

ARTIST UNKNOWN
ZUNI PUEBLO

Jar

ca. 1930

Museum of Indian Arts and Culture / Laboratory of Anthropology Collection, Santa Fe, NM
Museum purchase from Ifeld Indian Trading Co. · 7515

This jar depicts two very different tadpole-like creatures. As opposed to the rounder, open-eyed, footed tad on the other side, the tadpole facing is sleeker—adorned with wavy lines suggesting legs and a heart-line. The eye has the comic-like “X” often used to suggest an altered state of consciousness. The use of the “X” in the eyes does not appear until the late 1920s on pottery in the Southwest.

GEORGE HERRIMAN

Panel from Krazy Kat (detail)

1919 · digital reproduction

Anonymous loan

Copyright King Features Syndicate

ARTIST UNKNOWN
ZUNI PUEBLO

Jar

ca. 1925-1930

Museum of Indian Arts and Culture / Laboratory of Anthropology Collection, Santa Fe, NM
Museum purchase · 7572

Cranes are not often depicted on Pueblo pottery, and if so, not in such a specific representational style as on this jar. This well-rendered crane is painted very graphically with little embellishment other than the hatching in the open space in the body, and again, that odd “X” in the eyes. Some scholars believe the painting style on these Zuni pots suggest that these were painted by men.

ERIC SHANOWER

Page 8 from Age of Bronze #2

1998 · digital reproduction

Anonymous loan

Sequential art in action. Without words, the artist depicts a footrace using the elements of visual storytelling. Comic art panels allow static images to relate narrative, time, and motion. This example is from Age of Bronze, Shanower’s ongoing series about the Trojan War.

Copyright Eric Shanower

ARTIST UNKNOWN
ZUNI PUEBLO

Jar

ca. 1925-1930

Museum of Indian Arts and Culture / Laboratory of Anthropology Collection, Santa Fe, NM
Museum purchase · 7506

A Pueblo potter depicting a successful hunt in four panels?

This jar represents what may be an early example of the influence of comic strips on a traditional Native art form. Panel designs on pottery are a common and ancient practice often applied as a repeating or alternating design. In this instance, something else is happening. Note the changing position of the heart-line deer in each panel and the changes in facial expression.

Starting with the panel of the open-eyed deer standing in a plant-filled meadow and reading to the left, the next panel depicts an animal in a state of alarm with startled expression and feet in the air. Next, the buck is starting to fall and the eyes narrow. Finally, the perspective seems to shift, showing the animal lying on the ground, eyes obscured.

GEORGE PEREZ

Wonder Woman #22

1988 · printed comic book

Anonymous loan

Art by George Perez

Copyright DC Comics

MARCUS AMERMAN

CHOCTAW

Wonder Woman

2005 · beaded bracelet

Courtesy of Diego Romero

Working in a traditional media with an unexpected subject matter, Amerman transforms both with these meticulous mosaic style portraits of DC superhero icons.

“Wonder Woman is psychological propaganda for the new type of woman who should, I believe, rule the world,” wrote William Moulton Marston, who created the stalwart Amazon in 1940.

MARCUS AMERMAN
CHOCTAW

Batman

2008 · beaded belt buckle

Courtesy of the artist and Mateo Romero

This belt buckle is adorned with the image of the Batman. Created by Bob Kane and Bill Finger in 1939, Batman protects the citizens of Gotham City from criminals, a superstitious, cowardly lot. The image of Batman on this buckle was inspired by a drawing by the popular comic artist Jim Lee.

MARTHA ARQUERO
COCHITI PUEBLO

Pueblo Spider-Man

2006 · clay figurine

Anonymous loan

As taught by her mother, Damacia Cordero, Martha creates figurines in the Cochiti Pueblo tradition, often making deer dancers, mermaids, and storytellers among other “traditional” subjects. Prodded by her grandson, Martha created a Pueblo-ized Spider-Man. Upon closer inspection, the Friendly Neighborhood Web-Swinger is seen wearing a necklace, fringed pouch and a woven sash belt; a Spidey ready for the Southwest. This piece is an excellent example of a culture shaping the influences of another to fit in their own.

