

of this book, through their understanding the "life" of the *Mānas* tradition in northern India, will be better prepared to contextualize some of the relevant issues.

Lutgendorf's field study of *Mānas* performance is situated in the city of Banaras, the "city of Tulsi," the heartland of Hindu orthodoxy. This rather unique context (and the elite, male Hinduism and dominant discourse of his informants) is reflected in the genres that Lutgendorf surveys and the indigenous perspectives that he offers (with the possible exception of the "*Mānas* singing" style). One wonders where the women are and what their perspectives might be. How do they experience and perform Tulsi-dās's Rāma story; do their wedding songs, *maṇḍali* (group singing), and other performance genres suggest alternative understandings? Although women and low-caste Banarsis participate in various audiences of all three performance genres, their own performance genres deserve the kind of intensive study that Lutgendorf has devoted to *pāṭh*, *kathā*, and *rāmlīlā*. But, as he would say, "That is outside the limits of this *kathā*" (439). *The Life of a Text* is a rich, lively, and definitive study of *Mānas* performance in the heartland; the exploration of its performance on the outer social and physical boundaries is left to others.

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TEIWES, HELGA. *Kachina Dolls: The Art of Hopi Carvers*. Historical photographs by Hanna Forman. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991. xvi+160 pages. Photographs, color plates, glossary, bibliography, index. Cloth US\$29.95; ISBN 0-8165-1226-4.

Almost everyone has had the experience of buying a folkcraft item as a memento of a trip. By purchasing the item we hope that memories of our visit will attach to it, so that it can serve as a type of instrument for evoking reminiscences of the place we have been to. This being so, the most suitable souvenir is one that bears something of the distinctive nature of the area where it was made; with an ordinary, commonplace item the association between the item and the trip is weaker, and it loses its ability to stir our memory.

What sort of item is it that expresses the distinctive character of a place? To answer this question it is best to consider the type of folkcraft usually bought by people when they travel. Regardless of personal tastes, the favorite choices are generally craft items that are more or less traditional in nature. The more traditional the craft item is, the less likely that it can be imitated in any other place. Traditionality, therefore,

is what guarantees an item's distinctiveness.

Note, however, that not all so-called traditional folkcraft possesses a deep nor long-continued relationship with the place it is made, since "traditional" often means what the buyer *considers* to be traditional. Many manipulative techniques are used to produce a "traditional appearance": natural materials; contrived rusticity; shabby or rough appearance; or, contrarily, minute detail. If one observes the craft items in a shop over a certain length of time, one can easily discern the use of such modern techniques for producing "traditional" craft items. Folkcraft is neither unchangeable nor static; it can dynamically adjust to new circumstances. This is an obvious phenomenon and one that is no longer new, yet it has heretofore engendered few empirical studies.

The book under review will make up for this dearth. The author's aim is explicit: "To trace the development of the Kachina doll and the techniques of its manufacture" (143). Drawing from her long museum research and intensive fieldwork, Teiwes demonstrates the change that these craft items have undergone and thereby shows the necessity of introducing the coordinate of time into folkcraft study. Her book thus counters the static or "frozen" view of folkcraft—seen in so many previous studies—that completely ignores the work's diachronic aspect. This is one of the chief merits of Teiwes's study.

In chapter 1 the author briefly explains Hopi daily life routines. In chapter 2, which describes the place of the *katsinam* (plural of *katsina*, the spirit itself) and the Kachina dolls (or *tithu*) that represent them, the author points out that the rites of the *katsinam* are closely associated with the turning of the seasons. In chapter 3 Teiwes considers some important background information relating to the main contribution of the book: an analysis of the social and cultural changes among the Hopi in the light of archeological and ethnohistorical data. The next chapter deals with the transformation of the *tithu*. Using as a framework the four stylistic periods in *tithu* development devised by Barton Wright, Teiwes analyzes the changes in materials, forms, usages, and production techniques, mainly in relation to the socioeconomic changes in Hopi society.

The fifth and subsequent chapters are entirely devoted to the author's original findings, based on her field research. The first part of chapter 5 describes the rapid changes in carving tools, the technical innovations generated by them, and the more elaborate realism that this progress has made possible; in the second part she explains, with photographs, the way a *tithu* is manufactured, with a special focus on the new techniques. Chapter 6 takes up the subject of the Kachina carvers themselves, showing how they have changed during the present century from anonymous carvers to individual artists who sign the works; the process of this shift corresponds not only to changes in the carvers' mentality but also and more directly to changes in their work. This process has also been greatly influenced by sociocultural and economic changes—that is, by changes in buyers' tastes. Chapter 7 presents twenty-seven modern Hopi carvers; the chapter contains much useful information, but the introductions of the individual artists are a bit too brief for my taste—I hope that her next publication provides fuller personal histories of some of the representative artists.

The last chapter, "A Summary," is more of a conclusion than a summary of what preceded. It is in a sense the most important part of the book, in which Teiwes presents an insightful account of the causes and motives that have stimulated the transformation of Kachina dolls. She points out the dominating influence of market forces in determining the transformation of folkcraft in the last few decades. The emergence of an art market separated the *tithu* from the Hopi religious context and cast it into the outsiders' world. Freed from religious significance, the *tithu* was able to assume a

secular role. This allowed the Kachina doll to transform itself freely, adapting itself to the tastes and trends (at present, toward realism) of non-Hopi buyers and collectors. That being the case, future *tithu* will undoubtedly continue to change according to similar forces.

The book's originality consists in the author's attempt to analyze folkcraft diachronically as she seeks the causes and significance of the changes that have occurred. Its value, therefore, is contingent upon how successful her historical reconstruction of Hopi society and culture has been. In my opinion Teiwes has succeeded admirably. The work is so persuasive, particularly in its analysis of the changes that have occurred in recent decades, that I feel sure it will become a basic reference work concerning the dynamics of folkcraft and ethnic art in general.

This does not mean that the work is without weak points. It is, for example, impossible to attribute all changes to the art market or to economic factors, a fact that Teiwes herself is quite aware of. The "economic factor theory" is at best a convincing explanation only for the changes that have occurred during recent decades. We are thus left with a large blank regarding the reasons for the changes in the Kachina doll's history as a whole; it would be of great value to study the forces and mechanisms behind the Kachina doll's changes in the period before commercialization entered the picture.

The author offers several ideas, especially in chapter 4, regarding possible incentives for change, among them the Hopi's attitude toward the policies of the government, their social and cultural exchange with other ethnic groups, sociocultural conflict within Hopi society, and the creative impulses of the Hopi artists themselves. These are factors that have little to do with economics, yet that have effected change in the folkcraft. Further exploration of such forces would, I feel, be very productive.

Lastly, I would like to mention another valuable feature of this book: the many artistic photographs that make it not only a fine study of Hopi ethnography but also a beautiful art catalogue. There is no doubt that this book will be of great value in furthering our understanding of Hopi culture, for stimulating a rethinking of ethnic art, and for opening new horizons in the anthropology of tourism.

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