

HOPI MINIATURE BASKETS

by

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and

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Limited - 500 Copies

AREQUIPA PRESS

305 West Cypress

Phoenix, Arizona 85003

INTRODUCTION

The Hopi Indians of northern Arizona have occupied their high mesa lands for close to one thousand years, and lived in the neighboring area even before that. As part of the Pueblo Indian group, they share with the Zuni Indians and the Indians of the seventeen other New Mexican pueblos a common ancestry stretching back to Basketmaker times, 100 to 500 A.D. This cultural heritage includes a number of traditional crafts, of which basket weaving is perhaps the oldest. Important among the Hopi at least a thousand years ago, basketry continues to be a significant part of Hopi life today.

In Hopi villages baskets are used in everyday life as containers for food or as wall decorations. Baskets also are important in the many religious ceremonies of the Hopi where they are used as sacred trays for ritual objects, prizes in ceremonial races, and are carried and displayed in the women's basket dance. A special women's society with an advisory men's group is concerned with the art of basket weaving and its continuance. The first basket a girl weaves is offered to spirits with the hope that she will weave many more.

Hopi baskets also function economically, serving within the village as a medium of exchange, as items for trade to other tribes, or to be sold to visitors. Hopi women living in the cities often bring their basket supplies from the Reservation and continue to weave, selling their baskets to supplement family income. While not as much a part of the total life-way in the city as it is in the villages, basketry produced in urban areas has retained most of its traditional aspects.

In 1963 Byron Hunter, trader at Polacca, Arizona, encouraged a weaver in his area to make miniature baskets. Of the approximately 100 baskets produced at that time, only about 15 survived a trading post fire in 1965 and were available for study in this monograph. Mr. Hunter has since collected additional baskets from the same weaver. Smaller, more finely woven baskets were requested by Byron Harvey in 1967, and the 100 or so resulting baskets, with the surviving Hunter miniatures, provided the material for this study. All of these baskets were woven by Hopi women from the Second Mesa village of Shongopovi, Arizona, living both in Phoenix and on the

Hopi Reservation. Originally, the production of these baskets was seen by both Hunter and Harvey as a test of weaving skill with a possible appeal to collectors as a specialty craft. Also, there was some interest in what effects, if any, miniaturization might have on Hopi traditions regarding the materials, techniques, and designs of basketry. As the experiment progressed, the most obvious aspect was the strongly traditional response of the weavers, despite miniaturization and urban influences on the weavers as they lived in or visited the city. A comparison of the baskets produced in the urban situation, where the economic function of baskets is both clearer and more immediate, with those woven on the Reservation showed a continuity of traditions which might be expected of a conservative culture. Despite the wider range of available stimulation in the city, no extreme or radical departures from tradition occurred in either the materials, techniques or designs of the baskets.

However, within the traditional boundaries of Hopi basket weaving, a wide range of designs was collected, from very common to quite rare, with some entirely new designs included. Among the Hopi all basket designs have a name and meaning, unlike tribes where basket designs are regarded merely as making a basket "look nice" without having any particular symbolism. Thus this monograph provides a good series of Hopi basket designs and their significance. In addition, it records the development of new designs as an example of innovations emerging within the context of a conservative craft, since all the new designs collected fit clearly into traditional Hopi basket design categories. In this experiment, economic motives were the strongest influence at work on the traditions of Hopi basketry, and this factor accounts for the innovation in designs. New designs were woven because the weavers believed this would guarantee continued sale of the miniatures to Mr. Harvey. In the drawings by Suzanne de Berge, an occasional weaving irregularity has been idealized to reflect obvious intent. The illustrations are actual size except where indicated in the descriptions.

HOPI BASKETS

Before looking at the miniature baskets, it is first necessary to describe Hopi baskets generally. Three separate types of baskets are produced by the women of this tribe. Rough, sturdy utility baskets of plaited yucca strips are made at all three mesas of the Reservation, but the two remaining types are only woven in certain villages and take their names from the mesas on which these villages are located. Third Mesa is noted for the production of plaques and shallow bowls, and in recent years deep bowls, all in a wide range of bright and beautiful colors. These are woven in a twilled technique of dyed rabbit brush on a foundation of wild currant twigs. Baskets from the villages of Second Mesa are completely different in color, material and technique. A bundle of wild grass is the foundation for these coiled plaques and baskets, with finely split yucca wrapped around it to form the coil. The natural yucca colors of cream-white, green and yellow are augmented only by dyed yucca in red and black. The predominant craft of women from the villages of First Mesa is pottery, although utility baskets and baskets of the Third Mesa type are produced.

The Hopi have traditionally used both large and small Second Mesa baskets as well as the standard plaque size of approximately 12 inches in diameter. It was Hopi custom in the past to weave a single large coiled wedding plaque in place of the dozen or so of the standard size which are now exchanged by the families of newlyweds. The largest of these to be recorded, a Sun God pattern in aniline dyes (Crane Foundation, Denver Art Museum), was 27 inches in diameter, but the late Helen Lomahaftewa of Shongopovi, Arizona, is said to have made one 36 inches in diameter. Small coiled plaques have also had a place in Hopi tradition. These plaques, usually about three inches across, are given by the kachinas to newborn children, and are called **tipospota** (**tipos**: baby under one month old; **pota**: coiled plaque), or **ngola** (wheel), because they are rolled like a wheel in playing. Similar plaques are woven for ceremonial eagles which are fed and cared for as children. Ceremonial corn meal is often kept on a small, usually undecorated, plaque. While all these baskets are quite small, they are not true miniatures because their coils are just as wide as those in the centers of the larger baskets. The idea of miniaturization is not foreign to Hopi crafts—tiny pottery miniatures have been made since prehistoric times. However, there is no existing evidence to indicate that miniature baskets were woven by the Hopi in the past. Another Southwestern tribe, the Pima of Arizona, weave miniature baskets both in willow, their traditional basketry material, and in horsehair. These are in the shape of plaques, shallow bowls, or deep bowls with tightly-fitting lids, and are woven only for trade.

FIGURE 1

- a. Coil weaving: Split yucca (1) is wrapped or stitched tightly around wild grass bundle (2). Each coil stitch passes through a hole made with an awl in the underlying coil (3), thus joining the two parts of the continuous coil.

Overlay stitches add design elements that cannot be made with the coil stitches. The ends of the overlay stitch (4) are tucked under the coil stitches as the weaving is in progress, or may be added by means of an awl when the weaving is finished.

- b. A tiny twist of dyed yucca is wrapped with yucca of the desired color and the ends of the "wrapping" are inserted through the basket with an awl. This forms the mouth and sometimes eyes of many kachina faces. Gertina Lomakema
- c. **Tangakovotasiwi:** "rainbow basket bowl." Made by Zola Lomakema, aged 9, learning to weave from her mother and grandmother. Black, red and green bands.

