Katsina

Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals

Zena Pearlstone

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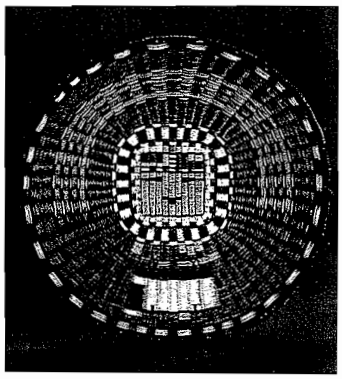

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5 The Drift from Tradition

BARTON WRIGHT

Change has come to the Hopi at ever-increasing speed, transforming them in less than 150 years from farming people to active participants in the dominant technological culture. Many factors have effected these changes in their lifeways, far too many to address in a short essay. Nevertheless, it is possible to isolate a single element of Hopi culture that documents this passage over the quicksands of acculturation. The slow drift by some from traditional beliefs and actions and the efforts to compensate by these practical people can be documented by following a single thread: the changes in the role of the *tihu*, or Katsina doll, in Hopi culture.

Before the middle of the nineteenth century the *tihu* was solely a religious icon, a manifestation of a centuries-old tradition that was probably derived from more than one ancient population. Hints of its presence can be found in paintings on pottery, a few small wooden and stone images, petroglyphs, and drawings on cliff faces, as well as its discovery in the houses and *kivas* of the Pueblo people by horrified Spanish priests.[1] Its role in the native religion was well established, its function and purpose explicit. It was and is a visual prayer from Hopi men to unmarried girls, one designed to form an alliance between the young women and the Katsina spirits to enhance the well-being of the former.

Ideally, the doll as a prayer was given to the girls by a male relative in the guise of a Katsina. *Tihu* were given to boys only when they were babes in arms and considered to still be a part of the mother. The figurine represented any one of a multitude of Katsinam, whose identity was established by symbolic features on the head, details of the body being negligible to nonexistent. Among the Hopi the choice of material from which to make a *tihu* was always the cottonwood, a tree whose roots are lightweight and easy to carve with simple tools, and which have the added symbolic advantage of seeking water as did the Hopi farmers themselves. Girls played with the dolls if they wished but were taught that it was better to respect them by hanging them on the walls of their homes. It was there that the dolls were first discovered by Euro-Americans.

The arrival of an outside market occurred in 1857 when Dr. Edward Palmer, a surgeon with the United States Army brought back a *tihu*.[2] Unfortunately this Sa'lakwmana was destroyed by a fire in the Smithsonian National Museum.[3] Nine other *tithu* were collected by the Hayden Survey in 1870 and the Wheeler Survey in 1871, but little information was gathered on the dolls (Hayden 1870; Wheeler 1871).[4] Among the first comments was that of Lieutenant John Gregory Bourke in 1881, whose information, while uncomplimentary, sheds light on the perceptions of the time when a non-Hopi market first began. He purchased several dolls saying:

> In Tegua [Tewa] I bought several flat wooden gods or doll-babies. They are both. After doing duty as a god, the wooden image, upon giving signs of wear and tear, is handed over to the children to complete the work of destruction. These gods are nothing but coarse monstrosities, painted in high colours, generally green. [Bourke 1884, 131, 144]

Dr. Herman F. C. Ten Kate Jr. visiting in 1882 and 1883, had much the same impression of the dolls but also gave their value, as he wrote:

> Not rarely we found gaily painted wooden dolls with monster-like faces and strange head gear. Sometimes a row of these dolls is put on a cord which is hung above the chimney or elsewhere in the room. Sometimes, also, some of them lie on the floor, and one of my companions made the remark that the Moquis do not handle their house-gods very respectfully by treating them this way. He erred in this as did Oscar Loew, and many others as well. The supposed house gods are nothing but models of persons from the Corn Dance, and children's toys. The Moqui name for

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these dolls is *dicha*. [It is presumed that he means *tihu* as no other meaning is apparent.] The fact that a Moqui is always perfectly willing to give you one or more of these *dichas* for a quarter is proof enough that this opinion is in error. [Ten Kate 1885, 246–47]

The dolls of this era have simple proportions. The head takes up one third of the body; little attention is given to hands or feet; the arms are generally clasped against the midsection (generating the term "stomachache dolls"); in a great many, male and female genitalia are shown; and the pigments used are almost entirely of native origin (see fig. 3.7).

