katsina dolls as valuable works of art. Initially (and ethnocentrically) labelled as ‘primitive’ art, ethnographic objects continue to be in demand on the international art market. Though more appropriate terms have been applied to indigenous arts, they remain largely relegated outside of Western artistic traditions.²³ Publications that consider Hopi katsina dolls and carving from an artistic perspective tend to be aimed directly at a

²³ As an example, Sotheby’s auction catalogues, which frequently feature Pueblo katsina dolls and other cultural artifacts, commonly bear titles including Fine American Indian Art and Important American Indian Art, clearly emphasizing the *Indian* nature of the collections and their *high quality* as aesthetic objects. Sotheby’s catalogues suggest the correlation of ‘genuine’, ‘antique’, and ‘rare’ with ‘valuable’. Further discussions regarding the topic of authenticity will be included in later chapters.

collector audience, and therefore largely descriptive and object-oriented. For example, a 1986 work authored by trader Erik Bromberg documents the art of Hopi katsina doll carving, including the evaluation of artistic techniques, presentation of the work of recognized carvers, and discussion of collecting processes. Although general contextual information is provided, and some insightful observations are made, the publication's title The Hopi Approach to the Art of Kachina Doll Carving is largely misleading. Directly aimed at a collector audience²⁴, the book is highly descriptive in nature, evaluates pieces using distinctly Western criteria, and minimally accounts for broader cultural contexts. Similarly, the works of Theda Bassman (1991, 1994), though clearly informed by her research with Hopi peoples, tend to focus squarely on the katsina doll, carving, and carver, with limited linkage of object, process, and artist to cultural context. Bassman's publications succeed in presenting an informative view of Hopi katsina dolls as contemporary art forms, subject to Western aesthetic criteria and influence. Hers, however, is a select view, conflicting with the inherent multifaceted nature of the Hopi katsinam. A final notable, and most current, example is Kent McManis' A Guide to Hopi Katsina Dolls (2000). One volume in a series of guides to collecting Southwestern art, this publication is again geared toward a general audience. Focusing primarily on the art of katsina doll carving and the works of specific carvers, the book, which utilizes the more appropriate term 'katsina', also includes information relating to broader cultural and historical contexts, thus providing for a more complete picture of the nature and significance of Hopi katsina dolls.

²⁴ The publication's front cover notes that it is "A Schiffer Book for Collectors".

Artistic studies of Hopi katsina dolls, as with earlier museum catalogues, tend to be descriptive, object-oriented, and lacking in contextual information. Viewed through the single lens of Western aesthetics, the meaning and significance of non-Western arts can often become skewed. The traditionally narrow views offered by fine art and art historical perspectives have, however, recently undergone significant modification. Ruth Phillips explains that the ‘new art history’ breaks with two key assumptions of contemporary art history, namely the concept of linear evolution, and the equation of artistic with cultural style (1989: 161). Phillips stresses the significance of the ‘new art history’ for studies of non-Western arts. Because the ‘new art history’ accounts for a multiplicity of overlapping art histories and emphasizes the location of non-Western artistic traditions within broader cultural contexts, indigenous arts are examined not within “hermetically closed aesthetic sequences of Native objects, but against the cross-cultural background of Native/non-Native economic, social, and political relations” (1989:170). The dynamic and intercultural perspective offered by the new art history parallels the framework offered by recent transcultured arts models²⁵, which offer the most appropriate framework for my study of contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving.

Recent Studies of Katsina Dolls and Southwestern Native Arts

As the foregoing discussion makes clear, existing studies of Hopi katsina dolls and carving are largely object-oriented in approach, and firmly rooted in Western notions

²⁵ Ruth Phillips has contributed much to the study of non-Western arts and to the development of recent ‘acculturated’, or more appropriately, ‘transcultured’ arts models.

of art and aesthetics. Much published literature on Native arts and crafts within the Southwest continues to focus on elements of artistic technique, form, style, and design rather than examining the broader cultural meaning and social context of such work. Although studies that attempt to understand the broader relationship between artistic traditions, individual producers, and the cultural context in which they are found (including the influence of tourism and globalization) are limited, there are several exceptions that deserve mention here.

Two pertinent graduate dissertations have been completed on the subject of Hopi katsinam and katsina dolls – Hopi Kachinas: Works of Affecting Presence (1981), by Eileen Rice Tollett, and Hopi Kachina Doll Carving: Reflections on Cultural Change (1993), by Annie Acker. Acker's M.A. thesis for the California Institute of Integral Studies would appear, from the title, to be the most applicable to my own study. However, her work is largely descriptive and lacking in theoretical foundation and, unfortunately, falls quite short of offering insight into how Hopi katsina dolls are reflective of cultural change in a modern world. Rice Tollett's PhD dissertation for the University of Texas approaches Hopi katsinam from the perspective of Robert Plant Armstrong's theory of "affecting presence".²⁶ Armstrong characterizes the affecting presence as a phenomena simultaneously being of three natures: physical, social, and affecting (1971: 34). He maintains that the affecting presence is physically identical to what it represents and is, by metaphor, also identical to the emotion that is transferred in the "affecting transaction" (Armstrong 1971: 55). Through the application of this model

²⁶ It should be noted that Robert Plant Armstrong was the supervising professor for Tollett's dissertation.

Rice Tollett argues that katsinam exist not only in the social and physical realms, but emerge from the affective nature of Hopi life. Though the framework offered in this study is not directly applicable to my research focusing on commercial carving, a point embodied in her approach mirrors a position of my own, namely that she challenges the Western tendency to divide and compartmentalize the katsinam. As I have advanced within this chapter, Rice Tollett argues,

[w]hat was to them a *wholeness of a very particular sort* was being split into “dolls”, “dance”, “messengers”, or “totem” by a succession of what Armstrong calls “reductivist” tourists, social scientists, missionaries and museum curators (1981: 2, emphasis mine).

In addition to these academic works, several recent studies (including the previously mentioned book by Secakuku, 1995) examine katsina dolls within wider frameworks, including Hopi perspectives and addressing broader socio-cultural issues. Jonathan Day’s work Traditional Hopi Kachinas: A New Generation of Carvers (2000) provides a detailed examination of “traditional-style” carvings and the artists who produce them. Though geared primarily towards a collector audience, Day offers critical cultural context and perspective regarding the “new” old-style or traditional carving movement, and conveys the voices, personal insights and knowledge of contemporary carvers. The most recent study on Hopi katsinam is the volume Katsina: Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals, edited by Zena Pearlstone with contributions by noted scholars of Hopi culture, and by Hopi peoples themselves. The volume, and in particular Pearlstone’s essay “The Contemporary Katsina”, represents a

significant attempt to examine the changing nature and representation of Hopi katsinam within broader global processes. Pearlstone's article, in particular, is drawn on in later discussions surrounding contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving as an expression of cultural identity. Finally, a recent article also authored by Zena Pearlstone entitled "Mail-Order 'Katsinam' and the Issue of Authenticity" (2000), provides a valuable examination of Western and Hopi perspectives on the processes of commercialization, and the creation of authenticities. Pearlstone's insightful and well-supported argument is applicable to this study, and will be examined in greater detail within Chapter Four.

Finally, there are several studies that while not specifically focussed on katsina dolls or carving, still offer important models for my own examination. Helga Teiwes' Hopi Basket Weaving: Artistry in Natural Fibers (1996) and Lydia L. Wyckoff's Designs and Factions: Politics, Religion, and Ceramics on the Hopi Third Mesa (1990) explore the interrelationship of artistic traditions and the broader social, cultural, economic, and political contexts encompassing the art systems under consideration. As well, Nancy Parezo, Kelly Hays, and Barbara Slivac have coauthored a provocative article "The Mind's Road: Southwestern Women's Art" (in, The Desert is no Lady, 1987), which addresses issues of gender and meaning within craft production. Finally, Nancy Parezo's work Navajo Sandpainting: From Religious Act to Commercial Art (1983) documents the historical process through which a ritual product became a commodity, demonstrating how one aspect of a social system may change, while traditional belief systems are maintained.

Early “Tourist Art” Approaches and Hopi Katsina Doll Carving

The final issue I consider in this overview of academic studies of katsina dolls concerns the appropriation and redefinition of non-Western arts as souvenirs or ‘tourist art’²⁷ within the broader contexts of tourism and globalization. Though most early studies of tourist art are based largely within Western aesthetic frameworks, focusing once again on the object rather than artistic process and cultural context, they remain important with regard to their influence on the development of recent transcultured arts models. These models, and their application to this analysis of contemporary Hopi katsina dolls, will be presented following a brief overview and critique of selected early tourist art models. The focus here is on a presentation of more recent, process-oriented examples. There are very few existing studies that specifically consider katsina dolls as commercial arts. However, the models utilized within the general context of ‘tourist arts’, and especially later ‘transcultured arts’, offer the most appropriate framework for my study of Hopi katsina dolls.

The ‘arts of acculturation’ were first defined by Nelson Graburn as “art production which differs significantly from traditional expressions in form, context, function, and medium, and which also differs from the various forms of art production indigenous to ever-growing ‘civilization’ ” (1976: 5). Transcultured arts have received marked scholarly attention in recent years. Since Graburn’s first attempts to study and define this field, ‘acculturated arts’, ‘tourist arts’, or, most recently, ‘hybrid’ or

²⁷ As previously noted, the term “tourist arts” refers to the art commodities of marginalized or colonized peoples that are specifically produced for external consumption, and which are characterized by stylistic or cultural hybridity.

‘transcultured’ arts have been further described as arts produced for a commercial or external market which are characteristic of stylistic or cultural hybridity (Phillips 1991, Phillips and Steiner: 1999). This more recent definition directly challenges the inherently biased notions of artistic stasis and authenticity implicit within Graburn’s earlier definition. Specifically, transcultured arts models reject narrow scholarly perspectives regarding the supposed ‘inferiority’ and ‘inauthenticity’ of commercialized arts and recognize the production of indigenous commercial arts as a dynamically interactive form of cultural creativity that is influenced by and reflective of, broader socio-historical processes. Furthermore, current critical studies of non-Western commercial arts challenge the bias inherent within much existing anthropological literature on tourism and tourist arts, namely the lack of ‘local voice’ (Crick 1989: 311) and the profusion of imposed Western ideals.

Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions From the Fourth World (1976)²⁸, was the first major publication to pay serious scholarly attention to the commoditized arts of marginalized and colonized peoples. Within the volume’s introduction, Graburn establishes a model of classification for acculturated, or “fourth world” arts²⁹, including the categories of: functional/traditional fine arts; commercial fine arts; assimilated fine arts; popular arts; reintegrated arts; and souvenir arts (1976: 5-7). These categories, though significant in their pioneering approach to acculturated arts as dynamic, multidirectional and interactive with broader cultural processes, remain arbitrary

²⁸ Edited by Nelson Graburn. The volume also contains significant contributions relating to Southwestern artistic traditions, including: “The Creative Consumer: Survival, Revival and Invention in Southwest Indian Arts” by J.J. Brody, and “Ceramic Arts and Acculturation at Laguna” by Robert R. Gill.

²⁹ This system of classification reappears within his 1982, 1984, and 1993 published articles.

classifications that are based in the Western fine art/craft dichotomy and are imbued with hierarchical notions. Among others, Ruth Phillips asserts that Graburn's system "classifies the arts of formerly colonized peoples according to the categories of their colonizers" (1991: 21). An example of this concerns what Graburn has classified as "reintegrated art", forms which incorporate technical, formal, and symbolic elements of Western arts into indigenous artistic traditions. Graburn considers reintegrated arts as a direct effect of the contact between Western and indigenous groups, and the acculturation of the latter into the dominant system. The problematic nature of such classificatory impositions becomes evident when one considers Graburn's interpretation of Hopi katsina doll carvings, an art form which based on multiple lines of evidence, predates Spanish influence³⁰. Graburn, however, classifies katsina figures as a "reintegrated" art form, as he believes such figures are:

...probably not traditional, but emerged as icons of the Kachina gods after the Indians had become aware of saints' images in Catholic churches (bultos), thus by stimulus diffusion they emerged as a Reintegrated art; later, with

³⁰ As previously discussed in Chapter Two, although archaeologists differ in opinion regarding the ultimate origin of the Katsina Cult, archaeologist E. Charles Adams notes that most believe the "incursion is recent, dating between 1150 and 1400" and that evidence for the existence of the cult "invariably rests with iconic similarities between modern Pueblo ceremony and dress and archaeological ones" (1991:21). Such katsina-like iconography is found in rock art, kiva murals, and pottery. As katsina doll carvings are made from perishable material, they are seldom preserved in the archaeological record. The earliest known example of a katsina-like carving dates to the 13th or 14th century and was excavated by Frank Hamilton Cushing at the Double Butte Cave, the site of a pre-historic shrine (Tanner 1968: 152; Teiwes 1991:23; Wright 1977: 8). Furthermore, the presence of katsina dolls is recorded in the historical documents of the early contact period. Spanish priests wrote in 1520 of seeing "hideous images of the devil" and "little images of Satan" that they found in the *estufas* (ceremonial rooms) of the Pueblo people. Wright believes that the images mentioned are undoubtedly references to katsina dolls (1977: 8; 1989: 66). Finally, although it has been documented that priests did in fact teach native peoples their technique of carving, anthropologist Clara Lee Tanner's analysis asserts that "kachina dolls reflect the conventionalities and forms of native craft work far more than they reflect any Spanish-Mexican styles of artistic expression" (1968: 52).

ever changing form, they became mainly items for sale to tourists and collectors, as Souvenir arts (1984: 398).

Similarly, Erik Cohen's analysis of tourist art distinguishes specific categories and relates them to types of commercialization (Craik 1997:122). "Complementary commercialization" is identified as the spontaneous production of a still viable craft, while "substitutive commercialization" is defined as the spontaneous reorientation of a declining craft to an external market. "Encroaching commercialization" is identified as the sponsored reorientation of a still locally viable craft, and, "rehabilitative commercialization" is classified as the sponsored revival of a declining craft for an external market (E. Cohen 1993: 3). Cohen's system of classification, intended as a "framework for the comparative study of commercialization of ethnic arts" (1993: 3), takes important steps towards recognizing the dynamic and variable nature of commercial arts and related processes. However, his generalized typology ignores the fluidity of transcultured arts by suggesting that they can be easily contained within a single category.

Contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving, as a simultaneously enduring Pueblo tradition and artistically innovative commercial art form (ranging from souvenir to fine art), does not fit tidily into any one category. Although the commercialization of the katsina doll most reflects elements of Cohen's "complementary" model, I question the exercise of containing the process into any single Western category, considering this largely futile, beyond comparative applications. Within such generalized academic frameworks, artistic processes become frozen, sterile, and key issues of Western

appropriation and imposed aesthetics become suppressed. As one Hopi carver remarked to me during a discussion of Western influences on katsina doll carving, “You’ve sort of got the idea – you’re hammering the nail in, but its bending on its’ side”³¹.

Earlier ‘tourist art’ models often massaged cultural processes to fit their frameworks, rather than expanding the frameworks to accommodate the existing process. To successfully ‘hammer’ the nail ‘straight in’, Western studies of transcultured arts should direct attention to understanding both the nature of objects as fluid entities (with the ability to move between and ‘blur’ categories, or exist among them simultaneously) and the process involved in the transformation in meaning of objects as they move from one context to another.³² Finally, the inclusion of local perspectives – those of the art producers – needs to be more seriously considered and actively pursued in an effort to provide a more holistic, and realistic, picture of non-Western commercial arts. Reflexive trends in various disciplines have given rise to new critical approaches, including recent ‘acculturated’, or more appropriately termed, ‘transcultured arts’ models, which build on earlier studies of tourist arts by emphasizing the fluid and multifaceted nature of indigenous commoditized arts and by including local voice. As such, “transcultured arts” or “hybrid arts” models offer the most appropriate framework for my study of Hopi katsina dolls.

³¹ Interview with Ramson Lomatewama, September 9, 1999.

³² Examples of such studies which examine the transformation of meaning that accompanies indigenous objects as they move from traditional contexts to commercial/souvenir and museum specimen/fine art milieu, include Lynn Hart’s article “Three Walls: Regional Aesthetics and the International Art World” (1995), and, Christopher Steiner’s work *African Art In Transit* (1994).

Contemporary Hopi Katsina Doll Carving: A Theoretical Framework

The recent volume Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds (1999) is the first anthology to consider tourist arts since Graburn's 1976 publication, and offers the most promising models for this particular study. Within the past few years, active scholarly interest in the field of hybrid arts has been generated by several evocative studies concerning art, commodity and transcultural exchange. In particular, Christopher Steiner and Ruth Phillips have made valuable contributions, most recently, within Unpacking Culture. The essays contained within the volume³³ illustrate the dynamic and multifunctional nature of transcultured arts, link such studies to broader trends in present-day anthropology and art history, and aim to “‘unpack’ some of the mystifications of meaning and value that surround commoditized art forms in the contexts of the gallery and the marketplace, the museum and the exposition, the private collection and the domestic interior” (Phillips and Steiner 1999: xiv). The approaches presented within the volume move away from dominant object centred models and provide a more appropriate and holistic framework for evaluating material culture. Specifically, the hybrid arts models offered within Unpacking Culture emphasize a *process oriented* approach, whereby the object is understood in relation to broader cultural, historical and global contexts and to contact responses. As a process oriented model, a hybrid arts framework is therefore compatible with traditional Hopi perspectives regarding the holistic nature of the katsinam.

³³ It should be noted that Nelson Graburn contributes an epilogue to the volume, entitled “Ethnic and Tourist Arts Revisited”. In the article Graburn explores the many advances in the study of acculturated arts since his 1976 publication, though he does not discuss how these new theories affect his own system of classification.

In particular, the theoretical framework used for this study of contemporary Hopi katsina dolls builds on the hybrid models offered by Benetta Jules-Rosette (1984), Ruth Phillips (1991, 1998, 1999), Eric Silverman (1999), Bernadette Driscoll-Engelstad (1997), and Catherine Good (1997). In formulating my own argument concerning self-identity and contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving I employ these authors' ideas concerning hybrid arts, both process and product, as culturally meaningful and expressive vehicles of representation. The perspective that commercial arts are "inauthentic", or, the assumption that producers are "culturally contaminated" follows from the faulty Western conceptualization that indigenous identity is incompatible with change (Good 1997: 18-19). Rather than perpetuating the dominant view of equating cultural change with cultural "loss", Catherine Good calls for researchers to "devise new theoretical frameworks based on the assumption that indigenous peoples maintain cultural identity and continuity through change and by changing" (1997: 22). Challenging the dominant "conveyor belt" notion of the production of tourist art, and emphasizing the sociological and cultural significance of such objects for indigenous artists, these studies provide powerful models for the examination of tourist art which account for, and connect to, broader socio-economic, historical, cultural, and global processes. Though investigating different cultures and artistic traditions³⁴, all authors present similar points and arguments regarding indigenous art commodities that are applicable to this study.

³⁴ Jules-Rosette focuses on a body of late twentieth century African (Ivory Coast, Zambian and Kenyan) sculpture and painting produced for a commercial market, Phillips on nineteenth-century Huron tourist art, Silverman on contemporary Sepik (Papua New Guinea) tourist art, Driscoll-Engelstad on contemporary Inuit women's textile arts, and, Good on Nahuatl amate painting.

Jules-Rosette, Phillips, Silverman, Driscoll-Engelstad and Good all challenge dominant Western notions of tourist art, arguing for the cultural importance of art commodities for the indigenous communities that produce them. Related to this point, all authors maintain the critical significance of *process* (the production of art commodities) as well as the *product*. For example, Good asserts that researchers cannot assume that producers of tourist art necessarily view their culture as a commodity, nor allow the content of their art to be determined by the consumer simply because it is for sale (1997: 17-18). Rather, she advances the idea that tourist art can in fact be a medium for the expression of “local meanings”, as well as a means for expressing historical continuity (Good 1997: 15-17).

An additional concept articulated within these authors’ works considers transcultured arts as a medium of cross-cultural exchange and communication, and recognizes the existence of multiple levels of meaning and interpretation between producer and consumer. The tourist art system is a medium through which very different cultures come into contact with one another: the artistic product acting as a record of this intercultural exchange and representing each group’s perception and expectations of the other (Phillips 1991: 21; Jules-Rosette 1984:3). Thus, multiple layers of meaning can be assigned to the same object, depending on the relationship each individual has with it – a process Phillips refers to as “dual signification” (1991: 21-22; 1998: 19-20). All five authors advance the idea that an artist's perception of the creation and meaning of an object, though entwined with and possibly influenced by Western expectations, remains independent of a consumer's understanding of the same piece.

Finally all authors explore recurring themes in transcultured arts directly related to identity, self and collective representation, and cultural continuity, which exist in tandem with expressions of individual artistic creativity and innovation. Their studies reveal that fundamental elements of community, social life and identity are often expressed within commercial art commodities, conveying contemporary concerns and local experiences. Though produced for an external consumer, transcultured arts adhere to traditional aesthetics and cultural themes, communicating symbolic messages of self-representation and collective identity. For example, Silverman's study demonstrates how Sepik tourist arts convey emergent notions of village, regional, and national ethnicity, and, Driscoll-Engelstad's research presents the powerful images imbedded in women's commercial textile arts reflective of Inuit life and cosmology.

Hopi katsina doll carving, as a contemporary art form, solidly maintains its connection to religious context and tradition, yet abounds with innovation and creativity. The artistic and stylistic form of Hopi katsina dolls has frequently changed through time,³⁵ due in part to the influences of the commercial market, but also because of individual artistic innovation and expression. As a 'transcultured' art form, commercial katsina doll carvings have often been considered as 'inauthentic' or 'non-traditional' within Western discursive categories of exclusive pairs: secular vs. sacred, commercial use vs. indigenous, and acculturated vs. authentic (Phillips 1991: 20). I, however, drawing on the models outlined above, as well as the ideas of Bruner (1994), Hanson (1989), Nahwooksy (1994), Clifford (1997) and Nicks (1999), argue for an approach to

³⁵ As examined in the studies of Wright (1976, 1977, 1989) and Erikson (1977).

commercial Hopi katsina doll carving which views this art form as a dynamic and creative tradition, emerging from a culture that is continually changing and reinventing itself in an effort to maintain continuity within the legacy of colonial and global systems. Within this particular framework, Hopi katsina dolls produced for the commercial market remain ‘as authentic’ as those produced for traditional use.³⁶

At the most general level, this dissertation argues that objects make cultural statements. More specifically I argue that recent innovations in Hopi katsina doll carving, an art form completely bonded with Hopi culture, encode modern Hopi values and concerns – communicating local meanings³⁷ and articulating contemporary identities. The above-mentioned studies offer important frameworks for this study of contemporary Hopi katsina dolls in that they recognize objects as multifunctional, contextual, and culturally meaningful. As such, these approaches are compatible with traditional Hopi perspectives regarding the katsinam, including the concepts of multiplicity, holism, and expression. Peter Whiteley asserts that “anthropology needs to use local knowledge as local *theory*”, and that “the conscious conjunction of theory should aim toward *analytical* hybridity and cosmopolitanism, with intersubjective and intercultural approximation as the ultimate social goal” (1998: 13). In a similar vein, Christopher Ronwanièn:te Jocks proposes that:

³⁶ Issues of authenticity, imposed Western aesthetics, and the social production of value, will be discussed in a later chapter. For the moment, the only qualification I will make to this statement concerns the imitation katsina dolls produced by non-Hopi and non-Natives. According to the Hopi peoples and carvers, as well as dealers and museum professionals I interviewed, katsina dolls are considered to be authentic only if a Hopi person produces them. (Some would further restrict this to an initiated male Hopi). Within these criteria, all dolls, regardless of size, degree of artistic merit, and function, are considered as authentic. In addition, katsina sculptures are usually considered to be more of an art form than doll, though their authenticity is not challenged.

³⁷ A term borrowed from Good (1997) to denote the interpretations of Hopi peoples regarding community concerns in the modern world.

[s]cholarship ought to look on American Indian systems of knowledge not as new, untried fields of data with which to test existing Amer-European essentialist theories; but as sources for new theories, new categories – even new frameworks with which to study and evaluate aspects of non-Indian life (1997: 426).

Through the application of traditional Hopi approaches to compatible Western models, I endeavour to create a hybrid theoretical framework that takes account of both local meaning and global processes, and is responsible towards the peoples it represents.

Contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving as a commercial art form, viewed in relation to the key concepts of multiplicity, holism, and expression, marks what Whiteley terms as a “corrective” departure from existing academic and artistic studies and a “restorative” step towards the use of local knowledge as local theory (1998:13).

Chapter Four

The Rise of the Southwestern Indian Art Market: Influence and Imposed Values

“The characteristic Indian forms are disappearing in favor of pretty little candlesticks, flower-baskets, etc. The beauty of design remains, but the product is only half Indian”.

- Mary-Russell F. Colton, *Indian Art Patron* (1930)

“Katsina dolls that are made for the commercial market are only different in function, not form or meaning. The doll and the act of making it are still very much connected to all aspects of Hopi life”.

- Philbert Honanie, *Hopi Carver* (1999)

“What is really astonishing is not that Native artistic forms and cultural expressions have changed, but that they have stayed so rooted in the same things”.

- Deborah Doxtator, *Mohawk and Academic* (1995)

Since the arrival of the first Spanish explorers in the Southwest, Pueblo arts have been subject to modification as a result of the introduction of new materials, techniques, and markets (Tisdale 1996:387). With the advent and growth of the Santa Fe Railway in the 1880s, further alterations to Puebloan arts, as well as tremendous socioeconomic and cultural change, occurred as the American Southwest was opened to large-scale tourism (Tisdale 1996: 434, 387). Shelby Tisdale¹ relates:

The railroad opened up the Southwestern United States at a time when popular romantic and sentimental attitudes about native peoples were on the rise and, together with anti-

¹ Drawing on Brody, 1979.

industrial reactions, which gave intrinsic value to handmade arts and crafts, shaped the survival, revival, and invention of twentieth-century Indian art (1996: 387).

This chapter examines the rise of the art market in the Southwest in general, and specifically discusses the influence of curio dealers, traders, art patrons, and tourism on indigenous arts. In particular, the imposed aesthetic values of these Western influences on Southwest indigenous arts are revealed, and their implications considered. As indicated in the opening quotes, and throughout this chapter, Western and indigenous perspectives often diverge with regard to the nature and result of commercial influence on Native artistic traditions.² I reject Mary-Russell Colton's notion that arts produced for commercial purposes are merely "half Indian", and instead support Deborah Doxtator's argument that, regardless of physical modification and changes in form, indigenous arts maintain a very real connection to their cultural roots. This idea is easily applied to contemporary commercial Hopi katsina doll carving, where, in the words of Philbert Honanie, both the act of carving and the dolls produced remain "very much connected to all aspects of Hopi life".

It is necessary to clarify the use of the terms "art" and "craft" at the outset of this discussion. As demonstrated throughout earlier chapters, Hopi and Western ideas of "art" are quite disparate. As this chapter explores indigenous arts within the context of the contemporary art market, "art" is discussed primarily in a Western, rather than a Hopi, sense. It is important to bear in mind the implications surrounding objects that have

² While indigenous response to Western influence on their artistic traditions is discussed generally in this chapter, more specific discussion pertaining to Hopi katsina doll carving follows in Chapter Five.

been removed from their cultural contexts to the aesthetic domain of the Western art market. Referring to African art objects, Christopher Steiner argues that the process by which indigenous artifacts are “elevated to the category of art” involves the denial of their former utility or “use value” (1994: 160). As such, the process of transforming indigenous artifacts into Western “art” involves the central element of decontextualization. During my conversations with Hopi artists, it became apparent that it is this very practice of decontextualization that most strongly conflicts with Hopi perceptions of artistic expression. The Hopi carvers interviewed for this study do not perceive the dolls they produce for commercial purposes as an “art form” that is separate from Hopi culture. Rather, they expressed perspectives on carving which reflect Deborah Doxtator’s view of art as “permeating everything in everyday life” (1995: 18).

An additional dichotomy created by Western society that likewise contrasts with Hopi conceptions of artistic expression concerns the distinction between “art” and “craft”. In her paper “Art or Craft: The Paradox of the Pagnirtung Weave Shop”, Kathy M’Closkey examines, with particular reference to textiles produced by Inuit women, how the words *art* and *craft* have affected Western conceptions of aboriginally produced items. She stresses the role that language has played in constructing and communicating the categories in which artistic expression is perceived, and maintains that these classifications distinguish between what is “art” and what is not in the Western world (M’Closkey 1996: 113). Inuit textiles have been largely relegated to the realm of “craft” by the Western art system, primarily because of the non-traditional medium of artistic expression. According to the Western art/craft dichotomy, which is based in linear,

evolutionist type thinking, “fine art” (sculpture, painting, architecture) is viewed as “intellectual” expression, whereas the essence of “craft production” (basketry, weaving, woodworking) is perceived to be rooted in “technical” expertise, and supposedly separated from artistic intent (M’Closkey 1996: 113, 115-117).

The art/craft dichotomy is not a mere theoretical construct located within the confines of galleries and academic institutions. This frame of reference created by the art world strongly influences how Western consumers perceive what are supposedly indigenous “craft” items. M’Closkey relates *Inuit Art Quarterly* editor Mary Belle Myers’ sentiment that, “Inuit don’t distinguish between art and craft, but the buying public and especially the professional marketing groups certainly do” (1996: 120). The Hopi carvers interviewed for this research strongly echoed this opinion. As explained by Bo Lomahquahu, the definitions used by the Western art market to classify katsina carvings do not relate to how Hopi people perceive them. However, as an artist participating in the contemporary art market, Bo realizes that, to some extent, his commercial success depends on working within the categories that are “made up by collectors and people that write books” (Lomahquahu 1999). It is useful then to keep in mind Doxtator’s valuable perspective regarding the “splintering” Western “art” vs. “craft” distinction:

Although very different visually, the continuities that these forms share, whether they are always so apparent or not, are more important than the varied individual differences that divide them (1995:18).