STEVE DITKO

The Amazing Spider-Man #19 *Spidey Strikes Back!*

1964 · printed comic book

Courtesy of Diego Romero

Art by Steve Ditko, words by Stan Lee
Copyright Marvel Comics

JOHN BUSCEMA

The Avengers #57 *Behold The Vision!*

1968 · printed comic book

Anonymous loan

*Art by John Buscema, words by Roy Thomas and Stan Lee
Copyright Marvel Comics*

JASON GARCIA
SANTA CLARA PUEBLO

Tewa Tales of Suspense: *Behold... Po'Pay!*

2008 · polychrome clay tile

Courtesy of King Galleries of Scottsdale

Rising above his oppressors in living color is Po'Pay, one of the named leaders of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Using an iconic image from the Silver Age of Marvel Comics, the artist creates a vivid portrait of an equally iconic figure from Pueblo Indian history. With relevance to Native communities, comic fans and art collectors, Garcia reveals the rebellious appeal of comic and Native art.

LISA HOLT
COCHITI PUEBLO

HARLAN REANO
SANTO DOMINGO PUEBLO

Pueblo Superhero

2007 • clay figurine

Courtesy of King Galleries of Scottsdale

Inspired by the Justice League cartoons—the super-powered team anchored by Superman, Wonder Woman and Batman—Lisa and Harlan have created a series of Pueblo superhero figurines. Using inspired graphic design painted on finely constructed clay figures, this dynamic duo of Pueblo pottery view these pieces as not out of place but following in the Cochiti figurative tradition of commenting on the world around them. Mysterious in its power and abilities, this Pueblo hero is ready for action.

DIEGO ROMERO
COCHITI PUEBLO

Indian Bingo

1994 • ceramic bowl

*Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology Collection, Santa Fe, NM
Museum purchase • 54131*

As Mimbres iconography served as commentary and even parody of their world, Diego Romero creates ceramics for the Pueblo experience of today. Using humor and tears, his art reflects how Pueblo people live with the everyday struggle of contemporary life. Bingo!

RICARDO CATÉ

SANTO DOMINGO PUEBLO

Cleveland Cousin

2007 • ink and colored pencil on board

Courtesy of the artist

Besides being a social studies teacher and a father to Eddie, Amber, and Nicolette, Ricardo Caté is a cartoonist. Not the doodler cartoons most of us produce to pass time in meetings, but the creative force behind Without Reservations, a single panel cartoon published daily in the Santa Fe New Mexican. Behind the guise of humor, Ricardo tackles issues of stereotypes, wellness, and identity.

RICARDO CATÉ

SANTO DOMINGO PUEBLO

Fruit vs. Frybread

2008 · ink and colored pencil on board

Courtesy of the artist

ROSE BEAN SIMPSON
SANTA CLARA PUEBLO

I Shall Call Her Freedom

2008 · ink and paint on bristol

Courtesy of the artist

MATEO ROMERO
COCHITI PUEBLO

Unpublished Horror Story, page 3

1992 · pencil and ink on board

Courtesy of the artist

MATEO ROMERO
COCHITI PUEBLO

Corpseman

ca. 1994 · print

Courtesy of Dr. Reed Scudder

Who is Corpseman? Why is he armed?

Does a corpse need weapons? Who is his tailor?

Only Corpseman knows for certain.

DIEGO ROMERO
COCHITI PUEBLO

Lest Tyranny Triumph

2004 · ink on paper

Courtesy of the artist

Based on a full-page drawing by Jack Kirby from an issue of The Mighty Thor, this fine example of “illo-drama” blends the art of the Mimbres, the Greeks, and Lee & Kirby into something distinctively Romero.

ART BY MEIMU

The Ring 2

1999 · printed comic book

Anonymous loan

Original novel by Koji Suzuki, script by Hiroshi Takahashi

Copyright Meimu and The Ring 2 Production Group

VARIOUS ARTISTS

Discover Dark Horse Manga 2007

2007 • printed comic book

Anonymous loan

Copyright Dark Horse Comics

VELINO SHIJE HERRERA (MA PE WI)
ZIA PUEBLO

Herding Sheep and Goats

1940-1941 · ink on board

*Museum of Indian Arts and Culture / Laboratory of Anthropology Collection,
Santa Fe, NM · 52720/13*

MARTY TWO BULLS SR.
OGLALA LAKOTA

Mr. Diabetes

2004 · ink on board

Courtesy of the artist

With a tip of the pen to comix icon R. Crumb, Two Bulls creates a vivid statement on the diabetes epidemic in Native American populations.