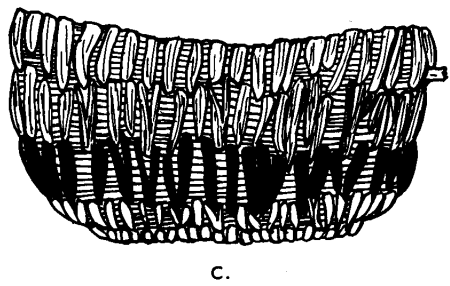
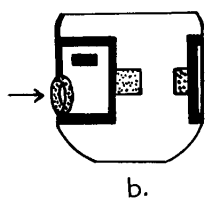
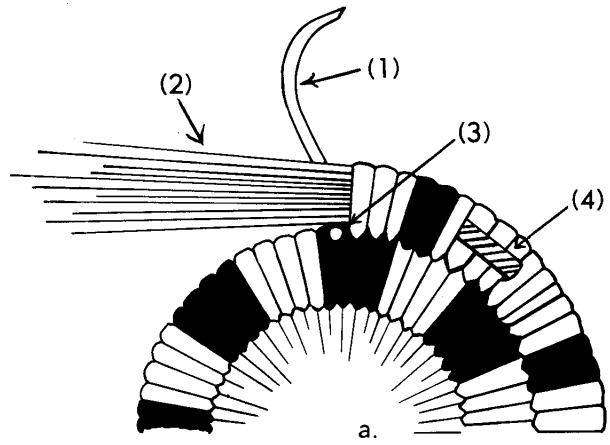
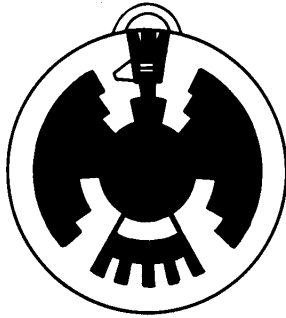
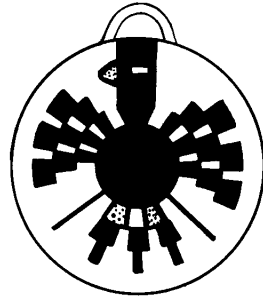


FIGURE 2

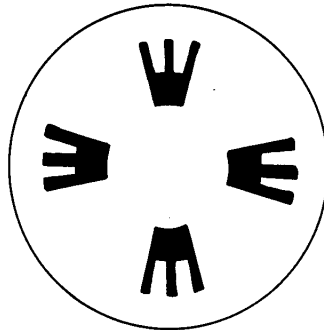
- a. **Kwavota:** "eagle basket." Black as shown; yellow beak and black and white eyes in overlay stitch. (Variations showing yellow feet also offered.) Gertina Lomakema
- b. **Palakwavota:** "red hawk basket." Red hawk; yellow beak, feet (shaded areas); black eye and beak outline in overlay stitch. Gertina Lomakema
- c. **Chirokukuvota:** "bird track basket." Black as shown on green background. Gertina Lomakema
- d. **Chuvota:** "snake basket," variation showing head rising from center. Yellow body; black indicating rattles on tail; black eye and body markings in overlay stitch. Gertina Lomakema
- e. **Kokangvota:** "spider basket." Black as shown; white eyes in overlay stitch. Jane Lomakema
- f. **Machafkwavota:** "toad basket." Green horned toad; black body markings and red eyes in overlay stitch. Jane Lomakema



a.



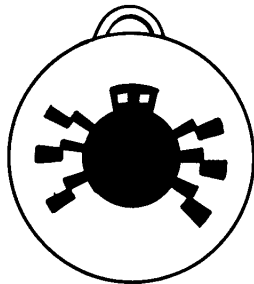
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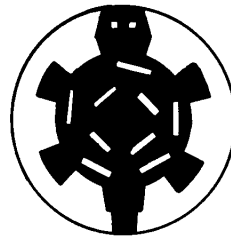
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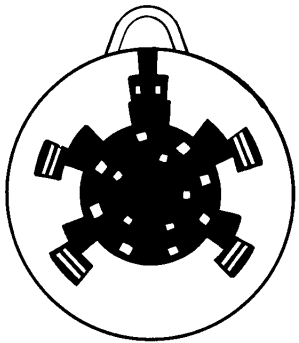
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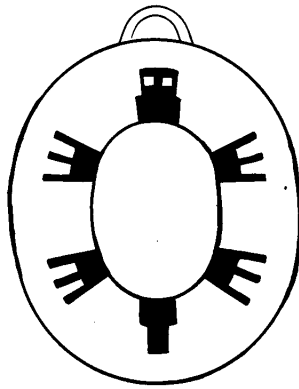
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FIGURE 3

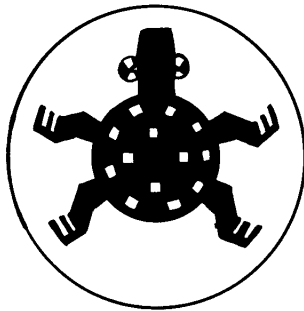
- a. **Yungosovota:** "turtle basket." Green turtle; black eyes, shell design and feet in overlay stitch. Jane Lomakema
- b. **Yungosovota:** "turtle basket." Black head, tail, feet; yellow shell; white eyes in overlay stitch. Gertina Lomakema
- c. **Pakwavota:** "frog basket." Black as shown; white eyes, feet and body design in overlay stitch. Gertina Lomakema
- d. **Pavatyavota:** "tadpole basket." Green "puddle" background; black rim and "tadpoles;" white rim marks in overlay stitch. Ruth McLean



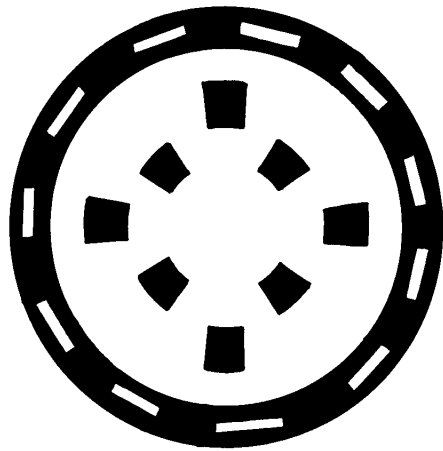
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HOPI SECOND MESA MINIATURE BASKETS

Innovations in Indian basketry designs and techniques provide much pleasure for collectors and are often initiated or revived by their suggestion. Both miniaturization and the production of extra-large show pieces have been encouraged in various Indian crafts by traders. The renewed interest in Pima horsehair miniatures after 1962 provided the impetus for an experiment in miniaturization of Second Mesa Hopi basketry. The baskets discussed in the following pages are the result of this experiment.

At the suggestion of Byron Hunter, of Polacca, Arizona, a number of miniature coiled plaques were woven during 1963-1965 by Edith Addington, a Hopi woman now living in Winslow, Arizona. The smallest of these was about 2-½ inches across. In 1967 Byron Harvey requested smaller baskets with finer coils and offered a higher price. All but one of the baskets which followed this request were under two inches in diameter. These tiny baskets were woven by Gertina Lomakema, Ramona (Saufkie) Lomakema, Jane Lomakema, Elvira Kewanyama, and Ruth McLean. All of these women have lived and made baskets both in Phoenix, and at their home village of Shongopovi, Arizona. Some miniature baskets were offered to traders and to the Hopi Arts and Crafts Guild, but only a few were accepted for re-sale because the premium paid was to some degree artificial and the use of miniatures is limited to collection pieces. The miniatures Hunter collected that escaped the fire at the trading post were sent to Mr. Harvey. With the exception of the miniatures lost in the fire and those Hunter may have collected since that time, nearly all Second Mesa miniature baskets were available for this study.