The Rise of the Indigenous Art Market in the American Southwest
Early Traders and Curio Dealers

The latter half of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of Western manufactured goods to the American Southwest, first as a result of military occupation, and later through civilian traders (McKenna 1983: 28). Traders were among the earliest non-Native settlers of the Southwest and their “trading posts” supplied essential commodities to the local community and provided Native artisans with a source of cash income. Often described as “portals between two worlds”, a place where diverse cultures met to exchange both material goods as well as information and ideas, the trading post was at once a communications center, brokerage house, dry goods store, and livestock supply center (Eddington and Makov 1995: 1; Museum of Northern Arizona 1996: Outposts of Commerce). Early traders have sometimes been depicted as swindlers, intent on taking advantage of the supposedly naïve Indians of the region. In fact, marketing and trade existed within the Greater Southwest region prior to Western contact, as the production and exchange of arts and crafts was already integral to indigenous economies and cultures (Tisdale 1996: 388; Bahti 1996; Gilpin-Hays 1996). The Native artisans who became involved in trade were neither “unwilling nor unwitting participants” (Batkin 1998: 69), and must be considered as playing an active role in the early system of trading.³

³Due to the specific focus of this chapter, a more detailed examination of early traders is not possible here. See Batkin (1998, 1999, 2004) for more information regarding early curio dealers of New Mexico, as well as the origin and development of the mail-order curio trade. See also McNitt (1962) for a more comprehensive history of Indian traders.

It is undeniable that early traders were influential in the growth and development of the indigenous art market within the Southwest, and also in creating an expanded market in the eastern part of the United States through wholesale distribution and mail-order marketing. Traders Lorenzo Hubbell and J.B. Moore produced nationwide mail-order rug catalogues and Santa Fe curio dealers shipped Pueblo pottery by the barrelful during the peak of the mail-order trade in 1905 (Eddington and Makov 1995: 6; Batkin 1999: 282, 295). The great demand for Southwestern indigenous arts created by the railway and associated tourism certainly influenced the production of these objects, as savvy traders encouraged the mass production of curios and the development of non-traditional forms that would appeal to the tourist market. Trader Thomas V. Keam, who resided on the Hopi reservation, contributed to the encouragement of the mass production of standardized ceramic forms for sale to tourists, and also initiated a ceramic stylistic revival (Wade 1985: 171). Although usually associated with ethnologist J.W. Fewkes and Hopi potter Nampeyo, much of the credit for inspiring Hopi ceramic revival is properly due to Keam and his assistant Alexander M. Stephen, who were encouraging Hopi potters to incorporate prehistoric shapes and motifs into their modern ceramics by 1890, at least five years prior to the date associated with Nampeyo's revival (Wade 1985: 171-172).

Indian traders continued to facilitate the participation of Hopi and other Native groups within the tourist business of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, encouraging a shift from the manufacture and sale of traditional "craft" items, to the production of standardized "Indian made" curios to meet the increasing demand for

tourist souvenirs (McKenna 1983: 28). Tourists were not overly concerned with the “authenticity” of the pieces they purchased, as had been the case with earlier ethnographic collectors. Rather, the early Southwestern tourist expected a more portable, Westernized version of traditional Native crafts that, most importantly, “looked Indian” (McKenna 1983: 28-29; Gilpin-Hays 1996: 400-401). This process of commodification physically transformed traditional objects and, on a less tangible level, began to blur Western concepts of “tradition” and “authenticity”. This topic will be further explored in Chapter Five.

The Fred Harvey Company, which together with the Santa Fe Railway formed a partnership that pioneered tourism in the American Southwest, figures significantly in the development of the indigenous art market. Beginning in 1876, the Fred Harvey Company opened and operated hotels, restaurants, and newsstands for the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. In 1899 The Fred Harvey Company added a curio business, further stimulating the market for “Indian-made” arts and crafts. In 1902, the company also formed an “Indian Department” which supplied arts and crafts to the gift shops in its “Harvey Houses” and hotels (Tisdale 1996: 439). Working with reservation traders, the Fred Harvey Company actively influenced changes in traditional crafts, primarily by encouraging alterations that could be more easily marketed to a tourist audience (Tisdale 1996: 439).

Through its tourist attractions, travel publications and curio business, the Fred Harvey Company became a powerful agent in fostering a romantic image of the

Southwest as a picturesque and peaceful region, inhabited by friendly Indian

“survivors” from the onset of “civilization” (Dilworth 1996: 159):

Before Fred Harvey, the Southwest was a rocky, sun-baked desert, filled with savage Apaches and nasty cactus. After Harvey, it was a land of friendly Navajos, beautiful silver and warm, fuzzy textiles, all done up in a glow of mauve and peach (Nilsen 1995).

Leah Dilworth argues that Fred Harvey’s portrayal of the Indian Southwest speaks to what Renato Rosaldo has termed “imperialist nostalgia”, a sense of longing for what one is complicit in altering. Expanding on Rosaldo’s concept, Dilworth further asserts that the Fred Harvey Company, in its corporate marketing strategy, was nostalgic not for the cultures that were actually being changed, but for a fabricated and romanticized Indian which reflected American middle-class desires and expectations (1996: 159).

Taking Dilworth’s ideas one step further, I suggest that such “imperialist nostalgia” also fueled the Indian curio trade and prompted entrepreneurs such as Harvey to further capitalize on the Southwestern image through offering portable, standardized souvenirs which would provide tourists with a tangible reminder of their journey to the ‘Land of Enchantment’.

The Fred Harvey Company made a business of creating and coordinating “touristic desires”, rendering Southwestern Indian life as a ‘spectacle’ through both photographic images and staged performances. The Fred Harvey Company thus presented Indians to Americans as both objects for visual consumption and as producers of objects for tourist consumption. As such, the Indian artisan became the central icon of Harvey’s Southwest (Dilworth 1996: 159-161). The construction of a

spectacle for touristic consumption is clearly evident in The Fred Harvey Company's "Indian Detours" of the late 1920s. These organized and guided side trips off the main line of the railroad offered tourists the opportunity to 'observe' Puebloan peoples in their home environments (Tisdale 1996: 438). To illustrate, a Harvey Company picture book entitled "Roads to Yesterday Along the Indian-detour" (n.d.), informs the Southwestern tourist that "among the Pueblos it is possible to catch archaeology alive!" (in Dilworth 1996: 162). Unquestionably, such "Indian Detours" continued to promote idyllic images of Native peoples that were frozen in time. Suggestive of a trip to the zoo, those participating on the detours were offered the unique opportunity to view the "exotic" caged within the confines of a Pueblo village.

The Fred Harvey Company still exists in the contemporary American Southwest as a corporate business with its trademark constructed touristic encounter. One need only to visit "Hopi House", located at the South Rim of the Grand Canyon, to share in the Harvey experience. The Fred Harvey Company modeled Hopi House on the structures characteristic of the Pueblo village Old Orayvi, and hired Hopi artisans to produce and sell crafts on-site to Canyon visitors. Though the Canyon itself remains the most impressive spectacle, tourists today can also enjoy a wide-selection of upper-end arts and crafts offered at Hopi House, and view narrated performances by Native American groups. The Fred Harvey Company still markets, and eager tourists still consume. Signs of "westernization" are now more prominent than in the early days of the Harvey enterprise: the Nike sneakers worn by a Hoop Dancer; the large posted signs in Hopi House warning of imitation indigenous arts and crafts; a salesperson

explaining to a possible buyer the high price of a katsina doll being related to the increasing difficulty carvers are experiencing in finding quality cottonwood root because of environmental pressures.

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, the trading post was no longer a viable economic enterprise, primarily because the paving of roads initiated in the 1950s continually increased access to isolated areas. Modern trading posts such as McGee's Indian Art Gallery⁴ have redeveloped to provide gasoline and modern amenities, or, in the case of the Hubbell Trading Post are specifically marketed as tourist destinations⁵. The function of many trading posts has also shifted to provide a direct market for Native arts (Eddington and Makov 1995: 7; Museum of Northern Arizona 1996: Outposts of Commerce). Video rentals and potato chips now rest comfortably beside piñon nuts and piki bread in what still remains one of the great portals between two worlds in the American Southwest. Here, I briefly consider the legacy and continuing influence of the trading post at modern-day Hopi and also present an example of modern day "mail-order katsinam".

McGee's Indian Art Gallery in Keams Canyon, Arizona has been operating since 1937, and continues to be a thriving retail and wholesale business. Ron McGee is a third generation trader, and currently operates the business, which has shifted to a successful art gallery orientation (Eddington and Makov 1995: 81). Ron stocks a wide selection of Hopi basketry, Navajo rugs, traditional and contemporary Hopi jewelry, and features an extensive array of Hopi katsina doll carvings in a separate room off the

⁴ Discussed below.

⁵ The Hubbell Trading Post in Ganado, Arizona is now a National Historic Site.

main gallery. Ron McGee, and his brother Bruce, continue to have positive business relationships with many Hopi carvers in a time where Native artists are increasingly becoming more involved with their own retail sales at art markets, museum shows, and gallery openings. Ron noted that though many of the carvers he currently deals with are involved with their own sales and marketing, they remain “very loyal” to him and his brother, as Bruce “started out many of the high end carvers by promoting them at galleries and shows and establishing their names” (R. McGee 1999). Many Hopi artists echo this sentiment, noting the importance of the McGee’s encouragement and promotion of their work (Eddington and Makov 1995:81). Speaking about the role of contemporary traders, Ron McGee notes that the Hopi are no longer “dependant on Anglos” as interpreters or government negotiators, roles that early Indian traders once filled. In fact, he believes that:

‘Indian Trader’ is kind of a lost word. We aren’t really considered Indian Traders anymore because we don’t do much trading. Because of regulations, everything needs to be done on a cash basis now – so that aspect has changed a lot (R. McGee 1999).

Ron is quick to note that what hasn’t changed is the underlying social exchange between trader and artisan. Ron, as a contemporary trader, is active in promoting Hopi artists, and in educating the buying public regarding both the quality of Hopi arts and the existence of imitation products. Constantly encouraging and supporting Hopi katsina doll carvers, Ron says he “tries to teach carvers, especially the younger ones,

different ways that they can improve their art” and subsequently gain an increased price from buyers⁶ (R. McGee 1999).

The example of Ron McGee illustrates the positive contemporary role of the trader as promoter of Native artists positioned within an ethnic art market. Trader Joe Day demonstrates how the encouragement of traditional art forms can result in cultural resurgence. Joe, who commonly identifies himself as “a white guy from Kansas”, operates the arts and crafts shop “Tsakurshovi”, owned by his Hopi wife Janice (Day 1999). Located on Second Mesa, Tsakurshovi is indeed a portal between two worlds: a cultural borderland where tourists shop for art (and the Day’s signature “Don’t Worry Be Hopi” T-shirts) alongside local craftspeople stocking up on mineral pigments and cottonwood root. Between selling to eager tourists, purchasing from local artisans, answering telephone calls, and making his trademark jokes, Joe related to me his support of carvers involved with the new traditional style of carving. Quick to point out that the traditional style of carving has “never disappeared”, Joe explained that traditional pieces have not been as popular as other forms and have remained very much “in the background” until recently. According to Joe, the Western art market has always shaped the direction of Native art forms. With regard to the specific case of katsina doll carving, he believes that the art market has continually dictated what Westerners perceive as katsinam, and subsequently what carvers will produce (Day 1999). Throughout the past few decades, the market has primarily demanded mid to

⁶ For example, Ron McGee instructs young carvers to include fine details on their piece (such as carving, rather than painting, fingers and toes) as he understands that collectors will pay a higher price for such attention.

high range dolls of the “action style”. Joe expressed his dissatisfaction with the contemporary ultra-realistic style of carving, noting that such depictions were not reflective of the “real katsinam”. He went on to relate that over the past ten years, there has been a resurgence in the “old-style” of carving that is often connected to the personal desire of a carver to return and reconnect with tradition (Day 1999). Joseph and Janice Day’s promotion and encouragement of the style, as well as their provision of a retail outlet for these carvings, is, in part, inspiring many Hopi carvers to become involved in what is quickly becoming a very popular and culturally rewarding style of katsina doll carving.

In addition to trading posts, katsina dolls are still marketed through a contemporary form of the ethnic art “mail-order” business, which in today’s indigenous art market inevitably involves the very sensitive issue of imitations. In a recent article, “Mail-Order ‘Katsinam’ and the issue of Authenticity”, Zena Pearlstone explores the contemporary mail-order market through which many Southwestern Native items are offered to both North American and international audiences. Pearlstone notes that, since the late 1980s, these audiences have become acquainted with “katsinam” through catalogue offerings which primarily market non-Pueblo made imitation carvings as “authentic” (2000: 801). To further illustrate, I draw on the Autumn 1999 issue of “Simply Southwest by mail” which, in addition to casual clothes and colorful decoratives with a Southwestern flair, offers “hand-crafted kachinas...representing ancient spirits...believed to bring deeper meaning to everyday life” (Simply Southwest 1999: 24). The carvings are advertised as being carved by a “Native American artist”,

however the dolls are clearly not Pueblo made⁷, and are characteristic of mass-produced pieces. This is also the case for the “mini kachinas” featured in the same catalogue, which are again “handmade by Native Americans from wood, feathers, fur and leather” and advertised as promoting “strength, peace, and harmony” (Simply Southwest 1999: 53). The point to be made here is that the contemporary mail-order trade in Southwestern Native crafts, as with the first curio catalogues of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, continues to market an exoticized and often stereotypical vision of Native peoples to a global audience. Pearlstone cogently summarizes the issue with her observation that:

Imitation katsinam offered by mail would seem to stretch the concept of authenticity to its limit as potential buyers individually interpret the provided vague texts...It is ironic that the escalating consumer appetite for the “authentic” Southwest, as seen in “katsina” carvings may be leading entrepreneurs to encourage the production of “katsina” figurines that are further removed from any Pueblo definition of authenticity (2000: 825-826).

Patrons, Art Fairs, and the “Revival” of Native Artistic Traditions

In a seminal article on the ethnic art market in the American Southwest, Ed Wade relates that, at the same time traders were eagerly tapping into a burgeoning tourist market through the promotion of mass production, early collectors and ethnologists were actively seeking to preserve traditional modes and prevent

⁷ The carvings are probably Navajo made. The catalogue identifies the pieces as being made by “Native Americans”, but does not distinguish them as specifically Hopi made. More detailed discussion regarding the production of imitation carvings will follow in Chapter Six.

technological and aesthetic changes associated with tourist art (1985: 167). Wade notes that “[d]espite an historical edge, and the early cooperation of anthropologists, traders consistently lost ground to the financial and social influence of the well-endowed patron collectors, who were increasingly joined by anthropologists in supporting a preservationist approach” (1985: 167-168).

By the 1920s, a number of patron collectors and their associated institutions⁸ were active in resisting the expanding curio trade, and promoting a revival of traditional forms, particularly with regard to ceramics and basketry. For example, the School of American Research began promoting Hopi-Tewa pottery in 1919 (Clemmer 1995: 136), and Native pottery received great exposure in 1921 with the establishment of the Indian Art Market in Santa Fe by the Southwest Association on Indian Affairs (Wade 1985: 178)⁹. One of the most influential players in the preservationist movement was Mary-Russell F. Colton, co-founder, with her husband Harold, of the Museum of Northern Arizona. Her influence in promoting a “revival” of Hopi ceramics through the establishment of the “Hopi Craftsman Exhibition” in 1930 is offered here as a case study of the impact of Western consumers on Hopi art forms. In particular, Mary-

⁸ The highly gendered nature of the Indian arts and crafts movement within the American Southwest should be noted, but cannot be considered in great detail here. Although several men played key roles, women patrons, and women consumers largely carried the movement. According to Margaret D. Jacobs, the white women involved in the arts and crafts movement sought to establish a new public space in which to “operate and gain social mastery” (1999: 171). See Jacobs, Chapter Six, “Women and the Indian Arts and Crafts Movement” for further discussion.

⁹ An historical overview of the origin and development of Indian arts and crafts fairs in the American Southwest is not possible here. It should be noted however, that the forerunners of such events were actually the creation of reservation traders (Wade, 1985; McNitt, 1962). The American Southwest continues to be host to dozens of annual fairs and exhibitions, with Santa Fe’s “Indian Market” being the largest venue, drawing more than 100,000 visitors a year. Other notable exhibitions (among many) include: The Museum of Northern Arizona’s Heritage Program (featuring Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and Pai Marketplaces); the Heard Museum’s Annual Indian Fair and Market; the Annual Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial; and, the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Arts and Crafts Show.

Russell Colton's media releases for the Hopi Craftsman Exhibition¹⁰ offer a unique insight into both her personal and institutional agendas with regard to Native arts, and are reflective of broader Western attitudes and paradigms regarding indigenous peoples during this period.

In a paper entitled "How to Run an Indian Arts Exhibition: Working Directions" (1931), Mary-Russell Colton presents the workings of her brainchild "The Hopi Craftsman", an annual exhibit which has had a significant impact on the production and direction of Southwest Native arts. In response to what the Coltons perceived as the degeneration and corruption of the traditional art forms of the Hopi peoples, the Museum of Northern Arizona instituted the Hopi Craftsman exhibitions with the goal of 'saving' old Pueblo art forms and techniques from 'extinction'. The exhibitions were designed to provide incentive for Native artists to create what the Museum deemed as high-quality, traditional pieces. To this end, various cash awards and ribbons were offered for the finest pieces, and Mary-Russell Colton avidly worked to create a competitive climate surrounding the exhibition:

The Indian loves competition. If he knows that a fine quality of work will find appreciation (both aesthetic and monetary) he will not spare himself. The Museum worker will do well to appeal to his pride of craftsmanship and by a system of prizes and arrangement of material pit the villages against one another (Colton 1931: 2).

¹⁰ I was able to access a series of articles written by Mary-Russell Colton on the Hopi Craftsman exhibition while visiting the Museum of Northern Arizona's Archives. The articles, as indicated on the manuscripts, were written for such papers as the "Arizona Republic", "Coconino Sun", and Syndicated Press. I have included a selection of excerpts drawn from these press releases from 1930-1941 as "Appendix A".

Above all, Mary-Russell Colton stressed that only the very best quality pieces were to be produced for the Hopi Craftsman and that crafts regarded as inferior were to be rejected and the artist given direction regarding how to improve their products.

“Judgment”, stressed Colton, must be used” (emphasis her own 1931: 3).

Margaret D. Jacobs connects such attempts by patrons and philanthropic organizations to revitalize Native arts with the broader movement to revive handicrafts occurring in Britain and America at the turn of the century (1999: 149). The Arts and Crafts Movement (ca. 1880-1920) has been explained by scholars as a reaction against the forces of industrialization and a related search for the “authentic”:

Believing that industrialization had produced a mass culture of imitation, destroyed communal bonds, and divested work of its inherent worth, supporters of the arts and crafts movement sought “authentic” objects and experience in preindustrial cultures and modes of production (Jacobs 1999: 149).

This quest for authenticity and nostalgia for a ‘more simple’ time is clearly evident within Mary-Russell Colton’s vision of the “Hopi Craftsman”, as recorded in her media releases for the event.¹¹ Colton is clear in her assertion that “Indian art is fast becoming the victim of commercialization and mass production” (1930a), and believed that without the “proper stimulus” it would die (1930b). She was also explicit in her criteria of ‘authenticity’¹², actively discouraging “the production of carelessly made material

¹¹ Again, the following critique directly refers to the excerpts drawn from media releases by Colton that are included in Appendix A.

¹² Mary-Russell Colton’s criteria for authenticity were quite specific to the artistic medium. For example, the advertising poster for the 1934 “Hopi Craftsman” instructs that: weavers must wash their wool clean to ensure that blankets appeared white (not gray), use vegetable dyes whenever possible, and to spin yarn

showing outside influence” (1931b) and dismissing such hybrid forms as “only half Indian” (1930c).

By consciously attempting to redirect Southwestern Native crafts away from the curio trade and toward an elite market, preservationists such as Mary-Russell Colton in effect redefined indigenous arts through their choices and exclusions. The fact that each piece accepted for the Hopi Craftsman was personally approved by Mary-Russell Colton herself (as Curator of Art and Ethnology), and her assertion that exhibition material is “backed by the sympathetic field labor of experts” (1930g), attests to this point. In doing “ ‘its bit’ to stimulate and preserve the best in Indian art” (1930e), it has been argued that Colton and the Museum of Northern Arizona actually promoted an increase in the already labour intensive cost of producing Hopi crafts. A case in point is the Museum of Northern Arizona’s campaign to revive traditional textiles that insisted Hopi artists persist in the labour intensive process of dyeing wool with lump indigo. In this particular instance Mary-Russell Colton’s “jacking up” (1930b) of what she saw as a degenerating art was not considered an economically viable enterprise for the Hopi craftsperson. As a result, textile production has steadily dwindled from the 1940s to the present, making its survival as a commercial art highly problematic (Wade 1985: 182). Furthermore, the selectivity exercised by the Coltons through the Hopi Craftsman may have contributed to the disappearance of art forms that were not approved of, either aesthetically or technologically, by the Museum (Eaton 1990: 11).

evenly and without knots; basket makers are prohibited from using aniline dyes and encouraged to use only vegetable dyes; and, that potters should make old shapes and sign their wares.

Lydia Wyckoff has suggested, for example, that the “Sikyatki Revival Polychrome Style A” pottery type persisted among potters until 1930, when it came under fire from the Museum of Northern Arizona for not meeting specific aesthetic criteria (Wyckoff 1983: 73; Eaton 1990: 11-12).

The romantic perception of the “vanishing Indian” so prevalent in the American mind during this period is also evident in both the staging and marketing of the Hopi Craftsman exhibition. One of the featured draws of the Hopi Craftsman was a chance for “the white man of the machine age” to have direct contact with the Native craftsman and his “fascinating and primitive methods of manufacture” (1932), and later, the opportunity to partake of an “‘ethnologically correct’ Hopi meal” (1936). The criteria that the Coltons and the Museum of Northern Arizona placed upon Hopi arts was extended to the Hopi craftspeople themselves, whereby ‘primitive’ and ‘ethnologically correct’ translated into authenticity. The selectivity and exclusions exercised by the Coltons through the Museum of Northern Arizona’s Hopi Craftsman Show served to freeze the Hopi in the past, where they could continue to practice ‘primitive’ and therefore ‘authentic’ technologies, and produce ‘traditional’ and therefore ‘acceptable’ art forms. In some cases, as illustrated with the example of Hopi weaving, such technologies and forms were neither economically feasible nor desired by the existing art market. I strongly agree with Linda Eaton’s argument that the Hopi Craftsman was an attempt to present a “highly packaged and edited version” of Hopi arts and peoples that capitalized on Western society’s fascination with the ‘noble savage’ (1990: 21).

As ‘revivals’ depend on the development of new audiences at the same time the art form is becoming obsolete within the indigenous community (Brody 1976: 83), the Museum was only able to create a limited market for the arts that it promoted. For instance, the Museum’s emphasis on the continued manufacture of large utilitarian jars for a small, elite market did not meet the needs of artists, especially those of Hopi women, whose production of such arts and crafts was a primary means of supporting a family rather than a hobby (Jacobs 1999: 173). Also, art patrons such as the Coltons were responsible for changes in the social relationships of Hopi artists through the promotion of individual craftspeople (Brody 1976: 75). The Museum of Northern Arizona was directly involved in such a campaign. “Point six” of Mary-Russell Colton’s “Field Directions” for “Hopi Craftsman” collecting trips states that:

[The] Interpreter will explain that the Museum wishes to build up the individual reputations of the Craftsmen so that people coming to the exhibition each year will ask for the baskets of “so and so” and the weaving and pottery of “such and such” a craftsman. Interpreter will tell the people that Mrs. Colton and the Museum strongly urge every craftsman to put his or her mark or name on every piece of their work. In this way the people will remember them and come to know their work (emphasis her own, 1931: 4).

It has been argued that the encouragement of signatures and trademarks in a public way conflicted with existing Hopi values regarding self and society. As indicated by Brody (with specific reference to potters, prior to the 1920s), Pueblo artists were “nonprofessionals, anonymous outside their own communities, who gained no particular distinction through the practice of their craft” (1976: 75). Ruth Bunzel, in

her study of the Zuni peoples, noted in 1950 that one of the most negative remarks that could be made regarding a Pueblo person was that they wished to be “a leader of his people” (Bunzel, quoted in Eaton 1990: 17). Eaton expands on Bunzel’s point, noting that the ‘wishing’ rather than the ‘leading’ is the greater concern, and that it would be preferable within Pueblo society to let the “excellence of one’s work bring attention rather than seek to draw attention to that work” (1990: 17).

From the perspective of the Western artistic ideal of individuality, the art consumer is able to more readily identify with indigenous arts at the level of individual artist. This perspective very likely played some role in the Coltons’ attempt to promote artists’ signatures, and certainly is related to their encouragement of competition between Hopi villages and individual artists. Competition, as with individuality, would have been an ill fit with the value of societal cooperation, which completely permeates traditional ceremonial cycles and Hopi life. As an example of such promoted competition, the 1934 “Hopi Craftsman” offered a special “Friendship Prize” to the first and second place villages that won the most awards during the exhibition (Colton 1934: *The Hopi Craftsman*). The very term ‘friendship’ to represent the nature of rivalry being inspired through such competition is especially interesting. Competition between individual artists at juried shows continues to be a mainstay of the indigenous art market in the American Southwest. As with the earliest Museum of Northern Arizona exhibitions, judging criteria and categories continue to be highly revealing, consistently reflecting Western ideals, technological preferences and aesthetic inclinations. As a juried show, the Hopi Craftsman served the interests of the Museum of Northern Arizona in validating

its institutional criterion of ‘authenticity’, and provided the individual collector with an opportunity to acquire ribboned, and therefore prestigious, pieces. The early Hopi Craftsman exhibitions were problematic in that judging was done by ‘experts’ at the Museum (Eaton 1990: 9), further reinforcing the hierarchy of authenticity created by the Coltons with regard to Hopi Crafts. Policy now dictates that exhibition judges must be drawn from outside the Museum of Northern Arizona. Native judges made their first appearance at Museum of Northern Arizona shows in 1978 (McKenna 1983: 32), almost fifty years after the inception of the “Hopi Craftsman”.

Artistic innovation did find a place in the Hopi Craftsman in that a totally new form was preferred over any alteration of existing artistic traditions (Eaton 1990: 21). After its failure to sustain Hopi weaving, the Museum of Northern Arizona became more flexible with regard to accepting and encouraging innovative work, most notably through the creation and promotion of a new type of “overlay” silverwork (Wade 1985: 182-183). Deeming traditional Hopi silverwork as too similar to that of the Navajo and Zuni, the Museum introduced the overlay technique as an economically viable enterprise, which, ultimately, led to the decline of traditional techniques (Wade 1985: 182; 186). One particularly interesting example of the Museum of Northern Arizona’s hesitation with regard to innovation and the adoption of new technologies to existing traditions is a case involving yucca sifters at the 1978 Museum of Northern Arizona Hopi Show. Katharine McKenna relates that one Native judge expressed great appreciation for an innovation in a yucca sifter, the particular piece standing out from the rest of the entries in that it was perfectly round and evenly woven. The same judge

later discovered the reason for the difference in workmanship, namely the use of a metal ring to form the sifter rim, instead of the traditional bent stick. Furthermore, the judge believed the extra weight provided by the metal ring would lend itself nicely to the actual procedure of sifting. Supposedly delighted with the innovation, McKenna concludes that the judge only gave the piece an honourable mention (1983: 36). I would suggest that this example is indicative of the lingering presence of Mary-Russell Colton's rigid criteria regarding the 'authenticity' of purely 'primitive methods' in the realm of the Museum of Northern Arizona's Hopi exhibition.

In summary, though it was Mary-Russell Colton's belief in 1931 that the Hopi artist had "responded nobly to the Museum's challenge", producing "his best to show the world that he has not yet forgotten" (1931c), many Hopi people would disagree with the assertion that their arts were disappearing and needed the intervention of white patrons to survive. The paternalistic, or perhaps more appropriately 'maternalistic', tones of Mary-Russell Colton's revival campaign for Hopi arts mirrors the broader socio-political climate of the period with specific regard to dominant attitudes about the supposed extinction of indigenous cultures, and the inability of Native peoples to be self-sufficient. The words and ideas conveyed through Mary-Russell Colton's media releases for the Hopi Craftsman have permitted a glimpse into the relationship between philanthropic patrons and Hopi peoples within the American Southwest during the mid-1900s. They also reveal that her mission of "reverting to the simplified refreshing forms of the art of primitive man" (1941b) were characteristic of a nostalgia which permeated American society in this era.

As with most revival programs in the Southwest, the Museum of Northern Arizona's "Hopi Craftsman Exhibition" was overly subjective and inconsistent with regard to its expectations and demands of the Native craftsperson (Wade 1985: 186). From a commercial perspective, the Hopi Craftsman could be considered of some economic benefit to Hopi peoples, establishing a limited market for arts and crafts products. However, as Ed Wade reflects, the question of whether or not traditional Hopi arts were really 'saved' remains to be convincingly answered (1985: 185). More importantly, I would ask, did Hopi arts ever really need saving? Humanist patrons such as the Coltons subscribed to the predominant notion that Native cultures were destined to be assimilated, and embraced arts and crafts revivals as a strategy to insulate what they deemed as important aspects of Hopi culture from the Western world:

From the cultural viewpoint, the loss of native arts would impoverish our country. The Indian has a great contribution to make toward our mutual civilization of the future in his rich folk-lore [sic] and his unique arts. (Colton 1930e)

In what I consider to be one of the most telling statements included within many of Mary-Russell Colton's media releases on the exhibition, she states that the Hopi Craftsman is "a *scientific experiment*, not a commercial Enterprise" (Colton 1939, emphasis mine). Indigenous arts are not necessarily served by patrons who wish to engage in 'experiments' involving the maintenance of traditional techniques or revivals of ancient forms and designs. Rather, art is best served through the creative innovations of artists, through adaptation and inspired development. Do art forms 'die'

as much as they develop? Did the Hopi Craftsman need to be ‘reawakened’ to recall and preserve his arts, or, was he simply being expected to remain still and unchanging like a snapshot of the vanishing Indian?

