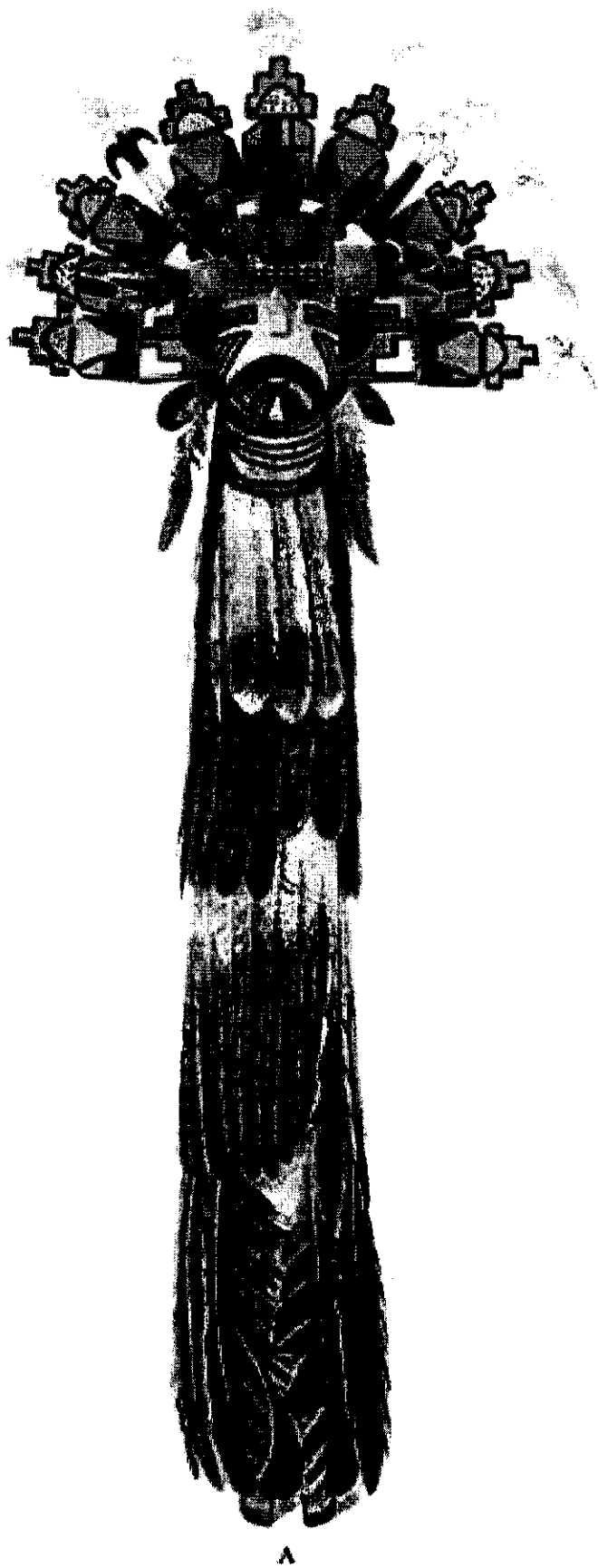


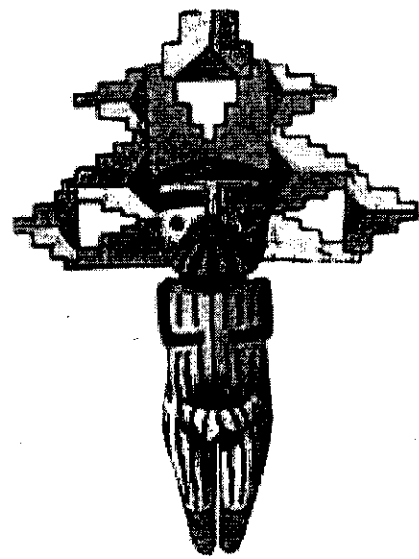
## Palhik Mana

The figure of the Palhik Mana is one of the most deceptive of all Hopi Kachinas. Probably it is best to think of this kachina as a continuum beginning with the simple Poli Mana at one end and finishing with the Hopi Salako Mana at the other. Somewhere in between lies the Palhik Mana. This hypothetical continuum relates only to appearance. The functions of the personation vary in direct ratio to the similarity of appearance. As Poli Mana she is the dancing companion to the Poli Kachina of Third Mesa and is personated by a man. As Salako Mana she is either the partner of the towering Salako Taka or the maid who grinds corn during the Puppet Dances in the kivas. When she grinds corn as does the Salako Mana, the only difference is in the vari-colored eyes of the Salako Mana. If Palhik Mana dances, she does so in quite a different manner than does the Poli Mana, and on First and Second Mesa she is portrayed by women. As such she is not considered a kachina, but on Third Mesa she appears masked and is portrayed by men. However, if a Hopi is asked to define the difference between Salako Mana and Palhik Mana he will usually reply that they are the same, the Corn Grinding Girls — two facets of a single concept. The name Palhik is probably derived from the fact that the women drink a very thin gruel as food when they dance during the Mamzrau Ceremonial. If the Palhik Mana does not appear in person during this ceremony, she may be present as pictures on the marauvaho carried in the hands of the celebrants. To further complicate the situation, the Butterfly Dancer who appears in one version of the social dance is very close in appearance to Poli Mana and Palhik Mana.