The 1880s were marked by a surge of interest in collecting when Frank Hamilton Cushing and Colonel James E. Stevenson added enormous numbers of acquisitions to the Smithsonian National Museum.[5] Between 1880 and 1883 twenty-four dolls were bought, but in the next two years, when Matilda Coxe Stevenson continued her deceased husband's efforts, a total of eighty-two more were purchased. It was during this period that the salability of the doll became firmly established in the minds of the Hopi, although there was at the same time a strong resistance to selling them. This reluctance to sell was sometimes outweighed by the desirability of the merchandise, coffee, sugar, and so forth, that was open through trade or for the newly available cash. A factor not often considered in the acquisition of dolls is the fact that the *tihu* is a symbol of a prayer offered, and it is believed that it should be respected.

The urge to collect increased through the 1890s and into the first decade of this century with Thomas Keam, Frederick Volz, and Reverend H. R. Voth buying great numbers of dolls for resale to museums that were filling out their collections and to the traveling public as curios (fig. 5.1).[6] It was a period when amassing numbers of artifacts was of prime importance, a time when most museums in the eastern United States and a number of those in Europe acquired their collections. The prices paid for the dolls are either unknown or inextricably mixed with purchases of other items.

There are two other factors that affected the production of dolls at this time. One is the question of what the Hopi were buying with the money received for the dolls. Did this include tools, paints, and other items that could affect the appearance of the *tihu*? Certainly during this period native paints

5.1 A. C. Vroman, *"Collection of Curios Belonging to Captain Thomas Keam," Keam's Canyon, 1900.* Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, V-1011. On the left a wall is filled with the *tihu* of the time.

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disappeared and poster paints made their appearance. There was also a burgeoning experimentation with oil house paints and dyes, such as red ink and bluing, and almost certainly tools were affected as well.

The second factor, one that sets a pattern for the future, is the impact of non-Indian approval or disapproval of the appearance of the *tihu*. It is during this interval that dolls with male genitalia ceased to be made. It is also the time when the Sa'lakwmana and other dolls change from a nude form to a fully clothed one. If there had been more interest in garnering information rather than numbers of artifacts during this critical period, we would have more answers to various questions. Suffice it to say that while the salable nature of the dolls was established in the 1880s, the 1890s saw the recognition of outside demands with the beginning of efforts to satisfy a non-Hopi market, and the period of 1900 to 1910 brought an increased sophistication in tools and supplies. The first evidence of the separation of economic art from ceremonial art begins during this time span.

The dolls made from 1910 until after World War II were carved primarily for internal use with little attention given to the vagaries of the non-Hopi buyers. Interest in the dolls on the part of outsiders varied widely as the touring public's curio buying changed with the economic conditions of the country. The crash of 1929 and the resulting Great Depression cut drastically into the buying ability of the public.

There were a few carvers who could be termed commercial during this period, individuals who led different lifestyles through exposure to outside markets or who used the dolls as a form of currency. The Hopi chief of Old Orayvi, Tawakwaptiwa, used his idiosyncratic dolls[7] to repay political debts (fig. 5.2). Orin Poley in Winslow made pseudo-dolls as curios for travelers on Highway 66. Others like Porter Timeche at the Grand Canyon or Jimmie Kewanwytewa at the Museum of Northern Arizona were individuals whose dolls were bought as remembrances of the personalities of their makers (fig. 5.3). At the urging of Mary Russell Ferrell

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Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona, Jimmie became the first Hopi to sign his dolls, using his initials, and was roundly castigated by other Hopis for this break in tradition, as children believe the dolls are made by the Katsinam.

The dolls made during the interval from 1910 to 1945 retained many of the characteristics of the earliest dolls: they were still hung from the walls, they were rigid in stance, and attention was still focused primarily on the head although it had diminished in size (fig. 5.4 and see fig. 3.21B). The strongest evidence of change was the total supplanting of native pigments with poster paints and indications that technology had improved to allow more precise work. The dolls, although still static in posture, were carved with more freedom of movement as the arms loosened and moved away from the body. There was more separate carving of arms, legs, and accoutrements and an increasing use of pegs and glue to attach them and of plastic wood to cover joints or flaws. During this period there was no difference between the dolls made for home use and those that were sold. The difficulty of selling any craftwork during the Depression years inspired Mary Russell Ferrell Colton to help the Hopi by establishing an exhibition to display their work. The data from the Hopi Show gives both the quantity and price of Katsina dolls in the interval from 1930 to 1941. Admittedly this information is a limited sample, but the results are interesting. The average price per doll was just under two dollars with a range from fifty cents to six dollars. The number of dolls from each village over this eleven-year period was as follows:

Walpi -2
Sitsomovi - 14
Tewa - 13
Musangnuvi -2
Supawlavi - 2
Songoopavi -22
Lower Orayvi (Kiqötsmovi) - 52
Old Orayvi - 40
Paaqavi - 46
Hotvela - 20
Munqapi - 11