The “Hopi Craftsman” exhibition continues today at the Museum of Northern Arizona as part of their annual “Heritage Program”. It has expanded over the years to include Navajo, Zuni, and Pai exhibitions (now referred to as “Marketplaces”) in addition to the Hopi show. These Marketplaces function as venues for Native artists¹³ to sell their products, as well as the chance to participate in a juried exhibition. Although the contemporary Hopi Marketplace continues to value traditional forms, new technologies are now accepted, such as the use of aniline dyes and power tools, or, kiln-fired pottery. The 2000 Hopi Marketplace “Millennium Achievement Awards” offers a glimpse of the Museum’s current preferences and concerns. There were for instance, special awards for basket weaving and for the best traditionally carved katsina doll (not using power tools). Also included was a special prize for the most innovative piece of jewelry entered for competition, an area in which the Museum has consistently encouraged creative artistic expression.

One has to speculate on the reaction Mary-Russell Colton would have had to the 2000 Hopi Marketplace exhibition, which featured one artist-vendor’s artificial Christmas tree festooned with plaster katsina ornaments, and an elderly Hopi woman proudly displaying her soft-sculptured “cabbage-patch” type koshare clowns, complete

¹³ Native artists must be members of the particular nation being invited to the Marketplace.

with the artist's signature on the doll's behind¹⁴. Would Mary-Russell cringe with disdain from the hybridity that now characterizes the Hopi Craftsman, and contemporary Hopi life? Or, would she choose to re-evaluate her rigid criteria within the context of the twenty-first century (where the Hopi and their arts both continue to flourish), and embrace the more fluid system of classification now used by the Museum?¹⁵ The Museum of Northern Arizona has taken many positive steps towards making their annual Marketplaces a culturally meaningful experience for Native participants, rather than solely for the art consumer. The recent addition of the Nuvatakya'ovi Hopi Marketplace Fun Run¹⁶, the regular inclusion of Native judges, and more flexible judging criteria, attest to this point and indicate a promising cooperative future for the Museum of Northern Arizona and indigenous peoples of the American Southwest.

Tourism in the Contemporary American Southwest

Indian traders, mail-order curio catalogues, the Santa Fe Railway, the Fred Harvey Company and art patrons have all created markets for the sale of indigenous arts and crafts, and in so doing, have significantly influenced the direction of Native artistic products. They are elements of the touristic encounter, but a broader

¹⁴These hybrid forms, however, remain in the realm of arts offered for sale, rather than pieces entered for the juried exhibition.

¹⁵Based on my participant observation of the judging of the 1999 Zuni and Pai Marketplaces, and the 2000 Hopi Marketplace, it appears that MNA exhibition judges are now able to create new or additional categories to more adequately reflect the submissions of Hopi artists.

¹⁶Initiated in 2000, the "Fun Run" was coordinated for the MNA by Hopi potter Rainy Naha and her husband Rod. The act of running is an important element of traditional Hopi society, and continues to be valued by many contemporary individuals.

examination of tourism is required in order to appreciate the complex ways in which Native peoples have responded to tourists. The following section will discuss tourism research in general and in the American Southwest, with specific reference to the ways that Native people have engaged and resisted the visitors in their midst.

Tourism has been a subject of interest to anthropologists and other scholars since the mid-1970s, but it is only recently that the anthropological study of tourism has been accepted as a legitimate area of research with a grounded theoretical perspective (Wilson 1993: 32). Recent studies of tourism in the American Southwest¹⁷ have centered on its definition and the examination of the effects of tourism on indigenous Native American cultures and economies (Tisdale 1996: 450).

Valene Smith identifies five different forms of tourism, including: ethnic tourism, cultural tourism, historical tourism, environmental tourism, and recreational tourism (1989: 4). Within the American Southwest, tourism is marketed as very much an “ethnic” experience, where the arts and cultures of the region’s indigenous groups are the focus of the extended tourist season.¹⁸ This focus gives rise to various sources of tension between the tourist/consumer and the Native groups being ‘consumed’. First and foremost is the Western idea that the ceremonies and lifestyles of Native groups are “shows” for their entertainment, an attitude that often results in a lack of respect on the part of some tourists with regard to the privacy and personal boundaries of the Native groups they are visiting. The inappropriate behaviour of tourists, including queries on

¹⁷ Such as: Dietch (1989), Evans-Pritchard (1989), Laxson (1991), M’Closkey (1994), Parezo (1983, 1990, 1996), and Tisdale (1996).

¹⁸ The extended tourist season in the American Southwest is April to October, with over 1.5 million visitors to Santa Fe alone.

matters of a religious nature, trying to gain access to restricted areas, or, the Western emphasis on video and photographic “souvenirs”, is an additional strain on Native groups forced to continuously deal with outside visitors. As noted by Rayna Green (1996), the indigenous peoples of North America have responded in various ways to this “second invasion” of their lands and cultures, developing strategies of evasion, resistance, and survival.

Deirdre Evans-Pritchard suggests that the scholarly study of the effects of tourism, as with broader research into processes of colonialism and acculturation, rarely examines local perceptions of the actual agents of the associated cultural change (1989: 89). Images of Westerners are, however, commonly found in the oral traditions, performances and visual arts of indigenous peoples, as these groups have attempted to understand, interpret, and often satirized the new world emerging around them. Green explains that one method through which Pueblo people have endured such cultural upheaval has been through the use of humor as “a means of dealing with the stress of strangers and the profane actions of the alien” (1996: 202). The use of humor is demonstrated in the following examples from Puebloan society which illustrate Native responses to Western assumptions regarding their culture. First, the burlesquing of Westerners by Pueblo peoples during ceremonial dances can be understood as an ongoing reaction to the inappropriate behaviour of tourists attending these events.¹⁹ Many tourists continue to act in ways that violate Puebloan values, ignoring boundaries of privacy and privilege in their quest for the ‘authentic Indian experience’, and as a

¹⁹ For a more detailed examination of burlesque in Pueblo performance, see Sweet, 1989.

result are often burlesqued by the koshare clowns during summer katsina dances. For example, dressed in Bermuda shorts and sporting two cameras around his neck, the ‘koshare-tourist’, performing in his role as an agent of social control, conducts himself in an obtrusive and exaggerated manner mocking the improper conduct of visitors. Satirical commentary of tourists has also been extended to the plastic arts in the Pueblo world. In addition to carvings of koshare clowns representing tourists and even anthropologists, artists at Cochiti Pueblo have a longstanding tradition of representing cultural others through the plastic arts in the form of pottery figures called “monos”. Since the 1820s, Cochiti potters have used their sculptural skills to produce comic figures with exaggerated features, portraying and commenting on the peoples they have encountered, including priests, sheriffs, cowboys, merchants, other indigenous peoples, and even circus performers. This figurative pottery tradition continues today at Cochiti, with contemporary artists often portraying tourists in forms ranging from golfers to bikini-clad sunbathers.²⁰

These examples illustrate the human process of understanding and interpreting the unfamiliar, or, in this specific situation ‘the other’. In the case of Pueblo society, as with other Native American groups, such ‘sense making’ is often facilitated through the use of humor in combination with oral, performative and artistic traditions. Through this media, definitions of indigenous identity become sharpened in contrast with explorations of the ‘other’ (Sweet 1989: 72-73). The examples illustrate the active agency and strategies used by Native cultures in dealing with the touristic encounter,

²⁰ See Green, 1996, for a more detailed discussion of the Cochiti figurative tradition, as well as other contemporary examples of Native/Western encounters as represented in Puebloan artistic traditions.

which is in direct opposition to dominant perceptions of Native groups as passive or naïve participants in the domain of tourism. The very real authority exercised by Pueblo groups with regard to tourism is also evidenced in incidents relating to the regulation of behaviour and restrictions of access for outsiders. The planning and development of the Hopi Cultural Center on Second Mesa, for example, was a response to issues of controlling tourists. The ongoing abuse of Hopi culture and disrespect for regulations by visitors prompted many Hopi villages to close their summer katsina dances to outsiders in the early 1990s. Some katsina dances have since been re-opened, however each village adheres to its own policy and no dance is ever openly publicized. Among Hopi and other Pueblo groups, tourism continues to be a subject of much debate and negotiation between those who advocate a complete ban, versus others who aim to reach a satisfactory balance between economic prosperity and cultural well being. As indicated by the inception of the first annual “American Indian Tourism Conference”, held during August of 1999 in Albuquerque²¹, tourism will remain an issue of ongoing discussion to which the indigenous peoples of the American Southwest will continue to actively contribute.

²¹The conference aimed to address the issue of tourism in a broad forum by establishing and strengthening partnerships with federal and state agencies, tribal governments, and North American tourism industry leaders, as well as cooperatively identifying cultural benefits, markets and tourist opportunities to enhance both local and national economic strategies (SICT, 1999).

Conclusions: Western Influence and Indigenous Agency

This chapter has examined the rise of the art market in the American Southwest and discussed the influence of curio dealers, traders, art patrons, and tourism on indigenous arts. In particular, the aesthetic values imposed on indigenous arts through these Western influences were revealed, and their implications considered. This investigation makes apparent the active agency of Native peoples in negotiating, manipulating, and resisting both the historic and contemporary touristic encounter. This topic is further explored in the following chapter through an examination of the processes of interaction and exchange between Native art producers and Western art consumers, with specific reference to Hopi katsina doll carving.

Chapter Five
**Contemporary Hopi Katsina Doll Carving and the Western Art Market:
Interaction and Exchange**

*“It’s not just a piece of wood – it’s your ideas, creativity and hard work”
-Armand Fritz, Hopi Carver*

It had no precedent, and the carvers all agreed that such an event would certainly never have happened back home at Hopi. In November of 1999 the School of American Research – Indian Arts Center hosted its 6th annual “Native American Artist Convocation”, focusing, for the first time, on katsinam. Within the Center’s storage areas, nine Hopi artists came together to share their ideas, insights, and artistic techniques. To Silas Roy, the gathering provided an important opportunity for carvers, namely through “preserving knowledge of katsinam and carving”. Armand Fritz strongly echoed this notion, commenting further on the value of such a forum for the discussion of issues surrounding participation in a commercial market. He appreciated this rare opportunity for in-depth conversation with other carvers who understood the contemporary issues and challenges affecting modern artists. Enthusiastic discussion about juried shows, marketing techniques, and the sale of dolls flowed during convocation sessions, and there was much exchange of experience and advice between carvers. Though he identifies himself as a “new” artist, Armand had insight to offer regarding the sale of katsina dolls. He encouraged those carvers just beginning to enter the commercial market to always remember and value the great amount time and talent required for the production of an exceptional piece of art. “It’s not just a piece of wood”, asserted Armand, “it’s your ideas, creativity and hard work”.

This chapter builds on the discussion initiated in Chapter Four through a specific examination of the history of the commercialization of Hopi katsina doll carving. Contemporary commercial katsina doll carving is considered in relation to the Western art market, and the history of interaction and exchange between Hopi artists and consumers is explored. Case studies in commercial carving are presented to illustrate the agency of Hopi artists within the art market system. Both Western art consumers and Hopi artists are recognized as active agents in affecting artistic change in commercial katsina doll carving, and each perspective is considered. The views

presented here were revealed through fieldwork interviews with carvers and art consumers, as well as participant observation. Central to this discussion of indigenous arts produced for a commercial market is the concept and construction of “authenticity”. Both Western and Hopi perspectives are presented in relation to the contemporary Southwestern Indian art market.

Artistic and Stylistic Change in Commercial Katsina Doll Carving:
An Historical Overview

I begin with a brief history and background of katsina doll carving for a commercial market, and then move to a discussion of the influence of the Western art market on technological and artistic changes. The reader should be reminded at the outset that Hopi attitudes toward commercial carving, past and present, are not homogenous. There are those Hopi elders and traditionalists who have consistently opposed the sale of Hopi tihu as art objects, comparing the act to “selling your children” (Breunig and Lomawaytu’ma 1992: 10). The Hopi Cultural Preservation Office does not endorse the commercial sale of katsina dolls. According to the Hopi Tribe, it is the “religious essence of tihu that makes their commercial exploitation and sale a point of disagreement among some Hopi” (Hopi Tribe 2001: Tihu).

By 1875, trader Thomas Keam had established a trading post at Keams Canyon and was actively purchasing Hopi katsina dolls for resale to museums and private collectors. By the arrival of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway in 1881, the sale of katsina dolls in the tourist market had become commonplace. With its retail outlets along the Santa Fe rail line, the Fred Harvey Company became a major marketer of katsina dolls (McManis 2000: 4-5). The dolls

purchased by Western consumers during these early years were of the “cradle doll” or flat type and made solely from natural materials. This type of carving has been classified by Western scholars¹ as the “early traditional” style, and is referred to by the Hopi peoples as “putsqatihu”. Hopi carvers began to make more rounded, three-dimensional types of katsina doll carvings during the early 1900s (from roughly 1910 to 1930). This style has been classified as the “late traditional style”. It incorporated only subtle changes towards realism, with simply carved legs and arms that were still attached to, or ‘hugging’, the body at the abdomen area (Teiwes 1991: 43-44). These dolls are often referred to as “stomach achers” from the Hopi word “ponotutuyqa” – one with a stomachache (McManis 2000: 10; Breunig and Lomatuway’ma 1992: 10). With the exception of refinements in painting and body shapes which were directly related to the adoption of new carving tools and techniques such as commercial sandpaper, X-Acto blades, and a variety of surface treatments, the design of Hopi katsina dolls remained relatively consistent until after World War II.

Carvers began to experiment with the depiction of motion in katsina dolls beginning in the 1930s, carving legs bent at the knees and positioning arms and legs at varying angles (McManis 2000: 7). The emergence of this “early action” style is attributed to the demands of Western art consumers, but was also greatly facilitated by traders and art patrons such as Harold Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona who encouraged Hopi carvers to incorporate greater realism and detail in their dolls. The action style precluded one-piece carvings, as had previously been the norm. It became common for carvers to make protruding limbs separately and

¹ Wright 1977; Teiwes, 1991; Day 2000.

attach them with glue, nails, or wooden pegs (Teiwes 1991: 45-46). Additionally, the use of commercial colouring agents² in place of, or in addition to, traditional mineral and vegetal paints became widespread during this period (McManis 2000: 8). Another trend to emerge between 1930 and 1945 was the appearance of “dressed” dolls, whereby artists began to decorate their carvings with yarn, cloth, shells, feathers, cornhusks, and other materials³ (McManis 2000: 8-9; Teiwes 1991: 47).

One of the greatest challenges brought about by the new action-oriented trend in carving was achieving the desired depiction of motion, while still producing a doll that could be freestanding. As tourists increasingly demanded dolls that could be displayed upright (rather than as the traditional wall hanging), carvers began to produce dolls with disproportionately large feet (McManis 2000: 7). The introduction of a separate base in the 1960s allowed carvers greater freedom to produce dolls that were both action-oriented and proportionate.

The “late action” style of carving (1945 through the 1970s) continued the trend towards the depiction of movement and realism in carvings. In the early 1960s, two Hopi carvers in particular began to represent katsina dolls in an ultra-realistic form with anatomically correct proportions and defined musculature. These carvers, Alvin James Makya and Wilfred Tewawina, were extremely influential on the following generation of Hopi carvers, including Cecil Calnimpewa, Ros George, and Loren Phillips, whose detailed carvings are much desired among

²For example, carvers experimented with watercolors, laundry bluing, and tempera paints.

³ Carvers also experimented with fir and juniper cuttings to form neck ruffs, but consumers rejected the use of these materials as they dried to a brown color and became very brittle. Plastic greenery and green yarn was substituted, but was again rejected by consumers for aesthetic reasons (Erikson 1977: 75). Neck ruffs are now commonly carved as part of the doll and painted or stained to achieve the desired coloring.

contemporary collectors. The production of katsina dolls was directly affected by the passage of federal legislation in the 1970s, which made it illegal to use feathers from certain migratory, threatened, or endangered species on carvings produced for commercial sale. This factor, more than any other influence, led to the current prevailing carving style in which finely detailed feathers are carved from wood and painted (McManis 2000: 9). Carvers initially attempted to substitute chicken, turkey, or pheasant feathers for traditional hawk, eagle, and owl plumage. However, the general feeling among artists was that these were poor and unrealistic replacements for the real thing (McManis 2000: 10). Also during this period, artists increasingly rejected the use of tempera paints in favour of acrylics and oils (McManis 2000: 9; Breunig and Lomatuway'ma 1992: 10). The seventies were characterized by various fads in carving which were directly linked to consumer preference and demand. Carvers experimented with both miniature and oversized katsina carvings (Wright 1977: 20), a “pornographic fad” which primarily involved Hopi clowns or kokopelli figures with graphically designed sexual anatomy in promiscuous poses (Wright 1977: 20; Erikson 1977: 102), and even attempted to cast katsina figures in silver and bronze (Bromberg 1986: 31; Bassman 1991: 42).

The progression of the late action style to the “modern contemporary” katsina carving maintains fine detail and the increasingly realistic rendering of katsinam which was characteristic of the late 1970s (Walsh 2000: ix). In the 1980s, a new trend in surface treatment was initiated by Hopi artist Brian Honyouti when katsina doll carvers adopted his innovative practice of using wood preservatives and varnishes instead of paint to create dramatic contrast and achieve a new level of artistic expression (McManis 2000: 40). Throughout the 1990s, trends in katsina

doll carving have included increased realism, attention to detail, and the production of one-piece carvings. The use of wood burning tools and motorized rotary tools (such as the dremel) has greatly facilitated the production of finely detailed work. A “sculptural” style of carving, which focuses primarily on the katsinam's head details and depicts the torso in a more abstract form, has become increasingly common among carvers since it was first introduced in the 1970s (McManis 2000: 10). These abstract carvings, sometimes referred to as “contemporary conceptual”, represent the heads and upper bodies of katsinam with correct detail and coloring, however, arms and legs are usually omitted in favour of culturally significant symbolic motifs such as ears of corn, plants, or pueblo scenes on the body of the piece (Teiwes 1991: 49). Most Hopi individuals argue that such abstract sculptural carvings are no longer “katsina dolls” and should be perceived as works of art influenced by katsina culture and representative of spiritual feeling and religious symbolism (Teiwes 1991: 49-50). Another recent and related trend is the carving of elaborate bases that incorporate details and symbols associated with the particular katsina being represented, or marks relating to the identity of the artist (McManis 2000: 45).

The most recent artistic development recorded in Hopi katsina doll carving during the course of this research is referred to as the “new traditional” style of carving, or, the “new” old style, and is commonly attributed to a Hopi carver by the name of Manfred Susunkewa (Walsh 1993: 8). Reacting to a sense of discomfort regarding the increased realism and detail of modern contemporary carvings, Susunkewa believed that important aspects of the katsinam were being forgotten in the realist dolls. He therefore returned to a more traditional style of katsina doll carving to recapture the emotional response he felt as a child when faced with the

katsinam (Walsh 2000: ix; Day 2000: 12). Both a new artistic development and a return to tradition, “new” old style dolls are simply carved stylized representations, often decorated with natural pigments and materials. The carvers producing such dolls specifically intend them to be simple expressions of the spirit of the katsinam rather than precise physical representations (Walsh 2000: x). While initially hesitant, the consumer art market is increasingly accepting, and even demanding, the “new” old style dolls, and some dealers are beginning to specialize in these carvings. Traders such as Joe Day have been especially instrumental in the acceptance of this artistic expression within the Western art world and in establishing the new traditional style of carving as a separate class in Indian art markets and juried shows (Walsh 1993: 8).

This overview of the artistic and stylistic change of commercial carving provides the background for a more in-depth discussion of how the Western art market has influenced the development of Hopi katsina dolls as a contemporary art form. This discussion will be prefaced with a more general analysis of current issues and relevant theories surrounding the exchange of art commodities within the sphere of the international ethnic art market. I will then examine four specific cases that illuminate the influence of art dealers and collectors on innovations in katsina doll carving styles.

Indigenous Art: Commodity and Exchange

Through his argument that the concept of “commodity” does not need be directly associated with a capitalist system and cash economy, Arjun Appadurai (1986) provides a suitable model for the examination of the circulation of art

commodities within the international ethnic art market. Working from the premise that economic exchange creates value, Appadurai believes that through focusing on the objects of exchange, rather than merely on the form or function of exchange, the argument can be made that “what creates the link between exchange and value is *politics*, construed broadly” (1986: 3). He further connects this idea with the assertion that commodities have “social lives” which can be successfully examined to understand more fully the politics of exchange and creation of value in specific social situations (Appadurai 1986: 3). Igor Kopytoff’s (1986) notion of regarding commodities as possessing “life histories” and Janet Hoskins’ (1998) concept of “biographical objects” are parallel ideas, and suggest that the examination of an object’s history of use and/or commoditization is a valuable and revealing exercise. In the context of the international ethnic art market, these approaches provide a conceptual framework that emphasizes the examination of art objects as they circulate *through* the art market system and within related historical and cultural milieus. These approaches aim to understand the politics of exchange through the dynamic ‘social life’ or ‘biography’ of the art object as it moves through time, space and attributed meaning. It is an examination of these commodities “in motion” which illuminates their human and social contexts (Appadurai 1986: 4), and by extension, an understanding of the meaning and power ascribed to them throughout their histories.

When art is viewed as a “commodity”, it can be defined as something that has economic value, exists in time and space, and can be sold and resold in a complex series of exchanges within articulated markets (Parezo 1996: 500). When the production of indigenous arts and crafts moves from internal consumption and exchange to an external exchange system an art market is effectively created, and

many Native artists become able to earn a living through this commercial enterprise (Parezo 1990: 561). Neither the indigenous artists, nor the Western consumers of art products who participate in this external exchange system exist in a social vacuum. Rather they are players in a complex set of “art worlds” or art markets which are often asymmetrical in terms of power relationships, especially in terms of defining “authenticity” and value (Parezo 1990: 561-565). The adoption of a perspective which recognizes multiple art worlds (as related to both internal/producer and external/consumer influences) rather than the notion of a singular art market is essential for the application of Appadurai’s and Kopytoff’s ideas, since the “social identity” of an art commodity is directly related to its movement within and between the processes of production, consumption, and exchange. Although the politics of exchange associated with the ethnic art market are generally thought to be connected with the external market demand for indigenous art, examining the social life of art commodities also necessitates the direct consideration of indigenous agency within the production and exchange phases. Nancy J. Parezo illustrates this fact in her examination of the Western art market in the American Southwest, which she perceives as being directly influenced by a system of interconnected internal markets that influence external exchange, including reciprocal cultural obligations among kin in Native societies (1990: 566-567). To conduct an analysis of Southwestern Native arts solely from a Western perspective of exchange is to ignore valid aspects of the social life of any given art commodity. Neglecting to account for the economic aspect of art and its exchange within Native cultures effectively silences integral parts of its life history (Parezo 1990: 565).

Through movement within and between internal and external art worlds, art commodities develop social lives and histories, articulating notions of survival, power, individuality, cultural resurgence and ethnicity. As such, indigenous art products can be considered as both art commodities and as powerful cultural symbols which incorporate meaning related to both the product as well as the processes of commodification and intercultural exchange. In particular, the symbols conveyed through art commodities speak to the processes of negotiation and resistance that characterize the interaction between Native and Western cultures. At a broad scale these processes pertain to Western cultural imperialism and the domination of indigenous cultures. On a much more specific level, they relate to the imposition of Western aesthetic values and notions of authenticity on indigenous art systems. In opposition to the narrow view that all indigenous peoples and arts have been passive victims of commercialization, the view I articulate here reflects a more engaged approach. This perspective recognizes that the exchange of art commodities within and between Native groups in the American Southwest is a pre-contact phenomenon, and emphasizes the agency of Native artists in the production and exchange of art commodities. Furthermore, such an approach focuses on the social histories of art commodities and their relationship to changing markets, shifting relations of power, and the politics of exchange and interaction between producers and consumers. By focusing on the movement of commodities through time and space, the study of art and art markets can effectively be placed within cultural contexts that consider social, political, and economic influences (Parezo 1996: 509).

Nancy Parezo has suggested that art in the American Southwest can be viewed as a “lubricant”, both within Native cultures and between Native and non-Native

cultures. Internally, Parezo notes that it “smooths [sic] the flow of personal interactions and satisfies traditional obligations” (1990: 573). It is productive to focus an examination of external exchange among art producers and art consumers on what Parezo identifies as areas of “lubrication”: places where cultures meet, interact, and exchange both values and symbolic meaning. Parezo’s areas of “lubrication” mirror what Pratt identifies as “contact zones”. The following historic and current case studies pertaining to Hopi katsina doll carving for a commercial market examine an area where art producers and art consumers meet: the Southwestern Indian art market. In this sphere, “contact zone”, or area of “lubrication”, Hopi and Western players interact, negotiate and exchange meanings and values. However, as I will further demonstrate, the external art market is not always “well-oiled” (Parezo 1990: 573), and friction often occurs in these areas of exchange, especially with regard to issues surrounding the definition and control of what is “authentic” and therefore “valued” within the art market system. Writing in the early 1980s, Ed Wade drew attention to the fact that the “philosophical and economic inconsistencies built into the [art market] system” were being increasingly challenged, and that Native artists were actively testing the restrictive and static boundaries imposed on them as “Indian artists” (1981: 9). As will be examined in the following section, the agency Wade identified has continued with force throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, with indigenous peoples constantly reacting to what the dominant culture feels their art “should be”.

Commercial Hopi Katsina Doll Carving: Case Studies In Interaction and Exchange

The interaction between art producers and art consumers is illustrated by four case studies that explore the dynamic exchange that has occurred, and is continually developing, between Hopi katsina doll carvers who produce for the commercial market and their patrons. These studies reveal the control that Hopi carvers have exerted over their commercial art products while negotiating with market demands.

Case One: The 'katsina dolls' of Chief Wilson Tawaquaptewa

A study of the katsina dolls produced and sold by Oravyi chief Wilson Tawaquaptewa between 1910 and 1930 provides a fascinating example of early Hopi response to carving for a commercial market with specific regard to the internal negotiation of cultural rules prohibiting such action. The interface between Tawaquaptewa's unique 'katsina dolls' and his political-religious role as Oravyi's kikmongwi (village chief)⁴ make his participation in the production of commercial arts especially interesting (Walsh 1998: 53). As a "Progressive", Tawaquaptewa's involvement in the sale of art to tourists is perhaps not surprising as many Hopi men were participating in this market by the 1920s. However, Tawaquaptewa's position as village chief imposed limitations on the nature and extent of his involvement in carving katsina dolls for commercial sale. As explained by Barton Wright, Tawaquaptewa, as kikmongwi, had a special relationship with, and responsibility to, all of the katsinam, and with that privilege went a duty and a "traditional proscription" that the kikmongwi would do nothing improper or disrespectful in relation to the katsinam (Wright, quoted in Walsh 1998: 57). As such, Tawaquaptewa's use of the

⁴ Tawaquaptewa's role in the 1906 Oravyi split (leader of the Progressives) was examined within Chapter Two.

katsinam for economic gain could have been considered an exploitive and reprehensible action for a village chief.

Tawaquaptewa did, however, actively carve for the commercial market and became a familiar figure to the increasing number of tourists visiting Orayvi. Tawaquaptewa's solution to the problem of violating his special relationship to the katsinam is a telling example of the negotiation of internal cultural rules in response to external Western pressures. The 'katsina dolls' that Tawaquaptewa produced for sale were not accurate representations of the katsinam as he made deliberate alterations, added his own innovations, and mixed the characteristics of various katsinam together to form completely unique carvings. He thus made it virtually impossible to identify which katsinam were being represented. Barry Walsh, a collector and dealer of Hopi katsina dolls, approached three knowledgeable Hopis regarding the identification of a Tawaquaptewa carving. He received three different responses, which included a Badger katsina, a Bumblebee katsina, and a Great Horned Owl katsina (Walsh 1998:57). The discrepancies between these three identifications are telling regarding the ambiguous nature of Tawaquaptewa's creations, and illustrate his innovation and individual agency as he managed to be both an indigenous artist participating in the Western art market and also to respect his societal obligations as a Hopi village chief.

The katsina dolls of Wilson Tawaquaptewa therefore represent somewhat of a paradox. Tawaquaptewa was a complex political and religious figure in Hopi history who played central roles in Hopi society as kikmongwi and as head of the ceremonially important Bear clan, but was nonetheless a non-traditionalist (Walsh 1998: 59). Much like him, his dolls are situated in a "borderland" between Hopi and

Western cultures. The 'katsina dolls' created by Wilson Tawaquaptewa can therefore be considered as examples of negotiation, being commercial creations which still allowed for the maintenance of his traditional role as kikmongwi. Finally, the example of Chief Tawaquaptewa is also directly related to the concept of cultural survival. His life⁵ was completely encompassed by a period of societal upheaval and intense change brought about by the agendas and policies of a government focused on the assimilation of aboriginal peoples. Now valued by museums and collectors for their "quirky creativity" (Walsh 1988: 59), the katsina dolls of Tawaquaptewa are invaluable symbols of negotiation and compromise, which directly relate to the maintenance and survival of indigenous cultures.

Case Two: The unique katsina dolls of Otto Pentewa

Although Wilson Tawaquaptewa could be regarded as the first Hopi carver to establish an individually identifiable style, his dolls must be considered somewhat of an anomaly in that they are not katsina dolls at all, and were not intended to be considered as such by the carver. For this reason, I consider Otto Pentewa as the first Hopi artist to truly create a distinctive style of katsina doll carving which easily stands out from the mass of dolls produced during this period. Pentewa is known for the "early action" style of katsina dolls that he produced during the 1930s to 1950s. Although Pentewa never signed his dolls, they are fairly easily identified, in part by his use of a sunflower blossom, painted on katsina doll kilts, loincloths, or rattles (Walsh 2001: 67). Like Tawaquaptewa, Pentewa was one of the first carvers to produce in great quantity for the commercial market. and, as with Tawaquaptewa,

⁵ Tawaquaptewa was born in 1873 in the village of Orayvi. He assumed the position of kikmongwi in 1904 and maintained this position until his death in 1960.