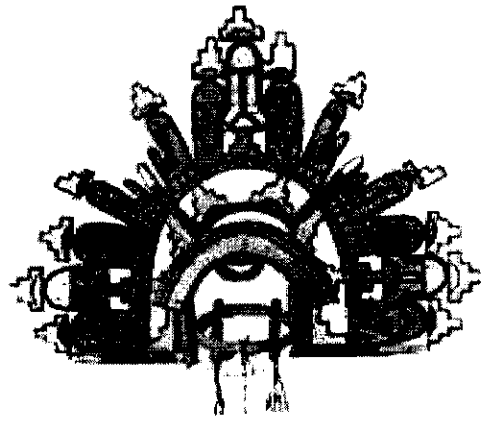




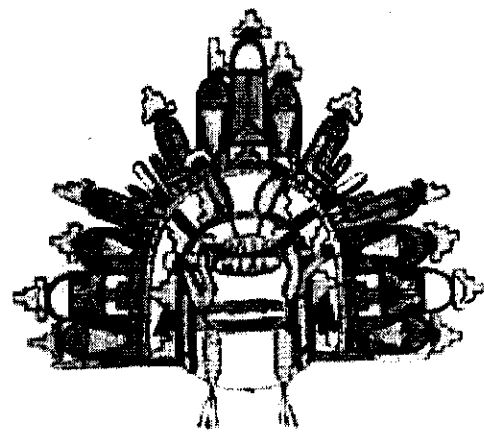
A



B



C



D

A: Hopi or Moqui kachina figure of Calako Taka (the Hopi corn man). Dolls of the kachina figures were used to teach children to recognize the symbolism of the various kachinas when they appeared in the dances, but were not considered themselves sacred. However, large figures of Calako Taka or Calako Mana (Corn Maiden) were sometimes introduced into ceremonies, and manipulated as puppets in the dances. B: Doll, showing the mode of wearing a maskette headdress. C, D: Front and rear views of a Hopi headdress, recalling some of the Aztec headdresses.

## BRINGS NOT CALLED KATCINAS

## LAKONE MANA

(Plate LV)

The two maids represented in this picture appear in the basket dance called the Lalakofiti. The bands on their heads support rain-cloud symbols, and to these bands are attached horns and squash-blossom symbols. The objects rising vertically from the back of the heads and the clusters in the same place represent eagle tail feathers.

The faces of the girls are painted yellow, with black bands across the temples and from each corner of the mouth to the ears. In their hands they carry half cornucobs with two appended eagle feathers, which objects are thrown into figures of rain clouds made of meal on the ground by their male companion, called Lakone taka.

The dress of Lakone mana, especially the appendages to the head-band, differs somewhat in the different Hopi pueblos, as may be seen by consulting a description of the basket dances.\*

## MAMZRAU MANA

(Plate LV)

These pictures represent the two girls who appear in the Maraupaki or Mamzrauti, an October festival, in which the women carry in their hands wooden tablets bearing figures of corn and rain clouds, and other designs.

The thighs of the personators are painted with black rectangles, and on the heads there are wooden frameworks with apical eagle feathers and red horsehair. They wear kilts reaching nearly to the knees, the only instance to the author's knowledge of the use of this garment by girls in ceremonial dances. Their hair is tied down the back.



(Plate LVI)

This figure represents Palahiko mana as she appears in the Mamzrauti ceremony. The head tablet is tied by a string under the chin, and to this tablet is attached a band which passes over the forehead, as shown in the picture. The tablet is made of flat boards, and consists of six parts, two vertical, two lateral, and two diagonal, each representing rain-cloud symbols tipped by eagle feathers.

The red objects, one on each side between the lateral and vertical components of the tablet, are symbolic squash blossoms, or the whorls in which Hopi maidens dress their hair. The cup-shaped, pedunculated

\* Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XII, 1900, p. 81-88.

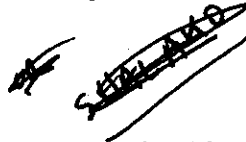
objects in the hair represent corn flowers. The band across the forehead marked with bars represents an ear of corn, and the red bodies attached to each end are fragments of sheepskin, symbols of corn tassels. Two eagle tail feathers also are attached to each end of the symbolic corn ear. The median object, colored green, hanging between the eyes, represents a fragment of *Haliotis* shell.

Red chevrons are painted on the face. The square, green pendants, one on each side of the head, represent turquoise ear pendants, which are highly prized by the Hopi maidens.

Palahiko mana<sup>a</sup> wears three blankets—a kilt, thrown across the right shoulder and hanging under the left arm, with rain-cloud and falling-rain designs embroidered on it, and two wedding blankets, with triangular rain-cloud and butterfly symbols, tied about the body. The ends of the great white girdle are shown under the upper of these blankets on the left side. The necklace is of coral beads, and strings of turquoise pendants are shown about the neck. The figure carries a feathered stick in each hand.



(Plate LVI)



On one of the two pictures of this being is seen a mask with a prominent tablet almost identical with that of the preceding. The tablet represents terraced rain clouds, of which there are two vertical and two horizontal, one of each on each side. The object with bifid tips on each side of the tablet represents the squash blossom, symbolic of maidens' hair dress.

Across the forehead is a symbol of an ear of corn, with two feathers attached to each end. The ring hanging over the forehead represents a fragment of *Haliotis* shell. There are imitation flowers made of wood represented in the hair. The left eye is yellow, the right blue. The chevrons on the cheek are similar to those found on the face of Palahiko mana.<sup>b</sup>

The artist has represented a garment of feathers, over which is thrown a white ceremonial blanket with embroidered border. The two adjacent trees are pines.