In addition to plaques, deep bowls were produced in miniature. These often have a basketry handle and are called "swinging basket" or "corn planting basket" in Hopi. Several bowl-shaped baskets were made in 1968 and 1969, but none were included in Hunter's baskets. The smallest of these bowls was about one-half inch tall and one-half inch in diameter. Extremely shallow bowls were regarded as slightly dished plaques, as the most carefully finished surface was the inside. In the bowls, the finished surface was the outside.

A variation in construction which Robinson (1954:49) describes as "openwork" was also produced in miniature. Openwork is a sort of scroll effect made by a curving coil bound alternately to either side of an open space. This style had been seen in a large Hopi basket of the 1930s or '40s, and in 1963 in a deep bowl which was said to be used by the kachinas to carry Easter eggs. Openwork also occurs in Pima and Apache baskets, although rarely. Gertina Lomakema, who termed this openwork **porokiwta** (perforated), offered a miniature bowl with War Gods on the sides and this scroll effect as a border decoration (Fig. 12-g). She had previously made a regular-sized bowl with an openwork band.

Second Mesa baskets are typically about 12 inches in diameter and have coils that average one-half to three-quarters of an inch in width. The average number of stitches per inch is 15. The Hunter miniatures averaged six coils and 19 stitches per inch, with the finest showing 24 stitches. The second group of miniature baskets, woven in 1967, 1968, and early 1969, were almost all under two inches in diameter and averaged eight coils to the inch, with 23-1/2 stitches. The finest of these later baskets had 27 stitches per inch. By comparison, Pima willow miniatures are quite a bit finer in coiling and have somewhat finer stitches, a typical one of these having 12 coils per inch with the number of stitches varying from 18 to 28.

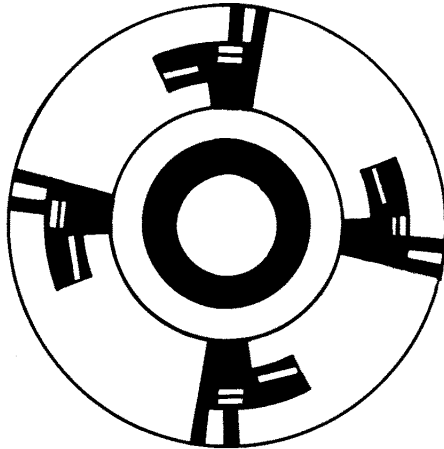
In the miniatures as well as the ordinary size Second Mesa baskets, the coil stitches are the natural green, yellow and white of the yucca and yucca dyed red and black. The black dye is basically sunflower seeds and the red is from Navajo tea. The main or background color usually is white. The bundle which forms the coil foundation is wild grass, and as the grass bundle is wrapped, each coil stitch passes through the edge of the underlying coil, joining the two parts of the continuous spiralling coil firmly together (Fig. 1-a). As the desired size is reached, the bundle is trimmed down so that the end of the coil diminishes and the outer edge of the basket is finished smoothly. A hanging loop may be added of yucca strands, wrapped for strength. The ends of the strands are tucked under the coil stitches while the weaving is in progress.

Coiling places a certain amount of limitation on the shape and structure of designs, as do most weaving techniques. To provide design details which cannot be achieved in coil weaving, an overlay stitch is used. This stitch lies across several coil stitches, its ends tucked under the coil stitches as the weaving progresses or inserted with an awl when the basket is finished (Fig. 1-a). Round, protruding eyes and mouth, used for some kachina faces, are also added after the weaving is complete (Fig. 1-b). A small piece of yucca is twisted into a tiny doughnut shape and wrapped with yucca of the desired color. The ends of the wrapping are forced through the basket with an awl.

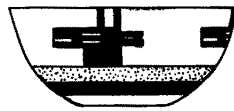
Although the materials and basic technique used are the same for both large and miniature baskets, miniaturization of these baskets is difficult and requires considerable time and skill. Initially the weavers found it quite a problem to make both sides of the plaques smooth and they complained of sore fingers. As they became more accustomed to the method they seemed to enjoy the demonstration of their weaving skill that the miniatures made possible. It was reported by one weaver that eight to ten hours or more were required for weaving either a plaque or bowl in miniature, proportionally much longer than for a larger basket. The miniature bowls were a good deal of trouble for the women, but were much appreciated by other weavers. Of the five or six women now producing miniature Second Mesa baskets, two or three of them were not among those originally

FIGURE 4

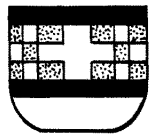
- a. **Chufvota:** "antelope basket." Red and black antelope heads alternate; green band; black band; white mouth, black and white eyes in overlay stitch. Ruth McLean
- b. **Chufvotasiwi:** "antelope basket bowl." Same design as (a) above on shallow bowl. Gertina Lomakema
- c. **Chufkukuvotasiwi:** "antelope tracks basket bowl." Black as shown; red "tracks" (dotted area). Gertina Lomakema
- d. **Chuchuf po'oyungwavotasiwi:** "antelope sitting down basket bowl." Red and black antelope alternate (legs omitted); white mouth, black and white eyes in overlay stitch. Ramona Lomakema



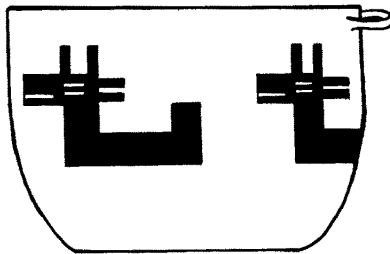
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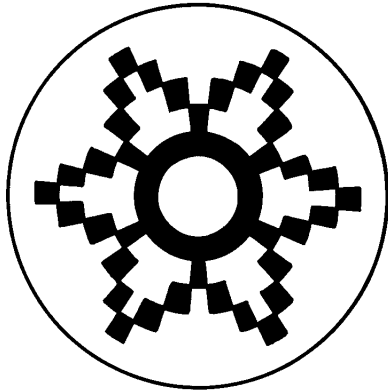
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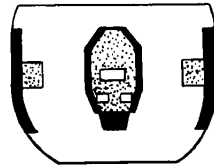
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FIGURE 5

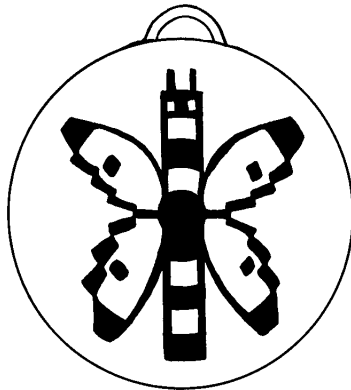
- a. **Akaosivota:** "sunflower basket," basic sunflower design. Black as shown, petals alternating red and yellow. Ruth McLean
- b. **Povolvota:** "butterfly basket." Black as shown; yellow wings; white eyes, black wing spots in overlay stitch. Gertina Lomakema
- c. **Qaovotasiwi:** "corn basket bowl." Black as shown; red corn ear; white "kernels" in overlay stitch. **Heheya Kachinas** alternate with corn.) Gertina Lomakema
- d. **Akaosivota:** "sunflower basket," variation showing 14 petals. Black as shown. Approx. diameter 4". Edith Addington