MARTY TWO BULLS SR.
OGLALA LAKOTA

Whites

2005 · ink on paper

Courtesy of the artist

With one word and one image, Two Bulls speaks volumes on the sport mascot issue.

MARTY TWO BULLS SR.

OGLALA LAKOTA

Global Warming

2006 • ink on board

Courtesy of the artist

Marty Two Bulls is the editorial cartoonist for Indian Country Today, a weekly newspaper on all issues affecting Native America. His gift of line and humor gives the reader an insightful perspective on contemporary topics.

MATEO ROMERO
COCHITI PUEBLO

Unpublished Horror Story, page 2

1992 · pencil and ink on board

Courtesy of the artist

Mateo Romero is a prominent painter in the Indian art world. Recognized for his photo transfer paintings and the Bonnie and Clyde series enveloped with social commentary and celebrations of Pueblo life ways, these two comic pages represent a heretofore unseen aspect of his work; a horror story using Native themes. Graphic, raw and unapologetic, this is a unique glimpse of an artist experimenting with form, narrative and style.

ROSE BEAN SIMPSON
SANTA CLARA PUEBLO

***Objectification:
Seductive Woman with TV,
Super Pueblo, Graffiti Artist,
Lesbian Couple***

2008 • mixed media on masonite

Courtesy of the artist

Objectification portrays distinctive elements of contemporary Pueblo Indian life in bold graphic terms. The allures and pressures of assimilation, tradition, creativity and companionship are portrayed with a human face reminding us that in our lives within and beyond boundaries, we find ourselves.

SANTANA SHORTY
NAVAJO

Night Time Vision

2008 • colored pencil and pastel on paper

Courtesy of the artist

Santana's depiction of a young girl gazing at a Moon Spirit reveals the influence of manga among emerging artists. Manga, the Japanese word for comics and the term used for Japanese comics, is a growing commercial and stylistic force in comic art. Santana credits her developing style from constant browsing of the manga section at Borders.

VELINO SHIJE HERRERA (MA PE WI)
ZIA PUEBLO

Pueblo Indian Deer Dancer

ca. 1940-1941 • ink on board

Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology Collection, Santa Fe, NM • 52724/13

Velino Herrera (1902–1973) was a self-taught artist who mixed realism and abstraction. He worked as an easel painter, muralist, and as an illustrator for a series of American Indian books for young readers. Displayed here are two examples of his pen and ink illustrations showing the artist's ability to strip down elements to a minimum yet remain recognizable to the culture and environment he is depicting. Using techniques similar to the daily comic strip artist, Herrera outlines expressive figures and forms readable even at a reduced size.

MARCUS AMERMAN
CHOCTAW

With a Flap of His Wings, the Falcon Man Escapes the Snaketown Squeeze

2008 · acrylic on canvas

Courtesy of the artist

Falcon Man is timeless. Amerman's painting would not be out of place as a mural decorating an ancient Mesoamerican palace or as a mysterious artifact of the Mound Builders. Falcon Man's struggle and escape from a literal and lyrical squeeze is a story repeated in many forms and many places, from Cahokia to Thangar and back again.

PENCILS BY RYAN HUNA SMITH
CHEMEHUEVI / NAVAJO

INKS BY JOE FORKAN

Page 6 from Tribal Force #2

1996 · ink on vellum

Courtesy of the artist

Tribal Force was a comic about a team of Native American superheroes. Although only one issue was published, its impact was significant. Attempting to present a superhero comic without insulting images of Indian people, Tribal Force was taken to heart by its readers who still ask when the next issue is coming out, over a decade after it first appeared. The Tribal Force art shown here is from the never-published second issue.

MARTY TWO BULLS SR.
OGLALA LAKOTA

Indian Economy, Hunting for Dollars

2003 · ink on board

Courtesy of the artist

The blue marks visible on this cartoon, and on Mr. Diabetes, is from a blue pencil. As blue pencil lines do not reproduce using mechanical reproduction, it is used by artists to layout a piece before inking without the worry of stray lines appearing on the published art. The blue pencil also was the tool of choice for the editor, to the degree that to “blue pencil” something became a synonym for deleting or censoring.