(Plate LVII)

Buli mana, the Butterfly maid, appears in a dance which was introduced from the Rio Grande pueblos, where it is called the "Tablita," from the tablets worn by the women on their heads. This dance is

<sup>a</sup> For picture of doll, see *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Band VII, pl. IX, X, fig. 28, 31; *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1897, pl. CVII, CIX, fig. 33.

<sup>b</sup> These beings, Palahiko mana and Calako mana, probably represent the same conception.

# Hopi KACHINA Spirit of Life

*Edited by Dorothy K. Washburn*

*Dedicated to the Hopi Tricentennial, 1680-1980*

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signs on a white slip, often using the traditional theme of two opposed birds, one on each side of a flowerlike theme. Garnet Pavatea uses birds or wings or more complex geometrics on jars decorated in the black-on-red style.

Just as Nampeyo made dramatic changes in Hopi pottery, the Hopi ceramists of the 1970s are continuing to refine form and design, develop new adaptations of design to space, and introduce new texturing, modeling, paints and other techniques to the decorative process. Today Hopi pottery is no longer characterized by village-wide styles, but by a flowering of individual creativity. Many potters now have their own distinctive styles, each representing a new avenue of expression in Hopi ceramics.

## Kachinas

Among many other things, a kachina is a spirit being who lives for six months of the year on the San Francisco Peaks and for the other six months in Hopi villages. Some are spirits of the dead, some are Cloud People. Kachinas are also masked men who act as intermediaries between the Hopi and the gods. Kachina dolls (*tihus*) are carved representations of these beings which are given by the Pueblo performers to children during dances, particularly to little girls, partly to teach them the costumes, masks and details of some important personages, and to the women as symbols of fertility, and as "an overt prayer for supernatural association and assistance," particularly for rain, good crops and other blessings. The *tihus* are usually hung from the house rafters or on walls. There is also a flat, slablike doll called a *puchtihu* (*putstihu*), which is hung on the cradles of tiny babies to protect them from harm. The first one given is the kachina grandmother, Hahai-i Wu-uti (*Hahay'i Wuuti*).

Details of Hopi religion are known only by the ceremonial leaders. Hopi spend a lifetime gradually becoming more integrated into the secrets of both kachina and nonkachina rites. This educational process begins when children are between six and ten years of age, at which time both boys and girls are initiated into the kachina cult at Powamu (*Powamuya*) celebration in late February. From then on the boys can visit or stay in the kiva; girls or women are not normally allowed to do so except, for example, when the latter whitewash the walls before and bring food during ceremonies.

When kachinas are in the Hopi villages for six months of the year between the Powamu and Niman celebrations, their main function is to dance, pray, sing and give gifts to the children in order to bring rain and sun, and to make corn, beans and other crops grow. At Powamu, beans are force-sprouted in overheated kivas and are distributed by the kachinas to all inhabitants of the village. As many as 200 kachina dancers may appear at this opening performance, for it is a dramatic announcement of their return and presence in the village. During the next six months there is constant ceremonial activity. Each dance is accompanied by secret purificatory and supplicatory rites in the kiva. Also, through-

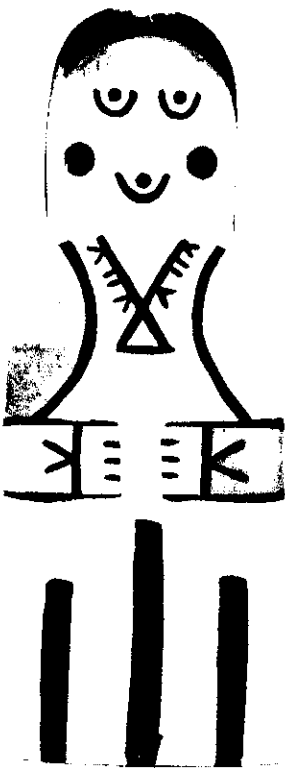


Fig. 61. Hahai-i Wu-uti Puchtihu. No. 106.

out the kachina season public performances are presented in the open plazas. The end of the kachina season is marked in July by the "Home Dance," when each village thanks the kachinas for their help and blessings during the past growing season.

The history of the kachinas is difficult to trace, but there is some prehistoric evidence which suggests that this ceremonial system is of extreme antiquity. Too, it may have roots in Meso-american cultures. The oldest evidence of a probable kachina doll is a carved and partially painted wooden figure found in Double Butte Cave near Phoenix, Arizona, dated about the twelfth or thirteenth century. The head of this piece is shaped like a mask and the stance is stiff, with the body wrapped in a blanket in the manner of early historic carved kachina dolls. There are diagonal lines across the chest, suggestive of a bandolier, which was worn by some kachinas of historic times. Supporting the possibility that this is a "kachina" is a Hopi legend which says that these sacred spirits came from Casa Grande, a prehistoric site sixty miles to the southeast of Phoenix.

Prehistoric photographs and petroglyphs in the Southwest also depict masks and full dance figures. Many are too generalized to be identified, but there is no question that the representations are masked. In many of the late prehistoric kiva murals at Awatovi, Kuaua and Pottery Mound kachinas are frequently represented in ceremonial scenes; some of these can be identified with those of the historic Hopi. For example, at Awatovi, one figure has a round mask, half gray and half white with a large black triangle centered on the lower face, great slab ears, with crosses over all and eagle tail feathers projecting from the head. There seems no doubt that this is an Awatovi version of the Hopi *Ahöla*, the leader of the kachinas at Powamu. Not only are masks significant in relating Awatovi kachinas to those of historic times but so too are much of the dancers' dress and paraphernalia.