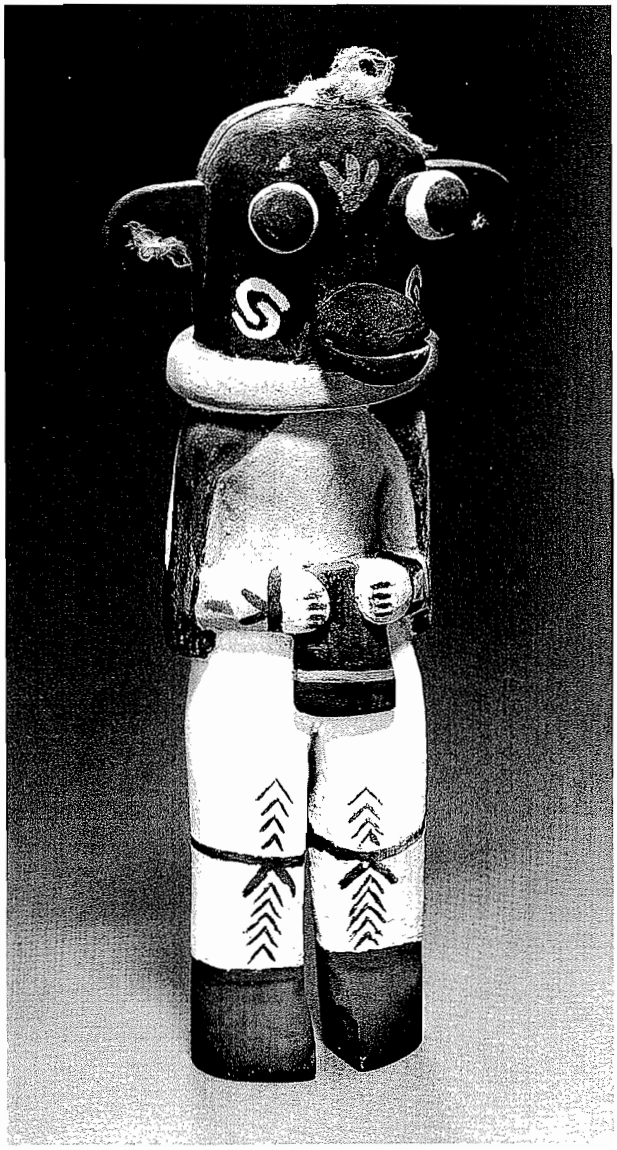
Two hundred and twenty-four dolls were offered for sale in eleven years.

World War II caused enormous changes in Hopi culture for it broke the control of the priests and elders over the young men returning from service with a broader awareness of the world. The changes in Katsina doll carving were small with little visible impact in the final years of the 1940s. But the next decade brought the "action" doll. Departing from the earlier static stance of the doll, the knees began

5.2 Wilson Tawakwaptiwa, composite-figure "Katsina" *tihu*, early twentieth century. Wood, pigment, string. H: 33 cm. Private collection.

5.3 Jimmie Kewanwytema, Qötsa Tsuku Wimkya Katsina (White Clown Katsina) *tihu*, 1940s. Wood, pigment, feathers, and cord. H: 31 cm. Private collection.

5.4 Tseeveyo (a type of Black Ogre Katsina) *tihu*, 1930s. Wood, pigment, and string. H: 25 cm. Private collection.



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to bend, and the arms were extended, growing slowly more exaggerated until the doll began to show the movement of the Katsina dancer (fig. 5.5). The appearance of these "action" dolls caused some commotion in popular Indian shows like the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial in Gallup, New Mexico, as it was believed that they were not truly *tithu*, and for a while they occupied a separate category in competitions.

At this time there was still not much of a market for the dolls, but the cost had risen to a dollar an inch. The people who bought them, however, did not want to hang them on their walls; they wanted them to stand on mantels, tables, dressers, coffee tables, and the like. Most of the older dolls stood flat-footed, and rigidly vertical. When they teetered, it was no trouble to correct this with a piece of cardboard or a thumbtack in the feet to keep them upright. But the action dolls did not stand easily, as they stood on one foot and could be thrown off balance by their extended arms, etc. Since the Hopi hung their dolls, they paid little attention to this, but the non-Hopi wanted them to stand. Some Hopi who carved for the non-Hopi market began to try and overcome the problem.

Their first efforts were to make the feet bigger, which produces some very strange looking extremities. Sankey George, for example, made feet longer from heel to toe than the legs were from heel to knee. Then came experiments with bases. Sometimes these were of cardboard, plywood, or planks of various dimensions, but few were aesthetically pleasing until some unknown soul cut a slice off a cottonwood root and attached it as a base. It is not known whether this individual was Indian or Euro-American; it happened in the early 1960s.