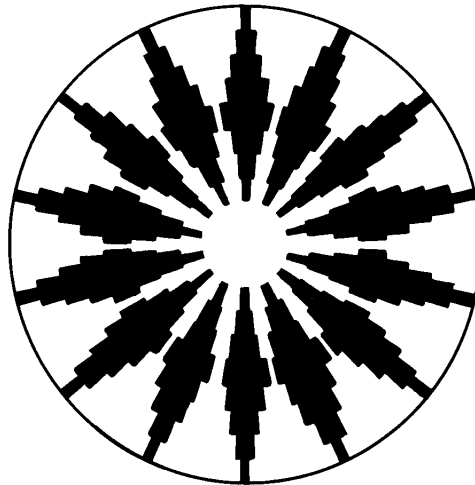
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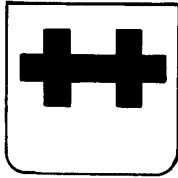
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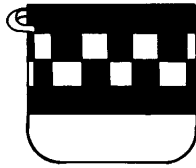
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FIGURE 6

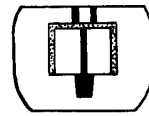
- a. **Kochafpotasiwi:** "Ashes basket bowl," face marking of **Kochaf** (Ashes) **Kachina**. Black as shown. Gertina Lomakema
- b. **Kachiluavotasiwi:** "anklet basket bowl," design of checkered anklets worn by kachina dancers. Black as shown. Gertina Lomakema
- c. **Masanpivotasiwi:** "dance wand basket bowl." Black as shown; green wand; red outline. Gertina Lomakema
- d. Design from basketry dance rattle (top view) showing conventional rattle design. Black as shown; white marks at spoke ends; yellow background. Approx. diameter 3".
- e. **Aivota:** "rattle basket," conventional dance rattle design. Black as shown; white marks at spoke ends in overlay stitch. Gertina Lomakema



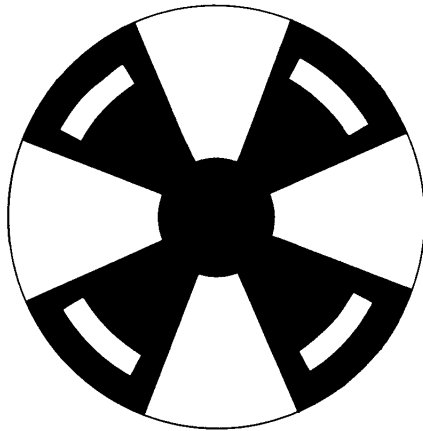
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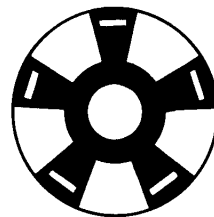
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d.



e.

asked to weave them. After seeing the baskets of the first weavers, these women learned the necessary skills themselves. The young daughters of one of the weavers also are learning to weave miniature baskets (Fig. 1-c).

DESIGNS

Many Second Mesa baskets made today have designs which were popular fifty years ago, but new designs are appearing. Plaques exchanged as wedding gifts still quite often show the Crow Mother Kachina (Fig. 13-f), and among 15 other frequently seen kachina designs are **Hahai** (Fig. 13-a), **Hilili** (Fig. 12-a), the War God (Fig. 12-g), Mudhead (Fig. 11-c) and **Heheya** (Fig. 11-f). The face of the Sun God has long been popular, as are deer or antelope and various forms of cloud designs and sunflowers. The design of the Navajo wedding basket, woven by the Navajo and Paiute, also appears as a Hopi plaque, but is attributed by the Hopi to the Supai Indians (Fig. 7-a). There are a number of less commonly seen designs, including the Sky God, the conventional design for dance rattles (Fig. 6-e), corn ears (Fig. 5-c), and a pattern of weaving combs (Fig. 7-b). The basketry designs may be grouped into four categories: 1. Life form designs, 2. General geometric designs, 3. Cloud designs, and 4. Kachina designs (usually kachina faces).

Although most of Hunter's earlier baskets displayed the familiar sunflowers and clouds, one showed a **Shalako Kachina** (Fig. 13-g), and others combined clouds with the rattle design (Fig. 10-b). The 100 or so miniature baskets of the second group showed a variety of unusual designs. These were obtained more readily than design variations on the standard size plaques previously received from the same weavers. Basically, however, the designs on the miniature baskets conformed to the usual design categories. The Hopi names for the designs are listed in the Glossary.

Life Form Designs

The first miniature plaque in the second group depicted a turtle (Fig. 3-b), requested as an adjunct to a Pueblo turtle design used by Mr. Harvey on stationery. Soon afterwards, a miniature eagle plaque (Fig. 2-a), one of **Kokopel Mana** (Fig. 12-d), and Navajo wedding patterns (Fig. 7-a), were offered, becoming smaller and smaller as the technique became more familiar. A comment by Mr. Harvey that with minor changes the turtle basket could become a snake resulted in a snake basket a short time later (Fig. 2-d). Deer or antelope appear on many Hopi baskets and on a few of the miniatures. Sometimes only the heads of the antelope are shown, and often they are above a green area which represents grass (Fig. 4-a, b). When the head and body are shown, omission of the legs indicates

chuchuf po'oyungwa, or "antelope sitting down (Fig. 4-d)." A particular checkered design is **chufkuku**, "antelope tracks (Fig. 4-c)."

In addition to the turtles, eagles, snakes and antelope, a number of other designs based on life forms decorated the miniature baskets. These included a horned toad (Fig. 2-f), butterfly (Fig. 5-b), frog (Fig. 3-c), red hawk (Fig. 2-b), and a pattern of bird tracks (Fig. 2-c). A spider basket (Fig. 2-e) was offered by a weaver who had possibly been influenced by a Chemehuevi basket showing a number of insects. Also offered was a green plaque with small black elements, said to be "a puddle with tadpoles (Fig. 3-d)." Although the eagle and antelope are commonly seen in basketry designs, the other animal designs are unusual.

Among the life form designs are two based on plants. Corn ears are woven, particularly on baskets of the type used in corn planting (Fig. 5-c). The sunflower pattern is very frequently seen in Hopi basketry. Outlined in black, the sunflower usually has five or six petals in a single color or a variety of color combinations (Fig. 5-a). The number of petals may be 14 or more, however, and the design may become quite complicated with further decorative additions. A simple and attractive sunburst effect is shown in one of the 1964 miniatures using a 14-petal sunflower all in black (see cover and Fig. 5-d).

General Geometric Designs

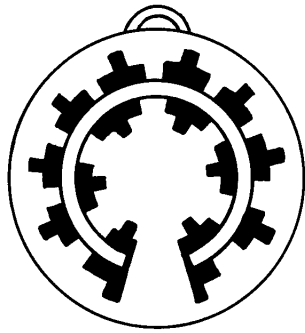
Geometric designs are quite common in Hopi weaving and appear frequently on the miniature baskets. Two volunteered patterns of this category are directly based on kachina design and costuming. One of the first of the small deep bowls showed a design not previously seen, which took its inspiration from the sometimes checkered anklets worn by kachinas (Fig. 6-b). A design of two joined maltese crosses (Fig. 6-a), is named for the **Kochaf Kachina** (Ashes Kachina) which has the same design on its face. A basket with plain maltese crosses is called a **sovota**, or "star basket (Fig. 7-e)." Other designs of this type include the **nangwivota** or "following basket (Fig. 9-d, f)," rainbow (Fig. 1-c), and lightning (Fig. 7-c) designs, and the previously mentioned weaving comb (Fig. 7-b), rattle (Fig. 6-e), and Navajo wedding (Fig. 7-a) designs. Also, one weaver offered bowls with the design of a woven belt (Fig. 7-d) and with a dance wand (Fig. 6-c), both said to be "new designs" for baskets.