Representations of masks or masked personages also appear on pottery. One vessel from Awatovi has a mask similar to the kachina *Kokopelmana* (*Kokopöl Mana*), the female *Kokopelli* (*Kookopölö*). Painting of masks on pottery continued into the historic period. It is recorded that Nampeyo was still producing Hano clan symbols, including masks, in 1895, when she abandoned them for the Sikyatki-inspired designs. The Corn Maid, or *Salako* (*Sa'lako*) *Mana*, covers the entire interior of many of these early bowls.

It has been estimated that there are between 250 and 350 kachinas, but it is difficult to give an exact figure because these important personages are both discontinued and added to through the years. When Fewkes worked among the Hopi in the 1890s, he had several of these Puebloans paint all the kachinas they knew. He also asked several older men in the tribe to identify kachinas they had known in earlier years but which no longer appeared in the dances; some of these were so carefully and completely identified by the elderly Hopi that the artists could and did paint them.



Fig. 62. *Ahöla* Kachina carved by Jimmie Kewanwytewa, 1942. No. 30.

Each different kachina has its own individual characteristics. The mask is the most important feature. Each dancer keeps his own mask, refurbishing it before a performance. Masks of more important kachinas are kept in secret spots in the kiva, but lesser ones may be taken home by the owner and placed in a safe spot. Many of these dancers wear the same costumes, or approximately the same, each year they perform.

Kachina dolls are carved from the roots of the cottonwood tree, usually picked up as driftwood which has washed down from locations north of the villages. Many Hopi have gone to the area of Grand Falls on the Little Colorado River and collected wood which has had the bark removed as it washed over the falls. Today cottonwood root sells for very high prices. Several years ago a piece six to eight inches in diameter and a foot in length cost \$20.00!

A hatchet or butcher knife is used to first rough out the doll after a section is sawed off. Then with a finer knife and wood rasp, larger details are carved. A pocket knife, or if the worker can afford it, more refined carving tools, and sandpaper are used to finish the figure. After the doll is completely formed and the headpiece and other projecting details are added (today secured with white glue, and sometimes pegs), the entire piece is given an all-over wash of local white clay. Today this clay is sometimes difficult to obtain, so some Hopi men have started substituting acrylic or gesso. These commercial substitutes also assure a brighter finish to the painted doll.

Traditionally, colors used in painting kachina dolls were derived from native sources: oxides of iron, copper ores, colored clays and vegetal dyes. Later, watercolors, oil-based house paints, inks and bluing were introduced to the Hopi by white men. These were displaced by the end of the nineteenth century by tempera or opaque watercolor paints. Most of the tempera, better known as poster paints, had the great disadvantage of rubbing off. In an effort to fix the paints, experimentation was carried on with sprays—even hair sprays! This became unnecessary with the introduction of acrylics, for they satisfied all the requirements of the doll maker, giving bright, beautiful and lasting colors.

After the doll is painted, various items often have to be attached: feathers or hair for the headpiece; leather, cloth and yarn for arm, leg, foot and waist decoration; green spruce bough for a ruff about the neck; cloth for garments; and shells, tin or silver, plus beads for jewelry. Some older dolls as well as many modern ones have nothing added after they are painted. Of particular interest is the way the green bough about the neck has been changed, for real spruce dries and turns brown over time. Various Hopi doll makers have solved this problem either by carving and painting this section, by using plastic imitations, by dyeing English seaweed, or, finally by substituting short lengths of green yarn. Contacts with the outside world have brought in new materials for various accessories. For example, shells for jewelry may come from the South Pacific or Zanzibar, and mink is often used for parts of the Wolf Kachina.