At Sitsomovi on First Mesa in the 1950s Otillie Jackson's husband had gone blind, and in desperate

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need for money to keep the family fed, she learned how to carve and paint Katsina dolls. Her work was good, and it marked the first example known of a Hopi woman carving Katsina dolls. This does not seem such a radical departure to outsiders, but it was a major break with tradition for the Hopi. Females receive dolls as gifts from males, and for a female to make dolls is a change in the traditional social order. Some Hopi priests feel that women should not carve even if they are only selling in a commerical market. In the course of time, every one of Otillie's five daughters took up the craft of carving dolls for sale, as did an increasing number of other women.

The 1960s were characterized by often amateurish experimentation, and changes appeared with increasing rapidity. Earlier neck ruffs had always been made of small evergreen branches, which, of course, dried and fell off, an acceptable occurrence for the Hopi but not for the developing outside market. Dolls began showing up with carved, round wooden ruffs, then artificial plastic greenery or green yarn, followed in the mid-1960s by English seaweed, the shrubbery used in architectural models (figs. 5.6). The use of Popsicle sticks for feathers in Eagle Katsinam, or using complete bird wings, jewelry made of sewing supplies, and small exotic shells—all make their appearance at this time (fig. 5.7). Peter Shelton, artist and silver designer, introduced acrylic paints, which did not powder and flake off as had the earlier tempera paints, although these dolls had a tendency to look shiny and plastic. It produced comments that his dolls "looked like a Disney product" (fig. 5.8). All of those innovations catered to the outside market and were efforts to satisfy or capture the attention of buyers even though there was still a muted resistance to selling. None of these innovations were ever completely abandoned, and they slowly appeared on *tithu* given during ceremonies, long after they had lost favor in the expanding commercial market. The rate of change in the dolls given in ceremonies was a slow seepage of innovations marked more by new accoutrements than body styles.

This decade was also marked by the fad of gigantism. There is some evidence that large dolls and even action dolls were made on occasion fairly early, as shown in the photograph taken in Sitsomovi in 1902 by A. C. Vroman (Webb and Weinstein 1973, 64, pl. 32). But it is only in this period that a more widespread increase in size slowly manifested itself, possibly driven by the practice of buying dolls by the inch (fig. 5.9). Bigger meant a higher price, and when one thirty-inch doll sold for about five hundred dollars, there was an immediate rush to make even larger dolls. Unfortunately, the very size of the dolls reduced the possible number of purchasers as most houses do not easily accommodate a number of two- to three-foot dolls. The big dolls faded slowly with the marked reduction in buyers, but this produced a swing in the opposite direction as miniature dolls became the rage in the early 1970s. The largest "dolls" exceeded five feet in height, while the smallest were less than one-quarter of an inch in height. Neither of these extreme forms of carving can properly be called *tithu*, and they were not given during traditional ceremonies. On the

5.5 Paatangkatsina (Squash Katsina) early action *tihu*, 1960s. Wood, pigment, feather, yarn, cord. H: 45 cm. Private collection.

5.6 L. Lewis, Poliikatsintaqa (male butterfly) *tihu*, 1960s–1970s. Wood, pigment, yarn, leather, sequins, and feathers. H: 28.5 cm. Private collection.

5.7 Navankatsina (Velvet Shirt Katsina) *tihu*, 1950–1960. Feathers, Cotton, velvet, cottonwood, and plastic. H: 32.5 cm. Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, The University of New Mexico, 64.61.205.

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mesas there was still resistance to the sale of Katsina dolls regardless of economic gain, as it was equated with selling your sister or daughter.

It was in the 1960s that Theodore Puhuyesva, a Hopi commercial carver, made the first removable mask on a Katsina doll for a friend and incurred the wrath of most traditional Hopi. Obviously this form of doll could never be given to a child in ceremonial circumstances as children are taught to believe that the Katsinam visit the mesas. The aberrations of gigantism, miniatures, and removable masks mark the first complete separation of dolls, those made explicitly for an external market from those made for a ceremony.

In the late 1960s or early 1970s, following an article in a nationally known newspaper on the increase in value of some Indian products in the last fifty years, a rush to buy any object made by a Southwestern tribe was precipitated. This demand was focused on jewelry, but it affected other crafts as well and increased steadily until 1974 when it crested. The later years of the 1970s were marked by a decided downturn in interest by collectors and other buyers of Indian arts and crafts. The production of Katsina dolls for the market leveled off until the early 1980s. However, it was in this interval that prices rose dramatically for all crafts.