DOUGLAS MILES

SAN CARLOS APACHE / AKIMEL O'ODHAM

Speedy Skato

2006 • acrylic on 7-ply maplewood

From the Collection of Warner Bros. Consumer Products

Raised East of the L.A. River, Speedy (Skater) Skato lives and thrives in the concrete metropolis. He is proud of his culture, history and city. He is able to become one with his environment through skateboarding. Pesky cats wait on every corner to escort him off the premises but this does not deter him in his quest for skate mastery. His battle is three-fold; Society which views him as a pest, gravity which would hold him down, and pesky cats who try to eat him for lunch in between doughnut breaks. He is the best unknown skater out on the streets.

—As written by Douglas Miles

PHIL HUGHTE
ZUNI PUEBLO

Small Leggings

1992 · ink on board

On loan from the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center Historical Collection

Phil Hughte (1954–1997) was an art teacher, painter and illustrator whose work formed the basis of the 1994 publication A Zuni Artist Looks at Frank Hamilton Cushing. This book was a unique indigenous critique of an anthropologist's fieldwork in a Pueblo community. Shown here are just a few examples with the artist's commentary on each drawing.

"Cushing had such small legs where the traditional leggings wouldn't even go through the lady's fist. And kids are just making fun of him and the lady is at odds and wondering why so small."

PHIL HUGHTE
ZUNI PUEBLO

The Loud Musician

1992 · ink on board

On loan from the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center Historical Collection

Cushing was said to have “gone native” during his fieldwork at Zuni but was actually practicing an early anthropological method of participant / observation, entering a culture by involvement rather than only commenting as an outside observer. He was initiated into the Bow Priest Society and practiced their customs.

“Cushing was into everything and I am sure he played some type of Zuni instrument. Here he is blowing the flute and disrupting everybody. Matilda Coxe Stevenson is having a photograph taken of him and you notice that the dogs are all howling and the kid’s ears are hurting and everybody’s ears are hurting.”

PHIL HUGHTE
ZUNI PUEBLO

Sick Cushing

1992 · ink on board

On loan from the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center Historical Collection

“Cushing has a hard time adjusting to Zuni life and used to get sick a lot. This is an illustration of Cushing getting sick. But he is not really sick, he just liked the idea of being pampered. Zunis are about ready to massage his stomach to comfort him and two Zuni ladies are clipping his toenails. And the other two ladies are bringing him food, and the Zuni man is going to put a new eagle feather on him because the old one is broken. Cushing is looking at two Zuni kids knowing that he is all right and he has his thumb up.”

PHIL HUGHTE
ZUNI PUEBLO

Off to Hopi

1992 · ink on board

On loan from the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center Historical Collection

“Everyone is waving them goodbye and they were so happy to leave they forgot to untie their dog. The dog is being dragged while everybody is waving except for the two kids pointing and trying to get Cushing’s attention that his dog is tied up.”

Although a strong advocate for Zuni sovereignty and land rights, Cushing’s reputation was ultimately clouded by inappropriate behavior upon his return to Washington. By practicing and revealing knowledge outside of his society, Cushing was seen to have betrayed his Zuni family.

PENCILS BY RYAN HUNA SMITH
CHEMEHUEVI / NAVAJO

INKS BY JOE FORKAN

Page 5 from Tribal Force #2

1996 · pencil on board (left) · ink on vellum (right)

Courtesy of the artist

Presented here is an example of the classic assembly line for comic book art. Developed as a means of increasing production, one artist, the penciler, would draw the story and another artist, the inker, would embellish the pencil art adding flourishes and making corrections to make the line art camera-ready. Observe the differences between the penciled page and the inked page. See how the inker adds his own distinctive touch while not overpowering the pencil art. Note the change in composition in the final panel between the pencil art and the inked page. A well-balanced penciling and inking team can enhance a comic, making the art and story stronger.