Pentewa's dolls are characteristic of a distinctive, charismatic personal style (Walsh 2001: 67). Pentewa's dolls, however, are accurate representations of the katsinam, and innovation is solely directed towards carving style and decoration. For example, Pentewa frequently made use of bent cottonwood root to portray motion and unusual postures. He also carved arms and legs separately and attached them to the body with nails and glue to attain the desired 'action'. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Pentewa's dolls is their large, semicircular and "pigeon-toed" feet, which enabled the carvings to be freestanding (Walsh 2001: 67), and would have therefore met with collector demand during this period.

Additionally, Pentewa occasionally used materials such as animal pelts, and in one case, an animal skull⁶ in his carvings, further adding to their distinctive character. The surfaces of Pentewa's carvings are generally rough in appearance, and his carving on many dolls is quite minimal, which allows for the cottonwood root to retain much of its original shape (Walsh 2001: 67). Overall, the distinctive characteristics of Pentewa's carvings contribute to what Walsh calls an "unmistakable comic presence" (2001: 67), which contributed to their marketability and popularity with the buying public. For example, Walsh highlights a Huuhuwa (Cross-Legged) katsina by Pentewa within the collections of the Arizona State Museum, which, in addition to having its signature crossed legs, has also been given crossed eyes. This crossed-eyed feature is Pentewa's own whimsical invention, and is not found in other earlier examples of Huuhuwa katsina dolls (Walsh 2001: 67). Known for his artistic diversity, Pentewa carved dolls in both a range of styles (from simply carved bas-

⁶This doll is a Hon (Bear) katsina, which I identified in 2000 in the collections at the Royal Ontario Museum. The identification was confirmed by Barry Walsh, and is discussed in his recent article in *American Indian Art Magazine* (2001).

relief type dolls to meticulously detailed ones) and in different sizes (producing both miniature carvings and, in the 1950s, a considerable number of large scale dolls) (Walsh 2001: 69).

From the examination offered thus far, it is evident that the artistic license and unique innovations employed by Otto Pentewa in his katsina doll carvings translated into economic success within the external art market. Traders, collectors and tourists eagerly consumed his products, which directly met with their preferences and expectations of what katsina dolls ‘should be’ during this period. Although the concept of the high exchange value of katsina dolls being related to artistic innovation is in fact true in the case of Pentewa, a deeper analysis of his work is necessary to uncover its actual value with regard to the interaction and exchange between katsina doll producers and consumers. Though it could be assumed that Pentewa was incorporating certain features such as oversized feet and the use of unusual decoration into his carving in response to market demand, other lines of evidence suggest varying reasons for Pentewa’s decisions in creating his katsina carvings. For example, Walsh notes that the sheer artistic range of Pentewa’s dolls may reflect a combination of factors, including customer demand, but was probably also tempered by time availability, financial pressures and artistic temperament:

Perhaps when the customer requested it or Pentewa had the time to invest, he produced detailed, precisely made dolls. At other times, when money was quickly needed or the artist was fatigued, he produced the bas-relief-type carvings (Walsh 2001: 69).

Additionally, it has been suggested that Pentewa’s use of unusual animal pelts and parts, though attractive to and desired by the consumer, brought the artist, who was

known for his sense of humour and frequent practical jokes, an element of pleasure. Walsh notes that one could “easily imagine Pentewa chuckling at selling a katsina doll made from dog, mouse or cat parts to an unknowing and undoubtedly squeamish Anglo tourist” (2001: 70).

Otto Pentewa can be said to have developed a distinctive carving style that reflected the tastes and desires of the consumer art market during the 1930s to 1950s. However, a more critical analysis of the great range in carving styles attributed to Pentewa reveals the carver’s control over the ultimate influence of the external market on his art form. Furthermore, the humour expressed within Pentewa’s dolls – both overtly, as in the case of the Huuhuwa katsina, and covertly, through his use of animal parts in some dolls – again points to the power exercised by individual artists over the products they create for a commercial market. Pentewa’s response to art market demands can therefore be considered as a statement regarding Western culture’s “devouring demand for everything Indian” (Green 1996: 201), and his subsequent attempt to distance himself from being completely ‘consumed’.

Case Three: The Museum of Northern Arizona and Hopi katsina doll collecting

As discussed in Chapter Four, the Museum of Northern Arizona, and specifically Mary-Russell Colton, had considerable influence over the direction of indigenous arts within the American Southwest. The MNA’s Hopi Marketplace and juried art show remains a primary venue for introducing and validating artistic trends in Hopi katsina doll carving. The influence of the Museum of Arizona and other cultural institutions in the Southwest on the production of commercial katsina dolls is undisputable, but there is also a Native viewpoint on the issue that needs to be

examined. This discussion focuses on the relationship of the Museum of Northern Arizona with two Hopi carvers, Jimmie Kewanwytewa and Henry Shelton, who were employed at the Museum during the 1930s to 1950s and in the 1970s, respectively. I will argue that, their close association with the museum notwithstanding, these artists actively and individually determined the extent to which they would compromise traditional values and restrictions to satisfy market demands.

During the first forty years during which outsiders collected katsina dolls, the creators of these carvings remained largely anonymous. This prohibition is said to have been first broken by Jimmie Kewanwytewa who signed many of his dolls with his initials “J.K.” in the 1950s (Breunig and Lomatuway`ma 1992: 10). Jimmie Kewanwytewa, or Jimmie “K” as he was known, began to sign his dolls at the direct urging of Mary-Russell Colton. Although the Museum had been involved in hiring Hopi carvers to demonstrate their craft at the annual “Hopi Craftsman” show, the Colton’s interaction with Kewanwytewa was their first real involvement in influencing the direction of katsina doll carving. Barton Wright notes that, although Jimmie was “roundly castigated” by other Hopi peoples for signing his work, he continued to do so, regardless of this disapproval, until his death in the 1960s (1976: 84). During his years as an employee, Jimmie Kewanwytewa continued to work with MNA staff, forming a partnership with Barton Wright, former Curator at the museum. Kewanwytewa often provided Wright with both identifications of, and information on, katsina dolls within the MNA’s collection, and produced carvings specifically commissioned by the Museum.

The picture of Kewanwytewa as a highly cooperative Hopi consultant who actively embraced the direction of MNA staff is the sole image I have encountered in

existing literature, with the exception of one brief notation by Helga Teiwes in her work Kachina Dolls: The Art of Hopi Carvers. Teiwes relates that when Harold Colton asked Kewanwytewa in the 1930s to carve two katsina figures and leave them unpainted, the carver was “very uneasy” about leaving the figures unfinished, as the procedure deviated too much from tradition (1991: 45-46). Although Kewanwytewa did go through with the project⁷ other artists did not again repeat the experiment until the early 1960s (Teiwes 1991: 46). As such, the agency of Kewanwytewa as a Hopi artist becomes evident, albeit in a minimal manner. Whereas he had previously embraced the suggestions of MNA staff, regardless of criticism from other Hopi peoples, he moved to challenge Western demand through his expression of discomfort regarding the production of unpainted dolls, and furthermore, did not continue with such experimentation (although the exact reasons for this remain unclear).

An examination of Henry Shelton’s relationship with the Museum of Northern Arizona also offers similar insight into the agency that carvers maintain regardless of their involvement in the commercial art market or with an institution. An employee of the MNA, Shelton was involved with the production of katsina dolls that were “unrepresented in collection, and dolls insufficiently represented due to their popularity as loan items” (MNA 1978). As such, Shelton was asked to carve many dolls that he had not actually viewed during ceremonials, and was required to consult the paintings of Hopi artist Cliff Bahnimptewa, included as illustrations in Barton Wright’s Kachinas: A Hopi Artist’s Documentary (1973). Shelton was also

⁷Museum of Northern Arizona catalogue records do not accurately reflect Teiwes information, indicating that three (rather than two) unpainted figures were produced by Jimmie Kewanwytewa around 1941-1943, rather than the 1930s, at the suggestion of Al Whiting, rather than Harold Colton. Although there is some discrepancy between exact details, that Kewanwytewa did produce the dolls is fact. Additionally, my own examination of the Museum’s records did not indicate that Kewanwytewa ever repeated this experiment.

encouraged by MNA gift shop staff to produce a bronze cast of a katsina doll carving. In 1962 Shelton obliged this request, creating a Hemis katsina in bronze and becoming the first Hopi artist to apply the subject of katsinam to this specific media (Shelton 1999).

As with Kewanwytewa, Shelton has been represented as a highly cooperative artist in terms of working with the Museum of Northern Arizona in pursuing new directions in katsina doll carving. Again, as with Kewanwytewa, Shelton set limits on the extent he was willing to go with regard to market demands that conflicted with traditional restrictions. In direct response to consumer demand, Shelton briefly experimented with carving katsina dolls with their necks exposed (suggesting the wearing of a mask), or entirely without masks. However, Shelton soon quit this experiment because of his knowledge of traditional restrictions prohibiting such representations:

Katsinas are highly religious...you are not supposed to carve them with their masks removed. I carved them only for the collectors – I just wanted to quit (Shelton 1999).

In the case of Henry Shelton, we can clearly see the point at which he drew a boundary between his role as commercial artist and his responsibility as a Hopi person. As with most Hopi carvers, Shelton truly believes in the power of the katsinam. He attempted to cross a cultural line for commercial interest, but was forced to retreat because of his awareness of traditional restrictions and his own sense of responsibility:

There are some katsinas that have power...I'm just like everyone else – a little superstitious" (Shelton 1999).

The examples presented in this section add another perspective to the predominant view that carvers who are actively involved within the commercial art market, and especially those who have been or continue to be directly associated with and influenced by Western cultural institutions, are completely influenced by external market demands. Although Kewanwytewa and Shelton can be considered quite controversial for their times and did meet with much criticism from other Hopi people for their carving innovations, each carver was ultimately guided by a sense of cultural responsibility and used their individual initiative to draw boundaries when traditional values were in danger of being supplanted by commercial demands.

Case Four: Reflections of Hopi carvers on the commercial production of 'taboo' dolls

Many Hopi carvers have refused to carve especially powerful Hopi deities and katsinam whose reproduction is prohibited by tradition. The previous examples focused on the negotiation of Western demand and traditional restrictions, but the production of "taboo" dolls is an example of resistance. There is some discrepancy among Hopi carvers as to which deities and katsinam should not be represented as dolls, and which are not appropriate for commercial sale.⁸ Furthermore, carvers have indicated that it is sometimes difficult to draw a line between deity and katsina, as in the case of Maa'saw; both forms can be taken (SAR 1999). At the one end of the spectrum are carvers who are cautious in their approach to carving and will only

⁸ This discrepancy reflects differences in opinion on a Mesas/Villages and on a personal/individual level. As such, an accurate inventory of "taboo" deities and katsinam is impossible to achieve. Colton notes that most Hopi deities are never impersonated or represented by images (1959: 77), while Bo Lomahquahu is of the opinion that carvers can represent those deities that appear as katsinam, such as Maa'saw (SAR 1999). Furthermore, some carvers such as Willie Coin extend the carving taboo to include "the really important kachinas like Aholi or Etoto or Chowilawu" (MNA 1974).

produce clown or other non-katsina carvings for the commercial market. This extremely conservative approach is, however, not reflective of the majority of contemporary Hopi carvers, who are actively involved with the production of katsina dolls for commercial sale. Various Hopi artists told me that the types of katsinam a carver produces is dependent on both their village affiliation and personal choice (SAR 1999). Some carvers will choose to produce Hopi deities and the more powerful katsinam⁹, while others consider these to be taboo in terms of representation as katsina dolls.

There also exist restrictions on carving specific katsinam that are associated with negative consequences. For instance, there is a cultural restriction which states that the blind katsina is never to be represented in doll form *on its own*. Carvers however, sometimes represent this particular katsina with the “paralyzed katsina” (“Tühavi”) on its back (Colton 1959: 54), though most carvers choose not to represent either for fear of going blind themselves. Likewise, Tino Youvella will not carve deities that are deemed restricted because of the fear that “bad things will happen to the carver” (personal communication). Youvella is speaking from his personal experience in this case. He related to me a story about how he once decided to carve a powerful deity that he had seen in his village, an entity that he knew was “bad”.¹⁰ Youvella recounted that as soon as he started to carve “bad things began to happen to him” including a physical fall which he directly attributed to the power of the displeased deity (personal communication).

⁹ Such as the “Mong” or “Chief” katsinam (Eototo, Aholi) and Chowilawu (Terrific Power Katsina).

¹⁰ Although Tino was not able to name the deity, he described it as “like a whirlwind - speeding around in circles very fast”. Tino’s description matches Colton’s identification of the Hopi deity “Yaponcha”, a wind god and dust devil. Colton notes that this “troublesome and disliked” deity is never impersonated and takes no part in any ceremony (1959: 84)

Although there is some discrepancy as to what types of deities and katsinam should not be represented as dolls, it is evident that many carvers are strongly against producing those dolls with more clearly identified restrictions and negative consequences. The foregoing examples are reflective of many other contemporary carvers who are simply not open to any type of negotiation with regard to the production of dolls considered as taboo. What all carvers interviewed did agree on¹¹, however, was that no katsina doll should ever be produced without a mask, or, with a removable mask, as this would be extremely culturally inappropriate and disrespectful – the ultimate taboo.

The four case studies reveal the control that Hopi carvers have exerted over what they will produce for the commercial market. Finally, central to any discussion of the exchange between indigenous peoples and Western art worlds is the concept of “authenticity” as understood in both Western and Native viewpoints. This key topic will be the last issue examined before moving to the concluding section of the chapter, which offers both Hopi and Western art market perspectives on indigenous participation in a commercial market.

The Construction of Authenticity: Western vs. Hopi Perspectives

A recent (2000) advertisement for “Southwest Airline Vacations” features the slogan “All Packed and Ready to Go” with a visual of a traveler’s suitcase, wide open and brimming with souvenirs obviously collected from their enjoyable vacation to the “Land of Enchantment”. With the exceptions of the prickly pear

¹¹ This included the opinion of Henry Shelton, who, regardless of his past experimentation, now refuses to carve such dolls because of the negative personal effects that this experiment brought to him (Shelton 1999).

cactus protruding from the suitcase, a Pendleton blanket, and a cowboy hat and partially obscured saddle, all of the items in the luggage are meant to be representative of the arts and crafts of the indigenous peoples of the region. I purposely use the term “meant to be representative”, as what is especially interesting to note about the discount airline’s portrayal of the touristic experience is that all craft items used in the ad appear to be mass-produced imitations. From the imitation turquoise necklace, to the Navajo-made “katsina doll”, it is a commodified version of Native arts and cultures that is being marketed to the potential tourist. What is even more problematic, however, is that within this advertisement imitation arts are being represented as the “perfect souvenir”.

Western ideas of “authenticity” in relation to the indigenous arts of the American Southwest are perhaps most clearly articulated through the medium of the juried art exhibition. A case in point is the internationally renowned “Indian Market” in Santa Fe, sponsored annually by the Southwestern Association for Indian Arts (SWAIA). In addition to complying with the standards set out in the federal Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990¹², SWAIA’s Indian Market standards largely focus on submissions being handmade, and participating artists are subject to a broad range of restrictions with regard to the use of synthetic or mechanically produced materials. Although this strict handmade criterion in effect prohibits some of the most innovative hybrid forms of Native American art, SWAIA continues to uphold their notion of “authentic” as being equated with “handmade”, and by extension perpetuates notions of the “traditional and untouched Indian”.

¹²The Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990 established legislation mandating truth in advertising, specifically aimed at the disclosure of how Native arts and crafts had been produced, and, by whom. The topic of government legislation pertaining to indigenous arts will be further addressed in Chapter Six.

The notion of “authenticity” is a problematic concept because of the way the term can be manipulated, and because the very notion of “authenticity” implicitly involves the construction of “inauthenticity”, and the evaluation of the former in relation to it. In the case of indigenous arts, notions of authenticity have consistently been imposed from the outside perspective of Western aesthetics. Ed Wade considers the “persistent Anglo domination of Indian aesthetics and creativity” as the most serious threat to the Indian art market, which he perceives as having been built on a “stereotyped and purist vision of traditional Indian art and culture” (Wade 1981: 10). Narrow interpretations of indigenous arts by Western standards inevitably involve the rejection of hybrid forms and creative innovation, as these both involve a supposed divergence from “traditional” and therefore “authentic” forms. Central to the construct of authenticity by Western standards are the dominant conceptualizations of “Indianness” imposed on indigenous art production by non-Native consumers. Karen Duffek explains, with reference to contemporary Northwest Coast Native art, that four criteria are involved in the art consumer’s definition of what is “authentic”: the quality of the item, the ethnicity of the artist, the degree to which the item may be considered “traditional”, and the purpose for which the item was produced (traditional/commercial). Duffek notes the contentious nature of the last three criteria, as these considerations “bring into focus contrasting interpretations of the boundaries that define contemporary Northwest Coast Indian art” (1983: 100). Such criteria can certainly be applied to the indigenous arts of the American Southwest. It is the element of “otherness” embodied in the last three points that the Western art world considers as authentic and important to preserve. Such definitions of art based on

Western notions of authenticity in effect create restrictive boundaries for individual artistic expression (Duffek 1983: 107).

Questions of who has the authority and power to authenticate, to construct history and represent cultural realities, are central issues within postmodern anthropology and museology (Bruner 1994: 400-401). Richard Handler asserts that the concept of “authenticity” is in fact a cultural construct of the modern Western world, and as such, the Western search for an “authentic cultural experience – for the unspoiled, pristine, genuine, untouched, and traditional – says more about us than about others” (1986: 2). Nevertheless, the public desires and expects “authentic reproductions” of culture, which as evidenced through Edward Bruner’s study of “Lincoln’s New Salem” in central Illinois, becomes an “intriguing oxymoron” (Bruner 1994: 398). In this case, the meaning of an “authentic” reproduction for the museum professionals and visiting public at New Salem is a “credible” and “convincing” re-creation, or “simulation” of what the village would have been like in the 1830s (Bruner 1994: 399). This notion is comparable to Dean MacCannell’s (1976) notion of “staged authenticity” within tourist settings. According to MacCannell, the tourist is driven by the quest for “authenticity”, or, encounters with “genuine” peoples in the locales they visit. However, MacCannell relates that what is actually presented to tourists, especially those who are involved in guided/package tours, is “ a staged back region, a kind of living museum for which we have no analytical terms” (1976: 99). In such a situation, the tourist establishment stages a scene for the tourist who is not aware of the staging, and subsequently, accepts the event as real, or “authentic” (E. Cohen 1979: 27). Similarly, Deborah Gewertz and Frederick Errington found through their research among tourists who visited the Sepik

region, that Western visitors sought and expected an encounter not with the “pure primitive” but the “primitive on the edge of change” (1991: 38-43). To this effect, an experienced guide on the Melanesian Explorer¹³ strongly advised the two anthropologists, when dealing with the tour group, to be careful not to “over-emphasize” current realities and the extent to which change had already occurred among the indigenous peoples of the region (Gewertz and Errington 1991: 39).

A related example concerning the notion of “staged authenticity” within the realm of the Southwest indigenous art market is the “portal” of the State Museum’s Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Located along the portal are approximately fifty Native vendors with whom tourists can interact and purchase a variety of handmade items. Tourists accept this as a very “authentic” experience – “traditional Indians” selling “genuine” goods. However, tourists are often not aware that the scene is carefully constructed and strictly regulated. Those under the portal are part of the “Native American Vendors Program” and are required to work within a set of regulations established by the Museum of New Mexico. Additionally, all goods offered for sale under the portal must be marked with the maker’s “seal”. Members of the museum’s “Portal Committee” strictly enforce these regulations, frequently inspecting goods to ensure their “authenticity” as traditional handmade indigenous pieces, and subsequently stifling independent innovation by individual vendors (Sweet 1990: 7). Deirdre Evans-Pritchard has described the social structure of the portal setting as “overtly binary”, with the cultural space of “otherness” acting to distance the Native seller from the Western buyer (1989: 99). Furthermore, Evans-Pritchard draws attention to the colonialist undertones of the physical set-up of

¹³ The Melanesian Explorer is a luxury tourist ship that provides packaged tours to visitors

the portal, where tourists must literally look down on the merchandise being offered for sale (1989: 99).

The above examples illustrate the active construction and imposition of Western notions of authenticity on indigenous peoples and their arts, highlighting what the dominant culture values with regard to aesthetics, rather than reflecting the interests and views of Native art producers. Furthermore, the Southwestern examples emphasize the Western value of “genuinely handmade” articles, reflecting the wider ambitions of patrons in preventing the commercialization, and therefore assumed “degeneration”, of Native arts. Through the adoption of such stringent standards, both the Native American Vendors Program and SWAIA’s Indian Market create exclusions and clearly delineate the “inauthentic” as that which is not handcrafted. As such, many innovative hybrid forms are denied legitimacy as genuine indigenous art, and the very reality of contemporary Native life is devalued and ignored.

Finally, from a Hopi perspective, it is always “the Hopiness that defines the authenticity – not the intent of the art”, as Pearlstone has succinctly stated (2000: 804). Similarly, during a discussion of how meaning and ideas of authenticity are assigned to katsina carvings by consumers, Hopi carver Bo Lomahquahu reflected on the more fluid nature of these concepts within Hopi thought, an idea that mirrors Ruth Phillips concept of “dual signification”:

For the overall piece [carving], it may be viewed and understood differently depending on where it goes. But for the katsina itself – the meaning always stays the same (Lomahquahu 1999).

Conclusions: Perspectives on Participation in a Commercial Art Market

This chapter began with an examination of the history of the commercialization of Hopi katsina doll carving. Western influence on the art of katsina doll carving was investigated and the agency that Hopi artists have exerted, and continue to exercise, in their interaction and exchange with the Western art market was illustrated through the presentation of four specific case studies. Central to this discussion of indigenous arts produced for a commercial market is the concept and construction of “authenticity” and both Western and Hopi perspectives were presented in relation to the contemporary Southwestern Indian art Market. The concluding segment of the chapter now focuses on the views and reflections of those actively involved in contemporary commercial carving, the Western art dealers and Hopi carvers themselves. This discussion clearly illustrates the adaptability and agency of Hopi carvers in the twenty-first century, as they position themselves as artists in a contemporary art market, while remaining firmly grounded in the katsina tradition

Tom Woodard, a longtime Indian trader and art dealer based in Santa Fe and Gallup, New Mexico, sees the Southwestern indigenous art market over the past twenty years as being characterized by much change in the area of Hopi katsina doll carving. He explains that it has become a viable economic enterprise for many Hopi carvers, who, because of an increasingly expanding collector’s market, can now support themselves solely through carving. The key issue Woodard identifies as affecting contemporary carvers is the increasing number of imitation arts and crafts flooding the market, a problem which he believes can only be addressed through the direct education of the buying public (Woodard 1999). Al Anthony, owner of the

well-established Adobe Galleries (Albuquerque and Santa Fe, New Mexico), echoes Woodard's concern regarding the negative influence of imitation carvings on the Hopi and actively tries to educate consumers on the issue. Based on his many years of involvement in the world of Southwestern art, Anthony is of the opinion that, though art dealers and collectors have actively influenced the style of katsina doll carving, it has in fact been federal legislation (the Migratory Bird Act) which has been most influential in bringing about the detailed fine art pieces which now dominate the market. Anthony believes that the involvement of Native artists with galleries such as his is beneficial, primarily for high-end carvers who are able to use such venues to gain exposure and directly reach a suitable market (Anthony 2000).

During the "Katsina Convocation" at the School of American Research in 1999, these points were supported by the participant carvers, who agreed that museum competitions, art markets and gallery shows are useful tools for commercial carvers, and especially helpful for artists who are just entering the market. The main needs which Western art venues meet, according to the participant carvers, included the opportunity to establish a name, gain exposure, and provide a market for sales. Many other conversations during the convocation, however, focused on the problems encountered by Hopi carvers in relation to the existing art market system, especially with regard to the limitations imposed on Native artists by restrictive and biased Western classification systems. With specific regard to juried shows and art markets, the participant carvers expressed their wish to receive clear feedback from competition judges regarding why the piece won or lost. They also articulated their concerns regarding the Western bias inherent in the classification systems used for judging, explaining that the imposed

divisions reflect Western aesthetics rather than Hopi interpretations. A case in point is the intricately carved and unpainted Eagle katsina carving¹⁴ that convocation participant Armand Fritz entered in the 1999 Santa Fe Indian Market competition. For judging purposes, SWAIA divided the classification of katsina dolls into three divisions for that particular year, including: traditional katsina dolls; contemporary katsina dolls and katsina sculptures; and, miniatures and other Pueblo carved dolls. Indian Market judges located the Eagle carving in the “contemporary” classification; however, Armand strongly felt that his piece was very traditional. He concluded that the Indian Market judges “weren’t ready to understand such a carving” and hopes that categories will be altered in the future to better reflect Hopi perceptions of their art (Fritz 1999).

On a similar note, Hopi carver and poet Ramson Lomatewama spoke to the difference between Western and Hopi perceptions of artistic expression during an interview at the Museum of Northern Arizona, where he was an Artist in Residence during 1999. Lomatewama identifies the term “art” as being a purely Western concept, and as such, sees the classifications used for katsina dolls by art consumers as being completely Western oriented. He does, however, find himself having to use these Western qualifiers to refer to katsina carvings when dealing with consumers, as this is “the language of the art market and way of communication between artists and buyers” (Lomatewama 1999). Lomatewama further explains that, although the Hopi carver and Western consumer will perceive the katsina doll differently – for the buyer it is “art”, or, a “piece of Hopi culture”, while for the artists it is a symbol of their tradition and cultural expression – the common line linking the two is

¹⁴ See Figure Four.

mutual appreciation of the object itself (Lomatewama 1999). Lomatewama is frank in his assertion that commercial katsina doll carving is directly linked with money. He knows firsthand that being an indigenous person in a modern world will inevitably involve the influence of Western ideas and practices. In the art market, for instance, he relates that consumer demand has inevitably shaped carving trends and is directly responsible for the increasing value of katsina carvings. However, through his commitment to the “new” old-style movement of carving, which he identifies as a very meaningful personal philosophy for him, it was also made clear to me that there are some aspects of katsina doll carving that remain distinctly separated from the influence of the Western art market (Lomatewama 1999). The participant carvers at the SAR Katsina Convocation also echoed this sentiment. While collectively agreeing that contemporary carving is clearly situated within an economic context, they were also emphatic regarding the non-monetary value of participation in the commercial market. Armand Fritz seemed to best express the carver’s sentiments with his assertion that:

. .it is not always about the money – but also an expression of artistic creation. There are feelings that have to be expressed, and can be through art (SAR 1999).

During discussions concerning the sale of katsina dolls to art consumers, carvers explained that, when carvings are marketed commercially, their associated tradition and spirituality is not “lost”, as is often assumed by Western critics. Rather, carvers actively attempt to communicate the meaning and significance of the katsina doll to the buyer. For example, many carvers, including Philbert Honanie, Armand Fritz, and Marlon Huma prefer to sell directly to collectors rather than through a dealer, as

they are permitted the opportunity to pass along both the specific meaning attached to the piece and the overall significance of katsina doll carving. The participant carvers stressed throughout the convocation that their decision to become involved as an artist within the commercial art market does not necessarily alter their traditional perceptions of the katsinam, and that carvers do not automatically lose respect for tradition and meaning because they are participants in the Western art world.

An additional topic of discussion throughout the SAR convocation was the positioning of carvers as contemporary artists within the art market, especially in relation to the expectations, rules and criteria imposed on them by galleries, markets and juried shows. The participant carvers related varying experiences and degrees of successes with regard to this issue. The common sentiment expressed was that, while these venues are considered as being beneficial for artists in terms of exposure and marketing, it is often difficult for Native artists to meet all entry criteria, which can include detailed applications, quality photographs, and even video footage. Carvers related many stories regarding huge investments of time and money with little to no return. Well-established carvers expressed their empathy for those who had been largely unsuccessful in gaining entrance into competitions, and identified this problem as being one of the major reasons why Native artists often come away with a “bad feeling” regarding Western art museums and competitions. Carvers also took the opportunity offered by the Katsina Convocation to share and develop strategies for successful participation in the Southwestern art world. There was much discussion regarding how carvers must be “in tune” with the target audience for a market or show (as this will affect what they will sell and should therefore

concentrate on producing), about the importance of building a quality portfolio (to meet competition entry criteria and for general self-promotion), and the usefulness of the Internet as a marketing tool for carvers to connect directly with the buying public. This last point regarding the establishment of a direct connection with collectors was a common goal articulated by many carvers interviewed during my research. The reason for this is perhaps best articulated by Hopi carver Tino Youvella who notes “eliminating the middleman [trader] means a better price for the collector, and more money for me” (personal communication).

One of the final discussions to take place at the Katsina Convocation was in response to the question of whether or not the carvers ever felt “exploited” by their participation in the commercial art market. The carvers responded emphatically that they mainly felt pride in their work, and satisfaction in their participation in the art market. They of course went on to note that, as with any interactive venture, there are always some negative experiences, and that the Katsina Convocation at the School of American Research had been instrumental in providing them with a forum to identify and collectively discuss these issues. It was also explained that one of the main negative experiences, and greatest personal challenges, faced by many of the participant carvers was the criticism, disapproval, and jealousy that they were sometimes faced with from their own people. Remarking that the carvers present at the convocation would surely be criticized by other Hopis for their participation, Silas Roy expressed his feeling that the meaningful conversations and discussion that had occurred over the past few days would, ultimately, help other artists and benefit Hopi culture.