The late 1960s and early 1970s were marked by dolls carved with ever-increasing realism, most of the inspiration coming from the work of Alvin James Makya of Hotvela. This artist's pieces, primarily of secular figures such as the White Buffalo, were aimed solely at the outside buyer. Attention was concentrated on correct proportions of limbs and heads with

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muscles, veins, and fingernails accurately portrayed, the exact antithesis of a *tihu*. Within a matter of months after the sale of Makya's White Buffalo Dancer for nine hundred dollars, dozens of other Katsina carvers were attempting similar carvings, but of Katsinam rather than social figures, undoubtedly spurred by thoughts of elevated prices. The drive toward complete realism that had its beginnings with the action doll was now the dominant trend in doll making.

A brief flurry of metal castings of Katsina dolls began at this time when Clay Lockett, a dealer, had Henry Shelton's Snake Dancer cast in bronze. This process completely destroys the wooden original and leaves a product that is a diminution of the original rather than an enhancement. It was not too successful an effort although a number of master carvers had bronze castings made of their work. However, it also sparked a number of Katsina reproductions done in silver or bronze by non-Hopi that were sold in jewelry stores, as well as a few attempts at producing ceramic Hopi dolls.

The year 1974 brought the enactment of a federal law to protect migratory birds that had an immense impact on doll carving. This law restricted the use of feathers or any other part of a listed bird and was so comprehensive that only five types of birds were legal. These were pheasants, pigeons, chickens, guinea hens, and domestic turkeys. Up until this time the Hopi had used a wide variety of specific bird feathers, those traditionally required for particular purposes. After the passage of the "feather law," none of these could be used, and dolls with feathers on them could not be bought or sold, although the same feathers could be legally used to stuff pillows or tie flies for fishing. Because tradition did not dictate the use of feathers from any of the five legal birds, they were used indiscriminately on the dolls regardless of appearance (fig. 5. 10). The result was so unsatisfactory that many carvers began to experiment with carving wooden feathers and painting them correctly. Although this has produced a new type of doll, efforts to stay within the law have destroyed countless legitimate specimens that predated this ruling. Dealers have ripped off the correct plumage and replaced it with chicken feathers or nothing. The rights of religious freedom allowed the carvers to continue to use the necessary feathers on the dolls used in ceremonies, but these could not be sold unless they were stripped.

On the mesas the carving proceeded in a more or less traditional style. Men and boys with varying artistic skills carve and paint dolls to be given in ceremonies. Some may be sold later for a reasonable price, others are kept as valuable and cherished gifts. In some instances where the need is great and time is short, a man may buy a doll from someone who does good work for use in a ceremony.

5.8 Peter Shelton, Wakas Mana (Cow Woman) *tihu*, 1950s. Wood, pigment, feathers, plant fiber, and string. H: 36.2 cm. Private collection.

5.9 Claude Sikyayesva, Tuhavi (Paralyzed Katsina and Kooyemsi) *tihu*, 1960s. Wood, pigment, leather, velvet, feathers, yarn. H: 56 cm. Private collection.

5.10 Kowaakokatsina (Rooster or Chicken Katsina), 1970s. Wood, pigment, animal hide, yarn, feathers, and beads. H: 24 cm. Private collection.

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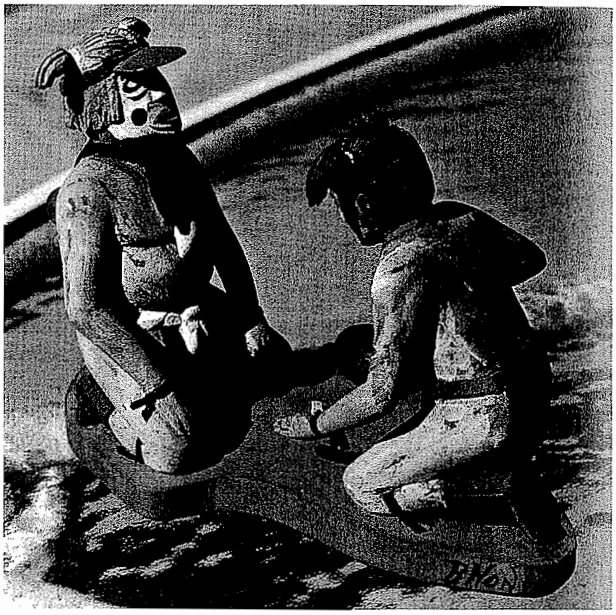
The last two years of the 1970s continuing into the mid-1980s were a period of massive change in doll carving. It was a time of many gifted craftsmen, of work being signed, of new tools and paints, of new forms, and of Navajo carvers copying Hopi dolls. It was an era of experimentation when carving ceased to be a cottage craft and became an art form rooted in tradition but displayed and sold in art galleries. Carvers became known by name and were patronized, publicized, and paid accordingly. In the Hopi villages the quality of the dolls presented in the traditional way was now roughly equivalent to the better Katsinam of the 1960s that were sold on the commercial market.