LARRY MCNEIL
TLINGIT-NISGA'A

Vanishing Race 101

2005 · digital print

Courtesy of the artist

Our mythical character is Raven, whose main trait is to be simultaneously scrappy and funny. Instead of fighting corrupt politicians like Superman did, he brazenly took on a mendacious, greedy Chief who has lost his way... In my own art, I transformed Tonto from something of a dimwitted sidekick to the proverbial main hero character. He transforms right before our eyes and starts kicking butt in the postcolonial world, setting disgusting and repugnant people like Edward Curtis straight, with one mighty punch. In this sense, the comic book aesthetic is perfect for what I want to do with my art, especially as Raven acts as a literal foundation for the art.

—From the Artist's statement

JOLENE NENIBAH YAZZIE
NAVAJO

Beautiful Shield

2006 · digital print (top)

Courtesy of the artist

Ko'Asdzaa (Fire Woman)

2007 · digital print (left)

Courtesy of the artist

Protector of Innocence

2007 · digital print (right)

Courtesy of the artist

Growing up, Jolene Yazzie and her younger sister Janene pored over issues of Wonder Woman, impressed by her powers, abilities, and her long black hair. As a skater girl, Jolene went through high school sustained by a diet of comic books and thrasher magazines. Now, as an emerging artist and entrepreneur, Jolene is creating her own images of inspiration, Navajo women warriors and heroes. As symbols of strength, survival and womanhood, these are in a justice league of their own.

DIEGO ROMERO
COCHITI PUEBLO

When Titans Collide

2004 · ink on paper

Courtesy of the artist

The epic clash between Thor and Hercules is re-imagined in the mighty Romero manner as a grand battle between the muscular Spaniard and the equally buff Pueblo. Thor's Uru hammer, called Mjollnir, is replaced with clenched fists.



COVER OF *THE MIGHTY THOR* #126, 1966
ART BY JACK KIRBY AND V. COLLETTA
COPYRIGHT MARVEL COMICS

EVA MIRABAL (EAH-HA-WA)
TAOS PUEBLO

Flute Player

ca.1938 · watercolor on paper

Museum of Indian Arts and Culture / Laboratory of Anthropology Collection, Santa Fe, NM
24075/13

Eva Mirabal (1920–1968), named Eah-Ha-Wa in the Tiwa language of her home, Taos Pueblo, was a formally trained artist who studied at the Santa Fe Indian School under Dorothy Dunn, at the University of Southern Illinois, Carbondale, and at the Taos Valley Art School. Her talent drew attention from museums and galleries while still a teenager and would lead to her impressive assignment as an Army muralist in 1943.

This painting of a Taos musician, produced at the Santa Fe Indian School, reveals a young talent confident in the materials and techniques of easel painting. Eva would pass on her artistic talents to her son, Jonathan Warm Day, who is a noted painter in his own right.

EVA MIRABAL (EAH-HA-WA)
TAOS PUEBLO

G. I. Gertie

ca. 1944 · ink on board

Courtesy of Jonathan Warm Day and Christopher Gomez

During World War II, Eva joined the Women's Army Corps (WAC) and wrote and drew G.I. Gertie for WAC publications. It is unknown how many strips were produced and in how many publications it appeared. This original is a rare and wonderful example of Eva's skill as a comic artist showing a proficiency in panel design and ink handling. Her attention to detail is evident such as the shiny brass worn by Captain Jones. Compared to the studio style painting, it shows the exceptional ability to use formal art training in the young medium of sequential art.



PHOTO BY A.A.F. AIR SERVICE COMMAND, 1944
COURTESY OF JONATHAN WARM DAY
AND CHRISTOPHER GOMEZ

SILVER HORN (HAUNGOOAH)
KIOWA

Saynday Deceives Sapoul and His Sons to a Grisly End

1897 · ink and colored pencil on paper

Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology Collection, Santa Fe, NM
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Diker · 55147/13

Huangooah (1860–1940), translated as Silver Horn from Kiowa, created this example of ledger art. It was collected by Col. Hugh Scott when Silver Horn served in the U.S. Army. Knowing no English besides basic military commands, Silver Horn and Scott communicated by drawings and sign language.

Saynday is a trickster hero of Kiowa legends who will trick anyone and anything to get what he wants or to escape from harm. Sapoul, a mountain ogre, enjoys eating men and children. Like many comic art antagonists, Sapoul (and sons) could be killed, horribly disfigured, or psychologically scarred in one story but return in the next no worse for the wear.