Chapter Six
Katsina Doll Carving as Cultural Expression: Contemporary Issues

“You carve yourself”

-Philbert Honanie, Hopi Carver

I first met Philbert Honanie at the 1999 Santa Fe Indian Market. Because he had won a blue ribbon and a Best of Division award for his traditional style carving of a Wiharu (White Ogre), Philbert’s booth was completely surrounded with a crowd of eager buyers. Patiently, I surveyed his many colorful and finely carved dolls waiting for my chance to speak with this talented young artist. Amid compliments and shouts of congratulations, he listened thoughtfully to a hurried explanation of my research on contemporary katsina carving and suggested we meet the next weekend in Flagstaff where we could really talk. This first conversation at the Winter Sun Trading Company marked an important beginning for my research. A wonderful friendship began from our second meeting, and, for me, it was an important awakening regarding the complexity and significance of traditional style carving. During our interview at Winter Sun, Philbert explained that many of the collectors that buy his carvings “see them as just art without the significance of what katsinam are and really mean”. He emphasized to me that, although ultimately he profits economically from the sale of his dolls, what is most important to him is that he is following Hopi tradition and passing it to others through his work. “Carving stays linked with traditions because it is this way in Hopi thought”, Philbert explained. Later, in the fall of 1999 I met again with Philbert at the SAR Katsina Convocation in Santa Fe. During our conversations he continued to stress the connection between katsina doll carving and Hopi tradition and culture. During one particular convocation discussion, Philbert made a remark that clearly revealed the inextricable link between carving and Hopi self-identity. “When you carve”, commented Philbert, “you carve yourself”.

This chapter provides the detailed evidence for the link between Hopi katsina doll carving and Hopi self-identity. The first line of evidence comes from interviews conducted with Hopi artists, in which they discuss their perspectives on contemporary

carving and its relationship to issues affecting Hopi people today.¹ A second line of evidence concerns two recent trends in Hopi katsina doll carving, namely the “new” old-style and “abstract” forms, and the way in which they convey significant messages concerning Hopi self-identity.

Contemporary Katsina Doll Carving: Hopi Perspectives

Alfred “Bo” Lomahquahu – Third Mesa²

I first met Alfred, or “Bo” as I came to call him, while we were both residing at the School of American Research in Santa Fe during the summer of 1999. A rising artist, Bo was selected as the Indian Arts Research Center’s Dubin Fellow, an artist in residence position for an individual of Native ancestry. Bo represents both the start and the core of my research on contemporary Hopi carving. He offered guidance in focusing my study, tutored me in culturally appropriate behaviour and conduct, and connected me to a network of other carvers. I remained in contact with Bo for the duration of this study, throughout which he provided me with important insights that constantly prompted me to think in new directions. As an artist, Bo mainly focuses on producing high quality, contemporary style pieces for the collector’s market, though he still occasionally carves

¹The cases presented in this chapter are drawn from a larger sample of carvers consulted and interviewed for this research, including the participants of the School of American Research Katsina Convocation. The sample of Hopi carvers for this study included twenty-one individuals who represent: both urban and reservation based; a range of ages (from late 20s to late 70s); varying degrees of commercial involvement; and, representation from all three mesas and most Hopi villages. The cases presented here were selected because they yielded the most detailed information, and in several cases, represent data drawn from multiple interviews with the same carver. Unless otherwise indicated, the information included in each case study was obtained during my personal correspondence and interviews with the carvers.

² Alfred’s family is from Paaqavi, Third Mesa. He lives in Holbrook, Arizona with his wife Julie and their children, but frequently returns to the Hopi reservation. I conducted various informal interviews with Bo beginning on July 27, 1999.

dolls for traditional purposes. It was truly an amazing experience to see Bo work during the weeks we spent at the School of American Research. His labour in transforming a huge mass of cottonwood root into an exceptional katsina sculpture was ultimately rewarded with a second place ribbon in the Contemporary Katsina Classification at the 1999 Santa Fe Indian Market.

During our first conversation, Bo commented that the categories that I was using to describe different types of commercial carvings, such as ‘traditional’ and ‘tourist’, reflected the perspective of Western collectors and did not correlate with how Hopi people actually view them. He went on to relate his own perspective, as an artist and participant in the Western art market, regarding the range of katsina dolls produced by Hopi carvers: from the high quality “collector” carvings he himself produces, through to the low-end “quick” dolls commonly sold to tourists who visit the villages on the Hopi Mesas. Bo was fast to point out that all of the dolls produced for the commercial market are “authentic”, regardless of their craftsmanship, as long as a Hopi person produces them:

Carvings are different in the sense of the work, effort, and time put into them, but making quick katsina dolls is not seen as culturally inappropriate. The quick dolls are just as authentic as the collector ones...The important thing about making a katsina doll is that it has all the right markings on the face and body. If the dolls have the right markings then they are authentic – it doesn’t matter if they are collector dolls or ones that have been made quickly.

My early conversations with Bo on the topic of commercial carvings and the Western classification system they have become bound to were critical in revealing that dolls

which the art market perceives as *artistically* inferior were recognized in a similar light by Hopi artists. However, in contrast to Western attitudes, such dolls are not viewed by Hopi peoples as *culturally* inferior in any respect. It is the imitation “katsina dolls” produced by Navajo carvers that Bo clearly identifies as inauthentic. Speaking on Navajo produced imitations, a topic that Bo feels he has special insight into as his wife Julie is Navajo, he explained that Navajo elders often disapprove of this practice, recognizing it as cultural appropriation.³ “But”, he continued, “the young artists often go against the elders for their own economic gain”. Bo calls the imitation carvings permeating the souvenir market “non-katsinas” or “tourist dolls”, because they are “made by non-Hopis and have no meaning to them except aesthetic value for the people buying them”.

Bo also pointed out to me that the emerging trend of contemporary “katsina sculptures” is somewhat problematic, since the lack of a clearly defined torso (as is characteristic of this style) means most Hopi people do not consider them as “tithu” or katsina “dolls”. Rather, this new trend is viewed as more of an “art form” incorporating katsina elements and motifs. Bo considers the realistic and finely crafted full-figured carvings he produces to be katsina dolls, because:

They are true to the katsina standard – the only difference is that I put them in different settings and positions to make it more of an art form. But I don’t deviate from the katsina itself, and it still has the order of spiritual meaning to it.

³Hopi carvers Bo Lomahquahu and Gary Tso suggested to me that I should interview Navajo carvers regarding imitation carvings. Unfortunately, my two attempts to speak with Navajo carvers were largely unsuccessful. Both Navajo individuals (who will remain anonymous as they declined participation in the study) expressed the view (echoing Pearlstone 2001: 99) that katsina dolls were now part of a pan-Southwestern Native image, and they were free to produce such carvings for their own economic benefit.

Bo, however, has been criticized for his particular style of expression. Although collectors and dealers eagerly buy his pieces and his work often receives awards at juried exhibitions, some Hopi individuals believe that Bo's carvings are not reflective of the real katsinam and that he is catering to the preferences of the Western art market. According to one trader, Hopi individuals have suggested, in direct reference to Bo's style of carving, that the katsinam would never pose in such postures and that the artist is taking too much liberty with his carving.⁴ It is here that we see the delicate balance which runs between the dual roles of traditional Hopi carver and contemporary artist. Bo clearly feels that he is remaining true to the "katsina standard" while exploring his own creative expression, whereas others feel he has crossed a line by taking creative license with his katsina sculptures.

A final issue that Bo and I often discussed during our time spent at the School of American Research was prompted by my observation that Bo's two young sons, Talon and Bo Jr., frequently visited their father in his studio while he was working on any of a number of katsina carvings. Specifically, I questioned Bo regarding how the Western popularization of katsina dolls has affected the way in which Hopi children perceive the katsinam. I especially wondered about the impact of the commercial market on Hopi children. For instance, how do carvers who, like himself, carve for a living rationalize this activity to their children who are taught that it is the katsinam who are the carvers of katsina dolls? Bo, taking a moment to reflect, responded that "Hopi children today do know a lot more about the katsinam than when I was a kid – now kids seem to know

⁴ See Figure Five

everything”. However, Bo continued his explanation to me, a smile creeping over his face, that there are ways to satisfy curious minds:

My sons will say ‘Dad, how come you can carve better than the katsinam?’ And I will say because they don’t have the tools I have, like the dremel. And then they say “Oh yeah!” – and to them, that’s the end of it.

Philbert Honanie – Third Mesa⁵

I have had so many meetings, conversations and interviews with Philbert since the time of our first acquaintance that he has playfully come to refer to me as his “own personal anthropologist”. We continue to keep in touch: I find myself waiting impatiently for his call each year following the Santa Fe Indian Market judging and am always thrilled with the news of his latest ribbon or award. In the following paragraphs, I relate the information Philbert shared with me during our first formal interview held at the Winter Sun Trading Company in Flagstaff, Arizona in August of 1999. Over the years Philbert has continued to add to this initial text as he grows both personally and as an artist.

Philbert resides in the village of Hotvela with his wife and children. He has been carving since the mid 1980s, but turned to producing dolls in the “traditional style” about ten years ago. Philbert’s dolls are so popular among collectors that he sometimes finds himself struggling to keep up with market demand. He still finds the time to produce dolls for traditional ceremonial purposes, but refuses to sell such carvings for money:

⁵Various conversations and interviews were conducted with Philbert from August 1999 to August 2000, and I continue remain in contact with him by phone.

I like the aspect of giving back to the people who gave me this tradition, and I think the creator is happy with the way I turn my work back to society.

Philbert was initiated into the Katsina Society at age twelve or thirteen, and began to learn how to carve soon after. Although he was able to carve in the “action style” quite well, Philbert chose to return to what he terms the “traditional style” out of “respect to mother earth” and his need for a “reconnection to with nature”. Philbert prefers the term “traditional style” as opposed to the more widely used “new” old-style as he believes the former more aptly expresses the use of natural pigments and traditional forms which characterize this style. Through the traditional style of carving, Philbert found what he terms his “pathway of art and teaching”. He was quick to clarify that he does not mean to suggest he teaches others to carve katsina dolls, but rather that he is able to instruct non-Hopi peoples about the meaning and significance of the katsinam, and especially to “respect what the katsinam are”. Furthermore, for Philbert, carving in the traditional style fosters a strong link with both nature and his cultural roots – the place from which “the colors and cottonwood root come from”.

Philbert believes that the traditional style katsina dolls are the “closest thing to real katsina dolls”, and that all other expressions of katsina doll carving (including action and sculptural styles) are “more art forms”. Philbert further clarified his view by stressing that, while such artistic expressions in carving are by no means considered inappropriate by Hopi standards, the abstract and highly sculptural versions produced specifically for the Western art market should be seen as art forms with katsina elements, but are simply “not katsina *dolls*”. On a similar note, Philbert emphasizes that imitation carvings are

also not katsina dolls. He sees the production of such imitations by non-Hopi and non-Natives as being “very political” in that it hurts Hopi society both economically and culturally:

It hurts when we see a Navajo or other non-Hopi artist carving the katsinam because it is not a part of that culture, it is Hopi. We [the Hopi] don't want a copyright, but for people to respect that the katsinam are Hopi and to understand that the imitation pieces are not katsina dolls because they are not Hopi made.

In addition to his concerns regarding imitation carvings, Philbert also spoke regarding the issue of women katsina doll carvers during our first interview. Though Philbert understands that many women are motivated to carve out of economic necessity, Philbert personally believes that the practice is “wrong” due to religious reasons and traditional restrictions. He notes that “it is not the Hopi way to challenge these women” and also that “their carving is tolerated, but not approved of”. In Philbert’s view, the issue is one of great complexity. The reasons why women should not be carving are tied with tradition and religion, but the reasons women are carving are directly linked with contemporary economic factors in Hopi society.

Philbert has often shared with me his reflections on his participation in the commercial art market and specifically, in juried exhibitions. As a traditional style carver, Philbert believes that the separation of “contemporary” and “traditional” categories used by most judges in classifying katsina dolls has served him well, as he is not “lumped in with contemporary carvers who [he] can't really compete with”. Philbert

has continuously stressed that the Western assumption that arts produced specifically for a commercial market are no longer “traditional” or lose authenticity is wrong:

The act of making katsina dolls for a commercial market is still connected to the katsina tradition, and Hopi life and art cannot be separated. Of course I carve for economic reasons and for artistic recognition, but most important to me is that I am following the Hopi katsina tradition and giving it to others through my carvings.

Philbert believes that contemporary katsina doll carving will continue this “return to tradition”, with more carvers choosing to adopt the traditional style of carving that he and a handful of other carvers are now pursuing. Furthermore, Philbert sees this new trend in carving as directly linked with a resurgence in Hopi tradition and language:

I am sorry to say that many Hopi children are not learning to speak Hopi and then are not able to learn and understand the traditions. Going back to the traditional style of carving is part of renewing Hopi language and making the culture strong.

Delbridge Honanie – Second Mesa⁶

Delbridge Honanie, or Coochsiwukioma (Falling White Snow), considers himself to be a painter, a sculptor, a katsina doll carver, and, above all, a teacher. As an artist and teacher, Delbridge has spent much of his life sharing his skills and vision with others, in particular with young people “from all walks of life”. Delbridge turned his artistic attention to carving katsina sculptures in the early 1970s, pioneering an innovative new

⁶Delbridge is originally from the village of Songöopavi on Second Mesa, but currently resides in Flagstaff, Arizona. The following is based on an interview with Delbridge conducted in September of 1999, supplemented with information provided to me by Delbridge in a personal biographical sketch.

style of carving (similar to the abstract trend of today) which influenced many other carvers of the period. Delbridge explains:

The reason that I am doing this kind of [sculptural] carving, using the soft roots from cottonwood trees, is because it is more like traditional Hopi carving. I was taught to carve wood by my godfather when I was initiated into the Hopi Katsina Society. I learned to carve dolls for the yearly ceremonies. Later, I decided that I was going to do something different from katsina dolls but still showing the old way.

According to Delbridge, his katsina sculptures reflect a “transition” in Hopi carving from the flat “cradle dolls” to fully carved works “inspired by Hopi symbolism and spiritual vision”.

A particular objective of Delbridge’s artistic work has been to “educate people to the values and identity of the Hopi”. Through both example and teaching, Delbridge aims to “instill pride and clear identity” in Hopi youth and encourages their artistic talents and endeavors. Throughout our conversation, it became evident that Hopi youth are of special concern to Delbridge. He worried that Hopi children of today do not have the same respect for the katsinam, as did his own generation:

You are supposed to listen to the katsinam. You have to learn and hear what they are saying. But, kids nowadays are not like that – they just don’t care. They talk too much when there is dancing and people are trying to listen.

Delbridge also spoke regarding the influence that commercial carving has had on Hopi children and their perception of the katsinam. In particular, he noted that the commercial market has prompted many Hopi artists to pursue carving as a full-time profession.

Subsequently, the practice of carving has migrated from the privacy of the kiva into family homes:

Katsina dolls are never to be carved anyplace around the kids – they are sacred to kids, non-initiated ones... But now it is different...when they [children] get the doll from the katsina, they already know who made it.

Furthermore, Delbridge believes that the very function of katsina dolls has changed for Hopi children as a direct consequence of the commercial art market. Whereas katsina dolls were traditionally played with by Hopi children, Delbridge explains that carvings are now carefully accumulated and preserved by young people who will often later choose to sell their collections to pay for a college education or other expense. Delbridge also connects the appearance of women carvers directly to the commercial art market, and to the influences of the dominant society in general. According to Delbridge, the Hopi women who carve have been “driven into doing it for their children”. Perhaps the woman has married a non-Hopi, or a Hopi man who is unable to carve. Or, as Delbridge further explains, he has seen alcoholism affect some Hopi men to the point that they neglect their traditional obligations, subsequently leaving the women to carve the katsina dolls required for ceremonies. Although Delbridge understands the traditional restrictions on women carving, he also sees the necessity of this practice in the context of modern Hopi life.

We also discussed imitation carvings during our conversation. Delbridge’s opinion differed from the views expressed by many other carvers. He feels that the

impact of imitation carvings does not affect Hopi peoples as much as it does those who carve them:

We [Hopi people] feel bad about it because they [Navajo carvers] get sick with it -- their fingers start to act up, they may get sores. They have to respect the tradition.

Delbridge further commented that many Hopi carvers have taken to the practice of including their traditional Hopi name, clan symbol, or personal trademark on their carvings to counteract the problem of imitations.

As a well-established and highly successful artist, Delbridge has much wisdom borne of experience to share concerning the commercial art market. When asked to comment on his view of how the commercial art market has influenced contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving, Delbridge remarked that, though he has seen much change in form, materials and carving technique, he believes that this art form will always remain driven by the symbolism and cultural inspiration of the katsinam.

Armand Fritz – First Mesa⁷

Armand considers himself to be a “new artist” and has only recently become involved with his art full-time. He mostly carves katsina sculptures, but also paints, produces pottery, and works in silver. He would one day like to open a gallery on First Mesa to showcase his own art and the creations of other Native artists who are involved in the high-end of the market. Armand has various carving styles: many of his dolls are

⁷ Armand now resides in Keams Canyon Arizona, though he is originally from Wálpi Village, First Mesa. I had continued contact and conversations with him from September 1999 until August 2000.

along abstract/sculptural lines, but he also produces contemporary “action-style” dolls on stands. Armand expressed that he is “always looking for new directions in his art”, that he works with the medium of katsina doll carving to make his own “fabrications”. The Eagle katsina Armand entered in the 1999 Santa Fe Indian Market, and later submitted for the School of American Research Katsina Convocation⁸, is a fine example of such artistic innovation. He drew his inspiration for the piece from his childhood experiences in Canyon de Chelly, where he would gaze at the patterns of the rock in the canyon walls and see images within it. It was this experience that led to his decision not to paint the Eagle katsina carving, but rather let the grain of the wood be clearly visible.

Armand positions himself as an artist in a contemporary art market. He perceives his carving directly in relation to his role as an artist and as his own unique artistic expression. He views his katsina sculptures as an art form that is dependent on his own artistic merit, rather than his participation in traditional ceremonies. Armand has carved for traditional purposes, but is currently focused on producing for the commercial market and major art shows. Armand finds that such shows and competitions provide excellent opportunities for meeting with other artists, selling to an interested market, and for gaining exposure as a new artist. Over the next few years, Armand sees katsina doll carving as developing in new, innovative directions, and plans to be one of the artists propelling such change. When asked about his perspective on Western classifications which rank katsina dolls “low” through “high” end based on dominant Western aesthetic value judgments, Armand stressed that all types of dolls produced are genuine and

⁸ As previously discussed in Chapter Five. See Figure Four.

authentic providing that they are carved by a Hopi person. He maintains that the form, skill of carving technique or intended purpose for a doll is not what makes it genuine. For Armand the defining criterion of authenticity is the culture of the carver. Armand clearly recognizes that within the context of the contemporary art market katsina carvings are transformed into “art objects”, and that “the people who purchase them often view them more as Hopi art than specifically as katsina dolls”.

With regard to the issue of imitation “katsina dolls”, Armand believes that galleries and art dealers should be required to clearly label each piece, identifying the culture in which it was produced to ensure that the buyer knows exactly what they are purchasing. Armand regrets that such a requirement will unlikely be enacted as law. He views the copyrighting or trade marking of Hopi katsina dolls as an extremely difficult goal to reach, even though the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office and Hopi Tribal Council are continually asserting this inherent right of Hopi peoples to their cultural property. Armand also views imitation carvings as being detrimental to the Hopi economically, because they do not receive a share of the profits from imitation sales, and the sheer number and cheaper price of the fakes minimizes the market for genuine Hopi dolls. Armand also briefly commented on Hopi women engaging in carving katsina dolls for the commercial market. Armand believes that economic necessity is frequently the reason for this practice. For example, he explained that in the case of mixed marriages, the husband will not know how to carve and the woman may be faced with having to produce dolls for her children if she cannot afford to purchase them. Due to such economic considerations, Armand thinks that women carvers are tolerated in modern Hopi society.

Besides, says Armand, “if there really existed any traditional religious reasons against women carvers, there would also exist measures against this, or, ways to prevent it”. Since there has been no outright opposition or prevention of women carving over the past several decades, Armand is of the opinion that there is no true basis for an argument against women carvers within Hopi tradition.

For Armand, the negative effect of the commercial market on the perceptions of katsina dolls by Hopi children is an issue of concern. Armand believes that Hopi children are very aware that dolls come from their parents or relatives: that children see them carving for the market and can subsequently recognize the style of the dolls given to them by the katsinam. As well, Armand explained that the dolls that children receive often immediately turn in to “economic goods” that are sold to galleries, and elsewhere, for cash to buy clothes, or other material objects. Armand noted that this occurrence is quite common and is viewed as acceptable by many Hopi peoples, a fact that he feels reflects a broader trend of cultural loss happening at Hopi, though “no one is really willing to admit it”.

Michael Dean Jenkins – Third Mesa⁹

At the time of our first interview, Michael had just entered into a partnership with three other Native American artists to open the “Deerwater Gallery” in Flagstaff, Arizona. Michael’s family originates from Hotvela and Moenkopi, though he actually

⁹ My first interview with Michael took place on September 9, 1999 in Flagstaff, although I continued to have contact and conversations with him over a one-year period, until August 2000.

grew up on an Apache Reservation after his mother married an Apache man following the death of Michael's father. Michael recalls his mother bringing him back to Hopi for ceremonies and dances. Though he largely grew up away from any extensive Hopi influence, Michael did learn how to carve and was always aware that he had a certain talent for carving. It was not until the early 1990s, after he was laid off from a job at the Arizona Daily Sun newspaper, that he began to concentrate on carving katsina dolls, devoting much time and effort to refining his style and technique. Michael quickly found buyers for all the dolls he produced. He also began to enter juried art exhibits at the Museum of Northern Arizona, Pueblo Grande, and the Santa Fe Indian Market. The result has been several blue ribbons and "Best of Show" awards, and an invitation to judge the Katsina Doll Category at the 2000 Santa Fe Indian Market. Michael's pieces are contemporary and characterized by a high degree of craftsmanship and humour. One noted carving that illustrates Michael's unique style is a "kwikwilyaqa" (Mocking Katsina) whose pose and suit were inspired by the "Joker" of the Batman Movies.¹⁰

Following our first conversation about contemporary issues affecting Hopi carvers, Michael contacted me for a follow-up interview to further clarify his position on the issues we had discussed. Michael views carving as his "job and livelihood" and approaches it from a very businesslike perspective:

Maybe my dolls should be more linked to tradition and my Hopi background, but it is my personal experience that has made me into what I am today – an artist who carves katsina dolls.

¹⁰ See Figure SIX.

Though Michael does occasionally carve dolls for his female relatives to use in ceremonies, his attention is focused on the high-end commercial market.

When speaking on current issues facing carvers in the commercial market, Michael made it clear that his statements were his own opinion, reflected his own personal life experiences, and did not represent those of other Hopi artists. In his frank opinion, Hopi women carvers “were not really an issue” for him. He stated that those who are against women participating in the commercial market are closed-minded and that a female carver would be a good role model for Hopi children. Michael understands this issue from an economic perspective, explaining that he could see why women who could carve well would want to achieve financial success through the commercial market. With regard to the issue of imitation carvings, Michael first commented that, as a high-end carver, the problem really did not affect him and it was “something that he had never really thought much about”. In his opinion, the people most negatively affected by imitations are the consumers who unknowingly purchase them as genuine Hopi katsina dolls. During a later conversation, however, we revisited the topic and Michael added his opinion that the problem of imitation carvings also hurt the Navajo people who produced them, “because they gain a reputation as being deceitful when they take something from another culture and call it their own”.

Michael also reflected on the negative effects of commercial carving on the cultural perspective of Hopi children. He believes that Hopi children increasingly view katsina dolls not as sacred gifts, but as valuable commodities that they can sell. “There are both positive and negative effects of the market and this mostly depends on the carver

and their situation”, in Michael’s opinion. For him, and many other carvers, participation in the commercial market has been a profitable and rewarding experience. “But there’s also a negative side” Michael comments, giving the example of carvers he has known who produce dolls only to support an addiction:

Some carvers will carve a doll poorly, quickly, and then sell it at a ridiculous price just so they can drink for a few days. That is the negative side.

Alph Secakuku – Second Mesa¹¹

With the demands of his business, Alph unfortunately finds little time to pursue katsina doll carving these days. He is a well-known Hopi carver, and his katsina dolls continue to be in great demand on the market. Alph is unusual in that he feels comfortable carving dolls of different types: the “old-style” (simply carved), “traditional” dolls (like the old-style, but carved with more detail and ‘posture’), contemporary type dolls (which he terms “one-piece”), and sculptural style carvings (which he calls “sculptures” and does not consider to be katsina dolls). The education of non-Hopi peoples regarding the katsinam is an important project for Alph. He has written an excellent volume on the Hopi katsina tradition, Following the Sun and Moon, in which he asserts that:

My life objective is to preserve the beauty and the value of our belief system rather than watch it die out. There are many people who, like myself, have been greatly

¹¹ Alph was born and raised in the village of Supawalavi on Second Mesa. The data included in this section is based on electronic correspondence with Alph during July 2004.

influenced by the twentieth century and acculturated into the dominant society, but still strive to perpetuate our belief system through practice...Our culture is very much alive, but I believe we need to preserve our cultural information and, at the same time, counteract the history of exploitation and misrepresentation (1995: ix).

In answering my questions regarding contemporary Hopi carving, Alph stressed that he was speaking from his own perspective and experience, and that his words “could not represent all Hopi peoples”, as “there is no one interpretation”. One issue of concern that Alph has candidly discussed with me (and another area in which he aims to educate non-Hopi peoples) involves the imitation katsina doll carvings that are currently flooding the commercial market. In his “Hopi Fine Arts” gallery, Alph features a very informative display on imitation carvings, with text highlighting the issue and implications for Hopi peoples. In his estimation, ninety-five percent of Hopi people depend on the commercial sale of arts and crafts for their livelihood. He further believes that tourism is the main industry of the Hopi, generating over fifteen million annually. Alph sees imitation carvings as hurting Hopi culture economically, but it is the issue of cultural appropriation that Alph finds most frustrating:

We learn what our relationships are with the katsinam, so when we carve we know exactly what we are carving – what it looks like, what our relationship is and we have that relationship because of the special ceremony that was conducted for us. So we object to the other people who are doing carving...To me, it is a misrepresentation of Hopi religion. I’m opposed to that – I speak out against that. They [Navajo peoples] have things in their culture that are very important, colorful, meaningful. That is what they should be doing instead of copying Hopi, because whatever they produce, in my view, it is really worthless. It doesn’t have the artistic value, the monetary value, no aesthetic

value. It has no value whatsoever because they have never been *initiated* to that...It is an imitation. It is a phony. It's worthless because it is a counterfeit. It doesn't have any basis, any spiritual foundation.

According to Alph, the best method of eradicating such imitations from the market is through the education of the buying customer. The most effective way to do this he feels is through the publication of literature that exposes such non-Hopi carvings as “fakes” and increases awareness regarding the negative impact of imitation carvings on Hopi peoples. This was his primary reason for agreeing to correspond with me and become part of my study. Alph encouraged me to highlight the issue of imitations in my work, and by so doing give back something to all the Hopi peoples who had taken time to help me.

Tino Youvella – First Mesa¹²

In the 1960s, Tino moved his family from the reservation to Phoenix where he attended school to train as a mechanic. During this period, Tino would carve for extra income, selling to local galleries who quickly bought up his dolls. It was in Phoenix that Tino, now a well-known carver among high-end collectors, first began to establish a name for himself as an artist. After an auto mechanic accident in the 1980s, Tino moved his family back to Hopi where he began to carve full-time. Although Tino mainly sells his dolls to Ron McGee, of McGee's Indian Art Gallery in Keams Canyon, and a few other select traders, he is progressively dealing directly with collectors. Tino related to

¹² Tino resides in the village of Polacca. The data presented here is drawn from telephone correspondence with him during July 2004.

me how he had once been “surfing the net”, and much to his surprise, came across one of his own dolls featured on a gallery web page. As with many other carvers, Tino increasingly understands that the Internet can be a useful marketing tool for him as an artist and businessman. Tino mainly produces high quality action style dolls, but will produce an old style carving if requested by a collector.

In discussing the issue of contemporary carving with Tino, it became apparent that this form of artistic expression is directly linked with contemporary problems faced by Hopi peoples, namely matters of alcoholism and addiction, as well as loss of tradition and language. Tino explained that issues associated with the influence of the commercial art market on Hopi culture are just one small part of a much broader problem concerning the impact of Western society on Hopi peoples and culture:

The art market has and causes its own specific problems but it is only one part of a much larger system at Hopi, as we struggle to adapt to a changing world. Hopi peoples are dealing with so many problems – alcoholism, loss of language, not being able to pass on traditions. These social problems really affect Hopi culture and tradition.

“Until Hopi peoples heal themselves” says Tino, “they will not be able to face the problems of a modern world and fix their culture and traditions”. Although Tino acknowledges that there are carvers who produce low-end type katsina dolls for the sole purpose of acquiring money to support their alcohol addiction, he primarily views carving for a commercial market as being positive for many carvers who are able to make a name and a living through their artistic expression. Tino also noted that young Hopi people who leave the reserve for urban areas might lose touch with the traditional aspects

of their culture. In the specific case of katsina doll carving, he believes that carvers who are living off the reservation and have lost contact with their roots may be more prone to viewing katsina dolls as an art form rather than within a traditional religious context.

Tino maintains very traditional beliefs with regard to the carving of “taboo dolls” and Hopi women carvers.¹³ Though he understands that some Hopi women become involved in carving for economic reasons, or because they do not have male relatives capable of producing katsina dolls for their children, he nonetheless views this as going against tradition, since, in his view Hopi women are supposed to receive the dolls. He believes that women who need money or katsina dolls should produce pottery and either sell it for money, or trade it for the dolls they require for ceremonial purposes. Imitation carvings are also of great concern to Tino, who sees them as disrespecting Hopi culture and the katsinam themselves, “a very sacred part of Hopi religion”. In addition to insulting the Hopi culturally, the influx of imitation carvings in recent years has hurt Hopi carvers economically by lowering the quality of katsina dolls on the market according to Tino. As with other carvers, Tino sees much of this problem stemming from the dealers who market imitations as “the real thing”. Commenting on mass-produced “katsina dolls” made by Navajo peoples, Tino expressed the opinion that “the Navajos have always been borrowing from other cultures – basketry from the Utes, herding and silversmithing from the Spanish”. “Borrowing” Hopi katsinam, however, is an entirely different matter Tino emphasizes. During our conversation it became evident that the highly religious nature of the katsinam and their permeating cultural significance for

¹³ As discussed in Chapter Five, Tino had a negative experience carving a taboo doll, and refuses to repeat the exercise.