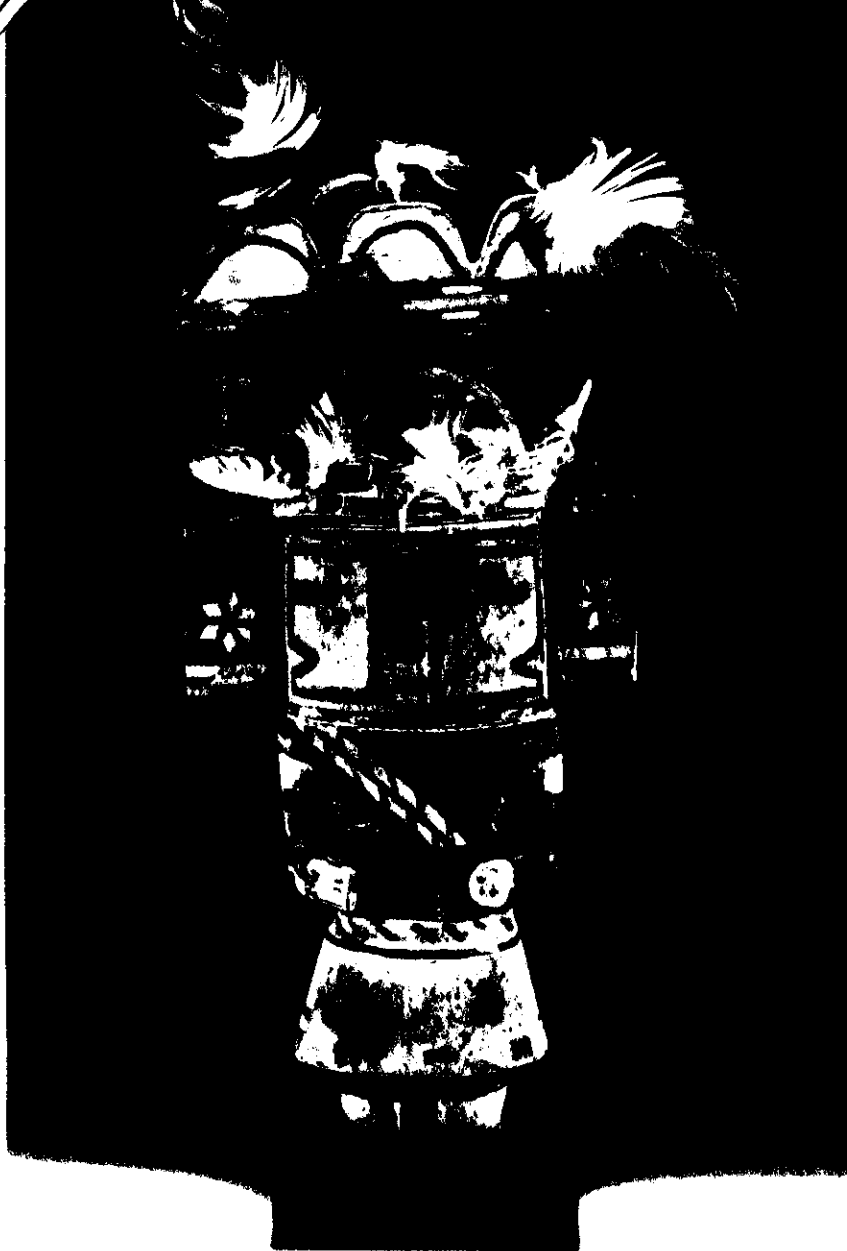


Fig. 63. Sio Hemis Kachina dating from ca. 1900.  
No. 152.

One of the major problems of kachina doll making in recent years has been obtaining the proper feathers. Formerly specific feathers of specific birds were mandatory according to the religious beliefs of the Hopi. In 1973 the United States Fish and Wildlife Service began enforcing a law to protect all migratory birds and this prohibited the use of feathers from these species. As an alternative, some of these craftsmen made an effort to carve and paint feathers.

It is interesting to note that here as in other crafts, the Hopi never signed their products until encouraged to do so by the white man. The first kachina doll maker to sign his carvings was Jimmie Kewanwytewa, a Hopi who worked for the Museum of Northern Arizona. Today, it is common practice for the majority of these Hopi artists to sign their work.

The artistic development of the kachina doll presents an interesting story of stylistic change. Those made before 1890 are either naked figures or are stiffly dressed in highly stylized gar-



Fig. 64. Wakas (Cow Kachina) carved by Jimmie Kewanwyteewa. No. 146.

ments. Some of the naked figures show the influence of the cradle doll, particularly in the broad vertical lines painted from neck to feet and the arms hugging the body. Hands are slightly modeled, legs are indicated by vertical cuts into the wood and feet are mere projections out of the lifeless limbs. On a few pre-1890 dolls garments are represented, some even with a little painted detail on kilts and sashes. Masks and headdresses are proportionately greater in size relative to the rest of the body; in fact, some are almost one-third to one-half the body size. The eyes, mouth, cheeks and chin are decorated; sometimes there are head and ear additions. In many dolls of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, kilts are simply rounded enveloping garments which hang straight from the waist with shapeless short legs and moccasined feet projecting below. Some lower parts of arms were freed from the body, some hands were slightly modeled. Later, brocaded and embroidered designs were put on garments and masks were given more identifying features.

During the 1930s, with the Museum of Northern Arizona's concerted effort to revive Hopi craft arts, both the buying public and the Hopi kachina carver were influenced by its publications, and more directly, by the annual Hopi Craftsman Show. By the late 1930s the tihus of Jimmie Kewanwyteewa were beautifully proportioned, colors were bright, detail was excellent. Other Hopi doll carvers were beginning to move in the same direction.

World War II curtailed white contact with the Indians and their encouragement of Hopi craftsmen, with the result that both production and sales dropped. Also during the war years, dolls were made in the old tradition. But when young men returned from the Service, exposure to new ideas resulted in changes in many aspects of style and production of tihus. After the war, and in response to traders' requests, a few carvers began expressing movement in arms and legs. By the end of the 1950s, the "action doll" had become commonplace. The old stiff stance was not completely abandoned, however, for many carvers continue the traditional presentation, although often with freed arms which might even be modeled.

By the 1960s full freedom of figure was attained and most of the best dolls were executed in action positions. Eagle dancers might have one foot forward, one "wing" up, one down, and the head in profile to the body. Proportions were excellent, and acrylic paints gave a brilliance and depth to color not before realized. A great many of the carvers now modeled arms, legs or any exposed body parts, showing form and muscle.

As there are variations in details of many of the kachinas, identification of dolls is often a problem. Many dolls have single characteristics representing their most important aspect—whether it be rain making, corn growing or depicting a specific animal or plant. These features, however, may vary, for village to village differences in details for the same kachina are commonplace. Additionally, certain kachinas have not appeared in some villages for a long time. If a carver produces one of these dolls, he may make errors in costume and mask because details have been forgotten.

Because the kachina cult is such a fundamental part of the Hopi's existence, the carving and giving of the kachina tihus are an undying craft and custom. However, museums' and collectors' interests in these dolls have initiated new trends. Some changes are the inevitable result of the contact of cultures. Nevertheless, the strength and importance of the internal Hopi way in the face of western culture ensures that kachina manifestations will persist for many years to come.