DIEGO ROMERO
COCHITI PUEBLO

The Coming of Diego

ca. 2002 • ink on paper

Courtesy of the artist

Presented here are the drawings that are the source material for the famed Diego Romero neo-Mimbres pottery pieces. Taking inspiration from the Marvel Comics of the 1960s, in particular those scripted by Stan Lee and drawn by Jack Kirby, Diego creates his ceramic pieces which speak of the history of the Pueblos and the struggles of today. The conquistador Don Diego de Vargas takes the place of Loki, the Norse trickster god in this drawing inspired by the splash page from The Avengers #1 from 1963.



TITLE PAGE FROM *THE AVENGERS* #1, 1963
WORDS BY STAN LEE,
ART BY JACK KIRBY AND DICK AYERS,
LETTERS BY SAM ROSEN
COPYRIGHT MARVEL COMICS

RYAN HUNA SMITH
CHEMEHUEVI / NAVAJO

Frybread Man

2003 · pencil and blue pencil on board
Courtesy of the artist

Faster than a speeding arrow... more powerful than a mighty buffalo... able to leap tall Pueblos in a single bound... it's... Frybread Man! Possessing super-human strength that came from eating radioactive frybread, he protects all Indian interests from casinos to pow-wows, and of course 49er's... ayyyyyy!

—From the origin of Frybread Man by Ryan Huna Smith



FRYBREAD MAN DIGITAL PRINT, 2003
ART BY RYAN HUNA SMITH,
PHOTO BY RICARDO MARTINEZ

ERNIE BUSHMILLER

Comics on Parade: Nancy #72

1950 · printed comic book

Anonymous loan

Nancy and Sluggo copyright United Feature Syndicate

JOE KUBERT

Sgt. Rock: The Prophecy #5

2006 · printed comic book

Anonymous loan

Sgt. Rock and Little Sure Shot copyright DC Comics

OGDEN WHITNEY

Forbidden Worlds #44

1956 · printed comic book

Anonymous loan

Forbidden Worlds copyright Best Syndicated Features, Inc.

BOB MCLEOD

The New Mutants #1

1982 · printed comic book

Anonymous loan

*The New Mutants and Danielle Moonstar (Psyche)
copyright Marvel Comics*

ARTIST UNKNOWN

Turok, Son of Stone #101

1976 · printed comic book

Anonymous loan

Turok and Andar copyright Western Publishing Company, Inc.

ARTIST UNKNOWN

Fighting Indians of the Wild West #1

1952 · printed comic book

Anonymous loan

Fighting Indians of the Wild West copyright Avon Periodicals

CARMINE INFANTINO

MURPHY ANDERSON

Justice League of America #57

1967 · printed comic book

Anonymous loan

*Justice League of America, Green Arrow, Flash,
and Hawkman copyright DC Comics*

KEITH GIFFEN

MIKE DE CARLO

Legion of Super-Heroes #54

1988 · printed comic book

Anonymous loan

*Legion of Super-Heroes, Wildfire, Ultra Boy, and Dawnstar
copyright DC Comics*

JIM STERANKO

Captain America #111

1969 · digital reproduction

Anonymous donor

Captain America created by Joe Simon and Jack Kirby

Copyright Marvel Comics

ARTIST UNKNOWN

PUEBLO II

All American Man Pictograph

C. 1290 AD

Image courtesy of the National Park Service, Canyonlands National Park

ARTIST UNKNOWN

NAVAJO

Warrior on Horseback

c. 1775 · digital reproduction

Courtesy of Polly and Curtis Schaafsma

Original photo by Curtis Schaafsma, 1971

ARTISTS UNKNOWN

PUEBLOAN AND NAVAJO

Petroglyph Panel at Fortress Rock, Canyon de Chelly, Arizona

c. 13th and 18th centuries · digital reproduction

Courtesy of Polly and Curtis Schaafsma

Original photo by Curtis Schaafsma, 2006

ARTISTS UNKNOWN

NAVAJO / GOBERNADOR PHASE

Petroglyph Panel at Blanco Canyon Chaco Canyon, New Mexico

c. 1680-1696 · digital reproduction

Courtesy of Polly and Curtis Schaafsma

Original photo by Curtis Schaafsma, 1971