The commercial artisans of this era represent a final step in what amounts to the secularization of some Katsina doll carving. The dolls produced for art galleries are too delicate and too valuable to be given in ceremonies. They are artworks by master craftsmen designed to be sold to collectors. Because of their value they have been copied by all manner of individuals: some trying to realize a profit, others carving their own to avoid the costs of collecting, and still others who simply like to carve. Dolls are made by school teachers, dentists, doctors, and lawyers, by Norwegians, Dutch, Latinos, English, Germans, and others, but, contrary to general belief, not by the Japanese. Navajo, who have no



5.12 Brian Honyouti, Qötsa Tsuku Piptuqa (White Clown Katsina) and Tsuku Wimkya (a human clown from Third Mesa). Collection of Scott Simpson.

5.11 Von Monongya, Katsinmana. Wood and pigment. Photograph courtesy of the artist.

5.13 Wilmer Kaye, "Kau-A-Kachi Mana" Katsina, 1980s. Wood and pigment. H: 32 cm. Collection of Tom and Nancy Juda.

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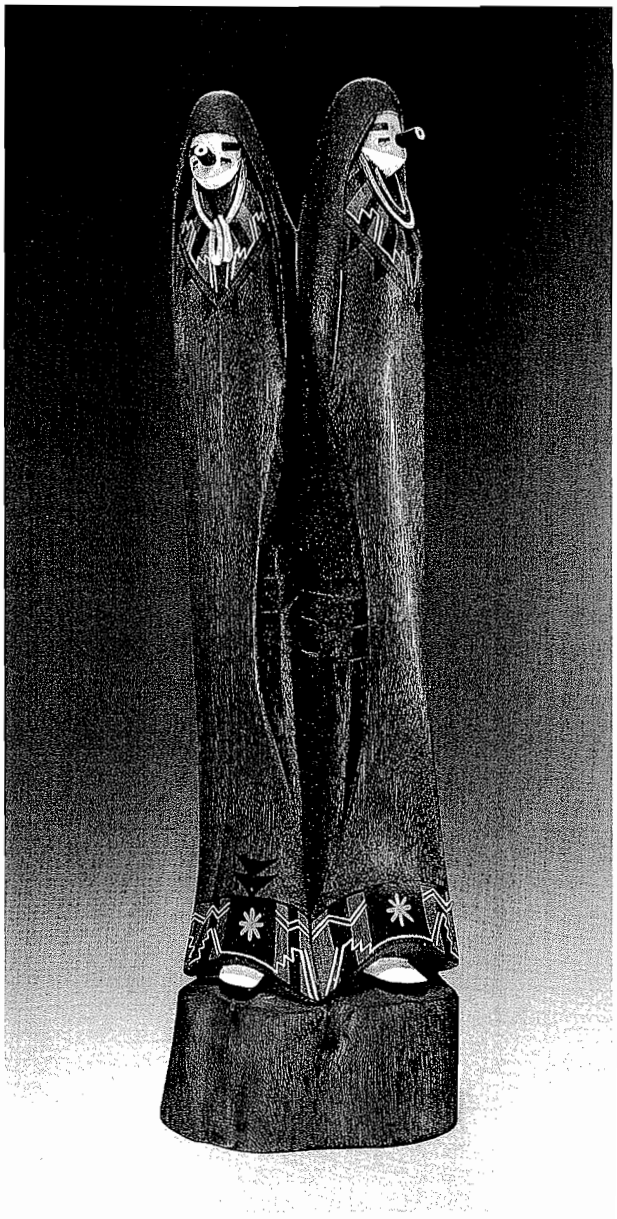
tradition of Katsinam in their culture, produce the largest number of copies.

A few of the new artisans are known for their contributions and inspiration to other carvers. Von Monongya of Old Orayvi, who carved superbly realistic dolls after the manner of his uncle Alvin James Makya, was either the first or among the first to use burning tools to produce black, textured cloth, flowing hair, and other adornments. However, it was his care in sanding his dolls to a satiny finish that inspired many (fig. 5.11). In Hotvela it was the Honyouti family that either emphasized or introduced many changes. Clyde, whose penchant was for carving in one piece so that he did not have to carry many small pieces, taught his sons Brian and Ronald the same method, although other carvers as well worked with a single piece of wood (fig. 5.12). It was Ronald Honyuti whose Butterfly Girl, made from a single piece of wood, had the first carved decorations on her costume. He also initiated the elaborate carving of bases. Brian was one of the first to use stains to color his creations. Among women carvers, it was Muriel Navasie who was noted for her miniatures and for the occasional spark of humor that showed in her work. Her husband, Cecil Calnimptewa, belongs to the group of master carvers, like Lowell Talashoma, Loren Phillips, Jonathan Day, Ros George, Jonathan Cordero Sr., Arthur Holmes, Dennis Tewa, and others too numerous to mention whose works are avidly sought by art galleries.