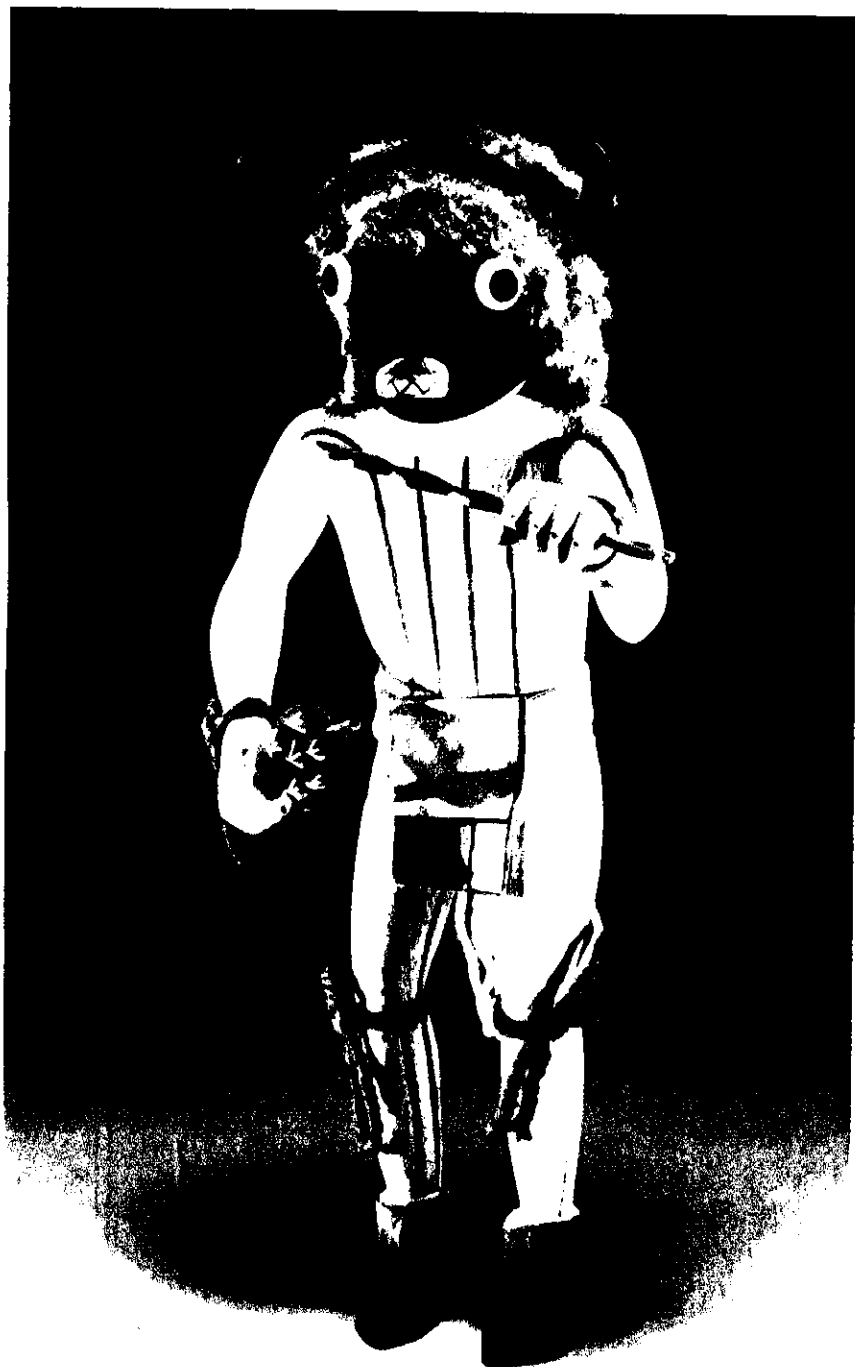


Fig. 65. Mosairu (Buffalo Kachina) ca. 1963.  
No. 140.

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## Society for Ethnomusicology

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Hopi Kachina Dance Songs: Concepts and Context

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## Hopi Kachina Dance Songs: Concepts and Context

GEORGE LIST

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The Hopis are the westernmost group of the Pueblo Indians of the southwestern United States.<sup>1</sup> They live on a high, dry plateau in northern Arizona. They had been a sedentary, agricultural people. To protect themselves against marauding, nomadic Indians they had from the fourteenth century until recent times built their villages on high spurs of the great Black Mesa. Here they were protected on most sides by cliffs. At the base of the spurs are springs from which they secured their water and washes and other desirable locations where they planted their corn and melons. Since conditions have changed in this century many Hopis have descended from their mesa tops and formed villages in the valleys.

Three separate groups of villages are located along the southern rim of the great Black Mesa. From east to west they are known as First Mesa, Second Mesa, and Third Mesa. The bulk of my informants were from the First Mesa area, less from the Second Mesa. At First Mesa three villages are located on a spur: Walpi, Sichomovi, and Hano. There is also one below the Mesa, Polacca. The oldest of these is Walpi. Hano was established by a group of Tewa Indians who came to the First Mesa area during the end of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century from an Eastern Pueblo in the Rio Grande valley. The Hopis had been under control of the Spaniards during part of the seventeenth century, but they revolted in 1680 and resisted any further attempts by the Spaniards to subdue them.