Hopi peoples brings the phenomenon of Navajo “katsina” imitations beyond mere “borrowing” into the sensitive realm of cultural appropriation.

Gary Tso – Second Mesa¹⁴

Gary has spent a great deal of time away from Hopi for schooling and in military service but he is now settled back on the reservation. After his years of service in the Marine Corps, Gary returned to Hopi where he worked at Tsakurshovi, a Second Mesa Trading Post for over five years, and where he currently owns and operates “Left-Handed Hunter Tours”, acting as a personal guide for tourists visiting the Hopi Reservation. While working at Tsakurshovi, Gary was able to carve katsina dolls, which were always quickly purchased by visitors to the shop. After Gary was initiated, his godfather Delbridge Honanie, taught him the principles of the katsina ceremonies and how to carve. Delbridge also gave Gary a toolbox full of carving tools for a high school graduation gift, and though he “never really got into it” initially, Gary has now been carving “steady” for over four years. Gary primarily carves in the traditional or “new” old style, his specialty being the Left-Handed katsina. A “lefty” himself, Gary recalls being teased when he was a child and feels a particular connection to this katsina:

The left-handed katsina is a hunter, a warrior, an artist, and a thief. I guess I identify with that because I’ve been all of those things at one time in my life (Day 2000: 105).

¹⁴ Unless noted otherwise, the data presented here were drawn from electronic correspondence with Gary during July 2004

Being left-handed in a right-handed society, however, was not the most pressing problem for Gary as a child. Gary's father is Navajo and his mother Hopi, and though he was raised "in the Hopi way", he experienced some "rough times" as a child. Often teased because of his background, Gary recalls some especially sensitive moments, such as at the high point of the Navajo-Hopi land dispute when he was "shunned by the other children".

When we discussed the effects of commercial carving on Hopi children, Gary noted that dolls produced in an ultra-realistic style (either alluding to the idea of "masked dancers" or, sometimes even having removable masks) prompt Hopi children to ask questions regarding the katsinam at a much earlier age. Gary recalled his own curiosity about such realistically carved dolls:

I would go down to the Hopi Artist's Guild and look at the dolls to confirm my suspicions about the katsinam wearing masks. I would look for dolls that had a neck showing, or, an outline of a mask. I asked my mother about whether there were men under the masks. Her response scared me into believing in the katsinam for another four years. She said that I might be right about the men being masked, but she also said that I had no idea about what they actually looked like under their masks, and that I had better hope I never found out!

For this reason, and in direct consideration of uninitiated Hopi children, Gary believes that katsina dolls should never be carved without a mask, or, with the neck exposed, as this represents the idea of a "masked dancer" and completely goes against the true nature of the katsinam as spirits. Gary also noted that, to ensure that their children will not recognize their commercial carving style in the gift given to them by the katsinam, many

Hopi carvers are careful to carve the dolls that they give during ceremonies in a different style or trade dolls with another carver. Gary commented that all styles of dolls, including sculptural carvings, are given to children during ceremonies, but he personally prefers the old-style to be given as they best represent the idea of “katsina spirits”.

Gary’s opinion of women carvers is perhaps related to his concern for the protection of Hopi children. Although Gary made it clear to me that “it really wasn’t his place to judge – that it was a personal decision of the woman to break the taboo”, he did say that he would “urge any female relative wanting to carve to find other alternatives”. Gary views imitation “katsina” carvings as an insult to Hopi culture and religion, but feels that the problem lies more with those involved in the marketing of the carvings, than with the people who actually produce them. He explained that because many dealers will market imitations as “authentic”, many tourists who purchase them are not aware that they are “fakes” until they visit the reservation and are introduced to genuine Hopi katsina dolls. Although Gary is aware that the mass production of imitations negatively impacts the Hopi in an economic sense, he asserts that the main issue is one of cultural appropriation.

Leonard Selestewa – Moenkopi¹⁵

Leonard’s ceremonial and community obligations keep him very busy, therefore he seldom has time available to carve for, or participate in, juried shows. He entered the

¹⁵ My interview with Leonard took place during the Hopi Marketplace at the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff on July 2, 2000

Museum of Northern Arizona's Hopi Market for the first time in 2000, and received a second place ribbon for his carving of a mudhead katsina. He normally carves detailed "action type" dolls, though on occasion he has produced sculptural carvings that are "quick to sell" on the market. After residing in Phoenix, Arizona for five years, Leonard moved back to Moenkopi¹⁶ in 1997 where he became involved in supporting his father and uncle in a dispute with the Peabody Coal Company regarding water contamination.¹⁷ He acts as the Chairman of water affairs for Moenkopi and is also active in lobbying for the provision of improved electricity and plumbing for the village. While living in Phoenix, Leonard built up a core following of collectors who purchased his carvings, which, he explains, reflect the inspiration and teachings he received from his uncles Loren Phillips and Arthur Holmes, both well-known Hopi carvers. Leonard noted that one of the primary reasons for his participation in the Hopi Market was that he isn't "much of a businessman", and while he "produces great art" he still has trouble marketing his carvings. By attending a juried competition and public sale such as the Hopi Market, Leonard hoped to become more familiar with marketing techniques and to gain contacts with interested collectors and buyers.

Leonard described katsinam as being "like the opera" for Hopi peoples, that "non-Natives go to the opera to receive art and culture", whereas Hopi peoples look to the katsinam. As explained by Leonard, the main difference in the way these groups 'obtain' their art and culture is that Westerners tend to divide their arts as separate from

¹⁶ Moenkopi is a traditional Hopi settlement that falls outside the imposed borders of the Hopi reservation and is technically located on Navajo land.

¹⁷ Leonard, as President of the "Black Mesa Trust" organization, is committed to ending the use of the Navajo Aquifer by the Peabody Coal Company for their coal-slurry transport operation and continues to be active in educating regarding water depletion issues affecting Hopi peoples (Moon 2001).

other aspects of life, and therefore must attend events or functions like the opera to be in touch with artistic expression. In Hopi culture, however, life and art are intertwined in the katsinam and permeate all domains of Hopi society. Leonard further described the art of katsina doll carving as representing beauty, making “statements on life and harmony”, and conveying important messages regarding Hopi life and culture. Leonard stressed the interconnectedness of Hopi life and arts: “life is expressed in arts like rattles, or katsina dolls” and the “younger generations learn about Hopi life through art”. Leonard described the abstract sculptures he sometimes produces as “very expressive with symbolism, stories, legends and values of the Hopi”. He also noted that “working with the natural curve of the cottonwood”¹⁸ is symbolic in itself, as it works with the flow of nature, rather than transforming it.

The main issues noted by Leonard with regard to contemporary commercial carving are directly linked with broader cultural, economic, and environmental issues affecting modern Hopi society. Leonard asserts that imitation “katsina” carvings are a “huge issue” for carvers in an economic sense, with non-Hopi and non-Native produced items flooding the market. He sees his participation in a venue such as the Hopi Market as an opportunity to make a statement about the “cultural appropriation” affecting his peoples, that it is his chance to declare, “this is *my* culture and artistic tradition”. Leonard is increasingly concerned with the recent appearance of high quality imitations in some galleries, where, possibly due to market demand, reputable art dealers are beginning to carry and market high-end non-Hopi carvings. This is an issue that

¹⁸ Following the natural contours of the cottonwood root is a characteristic technique of sculptural carvings.

Leonard identifies as being especially problematic, as such higher end imitations are “hard to spot”¹⁹ and are being represented as genuine Hopi art.

An additional issue highlighted by Leonard was the difficulty he, and many other carvers, were experiencing with regard to obtaining adequate cottonwood root for producing katsina carvings²⁰. Leonard finds that he carves sculptural pieces less frequently because they typically require more wood, and (at present) sell for less on the market than katsina dolls. Much more of a concern for Leonard, however, is the underlying environmental problem of water depletion and its impact on Hopi peoples. Leonard regards water as the “life source” of Hopi peoples, and believes that to maintain their traditional way of living, they must act quickly to preserve water resources. Finally, Leonard commented on the loss of tradition experienced by many contemporary Hopi as they attempt to live in “two worlds”, trying to maintain a balance between living in the “present day and at the same time preserving culture and harmony”. Leonard talked openly about his personal struggle to maintain his own harmony between these worlds. He has battled, and feels he has overcome, alcoholism

¹⁹ Leonard explained that these higher end carvings differ greatly from the mass produced low end “souvenir” dolls in that they are finely carved and may only have subtle inconsistencies (or omissions) in costume details, mask iconography, or colours included on the katsina carving, which are often only apparent to a Hopi person or well informed collector. Other carvers (including Bo Lomahquahu and Armand Fritz) echoed Leonard’s opinion regarding high quality imitations. Armand once remarked to me, while viewing several non-Pueblo produced dolls, that “they will have mistakes that Hopi people can find”, and that the imitations looked like “freaks” to him (SAR 1999). Bo Lomahquahu also commented regarding high quality pieces made by Navajo individuals who have married into Hopi families and have been able to observe katsina carving first-hand. Bo asserts that these pieces may be nearly indistinguishable from genuine Hopi carvings, and that the artist’s non-Hopi surname may be the only clue that it is, in fact, an imitation (Lomahquahu, personal communication, 1999).

²⁰ As previously mentioned, the dried root of the water-seeking cottonwood tree is the traditional and preferred material for carving katsina dolls. Though carvers have experimented with other types of wood (including pine, balsa, basswood, etc.) cottonwood root is preferred for its ease in working, as well as for aesthetic and especially cultural considerations.

and has renewed his connection with his culture and art as part of his healing process. Leonard emphasized the importance of his art in preserving Hopi tradition: for himself, his son and two daughters, and for all future generations. He emphasized the value he places on passing his traditional knowledge on to his own children so they can perhaps avoid some of the hardships he has encountered and “exist in harmony with the world”.

Until very recently, Leonard had not fully “dedicated himself to excelling as an artist”. His successful participation in the Hopi Market has inspired him to pursue his carving and experiment with innovative ideas he has had for some time. Leonard identified three classes of carvers and carvings relating to the commercial art market: “wham bam” dolls, produced for quick money and of low artistic quality; “regular” dolls, the most commonly produced dolls on the market, being of mid-range artistic quality and price; and, “master carvers”, those dolls produced by exceptionally talented artists who are able to make a living from their carving. As an artist, Leonard clearly aims to be included in the last category, but realizes this will come only from his own dedication and hard work. He explained that “putting his all and best” into every carving he produces is very important to him as an artist and Hopi person. It is this drive and ambition that will perhaps gain Leonard admittance into his defined classification of “master carver” within the world of the Western art market. It is, however, most important for Leonard to pursue his artistic expression through katsina doll carving for personal reasons connected to the Hopi world: his own personal healing and growth, his need to maintain a firm connection with his culture and values,

and his desire to pass Hopi traditions and values on to his own children and future generations of Hopi youth.

Contemporary Hopi Katsina Doll Carving: General Discussion of Issues

During interviews and correspondence with carvers, three main issues were investigated: the influx of imitation carvings, the appearance of women carvers, and the impact of commercial carving on Hopi children and society.²¹ These issues are all clearly linked with the participation of Hopi carvers in the contemporary art market. They are also inextricably linked to broader problems faced by Hopi people today, including cultural appropriation, environmental issues, and the loss of language and tradition.

Women Carvers

The carvers interviewed for this research (including those who participated in the SAR Katsina Convocation) were divided in their opinions regarding women carvers. Although all carvers clearly understood and articulated the cultural reasons

²¹ Interviews followed a very loose schedule of questions. Each interview began with a request for the carvers to introduce themselves and provide background on their involvement in katsina doll carving and participation in the contemporary art market. With few exceptions, this question naturally led to carvers commenting on imitations. If the carvers did not explicitly identify the issue, I would ask them to communicate their view. At some point during the interview, I would ask each carver to comment on the issue of women carvers. Since Hopi peoples seldom openly discuss this issue, few carvers brought the topic up themselves during interviews. However, with the exception of one carver (who preferred to keep his views “off the record”) all participants openly discussed their perspectives when asked. In most instances, this discussion led directly to conversation regarding the influence and impact of the commercial market on Hopi children. Inviting carvers to comment on the direction they saw commercial carving taking over the next few years concluded interviews.

that traditionally restrict Hopi women from carving, many also expressed their understanding of a very real need, whether circumstantial or economic, which drives some women to carve katsina dolls. A Hopi woman's right to artistic expression was an issue that some carvers identified and were uncomfortable challenging. But despite sympathetic understanding, I received no sense that women carvers are encouraged or supported. Rather, they seem to be quietly tolerated in a changing cultural context. This observation is supported by my inability as a researcher to firstly identify women carvers, and secondly, have them agree to participate in the study.²² I was only able to speak with one female carver who, at the time of my research, was actively participating in commercial carving and entering juried competitions. Debbie Drye is of Hopi and San Juan Paiute heritage. She took blue ribbons in three categories of the Katsina Carving Classification at the 2000 Museum of Northern Arizona Hopi Market, and is particularly well known for her prized miniature carvings. When asked about the seeming invisibility of women carvers²³, Debbie responded that when she began carving twenty years ago, there were very few women carving because it was not acceptable in a traditional sense. She told me that she began carving in an effort to "preserve her tradition" and spoke quite positively about the present situation of Hopi women carvers. Debbie noted that, while it is starting to become more widely accepted for women to carve for traditional purposes, their participation in shows is still looked down on. She was quick to add, however, that she personally had never experienced

²² This can obviously be considered a shortcoming of my study, and is certainly an area that I identify as worthy of future research. Pearlstone's essay, "The Contemporary Katsina" discusses the issue of women carvers, and the author has been successful in speaking with a few Hopi women on the topic.

²³ I was not able to conduct a formal interview with Debbie. We had a brief conversation regarding her work and the issue of women carvers on July 2, 2000, at the Hopi Market in Flagstaff, Arizona.

being “hassled” at shows. A year later, in July 2001, the Heard Museum in Phoenix called off a female katsina doll carver’s demonstration²⁴ when the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office strongly objected. The carver was Debbie Drye. When asked to comment on the HCPO’s action and the Heard Museum’s decision, Drye responded: “I just don’t think that I am so powerful that somehow my carvings could destroy the whole Hopi culture” (Anonymous 2001). Apparently, the Hopi Tribe believes otherwise.

Commercial Carving and its Influence on Hopi Children and Society

The issue of Hopi women carving is arguably tied to the religious socialization of Hopi children. As discussed by Hans-Ulrich Sanner, a number of practices exist which ensure that Hopi children will not prematurely discover the true identity of their katsina visitors. For example, the katsina mask is referred to as “friend” and when a child misses a male relative during a dance, they might be told that “he is at the kiva taking care of a katsina friend” (Sanner 1995: 9). Sanner identifies such use of ambiguous signifiers as “a cultural strategy that may be defined as Kachina identity coding” (1995: 9). I have witnessed examples of this system of “coding” extended to carving. One example was when Bo explained to his children that he carved better than the katsinam because of his access to power tools. Another involves the practice of carvers trading dolls meant for traditional gifts with each other to ensure that their children will not recognize their

²⁴ The Heard Museum often has Native artists participate in public “demonstrations”, in which museum visitors are able to view artists while they are working and ask questions regarding the art form and its production.

carving style in the katsinam's gift. The carvers interviewed illustrated the difficulty of adapting such cultural coding to the case of Hopi women carvers: that it is much more complicated to extend the strategy to a situation that is completely beyond traditionally accepted norms and directly affects the regular socialization of Hopi children. Carvers were candid regarding the fact that commercial carving has influenced the perception of katsina *dolls* by Hopi children, for instance that many Hopi youth now view and use their katsina doll collections as a valuable commodity rather than cultural learning tool. Carvers do not attribute a declining respect for the katsinam and religious traditions by Hopi children directly to commercial carving, but rather to the sustained influence of dominant Western society on Hopi culture, of which the contemporary art market comprises only one small part.

During my interviews with carvers, discussion surrounding the loss of Hopi language, culture and tradition seemed to naturally flow from our explorations of the influence of commercial carving on Hopi children. This is an obvious connection: it is the older generation that holds religious knowledge, speaks the language fluently, and understands tradition, and it is the younger generation to which this cultural information needs to be transmitted for generations to come. Armand's remark that Hopi children increasingly "have no respect for kivas and katsina ceremonies", aptly summarizes the perspective of many Hopi carvers interviewed.

A central theme in my discussions with carvers on the topic of cultural loss was the matter of Hopi prophecy, namely that:

According to Hopi prophecy the traditional way of life will one day disappear. The village plazas will stand silent. The kachinas will no longer dance, the throb of Hopi drums will no longer echo from the kivas. The old ways will exist no more, and the centuries-old Hopi culture will cease to exist” (Dennis Tewa, in Jacka and Jacka 1998: 60-61).

It is the critical issue of language deterioration among the younger generation that is most commonly and directly linked to Hopi prophecies concerning cultural loss. This was evident through various references made by carvers during the School of American Research Katsina Convocation:

The loss of language makes me sad. Until the 1990s, the katsinam were never addressed in English.

- Philbert Honanie

It shames me when the katsinam cannot understand Hopi... The prophecy says that the katsinam will be the last thing to go down.

- Silas Roy

Today, when you get to the halfway point of the katsina line, the younger ones do not know how to sing in Hopi and just stomp... As the prophecy says, all language will be lost when the katsinam no longer remember how to sing.

- Armand Fritz

However, not all comments painted such a despairing picture:

Prophecies can be changed – it is up to the Hopi to stop language loss... That is why preservation is so important and why we should take advantage of opportunities like this [the SAR Katsina Convocation].

- Bo Lomahquahu

The participants in the SAR Katsina Convocation, and other carvers interviewed for this study, fully understand that the revitalization of the Hopi language is central to the overall preservation of Hopi culture and tradition. Time and time again I heard during interviews that there are many Hopi words and concepts that just cannot be adequately expressed in the English language, and, that one could never completely understand Hopi culture without a fluent understanding of the Hopi language. The assertion that the revitalization of the Hopi language will play a critical role in the resurgence of Hopi culture is best illustrated in the words of Armand Fritz who, during one Katsina Convocation session, explained that many attempts to revive ceremonies at Hopi are “not entirely correct” because they are missing “key elements and songs”. He stressed that his generation “is the last of the ones who really understand and speak Hopi and fully understand the traditional ceremonies”, and as such, have a responsibility and cultural obligation to educate Hopi youth.

There are, in fact, several projects supported by the Hopi Tribe that are dedicated to preserving the Hopi language: the Hopiikwa Lavàytutuveni (Hopi Dictionary) Project, the Hopilavayi Project, and the Hopi Oral History Project. The Hopi Tribe’s Language Education and Preservation Plan (Hopilavayi Project) calls for a “comprehensive, reservation-wide language instruction program”, and aims to provide the Hopi community and local school system with the resources and support to design “grassroots programs for language revitalization” that “fits their own needs” (HCPO, 1999d). The Oral History Project aims to record “stories of continuity and change” among the Hopi community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries. The HCPO believes that this project will “benefit the Hopi people by recording their history and cultural traditions according to their perspective”. Additionally, the project also aims to preserve the Hopi language by conducting and recording all interviews in Hopi (HCPO 2000). However, it is my observation that while the Hopi Tribe and HCPO certainly understand the importance of language preservation and its role in the maintenance of Hopi culture, they fail to make the critical connection (as carvers have done) to contemporary carving as an important contribution in preserving both language and tradition²⁵. This surprises me, as the teachings of Hopi carvers have continually reinforced that the katsinam (and therefore katsina carving) are at the very core of Hopi culture, that the katsinam *are* Hopi life and language.

Imitation “Katsina Doll” Carvings

The Hopi carvers I interviewed felt the most valuable contribution my research could make to Hopi culture would be to educate non-Hopi people about the problem of imitation carvings. The non-Native and Navajo produced machine-cut dolls that currently comprise a large percentage of the katsina doll market are simplified versions based on Hopi katsina designs that are completely devoid of cultural significance.²⁶ In the opinion of Hopi carvers, these imitations do represent an economic concern, but it is

²⁵ Many carvers interviewed, as well as those participating in the Katsina Convocation, identified as one of their most difficult challenges, the jealousy and criticism they face from their own people – especially the Tribal Government. Many carvers specifically commented that the HCPO does not act in the interests of carvers, often acting as an opponent to their commercial success

²⁶ See Figure Seven.

the issue of cultural appropriation that is most troubling. According to trader Barry Walsh, the first imitation katsina dolls made by Navajo peoples for tourists appeared in the 1950s (1994: 6). In 1994, there were at least four factories operating in Western New Mexico that produced imitation katsina dolls using assembly line techniques. Kachina Traders, The Kachina Connection, Traveling Traders and Inter-Tribal Traders²⁷ are all businesses owned by non-Natives who employ Navajo workers to produce the dolls. It is estimated that these four factories bring well over 100,00 Navajo dolls into the Indian art market per year. In general, a ten-inch size Navajo doll retails for \$25.00 to \$75.00, while similar sized Hopi made dolls can be marketed anywhere from \$100.00 to \$1,000.00 (Walsh 1994: 15). Since the 1990s, companies in Mexico, Thailand, Taiwan and the Philippines have also been producing a variety of katsina-like figures made from synthetic materials for the low-end souvenir market.²⁸ Federal Customs regulations require that items made overseas be identified as such, however, there do exist some unethical dealers who skirt this measure by having manufacturing information included on labels which can be easily removed at a later date (Donovan 1998). The Omnibus Trade Bill PL 100-418 directs the Customs Service to publicize regulations requiring the permanent marking of country of origin on all imported “Indian-style” products, but to date these customs marking requirements have seldom been enforced (Hopi Tribe, 1997).

²⁷ Pearlstone notes that several more factories have opened since 1994, including Powwow Traders in Holbrook, Arizona (2001: 96).

²⁸ See Pearlstone (2001) for an expanded discussion of katsina imitations and imagery appropriated by non-Native peoples for the Southwest souvenir market. Discussion here focuses on imitation dolls produced by Navajo peoples.

Federal legislation specifically geared towards the prevention of imitation Native arts exists in the form of the federal Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990 (Public Law 101-644). Indian arts and crafts have been protected since 1935, under the passage of a law that created the Indian Arts and Crafts Board as an independent agency under the U.S. Department of the Interior. The 1935 Act established criminal penalties for the misrepresentation for purposes of sale, and the 1990 Indian Arts and Crafts Act provides simplified procedures for prosecution and increased penalties for violations²⁹ (Hopi Tribe: 1997). The Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990 deals with all “Indian and Indian style traditional and contemporary arts and crafts” produced after 1935, and broadly applies to the marketing of arts and crafts by any person in the United States³⁰. Under the law, all products must truthfully identify the Indian heritage and tribal affiliation of the art producers, so as not to mislead the consumer. According to a 1999 pamphlet produced by the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, it is illegal under this law to market an art or craft item in a manner that falsely suggests it is Indian produced, an Indian product, or the product a specific Indian group (Indian Arts and Crafts Board, 1999). In a similar educational pamphlet produced by the Hopi Tribe and made widely available at Arizona tourist information centers, the crux of the imitation issue is made clear by the statement that “[a]lthough the law has been in effect for many years, very

²⁹ For a first time violation of the Act, an individual may face civil or criminal penalties up to a \$250,000 fine, or a five-year prison term, or both (Indian Arts and Board, 1999).

³⁰ Under the act, “Indian” is defined as a member of a State or federally-recognized tribe, “Indian Product” means any art or craft item made by an Indian, and “Indian Tribe” refers to any federally-recognized Indian tribe, band, nation, Alaska Native village, or organized group or community, or, any Indian group that has been formally recognized as an Indian tribe by a State legislature or by a State commission or similar organization legislatively vested with State tribal recognition authority (Indian Arts and Crafts Board, 1999).

little has been done to enforce it” (Hopi Tribe, 1997). Furthermore, the brochure notes that “[a]ppropriations for the Indian Arts and Crafts Board have been reduced since 1995, and Congress has recommended that funding for the federal agency be phased out” (Hopi Tribe, 1997). This statement explains the Hopi Tribe’s inclusion of a section in the above-mentioned 1997 pamphlet entitled “Educational Brochure for the Arizona State Legislature, Attorney General, State Regulatory Agencies and General Public”. The Hopi Tribe recognizes that the education of the buying public is an important and necessary step, but is equally aware that government support is critical in controlling the root cause of the problem of non-Hopi’s producing imitation “katsina dolls”.

In the “Recommendations” section of its educational brochure, the Hopi Tribe emphasizes the need for the active enforcement of state consumer fraud laws and the systematic enforcement of country of origin marking requirements.³¹ The Hopi Tribe also stresses that Arizona State Law Enforcement and tourism agencies must become actively involved in “promoting and protecting the ‘authentic’ Hopi experience and arts and crafts by advancing a tourism industry that will be sustained in the long term rather than promoting a quick economic gain at the expense of the tourist consumer” (Hopi Tribe 1997: Recommendations). Finally, the Hopi Tribe points to the necessity of a “partnership system” with the Arizona State Government that will effectively “research, compile, formulate and distribute data and information on the economic

³¹ In February of 1996, Hopi leaders requested that the Arizona legislature make it a violation of Arizona’s Consumer Fraud Act to sell any item alleged to be the work of one Native group, when it is actually made by another. The Bill was defeated in April of 1996 (Pearlstone 2001: 100).

impact of consumer fraud on Indian tourism in Arizona” (Hopi Tribe 1997: Recommendations). It is in this area that researchers, including anthropologists, are able to assist the Hopi peoples, as they are equipped with the methodological tools and knowledge to provide a comprehensive study of the issue, and can assist in educating the general public.

My research indicates that the “imitation issue” is becoming progressively more complex. I refer not only to the increasingly sophisticated “katsina doll” reproductions marketed as “Hopi” to the buying public, but also to the problematic case of the “katsina” dolls produced by Hopi artist Gregory Lomayesva.³² His “katsina-like” works, which are prominently featured in all major galleries in the Southwest, are currently in great demand on the international indigenous art market. Gregory Lomayesva is of Hopi and Spanish heritage and blends the carving traditions³³ of these cultures in his free-standing sculptures and wall hangings. Combining katsina elements with Western aesthetics, Lomayesva does not consider his creations to be true katsinam, but contemporary abstract forms. His hybrid form of expression, however, does not sit well with the Hopi Tribe:

The dolls I do are abstract, contemporary sculpture...The Hopi tribe freaked. They said ‘You’re doing things that look like kachinas, but they’re not’. And I said, ‘That’s right. That’s the whole idea’. I don’t feel comfortable

³² I was not able to conduct and interview with Gregory Lomayesva, as he was in Europe during the period of my fieldwork. He did not respond to my requests to meet with him upon his return. The following case study is based on information gathered from an interview conducted with Lomayesva featured in the Fall 1997 issue of *Indian Artist* and on the reactions of carvers interviewed (including the participants of the SAR Katsina Convocation) to his works. See Figure Eight.

³³ Gregory’s father is Hopi and his mother Spanish. His mother is a respected carver of “Santos”, wooden images of saints.

assimilating a spiritual, very powerful being and selling it.
I think that's just the epitome of wrong (Indyke 1997: 48).

Many carvers interviewed expressed views much different than Lomayesva's perspective. The SAR Katsina Convocation participants would agree with Lomayesva in his assertion that he creates products linked only to Western aesthetics, which have no true link with the katsinam or Hopi spirituality. However, it is for this exact reason that the Convocation participants strongly oppose Lomayesva's works. They find it culturally inappropriate and disrespectful that as a *Hopi* person, he purposely produces imitations and markets them as such³⁴. Lomayesva might perhaps respond to this accusation that his artistic expression is a product of his hybrid culture and his right as a contemporary artist. Lomayesva has expressed that he "like[s] combining Hopi symbology and the commercial aspect" and that he views his artistic process and product as "not so much being a Hopi artist doing Hopi things, it's more like being a contemporary artist of Hopi heritage" (Indyke 1997: 48).

The idea of "authenticity" therefore becomes a tricky concept because it can be so subtly manipulated. The case of Gregory Lomayesva's "katsina art" clearly illustrates this point. As discussed in Chapter Five, creating authenticity means defining it against "inauthenticity", and in the case of contemporary Native American art, this

³⁴During a Convocation session in which participants were discussing the work of Gregory Lomayesva, Barton Wright compared Lomayesva's creations to Chief Tawaquaptewa's "mixture dolls" (discussed in Chapter Four). Though an insightful point, I feel it necessary to note the limitations of the comparison. While I can see that both artists produce/d their work in direct opposition to both Hopi tradition and public opinion, I feel that Chief Tawaquaptewa was *caught* by his position and economic need to produce such creations, whereas, in my view, Gregory Lomayesva capitalizes on his position as a contemporary artist to produce his inventions. A more thorough analysis of this specific case is, however, not possible without direct input from Gregory Lomayesva

inevitably involves the political act of legitimizing “who” and “what” meets the criteria of “Indian”. With specific regard to Hopi katsina dolls, authenticity is further restricted to “Hopiness”. As such, Lomayesva’s art is “authentically Hopi” by the criteria of his heritage and at the same time, fully acceptable to him precisely because it is an imitation. It is this ability to embrace and produce such “inauthenticity” that Lomayesva equates with his status and privilege as a modern artist of Native ancestry, but at the same time, earns his work the designation of being “disrespectful to tradition” and “completely culturally inappropriate” by Hopi carvers. The matter of cultural appropriation is at the central core of the issue of imitation “katsina doll” carvings. Whereas non-Native and non-Hopi imitations can be clearly defined as “inauthentic” in relation to the “Hopi-produced” criterion, the case of Gregory Lomayesva’s “genuine imitations” brings the issue to an even more complex level.

Hopi Katsina Carving as Contemporary Cultural Expression: Two Recent Trends

Two recent trends in Hopi carving are the “new” old-style and the abstract sculptural. One example of each form will be offered as a case study to illustrate that contemporary Hopi carving, as a vehicle of cultural expression, encodes statements of self-identity and articulates current societal concerns. An examination of the relationship between these two recent trends in carving and statements of self-identity by carvers has important implications in understanding contemporary concerns of Hopi peoples, and by extension, offers a glimpse of Hopi identity in the context of a modern world.