Cloud Designs

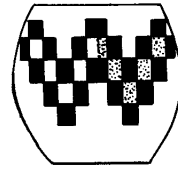
Cloud patterns, although they are abstract geometric representations, are frequently seen and numerous enough to be grouped separately. Minor variations in a cloud design may indicate a season or cloud formation. "Clouds hanging down," "clouds following each other," or "clouds in a circle" are all distinct designs which appear

FIGURE 7

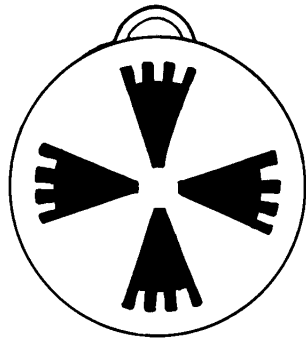
- a. **Koninvota:** "Supai basket," Navajo wedding basket design. Black as shown; red band. Ramona Lomakema
- b. **Tamanchivota:** "weaving comb basket." Alternating red and black weaving combs. Gertina Lomakema
- c. **Talwipikivotasiwi:** "lightning basket bowl." Black outline as shown; yellow and red (dotted area) "lightning." Gertina Lomakema
- d. **Kwewevotasiwi:** "belt basket bowl," traditional woven belt design. Black as shown; red center band; green bands flanking center; black center pattern in overlay stitch. Gertina Lomakema
- e. **Sovotasiwi:** "star basket bowl." Black as shown. Ramona Lomakema



a.



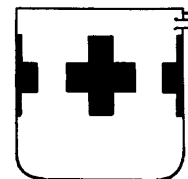
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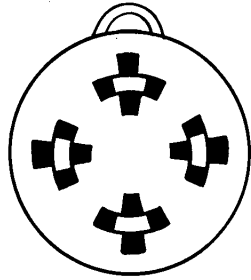
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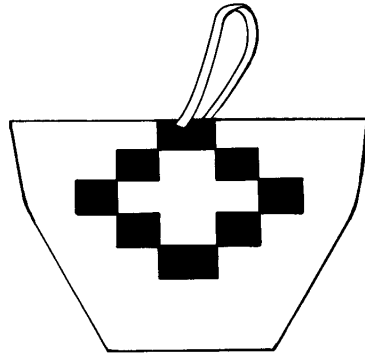
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FIGURE 8

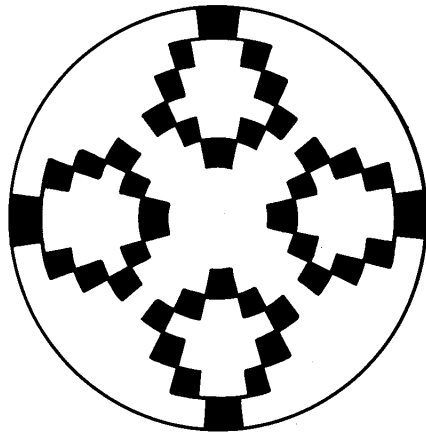
- a. **Omauvongongwota:** "cloud circle basket." Black as shown; red cloud centers. Gertina Lomakema
- b. **Tala'o'omautvotasiwi:** "summer cloud basket bowl." Black as shown; yellow cloud centers. (Mudhead Kachinas alternate with clouds.) Ramona Lomakema
- c. **Tala'o'omautvota:** "summer cloud basket." Black as shown; red and yellow clouds alternate. (Could also be called "cloud circle basket.") Ramona Lomakema
- d. **'lyivotasiwi:** "planting basket bowl," deep bowl with basketry handle, also called hanging or swinging basket. Black as shown; red and yellow cloud centers alternate. Ramona Lomakema
- e. **'lyivotasiwi:** "planting basket bowl." Black as shown (clouds); yellow band. Ramona Lomakema



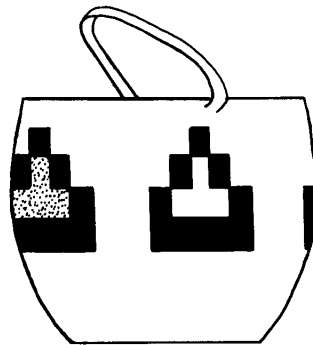
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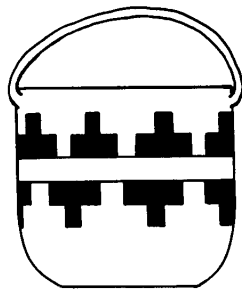
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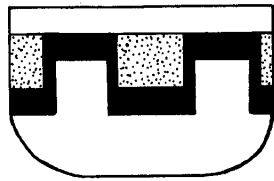
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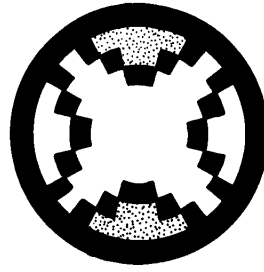
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FIGURE 9

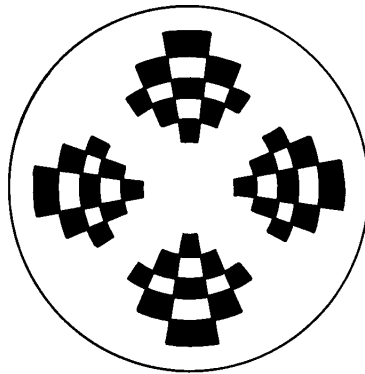
- a. **Heyapauvotasiwi:** "hanging cloud basket bowl." Black as shown; red "clouds" (dotted area). Note dissimilarity to Fig. 9-b, identified as the "same design." Ramona Lomakema
- b. **Heyapauvota:** "hanging cloud basket." Black as shown; red and green clouds alternate. Gertina Lomakema
- c. **Omauvongongwota:** "cloud circle basket" (summer thunder clouds). Black as shown, black center indicates thunder clouds (Cf. Fig. 8-c); red clouds. Ramona Lomakema
- d. **Nangwivotasiwi:** "following basket bowl." Black as shown; red and green (dotted) areas. Gertina Lomakema
- e. **Nangwi'o'omautvotasiwi:** "following clouds basket bowl." Black as shown; red and green clouds alternate. Gertina Lomakema
- f. **Nangwivota:** "following basket." Black as shown; red and yellow (dotted) areas. Gertina Lomakema
- g. **Nangwi'o'omautvota:** "following cloud basket." Black as shown; red and green (dotted) clouds. Gertina Lomakema