In her *Patterns of Culture* (1934), Ruth Benedict selected the Zuni, a Pueblo tribe living to the east of the Hopi, as an example of a typical "apollonian" culture: distrusting excess, having scorn for violence and power. (She contrasted Zuni society with that of the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island, whom she termed a typical "dionysian" culture: competitive, vio-

lent, self-glorifying, and highly emotional, the antithesis of the Zuni culture.) The Hopis exhibit characteristics very similar to those of the Zuni. In addition, the Hopis are known by other Native Americans as the "Indian's Indians," since they have been more successful than almost any other tribe in the United States in preserving their traditions. In the Hopi language the term *hopi* signifies "righteous people" or "correct people." Those who follow the Hopi way avoid physical violence whenever possible and offer help to one another whenever necessary. Each village or village complex is a self-contained socialistic community: "every individual in the group, male or female, young or old, has his proper place and role in the organization of the community, with corresponding responsibilities and privileges. . . . The idea of privilege is not stressed in Hopi culture, social responsibility being more in evidence" (Thompson 1950:65).

In Hopi society the roles of the sexes are equally balanced. Descent is matrilineal and the woman owns land, house, and the tools of production. However, the men have the responsibility for the ceremonial life of the community. In the Hopi view, should the men not exercise this responsibility, the crops would not grow and no Hopi would reach the old age envisioned in his prayers.

For the Hopi, "Man, the animals, the plants, the elements, and the supernatural powers interact in an orderly rhythmic fashion, . . . for the good of all" (ibid.:133). Nevertheless, the Hopi believes that man can exert a limited influence on nature. This is accomplished by his participation in ritual and ceremony, not in the mechanical observance of such rites but in the creative reliving of each ceremonial act with emotional force, prayer, and the exercise of will.

Many of these rites, such as the bulk of the Powamu ceremony, are celebrated in secret in the *kivas*, or underground ceremonial chambers. Others, such as the Snake Dance and the *kachina* dances, are celebrated in public. Kivas are owned by clans, and they are used (and sometimes named) by the societies that are clan-owned. For some ceremonies, however, kivas take turns hosting ceremonies. The *kachina* dances are performed by members of the men's secret societies, each of which possesses a kiva. There are eleven kivas in the First Mesa area. Most Hopis, both male and female, are initiated into the *kachina* cult, but only the males appear as costumed masked dancers. Following the Powamu ceremony in February, each kiva performs a differing *kachina* dance in its kiva four nights over a period of four weeks. Each is a group dance with approximately eight to fifteen performers. In almost all dances only one *kachina* is represented such as the *Ma'K* (the Hunter), the *Heybeya kachina* (the Farmer), or the *Angak'ch'ina* (the long-haired *kachina*). Except for minor details, the masks and costumes are similar, representing the particular *kachina* dancing. As

they dance some sing through their masks, gesture with their left hand, and in most cases provide their own rhythmic accompaniment with idophones: gourd rattles held in the right hand and turtleshell rattles and/or sheep bells tied to their legs. In some dances an individual Hopi who does not dance provides an accompaniment on a drum, or a group of *manas* (kachina maidens) accompany the dance with rasps placed against gourd resonators.

The dancing is ceremonial and restrained. A group of men form a file and dance in slow, shuffling steps. They make occasional about-faces. The Hopis recognized two modes of kachina dancing. In one the left foot is kept on the ground and merely slid forward. In the second, both feet are raised in the dancing. In some dances there is a parallel file consisting of a smaller number of manas. The manas are impersonated by smaller men who wear women's clothing and whose heads are decorated with the "butterfly" hairdo of the unmarried Hopi women (whorls extending out from the sides like wings).

The center man in the file is the leader and initiates the dancing and singing with a sustained shake of his rattle. There also may be one or two "uncles" who interpret the words of the song with their gestures. The gestures of the kachina also symbolize the key words of the song, but many are meaningless to the uninitiated (Kealiinohomoku 1967:343-58).

The summer kachina dances take place in the plazas of the village. In the kiva each dance and accompanying song may be performed only once. In the plaza it is usually performed three times, each time on a different side of the plaza. A man known as the "father" leads the kachinas from one side of the plaza to another by a sprinkled path of corn meal. At times he may also dust the kachinas with this corn meal.

In recent years plaza dances usually take place for two days, from sunrise to sunset on Saturday and Sunday. To rest between dances the kachinas go to a meeting place outside the plaza. During the two days of dancing fifteen or more different songs may be sung. These are composed by the men, in most cases for the occasion. A few older songs may also be performed.

The masked and costumed men represent spiritual beings who have come to the village to bring rain and to assist in the growing of crops and of fertility and health in general. Since the Hopis constantly invent new kachinas, they are somewhat vague as to the nature of these spiritual beings. They are said to be ancestral spirits, at times in the form of clouds, who have their homes on the peaks of the not-too-distant San Francisco Mountains. The younger children believe the dancing kachinas to be spirits. The older children, even before they are initiated into the kachina cult, know that they are really men. Children are normally initiated into the kachina cult between the ages of eight and fifteen.

At most kachina dances there are also clowns. The *Koyemshi* (Mud-head) is the most common form of Hopi clown. Clowns usually appear before lunch and are active through the remainder of the day, doing whatever they think will amuse the audience. They have their own songs, a short one for entering or leaving the kiva or the plaza and a longer one for dancing. The clowns can also act as kachinas while they dance to their longer songs. In the plaza this often takes place at the same time that the regular kachinas are dancing and singing. The clowns do not dance in a controlled line but individually, using whatever steps they please.

Since in the summer the kachinas dance during the entire day, they must be fed. Food is provided by a sponsor, usually a woman. In most cases, the prospective sponsor has the dance she or he wishes to sponsor in mind before it is performed in the kiva, but witnesses it to check on her or his intentions. She or he then asks that it be performed in the plaza during the summer. When a man sponsors a dance—this happens only occasionally—his wife and sisters take the responsibility for providing the food.