In meeting this increasing demand, a number of innovations appeared. Wilmer Kaye added a new dimension to the carving of dolls when he began his sculptural pieces, shifting the emphasis to tall graceful figures often dressed in long flowing robes or grouping them into units of two or three figures (fig. 5.13). By the late 1990s some of the carvings may contain as many as twenty individual Katsinam. These sculptural or conceptual figures have appealed to many other carvers. Neil David Sr. is credited with being either the first or among the first to produce dolls that were not entirely painted, leaving the bare wood to represent the white of textiles. However he was not the first to make a bare wood doll as Henry Shelton produced the first one known in 1957. Along with the idea of bare wood, there has been an interest in using other woods that might be more beautiful or easier to work, and consequently there have been efforts to use tamarisk, oak, aspen, mahogany, ironwood, basswood, cocobolo, and tulipwood. Both Shelton and David have also experimented with carving only the heads of Katsinam. In this they were surpassed by Delbridge Honanie whose works have left Katsina dolls almost completely to become symbolic art done in wood.

Carvings aimed at art galleries now fall into several different categories. The most important are the realistic interpretations of the Katsina dancers as they appear in the plazas of the villages. The second is sculptural carvings with their long graceful figures or the clustering of numerous figures into one unit. There is also a group that is composed of beautifully carved but unpainted dolls and another where the identity of the Katsina is carried almost entirely by symbols. A recent trend that has many followers was begun by Manfred Susunkewa and is



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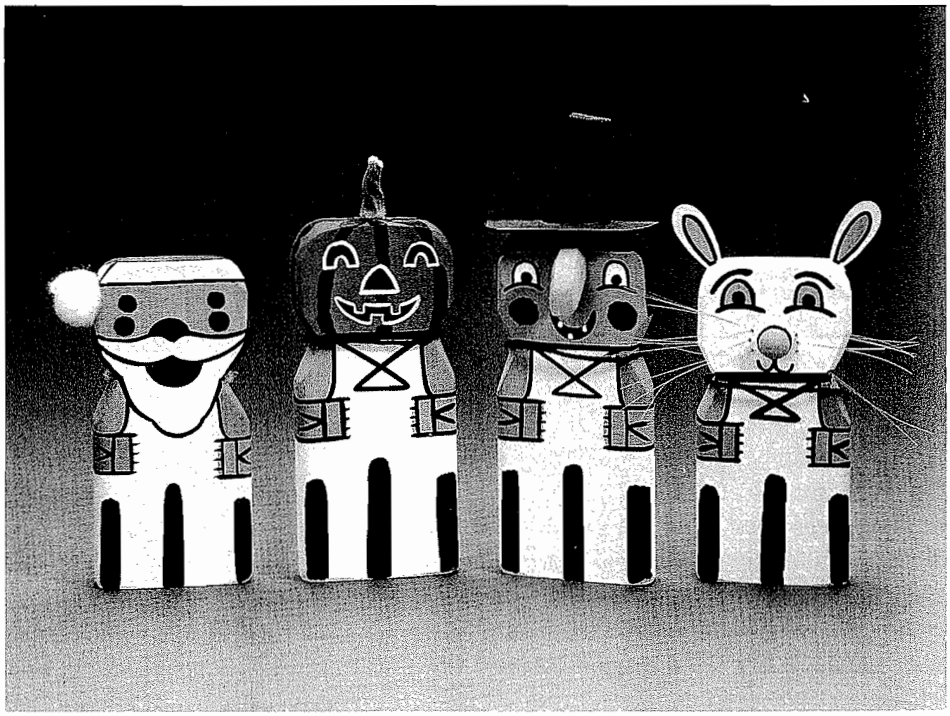
an attempt to return to a simple old-style big-headed doll decorated with native paints. Lastly there are the *puchtihu*, or flat "cradle" dolls. These are made of small, flat pieces of wood with the head painted on one end and a symbolic pattern on the body. Originally cradle dolls were intended for Hopi babies, and they continue to be given to them, but in the outside market they have been commercialized. They make an excellent collectible because the cost is low and yet they look like Katsinam and make nice presents. The result has been a wild proliferation of Katsinam adapted to this form.