The “New” Old-Style

Collector Barry Walsh refers to the “new” old-style of katsina dolls as “both the oldest and most recent” form of Hopi carving (Walsh, in Day 2000: vii). The “new” old-style of carving is a reaffirmation of traditional form, process, and values. Carvers involved in this type of carving stress a return to the creation of simplified forms which are meant to represent katsina *spirits*, rather than the modern, commercially inspired, “action” dolls which depict katsina *dancers* in motion and in detail. The process of carving old-style dolls is also marked by a return to traditional modes of production, with most carvers using non-mechanical tools as well as natural materials and pigments. Both the katsina doll and its creation are thus linked with the preservation of a tradition. This preservation of a tradition is precisely what inspired Manfred Susunkewa to return to the old style of carving in the late 1970s. Susunkewa, credited with pioneering the “new” old-style movement, felt that “something important was being forgotten” in the modern carvings being produced for the commercial market (Walsh in Day 2000: x). Susunkewa’s work has, in turn, inspired a small circle of carvers to return to their traditional carving roots. These carvers emerged during the 1980s and 1990s with their own uniquely identifiable styles (Walsh in Day 2000: x).

An example of the “new” old-style is Philbert Honanie’s “Whiharu” (White Ogre).³⁵ Philbert explained to me during the SAR Katsina Convocation that the dolls a katsina carver makes should reflect their own personality. Often “feisty”, Philbert feels that the Whiharu certainly reflects his inner spirit. Philbert mainly credits his success

³⁵ See Figure Nine.

with the “new” old-style to the encouragement and support of Joe and Janice Day of Tsakurshovi, and also to traders Phyllis Hogan (Winter Sun Trading Company) and Barry Walsh (Buffalo Barry’s Indian Art). Philbert takes his carving very seriously, believing it to be a “gift that must always be respected”. Philbert’s main reason for pursuing the “new” old-style is directly related to the opportunity to “preserve a tradition” inherent in this type of carving. Philbert believes that the old-style dolls best represent the katsina dolls traditionally given to Hopi children by the katsinam, a view which all of the other SAR Katsina Convocation participants strongly supported. Philbert’s dedication to “preserving a tradition” through his carving reflects a deep commitment to Hopi spirituality and culture. According to Jonathan Day, author of Traditional Hopi Kachinas: A New Generation of Carvers:

Seeing the way Philbert carves makes the elders happy because not many people carve in this style. They tell Philbert, “This is the way a doll used to look when I was a child, and it brings back my childhood memories” (2000:39).

The “new” old-style of carving has importance in reconnecting Hopi peoples with their cultural roots. As evidenced by the above quote, “new” old-style carvings can act as mnemonic devices, evoking an emotional response from elders who recall memories and knowledge associated with such representations of the katsinam. The carvers I interviewed who were involved with the “new” old-style carving movement often commented on the inspiration, encouragement and direction they received from Hopi elders who feel that this style of carving captures the true essence of the katsinam.

Furthermore, carvers involved in the “new” old-style of carving have, in the spirit of traditional carving, returned to the use of natural materials and methods for their creations. This has subsequently reconnected contemporary Hopi carvers with traditional knowledge surrounding gathering and preparing natural pigments, and the customary way of tying feathers to dolls. Christopher Ronwanièn:te Jocks, a Mohawk and academic, asserts that the tradition of a people is kept alive through a community of people dynamically using, enacting, and changing knowledge (in Doxtator 1995: 12). The carvers interviewed for this research that have become involved with this carving style have done so because of a sense that knowledge and tradition were being lost in contemporary Hopi society. Just as Alph Secakuku has made it his life objective to preserve the Hopi belief system, rather than watching it “die out” (1995: ix), so too have the “new” old-style katsina doll carvers made a renewed commitment to maintain their cultural tradition.

Through their renewed commitment to the traditional style of carving, Hopi carvers are commenting on both their personal concerns and philosophies, as well as their views regarding the state of modern Hopi culture. When Philbert says “the traditional style is the reality of what a katsina is really about and *what I’m really about*” (in Day 2000: 38, emphasis my own) I believe he is voicing his self-identity – his values as a carver and person of Hopi ancestry. This personal statement is connected to Philbert’s concern, as a Hopi person, regarding language loss in contemporary Hopi society and his belief that “going back to the traditional style of carving is part of renewing Hopi language and making the culture strong” (personal communication).

The Abstract Sculptural Style

In the 1970s, a few Hopi artists began to carve free-form wood sculptures with lines that followed the shape of the wood. These carvings did not conform to the traditional “doll” shape, but instead incorporated katsina elements and symbolism within an abstract sculpture. These sculptures are not considered by most Hopi carvers to be true “katsina dolls” and are instead perceived and marketed as a contemporary art form linked with the katsina carving tradition. Marlon Huma, a Tewa from Hano, First Mesa, and a participant in the SAR Katsina Convocation, primarily carves in the abstract sculptural style. He explains that this style facilitates the incorporation of katsina images and clan symbols, and allows for the representation of the “meaning of Hopi life” through sculpture. Marlon considers the sculptural carving that he produces to be more “spiritual” in nature than full figured representations. Armand Fritz, also a Katsina Convocation participant, strongly agrees with Marlon that Hopi life is represented within the sculptural style. Armand in particular likes to depict Hopi legends and myth in his own abstract carvings. He relates that the sacredness of daily life and history is detailed in village scenes, and through the depiction of crops, especially corn, which sustains all life. Representations of moisture, such as rain, clouds, snow, and lightening, are also integral to Hopi life and existence and are often symbolized in abstract sculptures.

An example of the abstract style is Bryson Huma’s “Tuma-öi” (White Chin Katsina) sculpture. We met at the 2000 Museum of Arizona Hopi Market, where I purchased his Tuma-öi carving for the Royal Ontario Museum’s Ethnology

collection.³⁶ Bryson carves primarily for cultural reasons, to “express and preserve his tradition”, though he has recently started to sell at markets (such as the MNA) and from his home at Polacca. He related to me with pride that his two sons are beginning to carve, which he believes is “a very important step for them in a cultural sense”. Bryson incorporates the symbols of sun, rain, and corn – “the meaning of Hopi life” – within all of his sculptures. He believes that the “spiritual aspect” of the katsinam is best expressed in this type of carving, and he views his abstract sculptures as “more spirits than dolls”. When I inquired why he primarily carves in this particular style, Bryson explained that it acts as a medium for him to “express Hopi values and culture through colours, symbols, clan imagery and representations of the katsinam”. Furthermore, the abstract sculptural style permits Bryson to incorporate representations of Hopi ritual, social life, and the natural environment of the mesas. When I asked Bryson if he would be willing to explain the significance of the symbols and imagery incorporated in the carving I was going to purchase, he smiled broadly and replied “it meant a lot to him as a carver to share the stories held within the sculptures”. Bryson further noted that, although some collectors may buy his sculptures only due to aesthetic considerations, he “always tries to communicate the symbolism and meanings expressed in the piece”, and that “the stories in the carvings are a teaching for both those in Hopi culture and outside of it”.

Bryson’s Tuma-öi sculpture embodies cultural signifiers, symbolic meanings, and fundamental elements of the Hopi worldview. Hopi religion functions to organize and

³⁶ See Figure Ten.

define the all aspects of the Hopi world. Alph Secakuku related to me the difficulty Hopi people have in interpreting their religion, worldview and value system to non-Hopi peoples. Many scholars have attempted to decipher the Hopi worldview, however, and have identified several fundamental elements of this, including: a bipartite structure of the universe, reciprocity with the spirits, and, a system of correspondence between ceremonial rites or gifts and concepts of space, time, and colour (Hieb: 1979). It becomes apparent that Bryson's Tuma-öi sculpture reflects these fundamental principles of the Hopi worldview.

The inclusion of katsina imagery relates to the bipartite nature of the Hopi world and reciprocity with the spirits, whereby the ability of Hopi peoples to work with the katsina ancestor spirits ensures life for the Hopi in the form of gifts of moisture. Bryson's use of colour in the Tuma-öi sculpture also reflects the Hopi worldview and concepts of space. According to Bryson, the colors used on the face and for the corn represent the "four directions": north/yellow, south/red, east/white, west/blue. Additionally, white represents moisture; red/the sun; green/vegetation; black/night and the universe; and, turquoise/the sky. Additionally, with regard to the red and white diamond (on the sash), the diamond is meant to represent the "four directions", and the colours red and white represent people.

The symbolism used in Bryson's sculpture also relates back to the concept of reciprocity with the spirits. Bryson uses the sun, rain, and corn as primary symbols in his sculptures "because corn represents life, the sun represents the 'father' who warms mother earth and gives life, and the rain represents moisture and life". Additionally,

Bryson explained that the long hair of the katsina represents the “gentle rain needed for crops”, that the sunflower (on top of head) is symbolic as the “flower that follows the sun, a giver of life”, and, that the image of Kokopelli represents fertility. Finally, Bryson also incorporates cultural signifiers in his sculpture – representations of significant places in Hopi religion and culture. For example, the flowers growing from the rock (at the base of sculpture) represent “Sichdukwi” (Flower Mound) at First Mesa, a sacred place where elder Hopis give offerings.

Expressing ‘Self’ through ‘New’ Old-Style and Abstract Sculptural Carving

The two most recent trends in Hopi katsina doll carving, the “new” old-style and the abstract sculptural, are directly connected to Hopi tradition and cultural knowledge. The rationale behind pursuing the traditional style of carving has been clearly linked with the desire of carvers to reestablish a strong connection with their Hopi roots and to renew commitments to the relationship Hopi peoples share with the katsinam. Likewise, carvers pursuing the sculptural style of carving aim to reconnect with their culture through the creation of works that are, in the words of Delbridge Honanie, “inspired by symbolism and spiritual vision” (personal communication). Carvers involved in the abstract trend cite various reasons for carving, from Delbridge’s aim to “instill pride and clear identity in Hopi youth”, to Leonard Selestewa’s commitment to carving as part of his own personal healing process. Contemporary Hopi katsina doll carving, both process and product, are therefore of importance in connecting individual carvers to their cultural roots and in providing

vehicles for self-expression in relation to a broader cultural whole. To carve, says Alph Secakuku, is to understand the Hopi relationship with the katsinam and with Hopi culture (personal communication). Carvers involved with both of these recent carving trends express their individual understandings of themselves in relation to the whole of Hopi culture, and make statements regarding what they feel is valuable and fundamental in terms of cultural values and knowledge. Carvers involved in the “new” old-style of carving, for instance, are valuing and enacting traditional knowledge in the process of creating these forms – as they mix traditional pigments with tuuma (white clay), smooth cottonwood with sandstone, and tie feathers. Likewise, carvers who produce sculptures imbued with Hopi symbolism and spiritual vision are endeavoring to transmit traditions and cultural meanings to current and future generations

It has been demonstrated here that the end products of the carving process, katsina dolls and sculptures, act as important mnemonic devices that impart Hopi knowledge, are linked with fundamental values, evoke emotional responses connected with cultural identity and act as expressions of self-representation. Mohawk writer Deborah Doxtator writes that objects, as mnemonic devices, contain “memories of the person who made it, the knowledge of how to gather and prepare materials, the prayers and songs, the philosophies and metaphors for making sense of the world”, and, that such objects “continue to form an important part of our sense of ourselves as collective beings, connecting us to other people, past, present and future” (Doxtator 1995: 15). In this sense, objects become metaphors (rather than transcriptions of word for word linear sentences) that represent meaningful cultural concepts and processes (Doxtator

1995: 16), or, what Jolene Rickard has termed “cultural clues” (1992: 105). In her seminal article “Cew Ete Haw I Tih: The Bird That Carries Language Back to Another” (1992), Rickard makes the critical connection between indigenous oral tradition and the “mnemonic objects that serve it” (p.108). She writes:

In my community there is a relationship between all the objects that we create and the words that surround us. The words are here to teach and guide us through life; the objects are here to serve the memory and meaning of the word. The practice of looking at things to remember is our way (Rickard 1992: 108).

According to Rickard and to Doxtator, it is the continued use of and interaction with mnemonic devices by a community that evokes powerful cultural metaphors, which in turn sustains traditional knowledge and fundamental values. By representing collective metaphors – such as emergence, creation, fertility, moisture, growth, harvest, and reciprocity – in individualized expressions, contemporary Hopi katsina doll carvers connect cultural philosophies with words, both in their own self-narrative as well as through commentaries on contemporary Hopi society. Hopi carvers connect and interact with powerful cultural metaphors each and every time they express themselves through carving. Through the cultural act of carving, a Hopi carver feeds and sustains their self-identity. The katsina dolls and sculptures that emerge through an individual carver’s self-expression, in turn, feed and sustain the Hopi culture.

Conclusions: Carving Self-Identity

This chapter has presented two lines of evidence that illustrate how statements of Hopi self-identity are articulated through the medium of contemporary katsina carving. Interviews with Hopi artists reveal the close relationship they see between the act of carving and fundamental Hopi values. Threats to this relationship arise with women carvers, the effects of commercial carving on Hopi children and society, and imitation carvings, which in turn are related to modern social and economic conditions affecting the Hopi. The investigation of two recent trends in Hopi katsina carving, the “new” old-style and the abstract sculptural form, reveal how contemporary carving, as process, conveys significant messages regarding modern Hopi self-identity, specifically as it is linked to efforts to revitalize language and reconnect with cultural tradition.

This dissertation has argued that objects make cultural statements. More specifically the “objects” examined in this study are contemporary Hopi katsina carvings, and the “cultural statements” have been revealed as assertions regarding self-identity made by Hopi individuals through their artistic products. In this context, katsina dolls reflect what Janet Hoskins (1998) has termed “biographical objects”. Hoskins maintains that individuals can use objects as a “cornerstone” for a story about themselves, or, “as a vehicle to define personal identity” and construct a “‘self for public consumption” (1998: 4; 1). In this way, an object becomes “a prop, a storytelling device, and also a mnemonic for certain experiences” (Hoskins 1998: 4). Specifically applied to katsina dolls, Hoskins idea must be taken one step further to fully account for the reality that the Hopi carvers *themselves* create these objects. As

such, katsina carvings must be considered as “autobiographical objects”, which Hopi carvers use as vehicles to convey statements regarding self-identity.

This reading of Hopi katsina carvings as “autobiographical objects” clearly connects with Pratt’s concept of “autoethnographic expression”. Through creating katsina carvings, Hopi carvers are permitted an opportunity to represent both themselves and those around them in ways that simultaneously engage and critique the dominant culture. Contemporary Hopi katsina carvings, as autobiographical and autoethnographic objects therefore constitute multi-layered expressions of cultural and self-identity that are directly engaged with representing the “contact zone”. These transcultured objects are encoded with fundamental elements of Hopi worldview, social life and perceptions of self-identity, while simultaneously intersecting with, and reflecting on, broader global processes and the realities of a modern world. Furthermore katsina carvings, as transcultured objects, act as a record of intercultural exchange and represent Hopi perceptions of “others”, while also reflecting perceptions of the “self”. Early in my research, Bruce McGee, a long-time trader among the Hopi, referred to katsina dolls as being “books in wood”.³⁷ This provided a useful initial metaphor for my understanding of contemporary carving as a medium for, and record of, cultural worldview and transcultural communication. Throughout my research and many conversations with carvers, this image that Bruce first offered was further developed into the realization that each katsina doll and katsina sculpture represents a Hopi text, which holds within it an entire cultural story.

³⁷ This comment was made during an informal interview at the Heard Museum on May 18, 1999

As “cultural texts”, or perhaps more appropriately “transcultural texts”, katsina carvings encode modern Hopi values (acting as autobiographical objects), articulate contemporary cultural concerns and perceptions of self-identity (autoethnographic expression), and represent an ongoing area of exchange between Hopi and Western cultures (the contact zone). Thus, multiple “readings” of the katsina carving as a “cultural text” are possible, since different layers of meaning can be assigned to a single piece, depending on the relationship each individual has with it. A Hopi artist’s perception of the creation and meaning of a katsina doll as a cultural artifact though entwined with and possibly influenced by Western expectations, will exist in tandem with a consumer’s understanding of the same piece as “art” or “commodity” (Phillips’ concept of “dual signification”). In their introductory chapter to the volume Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds (1999) Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner write that:

...one might say that the delicate membrane thought to encase and protect the category “art” from contamination with the vulgar “commodity” has been eroded and dissolved from both sides. No longer treatable as distinct and separate categories, the art-artifact-commodity triad must now be merged into a single domain where the categories are seen to inform one another rather than to compete in their claims for social primacy and cultural value (pp. 15-16).

Since multiple readings can be read from a single cultural text, and given that objects can simultaneously share various interpretations (as art-artifact-commodity), then it becomes obvious that there can no longer exist a single “authenticity” for Hopi katsina

carvings. Pearlstone recognizes the Hopi katsinam, as contemporary appropriated and commodified images, to have an “elastic range of meanings, authenticities, and traditions”(2001:22). Earlier discussion surrounding perceptions of authenticity in relation to contemporary Hopi katsina doll carvings revealed the concept to be a complex one, with various definitions created by multiple definers. Though the meaning and function of the katsinam and katsina carving is culturally defined, it has been illustrated here that there do exist differences among Hopi peoples regarding what constitutes a proper tihu in terms of form and representation.³⁸ Western culture has added additional layers of meaning to Hopi katsina carvings through transforming them into “ethnographic specimens”, “art pieces” and “commodities”. Within the contact zone, Hopi katsina carvings have been subject to transculturative processes, which have assigned to them new ‘identities’. Contemporary Hopi katsina dolls, as transcultured, hybrid objects comprise cultural texts that can have multiple interpretations, and that are subject to diverse translations – as ceremonial object, artifact, art, or souvenir. Transcultured objects, by their very nature, embody multiple, or, hybrid meanings and interpretations. As such they also develop corresponding frames of authenticity.

Hopi katsina doll carving, as a contemporary art form, solidly maintains its connection to religious context and tradition, yet abounds with innovation and creativity. The artistic and stylistic form of Hopi katsina dolls has frequently changed through time, due in part to the influences of the commercial market, but also because of individual artistic innovation and expression. As a ‘transcultured’ art form, commercial katsina doll

³⁸ For example, some carvers do not consider the abstract sculptural carvings to be tihu, and instead perceive them as art objects linked to the katsina tradition.

carvings have often been considered as ‘inauthentic’ or ‘non-traditional’ within Western categories. I have argued throughout this dissertation for an approach to commercial Hopi katsina carving which views this art form as a dynamic and creative tradition, emerging from a culture that is continually changing and reinventing itself in an effort to maintain continuity within the legacy of colonial and global systems. Within this particular framework, Hopi katsina dolls produced for the commercial market remain ‘as authentic’ as those produced for traditional use. Zena Pearlstone supports this approach, asserting that:

...few, if any, Hopis would say that those [katsina dolls] destined for gifts are authentic but those made as commodities are not...In the nineteenth century all *tithu* were made as gifts...but today, gifts can become commodities and under some circumstances commodities can be given as gifts (2001: 123).

Just as contemporary katsina carvings flow between Hopi and Western worlds, take on diverse identities and multiple functions; they are now also subject to a state of what James Clifford refers to as “hybrid authenticity”³⁹ (1997: 185). Viewing katsina dolls through a lens of hybrid authenticity is precisely what enables a Hopi carver to move their carvings easily between the categories of “art”, “artifact”, and “commodity”, or perhaps, as Phillips and Steiner suggest, into a single domain of “art-artifact-commodity”.

While many Western art collectors and academics have had difficulty with this notion, my research among Hopi carvers has revealed hybrid authenticity to be a compatible

³⁹ Clifford uses the term in reference to the exhibit “Paradise. Continuity and Change in the New Guinea Highlands”, produced by the Museum of Mankind in London, England, and specifically to describe his view of the contemporary Wahgi peoples of Papua New Guinea, as communicated through the exhibit visuals. See Clifford’s essay “Paradise” in his volume Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century (1997).

framework for understanding the contemporary nature of katsina carving. The Hopi carvers that participated in this study clearly understand that carvings produced specifically as “art pieces” or “commodities” still have traditional meaning and significance. This concept is precisely what Bo Lomahquahu was communicating in his earlier statement⁴⁰ that, though a carving may be interpreted differently depending on its ultimate function, “*for the katsina itself – the meaning always stays the same*”.

In her essay “Basket Bead and Quill, and the Making of ‘Traditional’ Art”, Deborah Doxtator asks:

Why is it that the processes surrounding the activities of “basket, bead, and quill” are, and probably always will be, so strongly embedded in our identities? (1995: 14)

To answer her question, Doxtator draws on the words of Joel Montour, a teacher of traditional arts at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Montour, reflecting on the art of beadwork, asserts:

Beadwork is an extension of us defining ourselves
(in Doxtator 1995: 14).

The opening quote of this chapter communicates the same idea, as related to Hopi katsina carving. “When you carve, you carve yourself” says Philbert Honanie. All of the carvers interviewed for this study expressed similar sentiments, which over time, revealed to me that the act of carving is deeply connected to expressions of self-identity, and that contemporary Hopi katsina dolls are in fact complex autobiographical objects; cultural

⁴⁰ Discussed in Chapter Five.

texts which define Hopi images of self and others. Jolene Rickard, in reference to her people, the Tuscarora (Ska ru re), asserts that “the strongest remaining symbols amongst the Ska ru re are the beadwork and the white corn” (1992: 108). Perhaps a similar sentiment holds true among the Hopi – substituting the blue corn for the white, and in the place of Iroquoian beadwork, katsina doll carving.

Chapter Seven

Conclusions: The Dual Role of Contemporary Hopi Katsina Doll Carvers

“There’s a lot of language in that piece”

- Armand Fritz, Hopi Carver

On the second morning of the School of American Research Katsina Convocation, Marlon Huma presented his abstract sculptural carving¹ to the other participants. Marlon explained to the group that he felt “a responsibility to teach the younger generation” and uses his abstract carvings as a medium to communicate “the meaning of Hopi life”. Following Marlon’s presentation, Armand Fritz commented, “there’s a lot of language in that piece”. Though a casual, almost obvious observation from the perspective of a Hopi person, Armand’s remark was a revealing insight to me, acting to solidify my understanding of what Hopi carvers had been communicating to me throughout my research – that Hopi katsina carvings are a vehicle for cultural expression and self-representation; that there is ‘a lot of language’ in each and every piece.

In her article “Symbolic Aspects of the Kachinas in Hopi Culture”, Dorothy K. Washburn outlines how the events of Hopi life, both secular and sacred, are imbued with symbolic meaning and represent creative interpretations of the basic principles in Hopi life and thought. Washburn reveals how the katsinam “literally wear their world”. symbolizing their existence through their ceremonial costuming. For example, the tortoiseshell rattles that the katsinam wear on the back of their knees reflect a connection to the basic necessity of life, the springs where tortoises live. Similarly, the terraced wooden “tabilitas” worn by the Hemis katsinam carry representations of life-giving clouds, rain, and seeds. Eagle feathers, worn on the head, held in the hand, or attached to prayer sticks, represent the desire to carry airborne messages for moisture (Washburn 1980: 41-42). According to Washburn,

¹ See Figure Eleven.

each time the katsinam appear wearing these symbols of fertility, growth and harvest. “it is as if they are recreating life and thus encouraging and ensuring its continuity” (Washburn 1980:46). Washburn’s ideas certainly apply to Hopi katsina carvings, which have been presented throughout this dissertation as culturally important vehicles of self-expression. Carvings encode fundamental cultural values within the context of Hopi religion and worldview, and represent contemporary concerns regarding cultural continuity, and survival in a modern world. This has been evidenced through the investigation of two recent trends in carving, the “new” old-style and the contemporary abstract style. The Pueblo cultural practice of “tsukuklawá” (clowning) and the representation of this custom in Hopi carving², further illustrate the encoding of fundamental values in artistic expression, and will be offered as a concluding reflection on the autobiographical and autoethnographic nature of transcultured objects.

During pauses in katsina ceremonies, Pueblo sacred clowns act out skits and satires that reflect current problems facing Hopi society and illustrate moral crisis. Clowns are said to be “qahopi” (unhopi = not right) and humorously depict unacceptable social behaviors. Thus, clowns can often be seen representing non-Natives, particularly tourists, but can just as easily take on the guise of a Native drug dealer or Hopi tribal chairman (Sanner 1995: 11). The Pueblo clown’s primary function is to entertain, however, clowning is also important as a means of social control through the exposure of behaviors that are not in accordance with Hopi

² “Carving” as examined here refers to the “process” and includes the final products of katsina dolls, abstract carvings and clown (non-katsina) carvings. Though clowns are not katsinam, they are an important element of katsina ceremonies and are often represented in Hopi carvings. The comical antics of Pueblo clowns – the *Koyemsi* (mudhead), *Koshare* (Hano or Tewa Clown), *Piptuka*, and *Tsuku* (Rio Grande Clown) – are often recreated in commercial carvings and are extremely popular among collectors. Particularly well known are Hopi carver Neil David’s renderings of overly rotund and mischievous koshares.

moral values. The “critical comments” made by the clowns, though wrapped in humor, reflect very real social problems, such as cases of adultery, alcoholism, and gambling.

I once again see Mary Louise Pratt’s concepts of the “contact zone”, “transculturation” and “autoethnographic expression” clearly manifested in the Pueblo practice of clowning and by extension, contemporary Hopi clown carvings. The practice of clowning becomes a contact zone, which represents the space of colonial encounter. Clowning is also a form of autoethnographic expression, through which Hopi culture is permitted the opportunity to represent both themselves and those around them in ways that simultaneously engage and critique the dominant culture. Likewise, carvings of clowns are also representative of the contact zone, clearly illustrating the hybrid nature of the transculturative process. Take, for instance, the carving of a Tsuku³, clad in a loincloth and high-top sneakers, balancing piki bread in his left hand and a bottle of Coke in his right, or the “Phoenix Suns” Koshare⁴, complete with team uniform and basketball. Furthermore, carvings may also act as autoethnographic expression, as in the case of a carving of a koshare absorbed in reading an upside-down volume by “Barton Wrong”⁵. Located within the wider contexts of the Western art market and

³ See Figure Twelve.

⁴ See Figure Thirteen. I photographed this doll at the Heard Museum North Gift Shop. It is signed “Regina Naha”. Pearlstone notes that this woman carver specializes in carving koshare clowns engaged in non-Hopi activities. In discussing similar carvings with Bo Lomahquahu, he noted that these carvings, produced specifically for a commercial market, could also be utilized in a traditional context, namely that such a doll could be given by a katsina to a Hopi child whose parent was frequently going to sporting events and not fulfilling family obligations. In this context, the doll would then be a direct message of quahopi behaviour (Lomahquahu 1999).

⁵ Although I have not actually seen this carving, I have been told about it by trader Joseph Day and by various carvers. Additionally, the Katsina Convocation participants discussed the piece during a tour of SAR’s katsina doll collection. Barton Wright, who happened to be present during the conversation, also admitted that he had heard about, but never seen, the carving

dominant colonial system, such carvings reflect broader socio-historical processes and a uniquely Hopi response to modern influences within traditional frameworks. Unfortunately, many art market consumers do not share a perspective which values the cultural exchange inherent in such hybrid expressions, and more commonly express anxiety regarding the supposed corruption of “pure” cultural forms. A case in point involves the presentation of a koshare clown carving, again in the guise of a Phoenix Suns player, by the Governor of Arizona to visiting Japanese dignitaries during a 1993 visit. A controversy surrounding the carving was played out in the editorial section of the Arizona Republic, where one individual criticized the carving as an insensitive “gag gift” which “offended both Native Americans and the Japanese visitors” (Sullivan 1993). Responding to this view, Martin Sullivan, Director of the Heard Museum contributed a rejoinder, explaining the significance of the carving as a both a representation of the important role of the sacred clown in Hopi society, and the vitality of contemporary katsina carving styles. “No healthy culture locks itself into the past” asserts Sullivan. “Just as Japanese martial arts continue to evolve today, Hopi carvers are inventing new and whimsical kachina styles” (Sullivan 1993).

Dual Roles: Maintaining a Balance as Artist and Keeper of Hopi Tradition

In his seminal article “Straddling the Cultural Fence: The Conflict for Ethnic Artists within Pueblo Societies”, Ed Wade paints a picture of tension surrounding participation in the commercial art market, arguing that the “source of the controversy lies in the fundamental differences between mainstream and Native American world views” (1986: 243). Writing in 2001, Zena Pearlstone evokes a

similar image, asserting that Hopi carvers “hang onto their cultural traditions with one hand just as they reach with the other into the Euro-American market of individualism. This is a balancing act that may be on the verge of teetering” (Pearlstone 2001: 123). While I do not wish to downplay the very real difficulties experienced by many indigenous peoples who feel caught between two worlds, I do not believe that the contemporary Hopi katsina doll carvers who contributed to this study support either the image of individuals caught on a fence between cultures, or artists ready to topple into the Western market. Rather, my study has illustrated the ability of artists, through their carving and participation in the commercial art market, to build a bridge that closes the gap between fundamental values and modern influences⁶. This dissertation has shown that contemporary carvers have responded creatively to opportunities to accommodate Western ideas and materials, while still maintaining and promoting fundamental Hopi beliefs and values. Based on my research, I am inclined to reject Wade’s depiction of inherent tension and feel that Lois Jacka has a better understanding of the adaptability of Hopi artists:

Many Hopis have had to learn to survive in two worlds where the ethos and lifestyles are completely different. Yet, it is the blending of native tradition with urban cultures that has molded them into the artists they have become (Jacka and Jacka 1998: 135).