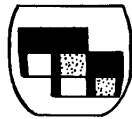
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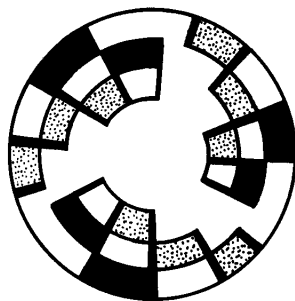
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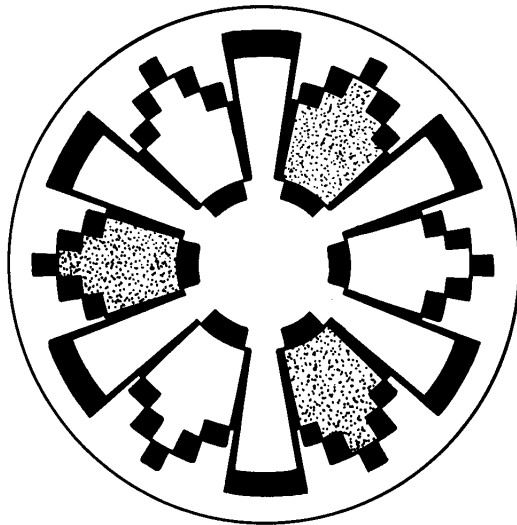
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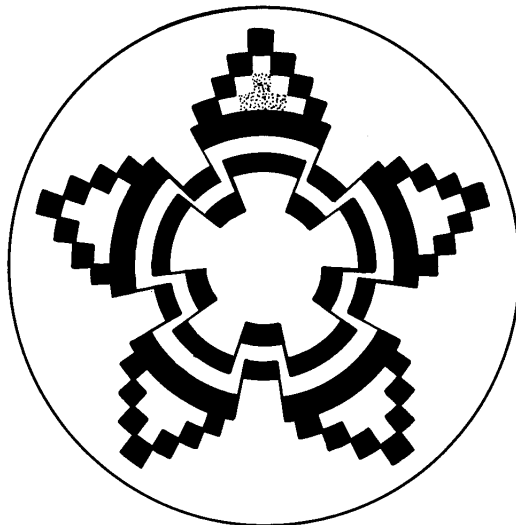
g.

FIGURE 10

- a. **Omaukivota:** "cloud house basket." Black as shown (outlines of cloud and "house"); red and green clouds alternate; red "house" (center and spokes). Approx. diameter 6".
- b. Cloud and rattle design. Black as shown; red inner cloud area (dotted); yellow middle cloud area. Approx. diameter 4". Edith Addington



a.



b.

on these baskets. The design showing "clouds in a circle (**omau-vongong**, Fig. 8-a; 9-c)," is interpreted as meaning "clear, scattered clouds, no possibility of rain." Clouds may be further identified by their shape as summer clouds (**tala'o'omaut**)—more elaborately stepped than other clouds—and shown with or without a black center (Fig. 8-b, c; 9-c). The black center square indicates thunder clouds. In all cloud designs, the directional colors may be used so that red clouds, for example, are from the south. **Heyapau**, or "clouds hanging down, just ready to rain," inspire two rather dissimilar geometric designs (Fig. 9-a, b). The spiral effect formed on a basket by "clouds following each other (**nangwio'omaut**)," is quite similar to the spiral design of a **nangwivota**, "following basket," whose simple geometric design does not necessarily depict clouds (Fig. 9-d, e, f, g). The Hopi regard clouds as having a home or place of origin which may be indicated by a line or a design element like the spokes of a wheel enclosing the clouds. An example of this may be seen in the **omaukivota**, "cloud house basket (Fig. 10-a)." A few of the miniature plaques show clouds combined with other geometric designs, such as the conventional rattle design (Fig. 10-b).

Kachina Designs

In the complex Hopi religion, the kachina cult plays an important part. Kachinas are spirit beings believed to have supernatural abilities, among which rain-bringing powers are especially important. This control over rain is employed on behalf of the Hopi and their crops. More than 400 kachina types are believed to have existed over the history of kachina beliefs, and a few of these appear on Hopi baskets. Although the full figure may be shown, a kachina face is the more usual design, and is generally somewhat simplified because of the limitations imposed on design by the coil weaving technique. This is especially true of the miniature baskets. In addition to a few of the more common kachina designs mentioned earlier, **Qoqolo** (Fig. 11-b), Longhair (Fig. 11-d), Snow Maid (Fig. 11-g), **Hahai** (Fig. 13-a), **Konin** (Fig. 13-c), and **Shalako** (Fig. 13-g) Kachinas were among the less rare designs obtained. Several quite unusual kachina designs were offered, some woven perhaps for the first time. These included: Shirt Ripper (Fig. 11-a), **Kwita** (Fig. 11-e), Black Barber (Fig. 12-b), White Barber (Fig. 12-c), Hunter (Fig. 12-e), Dragonfly (Fig. 12-f), Singer or Blue Boy (Fig. 13-b), Mudball (Fig. 13-d), and Yellow Eyes (Fig. 13-e) Kachinas. Generally speaking, kachinas which are frequently woven in baskets are regarded as less powerful, but the appearance of kachinas on baskets does not seem to have serious religious significance.

Unlike basketry designs of other tribes, particularly the Apache and Yavapai, human figures do not appear in Hopi designs. Hopi religion does not permit basket weavers to depict humans and any who attempted this would be stopped. The place of the human figure when considered purely as a shape in a design is filled by the kachina figure.

The Hopi perhaps assign names to basketry designs more readily than do some tribes, but these named designs fit Hopi cultural categories closely. The numerous cloud designs and frequent appearance of kachinas on baskets reflect the emphasis of Hopi religion on the bringing of rain and the role of the kachinas as those who bring it. During the basket ceremony, the large cloud-design baskets the women carry as they dance become symbols of the wish for rain. Other basket designs discussed above also appear on ceremonial and religious objects and decorate the products of other crafts.

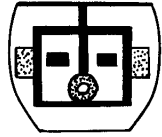
CONCLUSION

Hopi culture as a whole is conservative and resistive to rapid change, and the numerous Hopi crafts are characterized by tradition and convention. This conservatism in craft does not exclude development and change in style, technique or design. During work with different individuals or groups within a single tribe, anthropologists and ethnologists have found that divergencies in established crafts may actually arise quite rapidly. A new development in style or technique may be sparked among the craftsmen or introduced through contact with some outside influence—trade with another tribe, a request or suggestion from a trader or collector. If this development can be incorporated within the traditional boundaries of the craft and becomes popular with the craftsmen, its acceptance by the larger cultural group, or by the outside market, encourages its continuation. In time, the “new development” merges into the traditional craft production. This process of assimilation explains in part both the differences and the striking similarities in the craft production of the widespread Pueblo Indian groups. Having developed from the same cultural ancestors, various external and internal influences have altered their common background, giving each pueblo a distinctive craft production.

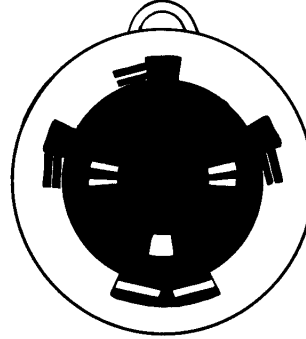
The details of change and development in Indian craft have always been of interest to collectors and ethnologists. This experiment in Second Mesa Hopi basketry illustrates the first stages of such a craft development. The idea of miniaturization was introduced to the weavers from an outside source, and as the tiny baskets appeared, other weavers accepted the idea and also began to make them. However, the baskets strictly followed the old rules regarding materials, colors and technique, and generally speaking, design. The basic design categories of life form, geometric, cloud and kachina designs remained the same. There were no unusual changes in the arrangement of designs or the placement of a design in relation to the shape of the basket. The most numerous designs collected were clouds of all forms, just as cloud designs are the most commonly seen on traditional size baskets.