While none of the elaborate art gallery dolls are given on the mesas during ceremonies, there has been so much change that the ceremonial gifts are often as good as the commercial dolls of the 1960s and 1970s, enough so that they sometimes inspire a spirit of one-upmanship among the girls receiving them. Despite this, there is a definite difference between the two types of carving.

The Hopi have always enjoyed carving and have never felt constrained to carve only the sacred (fig. 5.14). The result has been a wide variety of figures that are not Katsinam, although often believed to be such by non-Hopi. Among these are clowns, Butterfly or Buffalo Girls, Snake Dancers, mythical figures, and, of course, whatever may be sought after by the non-Hopi market. Before 1900 an unknown Hopi carved a train crew, complete with brakeman, engineer, fireman, and conductor. Another carver during that period produced the entire cortege of Snake priests and Antelope priests. Through the years this penchant for carving has produced some unusual figures: a lone farmer squatting with hoe in hand, Mickey Mouse, a "Black African" inspired by a film on Africa, a Ninja Turtle, a local auto salesman, Hopi brides, and so forth, but not one of these could be called a Katsina. There have been countless numbers of Polimana, the Butterfly Girl, and Koyaala, the Hano Clown carved—none being Katsinam although often confused with them. One of the most commonly seen figures mistaken for a Katsina is Homichi, the Warrior Mouse. This figure is derived from a story told to children by their grandparents that was given visual form by Fred Kabotie in the 1940s. In the same time period Jimmie Kewanwytewa carved two bare wood sets of a Hopi man and woman. In the 1960s Henry Shelton carved a Hopi bride in bare wood that was the inspiration for Alvin James Makya's nude *Princess*. After seeing a European jumping jack toy, Ben Seeni from First Mesa produced a Koyaala with jointed arms and legs threaded with crossed strings, which when pulled on caused the doll to perform acrobatics. This eventually led to pornographic Kookopölö (Kokopelli) jumping jacks that had their nether parts covered with feathers until they were flipped about on the strings. There are a



5.14 Theodore Puhuyesva, Set of Four Cradle Dolls, 1980s. (A): Santa Claus. Wood, pigment, and synthetic. H: 15.2 cm. (B): Pumpkin figure. Wood, pigment, yarn, and plant stem. H: 19.9 cm. (C): Witch. Wood, pigment, and yarn. H: 21.5 cm. (D): Rabbit. Wood, pigment, monofilament, and yarn. H: 18 cm. Private collection.

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number of carvers—Fletcher Healing, Marlin Pinto, and Neil David Sr. among others—who specialize in the production of clowns that are not Katsinam. Their efforts are humorous and avidly collected.

Hopi carvers will on occasion honor a request from a non-Hopi for a "Katsina" that fits some preconceived notion or purpose. From these circumstances come carvings of an astronaut, a watermelon, or a Haley's Comet "Katsina," but the Hopi themselves are also prone to producing exotic or humorous figures. Both Jim Fred and Muriel Navasie have made carvings that were political comments on conditions on the Reservation. The trial of a Navajo Tribal Chairman, the Joint Land Use dispute, and the eccentric dress of a buyer have all been rendered as carvings.

In surveying Katsina dolls over the last hundred years, it is clear that the tradition of sacred carvings has remained relatively stable, but a split slowly developed between these and the dolls made specifically for a commercial market. In addition there has been a tradition of secular carvings from the earliest known period, and these images fall into the commercial category as there is no reluctance to sell them. Sale of the sacred carvings was ineffectively resisted for over fifty years before collapsing in the face of economic gain. It can be argued that the commercial market began with the first changes that accommodated the desires of the non-Hopi. This would have occurred when the Sa'lakwmana ceased to be nude in deference to Victorian standards. Over time, powered by an increasingly strong economic prod, the demands and desires of the non-Hopi first produced a cottage industry reflecting various fads and then finally a class of artists whose works are inspired by Katsina dolls but whose efforts do not conform to the social demands that gave rise to them. The commercial Katsina dolls are not *tithu* when they depart from traditional requirements. This aspect brings about economic competition between the product of the Hopi commercial carver and the carvings produced by the Navajo who copy Hopi dolls. Often these copies are so well done that tribal identification of the maker is difficult. As a consequence most Katsina dolls made for sale are now identified by the name of the artist and the outlet where they are sold.

Traditional dolls, however, remain relatively unchanged from their age-old role. They remain an integral part of the Katsina Cult that is still being carved by male relatives and given to girls during the appropriate ceremonies, accompanied as always by a prayer that the Hopi continue to flourish through the well-being of their women.

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