The ability of contemporary Hopi carvers to fluidly manage and balance traditional concepts and modern influences was best illustrated to me during a SAR Katsina Convocation session in which the carvers discussed the title for the

⁶ Although undeniably problematic, the case of Gregory Lomayesva might be considered the ultimate example of an artist who has achieved complete comfort in the hybridity of the contemporary indigenous art market.

proceedings of the Convocation. In addition to insisting that the proper Hopi term “tihu” be used in the title, all of the carvers agreed that the most important idea they wanted conveyed was that of the continuity of tradition. “Tithu Migration: Hopi Katsina Dolls Through Time” was the title ultimately selected, with “Hopi Tithu for the Future” a close second choice. In my opinion, both of these titles accurately reflect the perception of contemporary carvers that commercial carving is a natural extension of the dynamic Hopi carving tradition, and certainly does not suggest a dichotomy or tension between “commercial” and traditional” categories. Rather, the chosen titles reflect the ideas of the fluidity and adaptability of Hopi katsina carvings as they move through time, contexts, cultures, and subsequently, into the realm of hybrid authenticity.⁷

In his work Roads in the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change, Richard Clemmer poses the questions of whether or not “the standardized, driving motivations of producing and selling things are pushing the world toward a single, homogenized cultural system”, and more specifically, “whether or not the case of Hopi history and culture in the Twentieth Century could be used to demonstrate that process” (1995: 304). After a comprehensive analysis of the socio-historical processes affecting modern Hopi society, Clemmer’s ultimate answer is “no”, the Hopi case does not demonstrate homogenization. He remarks:

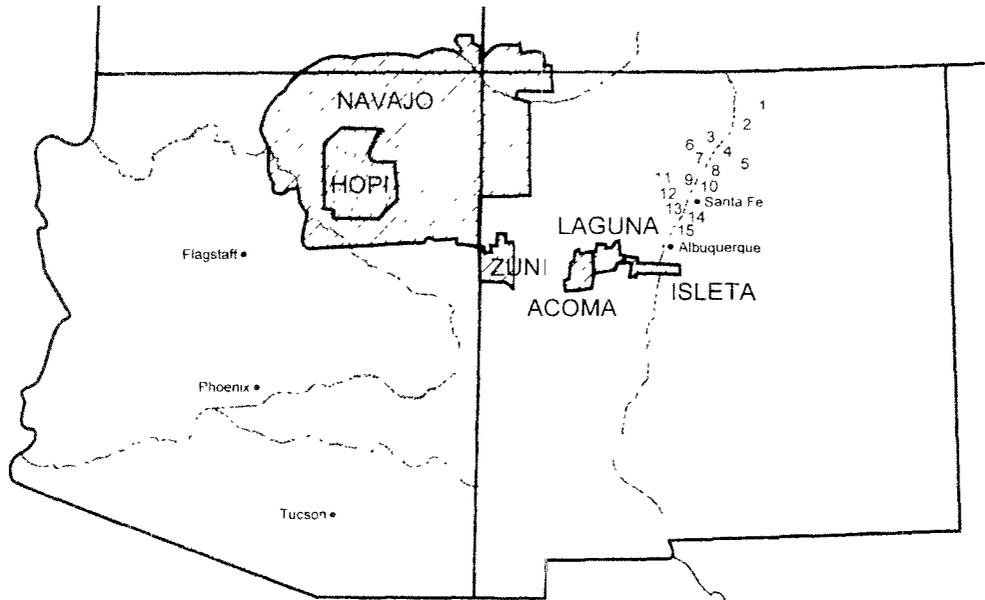
⁷ It is interesting to note that the titles chosen by the Hopi carvers who participated in the SAR Convocation contrast greatly with non-Hopi academic Barton Wright’s title for his most recent article on contemporary katsina doll carving. Entitled “The Drift from Tradition” (2001), the piece emphasizes the so-called “split” that Wright sees as having developed between “sacred carvings” (those used traditionally) and carvings made specifically for a commercial market. Wright believes that “[t]he commercial katsina dolls are not tithu when they depart from traditional requirements” (2001:157). The carvers interviewed for this research, including the SAR Convocation participants, presented very different views on commercial carving than those expressed by Wright.

Although Hopi culture today is as much a product of the last 150 years of history as it is the product of something “aboriginally Hopi”, Hopi culture remains distinctly Hopi...Hopis have “stretched” various cultural traditions to accommodate modernity to tradition and pragmatics to prophecy (Clemmer 1995: 304)

I agree with Clemmer’s analysis and observation that the Hopi offer a case of the fluid incorporation of modernity *with* tradition, and further assert that, in the specific case of contemporary commercial carving, Hopi artists utilize elements of “modernity” to facilitate the maintenance of tradition. Central to their function as agents of cultural ideology is the ability of carvers to comfortably fit the dual roles of commercial artists and keepers of tradition. The carvers I interviewed uniformly expressed a sense of balance that they feel is naturally inherent in their dual roles. The carvers maintain that the notion of dichotomous roles is a figment of the Western imagination.

This dissertation has examined contemporary Hopi katsina carving as a highly expressive vehicle of cultural representation that communicates statements of self-identity. Situated within a transcultured arts framework, this examination marks a clear departure from existing object-oriented studies of katsina dolls, and contributes to the understanding of indigenous commercial arts as meaningful cultural expression. As a vehicle of representation, contemporary carving speaks of enduring tradition, artistic innovation, cultural contact and exchange, and community survival. The two most recent carving styles actively communicate traditional core values and articulate contemporary concerns. The revitalization of the old-style of carving signifies a concern regarding the preservation of tradition and represents a commitment to maintaining a strong cultural base for future

generations. The abstract sculptural style, through its adaptation of Western art techniques to traditional Hopi contexts, has created a powerful medium for the expression of Hopi culture and language. Although these examples represent two very diverse carving trends in an artistic sense, they clearly unite in their function as a powerful cultural strategy that reinforces Hopi self-identity and provides a vehicle for the promotion and renewal of cultural values.



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|-------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Taos | 6. Santa Clara | 11. Jemez |
| 2. Picuris | 7. San Ildefonso | 12. Zia |
| 3. San Juan | 8. Tesuque | 13. Santa Ana |
| 4. Pojoaque | 9. Cochiti | 14. San Felipe |
| 5. Nambe | 10. Santo Domingo | 15. Sandia |

Figure One
The Navajo, Hopi & Pueblo Nations of the American Southwest

Map Produced by William C. R. Dunlop, 2004

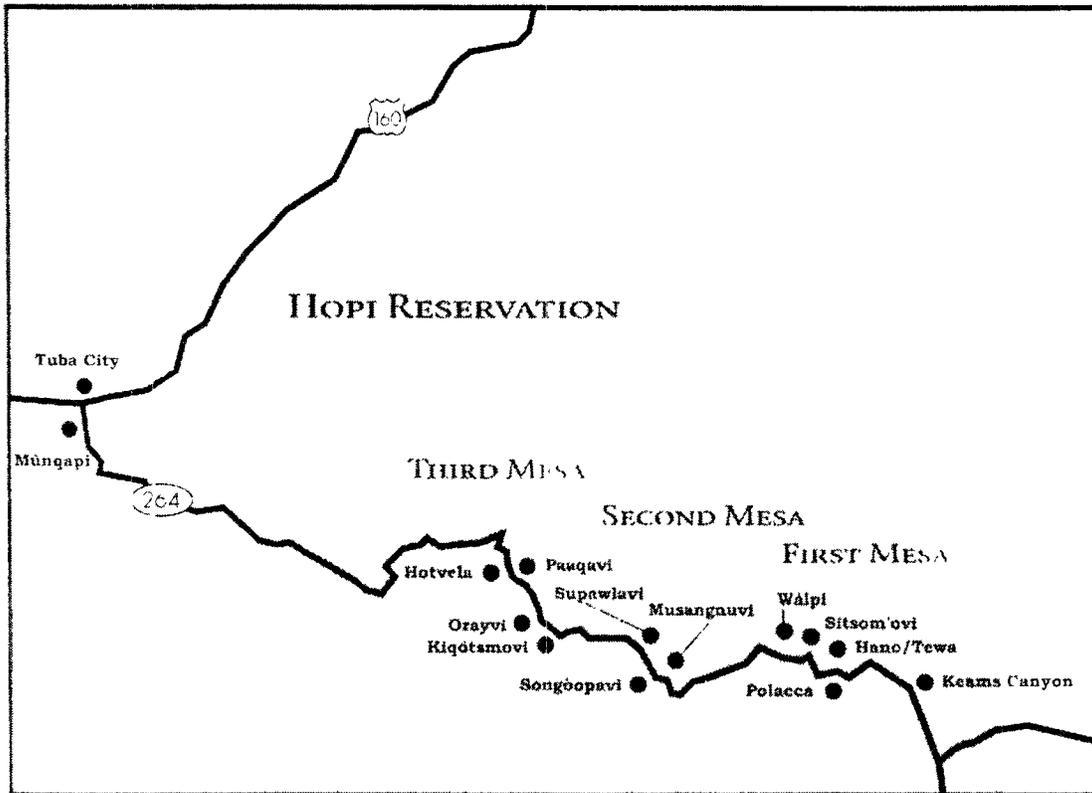


Figure Two
Map of the Hopi Mesas and Villages

Spellings of village names reflect the Hopi Third Mesa dialect

Map produced by William C. R. Dunlop, 2003



Figure Three

Two “putsqatithu” (cradle dolls) from the collection of Shanna Dunlop

“Snow Katsina Maiden” (Left)
“Sosopa” (Cricket) Katsina (Right)

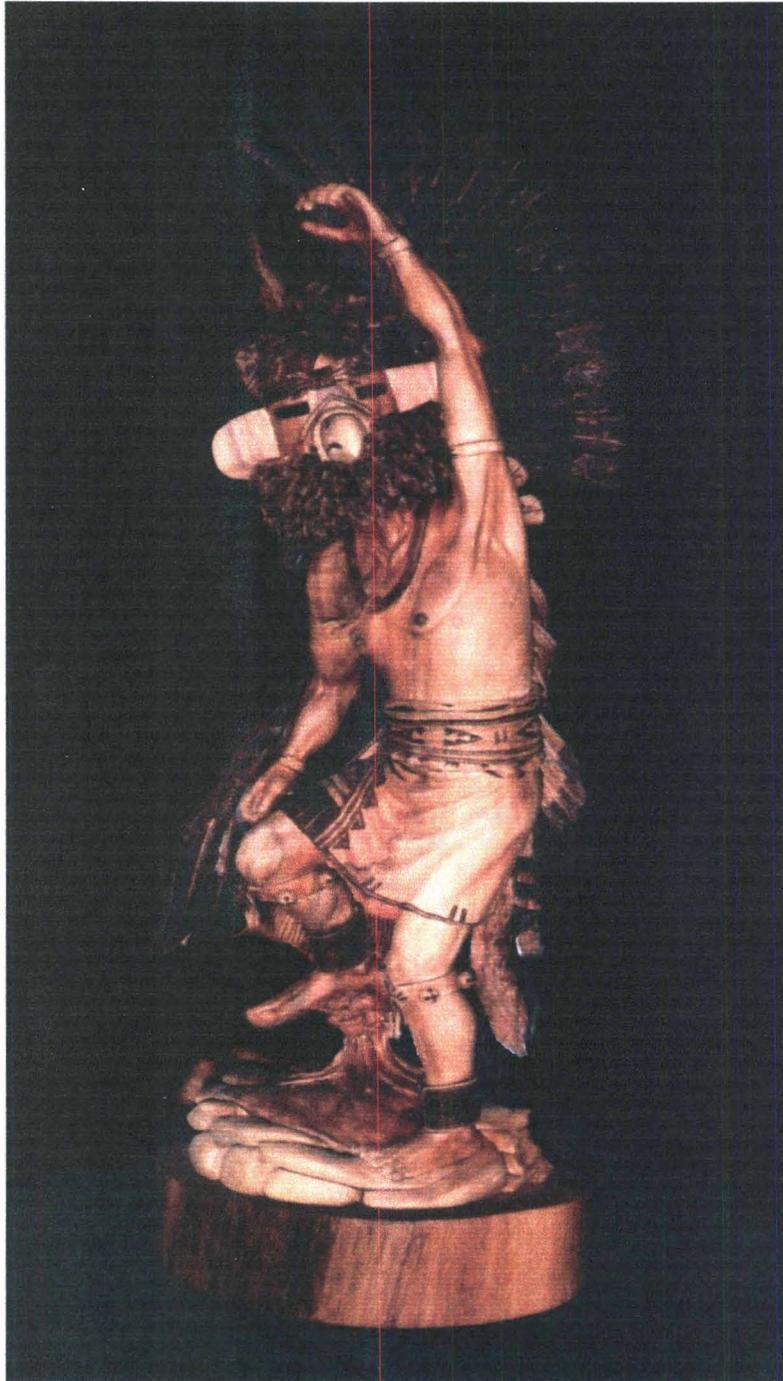


Figure Four
"Contemporary Eagle Katsina"
By Armand Fritz (1999)
Photograph by Shanna Dunlop
Courtesy of Armand Fritz



Figure Five
"Pahlik Mana with Butterflies"
By "Bo" Lomahquahu (2003)
Photograph Courtesy of McGee's Indian Art



Figure Six
"Kwikwilyaqa" (Mocking Katsina)
by Michael Dean Jenkins (2000)
Courtesy of the Museum of Northern Arizona



Figure Seven
Imitation Navajo "Katsina"
From the Collection of Shanna Dunlop



Figure Eight
"Abstract Figure"
by Gregory Lomayesva (1997)
Indian Artist Magazine (Fall 1997)

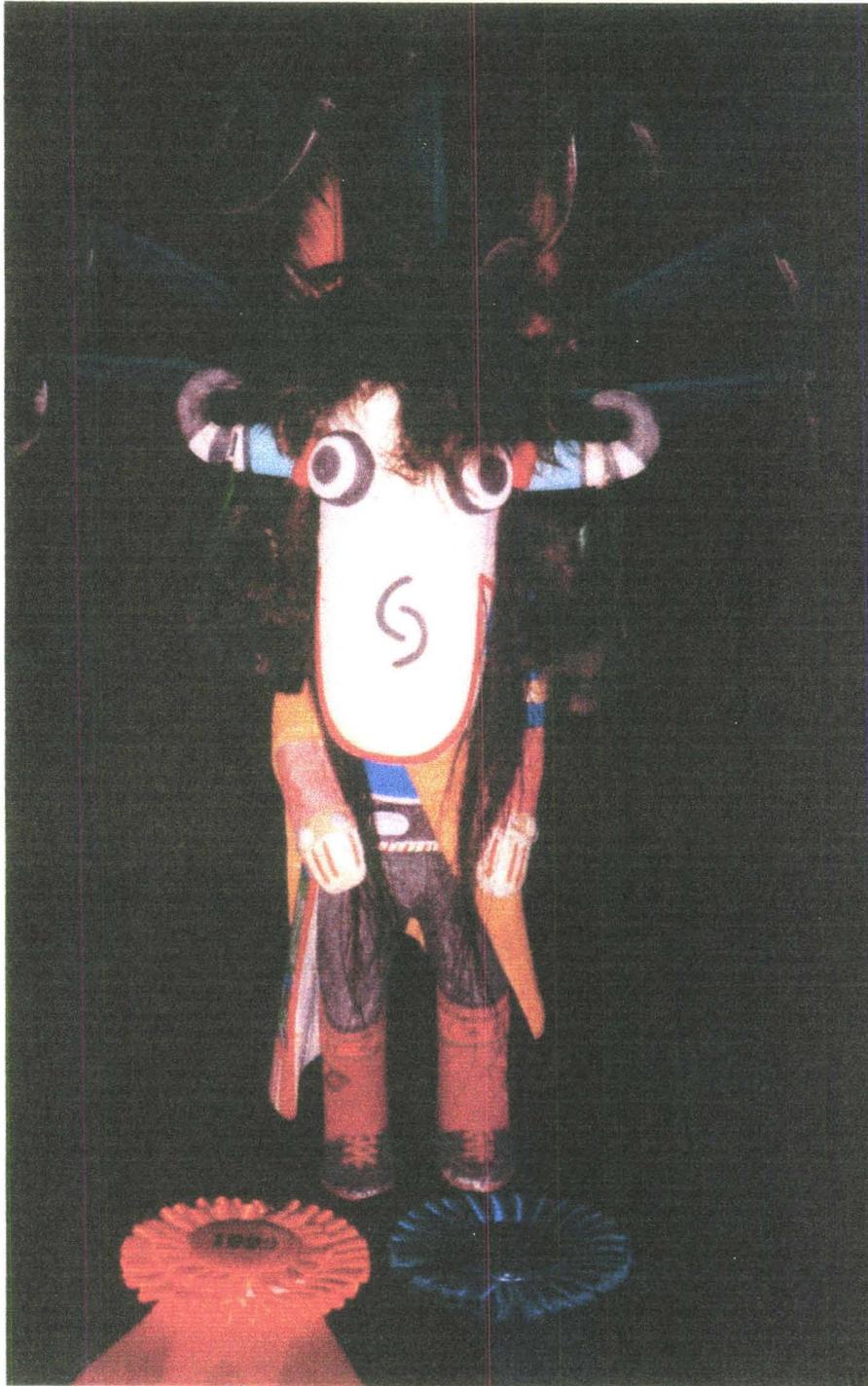


Figure Nine
“Wiharu” (White Ogre)
By Philbert Honanie (1999)
School of American Research, Catalogue Number SAR.2001-7-9
Photograph by Shanna Dunlop

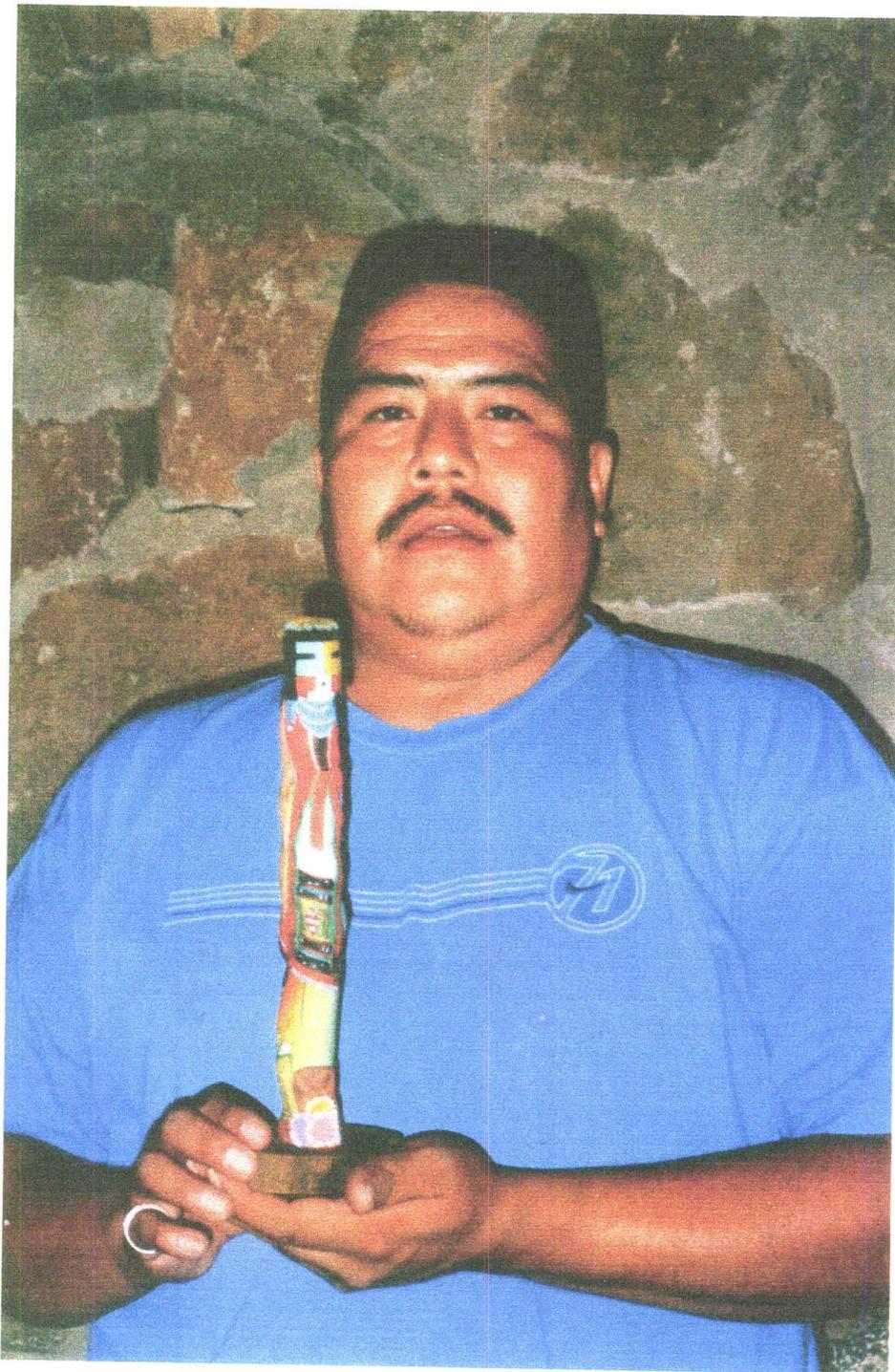


Figure Ten
Bryson Huma and his "Tuma-oi" (White Chin Katsina) Sculpture (2000)
Photograph by Shanna Dunlop
Courtesy of Bryson Huma



Figure Eleven
Abstract Katsina Carving
By Marlon Huma (1999)
School of American Research, Catalogue Number SAR.2001-7-4
Photograph by Shanna Dunlop



Figure Twelve
"Tsuku"
by Alfred Fritz (1973)
Courtesy of the Museum of Northern Arizona

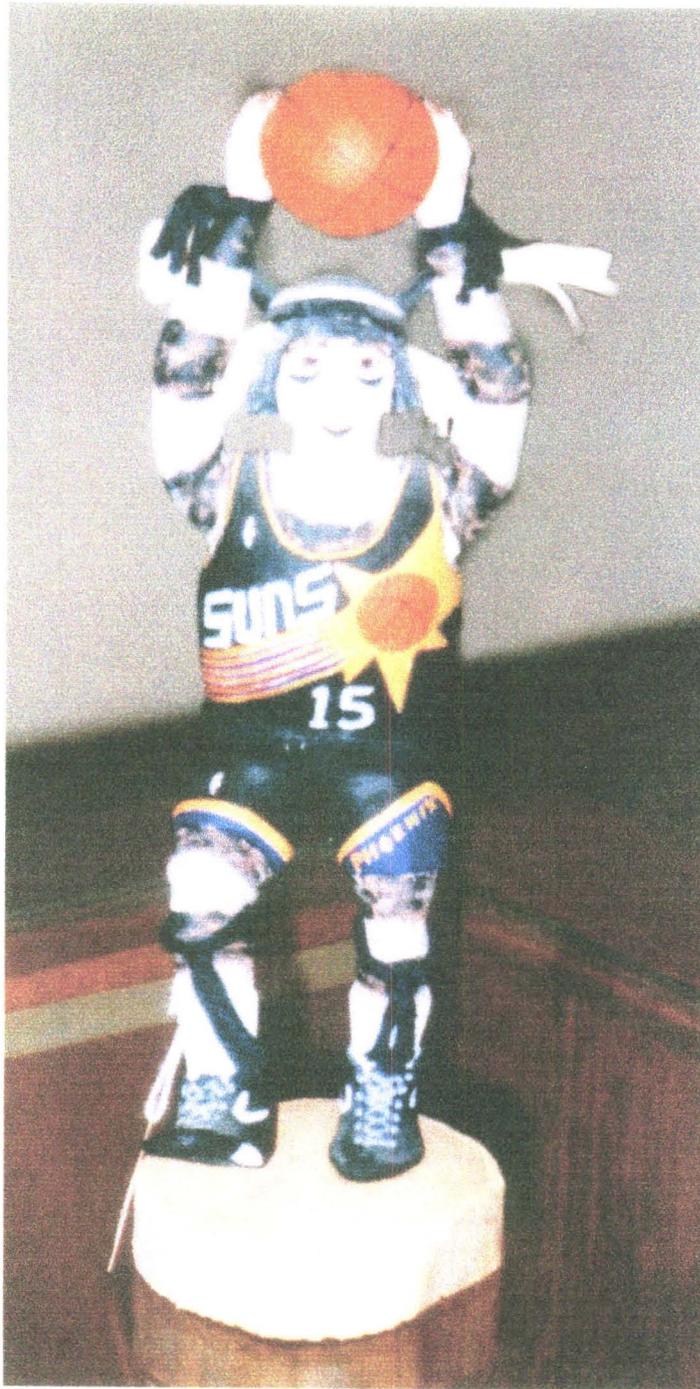


Figure Thirteen
Contemporary Koshare
By Regina Naha (1999)
Photograph by Shanna Dunlop
Courtesy of Bruce McGee, Heard Museum

Appendix A

Excerpts drawn from Media Releases for “The Hopi Craftsman”

Written by Mary-Russell F. Colton, 1930-1941

(Museum of Northern Arizona Archives)

“Indian art is fast becoming the victim of commercialization and mass production”. (1930a)

“No one has a more thorough appreciation of fine workmanship than the Indian. He is aware that the old methods are slipping away, dying out with the old people. But it has not been made worthwhile for him to slave over the fine pieces so that he has grown careless, and art readily degenerates; it needs jacking up. If it does not receive the proper stimulus it will die”. (1930b)

“The characteristic Indian forms are disappearing in favor of pretty little candlesticks, flower-baskets, etc. The beauty of design remains, but the product is only half Indian”. (1930c)

“Commercialism is cutting its own throat and the Indian’s too for when it has succeeded in ‘speeding up’ the native arts at the sacrifice of quality, what will it have for its trouble? A wretched article, lacking the distinction of a hand-made article; something which could be turned out far better by any machine”. (1930d)

“From the cultural viewpoint, the loss of our native arts would impoverish our country. The Indian has a great contribution to make toward our mutual civilization of the future in his rich folk-lore and his unique arts. The Museum, whose function it is to deal with the science and art of northern Arizona, is undertaking to do ‘its bit’ to stimulate and preserve the best in Indian art”. (1930e)

“During the exhibition, you will see craftsmen demonstrating their work; the weaver spinning with the same tools that are unearthed today in ancient ruined villages, and creating a beautiful robe before your eyes on his primitive hand loom”. (1930f)

“The archaeologist, as well as the artist and collector, will find unusual material in this exhibition because it is backed by the sympathetic field labor of experts”. (1930g)

“Through lack of artistic appreciation and the intelligent encouragement necessary to stimulate the native craftsman to produce a high quality of material, we find ourselves on the verge of losing his beautiful arts entirely”. (1931a)

“The Museum proposes to create a wider market for a higher quality of pure Indian product and to discourage the production of carelessly made material showing outside influence; in other words a ‘hihy-bred’ [sic] article”. (1931b)

“[The Hopi craftsman] has responded nobly to the Museum’s challenge; he will bring forth his best to show the world that he has not yet forgotten. His pride of craftsmanship has been re-awakened”. (1931c).

“This exhibition is not only a sale of goods for the benefit of the Indian, but an educational experiment whereby the white man of the machine age is taught to appreciate the work of the native craftsman through direct contact with his fascinating and primitive methods of manufacture”. (1932)

“A few of the main projects upon which the Museum is working for the maintenance and improvement of arts and crafts among the Hopi, are the following:

1. No more rough and knotty blankets caused by the use of Merino type wool, which is not adapted to hand spinning! The weavers are asked to select wool of the Old Navajo Type.
2. The revival of the native vegetable dyes and their use in textiles and basketry.
3. Pottery made more thoroughly fired so that the design is permanent and the ware strong, hard and thin.
4. Revival in all of the villages of fine old types of house-hold [sic] pottery wares.
5. The use of handspun cotton, in cotton textiles, instead of cheap string, which has so nearly ruined the once beautiful cotton garments.
6. The use of the fine rich blue of vegetable Indigo, instead of certain poor synthetic blues, in the striped blankets and garments of the Hopi”. (1933)

“A most interesting and colorful feature of this exhibition, as well as one of great educational value, is the work of the demonstrating craftsmen. A weaver cards and spins his wool, sets up his loom and weaves a blanket just as he is accustomed to do in his own home or kiva on the Hopi mesas, and two pleasant, plump Hopi matrons chat while they demonstrate the making of the two distinct types of basketry produced by the Hopi”. (1934)

“In the careless haste of modern times, many of [the Hopi’s] beautiful old arts suffered severely and were rapidly degenerating. During the past six years it has been the work of the Museum to lend guidance and encouragement toward the re-establishment and maintenance of these arts, and each year, with this stimulus, the Hopi are delving into the lore of the past and bringing forth the precious knowledge which has been their inheritance from ancient times, with the result that they are building again their reputation for the unexcelled craftsmanship which was once theirs among all the Indian peoples of the southwest”. (1935a)

“Every piece of material accepted for exhibition in the “Hopi Craftsman” is personally selected by the Curator of Art and Ethnology, in the field. The reputation of the Museum stands behind the material exhibited, acting as a guarantee of authenticity and quality to our patrons”. (1935b)

“All these craftsmen wear their native costumes and produce a colorful picture against the background of their sacred mountains – the ancient home of those legendary god-like beings, the Kachinas”. (1936a)

“A new feature of the exhibition this year will be an ‘ethnologically correct’ Hopi meal served each day at noon in the Museum during the exhibition”. (1936b)

“The Hopi Craftsman exhibition is a scientific experiment, not a commercial enterprise”. (1939)

“The Hopis themselves, regard the exhibition as an opportunity to build up an individual reputation for workmanship as well as an appreciative market for their finest material. The Museum has built up a worth while [sic] ‘mail order’ business for Hopi material, and encourages all craftsmen to put their individual mark or name on their work, thus associating the name of the craftsman with the character of his work”. (1940)

“The weaver, the old embroiderer, the basket maker, the potter and the silversmith, each with their crude materials and hand fashioned equipment, will create before your eyes the beautiful crafts of their people. Each worker in his setting is a correct and colorful picture, a living habitat group”. (1941a)

“The American Indian as an artist and craftsman is coming into his own. The art world of today fervently believes that it has gone modern. As a matter of fact, ‘there is nothing new under the sun’ and the tired world of art is unconsciously reverting to the simplified refreshing forms of the art of primitive man”. (1941b)

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