FIGURE 11

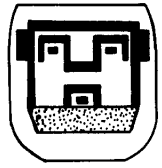
- a. **Nayanchi Chiklaoka:** "Shirt Ripper Kachina." Black as shown; red ears and mouth; green left side of face; yellow right side. Gertina Lomakema
- b. **Qoqolo:** (Gift bringer). Black as shown; yellow face; green ruff. Gertina Lomakema.
- c. **Koyemsi:** "Mudhead Kachina." Red face; black mouth and feathers (hanging from knobs on head); black and white eyes; green collar marks. Jane Lomakema
- d. **Angakchina:** "Longhair Kachina." Black as shown; green face; white, yellow (dotted) and red teeth. Gertina Lomakema
- e. **Kwita:** "Excrement Kachina." Black face; red eyes, mouth, ears. Gertina Lomakema
- f. **Heheya:** (line dance kachina, benefits crops). Black as shown; red ears, forehead mark, mouth; green face. **Heheya** face may be other colors, indicating direction.) Gertina Lomakema
- g. **Kocha Mana:** "Snow Maid." Black as shown. Gertina Lomakema



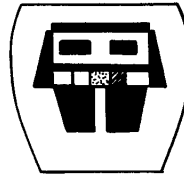
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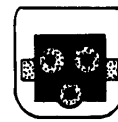
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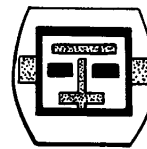
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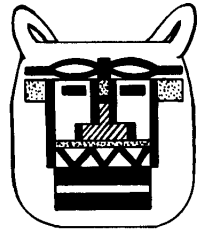
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FIGURE 12

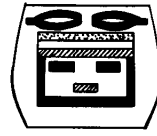
- a. **Hilili:** (guard, protector kachina). Black as shown, red (dotted) ears, mouth, face mark; yellow nose. (Black elements above mask are feathers.) Gertina Lomakema
- b. **Qoymaf Homsona:** "Black Barber Kachina." Black as shown; white eyes; green mouth; red, yellow and green bands on forehead. Gertina Lomakema
- c. **Kocha Homsona:** "White Barber Kachina." Black as shown; red mouth; red, yellow and green forehead bands. Gertina Lomakema
- d. **Kokopel Mana:** (female spirit associated with fertility kachina). Black as shown; white eyes and face stripe. Gertina Lomakema
- e. **Mak:** "Hunter Kachina." Black as shown; green face; red mouth. Gertina Lomakema
- f. **Sivutotovi:** "Dragonfly Kachina." Black as shown; red eyes, ears, mouth. Gertina Lomakema
- g. **Po-okang:** "War God." Black as shown; yellow cap (dotted); red ears; white eyes, mouth, warrior's marks. Openwork border decoration. Gertina Lomakema



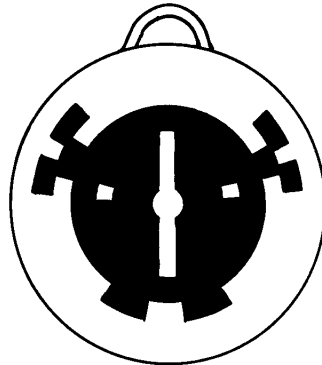
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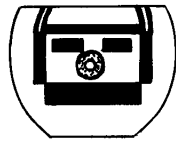
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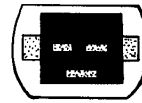
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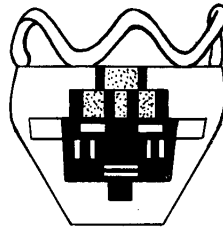
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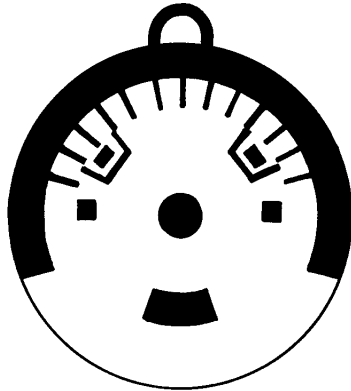
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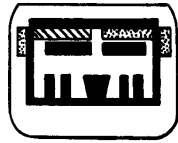
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FIGURE 13

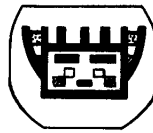
- a. **Hahai:** (ceremonial hostess, kachina mother). Black hair, eyes, nose, mouth; red cheek spots and horsehair fringe on forehead. Ruth McLean
- b. **Sakwatiyo:** "Tao Kachina," also Singer or Blue Boy. Black as shown; red ears and left forehead mark; green face; yellow right forehead mark. Gertina Lomakema
- c. **Konin:** "Supai Kachina." Black as shown; red and yellow stepped face marks; red, yellow and green bands on horns. Gertina Lomakema
- d. **Choqapolo:** "Mudball Kachina." Black as shown; yellow face. Gertina Lomakema
- e. **Sikyavo:** "Yellow Eyes Kachina." Black as shown; red ears, yellow eyes, mouth and forehead marks. Gertina Lomakema
- f. **Angwushnasomtaka:** "Crow Mother Kachina." Black as shown; green face; white "mouth and nose." Gertina Lomakema
- g. **Shalako:** (appears at ceremony now held in connection with Home Dance). Black as shown; red areas dotted; green areas lined; Yellow and red alternate clouds in headdress and alternate colors on chin. Approx. diameter 3-1/2". Edith Addington



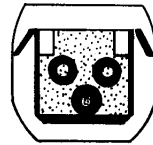
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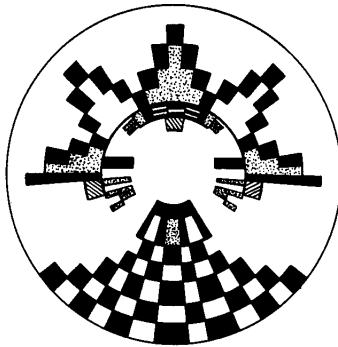
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However, a number of new or unusual designs appeared. Listed in the Glossary (p. 40) are those designs regarded as "new" by Marshall Lomakema, husband of the primary weaver, with whom most of the discussion and design identification was conducted. Of these, only the rattle, weaving comb, turtle and **Qoqolo Kachina** designs had previously been seen by Mr. Harvey. The snake, frog, weaving comb, and turtle designs were specifically requested or directly stimulated, and the spider basket possibly resulted from an indirect influence.

The most unusual departure from typical Second Mesa basketry designs is seen in the tadpole basket (Fig. 3-d). Although the toad, frog, spider and snake also are completely new to Hopi basketry, they show the same degree of stylization as the more common animal designs. The "tadpoles" are entirely abstract, with no attempt to show them naturalistically, however stylized. Nevertheless, all these new animals, with the butterfly and bird tracks, fit into the life form category and typically were undomesticated animals native to the Reservation area. In addition, these animals figure in Hopi religion, generally in connection with rain or fertility, and many of them appear in other craft forms or in religious symbolism.

New designs in the geometric category include: the woven belt, dance wand and lightning. Although unique, these are comparable in subject and style with the ordinary designs of this category. This is also true of the new kachina designs: although some have never been woven before, there was no extreme or unusual departure from the style of representing this subject, and of course, no kachinas were "made up." No new cloud designs were collected, possibly because the number of cloud designs available to a weaver is already so large.

It was thought during the experiment that the design innovation was perhaps due to the unique size and rapid completion of the miniatures. Previous requests for design variation on larger baskets made by the same weavers had not resulted in any new or especially unusual designs. All miniature baskets were purchased, regardless of design or any other consideration, and price was determined by size and shape alone, with no special reward made for new designs. Almost all transactions were carried out with Marshall Lomakema, related by blood or marriage to all the weavers, thus any influence on the weavers' designs by Mr. Harvey was necessarily indirect. It was later discovered, however, that this intermediary was almost solely responsible for the variation in design. Unintentional reactions of Mr. Harvey to early baskets in the experiment led Lomakema to believe that new designs were more desirable. After the first period of repetition of the "old stand-by" designs, he advised the women to make different designs and eventually encouraged them to weave entirely new designs. Lomakema believed that new designs would ensure the continued sale of miniature baskets. In addition to demonstrating how economic factors influence a craft production, this information shows that the man's role in a women's activity may

be quite strong. Such an influence may possibly result from the existence of the men's group which is advisory to the women's basket society. Further participation of men in basket weaving occurs at the beginning of a basket, when the man's help may be needed to coil the stiff materials at the center properly and tightly. Similar involvement of men in women's activities occurs in New Mexican pueblos where men may suggest basket designs or even paint designs on pottery for the women, although they would never make pottery themselves.

The flourishing of these miniatures was basically due to their place in the economy of the weavers' families, whether living in Phoenix, or Shongopovi, Arizona. That is, although difficult to make, the miniatures could be quite rapidly completed and brought a good price. Those women not originally asked to make miniature baskets learned to do so in order to supplement their families' incomes. It has been seen that the strong economic motive behind the production of these baskets was primarily responsible for the variety and innovation in design. However, all designs obtained were clearly within the normal design ranges. No currently popular designs woven by other tribes were copied; no Guernsey cows, kittens, or "Welcome to Hopiland" baskets appeared. None of the miniature variations made by other tribes and now in demand, such as basketry animals, Apache burden baskets, or lidded baskets were produced. No baskets were woven in plastic or other "modern" materials. As strong as the economic motive may have been, there was no attempt to break down the traditional Hopi rules of basketry to "cash in" on other popular styles or to increase sales because of novelty.

The miniature plaques and bowls have been admired by many Hopi and accepted among the craftsmen, and obviously are within the boundaries of the traditional craft production. Although produced to fill economic needs, there appears to be little market acceptance for them beyond this experiment. Their cost dissuades a collector from purchasing more than a few, so the traders will not buy many. Thus, since their economic use outside the culture is limited, the miniatures must become viable within the culture if they are to continue. As yet, they have not found their way into either the social or ceremonial lives of the Hopi. Therefore, without a firm place in the economic system, and until there is strong cultural reinforcement of their production, it seems likely that these Second Mesa Hopi miniature baskets may remain a novelty, never being fully absorbed into the traditional basket production.

GLOSSARY

Basket Types and Technical Terms

'Iyivotasiwi:	"Planting basket bowl," hanging basket, or basket bowl with handle.
Ngola:	"Wheel," baby's basket, rolled like a wheel in playing.
Porokiwta:	"Perforated," a scroll-like construction of a curving coil bound alternately to either side of an open space, or attached to basket rim.
Pota:	"Coiled basket plaque," appears also as vota , occasionally wota (see descriptions of illustrations).
Potasiwi:	"Coiled basket bowl," a basket shaped like a pot or deep bowl.
Tipospota:	"Baby's basket," (tipos: baby under one month old).

All following design names are understood to have the ending **pota** or variant **vota** or **wota**, "coiled basket plaque." In the case of those designs appearing on deep bowls, the ending would, of course, be **potasiwi**. Descriptions facing the illustrations use the complete name of the particular basket shown. Those baskets which have kachina face designs are referred to only by the kachina name.

Life Form Designs

Akaosi:	"Sunflower"
Chirokuku:	"Bird tracks"
Chu:	"Snake"
Chuchuf po'oyungwa:	"Antelope sitting down"
Chuf:	"Antelope"
Chufkuku:	"Antelope tracks"
Kokang:	"Spider"
Kwa:	"Eagle"
Machafkwa:	"Toad," horned toad
Pakwa:	"Frog"
Palakwa:	"Red Hawk"
Pavatya:	"Tadpole"

Povol:	"Butterfly"
Qao:	"Corn"
Yungoson:	"Turtle"

General Geometric Designs

Ai:	"Rattle," the conventional design for dance rattles.
Kachilua:	"Anklet," checkered pattern of some dance anklets worn by kachina dancers.
Konin:	"Supai," the Navajo wedding pattern woven as a Hopi plaque.
Kwewe:	"Belt," design from traditional woven belt.
Masanpi:	"Dance Wand," carried by kachina dancers.
Nangwi:	"Following," stepped spiral elements.
So:	"Star," maltese cross.
Talwipiki:	"Lightning," zig-zag elements.
Tamanchi:	"Weaving Comb"
Tangako:	"Rainbow," horizontal parallel lines.

Cloud Designs

Heyapau:	"Clouds hanging down, just ready to rain," two different geometric designs have this name.
Nangwi'o'omaut:	"Following Clouds," stepped on one side only, giving impression of direction, "following."
Omauki:	"Cloud House," cloud symbols contained or bordered by lines.
Omauvongong:	"Clouds in a circle," often four clouds, interpreted as clear, scattered clouds, no sign of rain.
Tala'o'omaut:	"Summer Clouds," more elaborately stepped than other clouds (black center indicating thunder clouds).

Kachina Designs

Angakchina:	"Longhair Kachina"
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Angwushnasomtaka:	"Crow Mother Kachina"
Choqapolo:	"Mudball Kachina"
Hahai:	Ceremonial hostess (hostess to Shalako), kachina mother.
Heheya:	Line dancer, benefits crops.
Hilili:	Guard, protector.
Kocha Homsona:	"White Barber Kachina"
Kocha Mana:	"Snow Maid"
Kokopel Mana:	Female spirit associated with fertility kachina.
Konin:	"Supai Kachina"
Koyemsi:	"Mudhead Kachina"
Kwita:	"Excrement Kachina"
Mak:	"Hunter Kachina"
Navanchi Chiklaoka:	"Shirt Ripper Kachina"
Po-okang:	"War God"
Qoqolo:	Gift bringer.
Qoymaf Homsona:	"Black Barber Kachina"
Sakwatiyo:	"Tao Kachina" (Singer or Blue Boy)
Shalako:	Appears at ceremony now held in connec- tion with Home Dance.
Sikyavo:	"Yellow Eyes Kachina"
Sivutotovi:	"Dragonfly Kachina"

Designs Listed as "New" by Hopi Informant

Ai:	"Rattle"
Chirokuku:	"Bird tracks"
Chu:	"Snake"
Kocha Homsona:	"White Barber Kachina"
Kokang:	"Spider"
Kwewe:	"Belt"
Kwita:	"Excrement Kachina"
Machafkwa:	"Toad"
Mak:	"Hunter Kachina"

Masanpi:	"Dance Wand"
Navanchi Chiklaoka:	"Shirt Ripper Kachina"
Pakwa:	"Frog"
Pavatya:	"Tadpole"
Povol:	"Butterfly"
Qoqolo:	Gift bringer
Qoymaf Homsona:	"Black Barber Kachina"
Sivutotovi:	"Dragonfly Kachina"
Talwipiki:	"Lightning"
Tamanchi:	"Weaving Comb"
Yungoson:	"Turtle"

Of these designs, only the rattle, **Qoqolo Kachina**, weaving comb and turtle designs have previously been seen by Mr. Harvey. Independent invention may, however, have resulted in the production of any of these designs in other areas or by other weavers.