The sponsor of the dance asks two men to be dance leader and song leader, and they usually agree. The dancers in the plaza may belong to other kivas than the one that gave the night dance during the winter. The sponsor must furnish corn meal to the father who leads the dancers around the plaza. She or he must also give corn meal to the men she or he has chosen as leaders of the dance. The latter then get their relatives to smoke and say prayers in the kiva before the dance. A date is set for the dance. Although this date is known in advance, it is not officially announced until four days before the dance occurs. It is expected that the dance will last two days, but the announcement is only for one. The sponsor usually invites the group to come for a second day during the opening day dances. The announcement of the dance is made the previous Tuesday night, at a meeting which all participants attend.

The first responsibility for providing food is on Friday afternoon, when the leaders of the dance are fed (the kachina cannot have food or drink before lunch unless it rains). This meal is prepared at home and served in the kiva. The families of the leaders of the dance take almost as much responsibility for providing food as the sponsor. A noon meal is served to the kachinas on Saturday and Sunday. The remainder of the meals the kachinas secure at their homes. The food may consist of stews, home baked bread, cakes, pies, and other digestibles. A good deal of food is left over from the meals. Some kachinas take what is left over home, some give it to the audience. This begins after the first dance following the lunch period and may occur at other times throughout the afternoon. Sometimes it is given to a particular person at the instigation of a relative, but the food may be given to anyone. Someone may bring food and ask the kachina to give it to a particular person. The recipient must "pay" for the gift within four days.



At the end of the dance, men who have been smoking in the kiva and the women in the family sponsoring the dance may dust the kachinas with corn meal. This is to encourage the kachinas in their activities.

The kachina dance is the Hopi's most popular ceremony. There is always a large attendance of onlookers, many of whom sit on the flat roofs on nearby houses. Between dances the audience watches the clowns or gossips. To the outsider the kachina dance, with its colorful costumes and masks, its music, its clowns, and the passing out of food, seems to be a combination of Mardi Gras, a circus, and Christmas. At some dances, especially the *Niman* (Home Dance), the kachinas also give the children gifts: kachina dolls for girls, bows and arrows for boys. In the passing out of the food I have seen a loaf of bread tossed to an onlooker on the roof of a house. The belief of the younger children that the kachinas are spirits is analogous in our culture to the children believing in Santa Claus.

There are traditions as to whether the uncles or the manas join the dancing kachinas. For example, an uncle appears with the Heyheya or Angak'china dancers, but not usually with the *Navan* (Velvet Shirt kachina) and the *Hemis* (Home kachina) dancers. When there are manas who dance and sing there are no uncles. In the Heyheya kachina dance the manas do not dance, but sit and play the rasp and gourd, facing away from the kachinas. When there are no manas there are sometimes uncles and sometimes not.

The gourd rattles used by the kachinas may be plain or decorated. The turtleshell rattles consist of empty turtle shells tied to the lower leg. Split deer hooves are suspended above them by means of a piece of cloth or cord so that they strike the turtle shell whenever the leg is moved. No drum was employed in most of the kachina dances I witnessed. However, it is frequently used in the dances they have borrowed from other Pueblos. When the Hopis perform borrowed dances they do not change the steps, words, or music. When I asked an informant who had played the drum at one of these latter dances how the drum was constructed, he replied that he did not know since he had bought the drum from another Pueblo. The Ma'K dance is accompanied by a particular kind of drum, a heavy canvas folded several times, placed upon the ground and hit with a stick. In some kachina dances the rattle is used as an accompaniment for the dance; in others it is merely held in the hand. In this case it is used only by the leader who signals the beginning and end of the dance by a sustained shake of the rattle. In earlier times each kachina made his own costume and mask, but by the time of my fieldwork there was a man who specialized in making masks. When the family did not possess the particular mask needed for the ceremony, it could be bought from this man.

Occasionally in the night dances in the kiva a type of kachina appears which offers instruction to the audience. This kachina will tell the Hopis

how they have been misbehaving and advise them how to mend their ways. At times the criticism is directed to the chiefs of the tribe. One of these instructional kachinas is known as the *Chiwap kachina*. This type of kachina does not carry gourd rattles, but wears turtleshell rattles on both legs. He carries an eagle feather in his left hand rather than the sprig of evergreen or other paraphernalia carried by other kachinas. His song is chant-like and very long.

Some Hopi songs are traditional and are passed on from generation to generation; others are individually or collectively composed for the occasion. The latter is the case for the kachina dance songs. The kachinas carry the prayers of the Hopi to more powerful supernatural forces: the cloud fathers, and the powers of the four directions, the cardinal points. This is accomplished through *páhos*, or prayer feathers, sticks with feathers attached to them. These are given to the kachinas by the father during the last dance of the day.

### Composing *kachina* dance songs

Most males are members of the kachina cult and may therefore compose kachina dance songs. Some men are more interested in composing these songs than others, and certain men have developed a reputation for skill in this art; these men are the ones most frequently asked to compose songs for a particular occasion. Most Hopi men seem conscious of the stylistic factors which characterize kachina dance songs as well as those which differentiate one type of kachina dance song from another. However, not all can verbalize these concepts. Through continued interview, especially with skilled and experienced composers, it is possible to secure a fairly detailed outline of compositional practice.

The great majority of the regular kachina dance songs composed at the First Mesa are cast in a form which is outlined below:

Full form: A A B B A

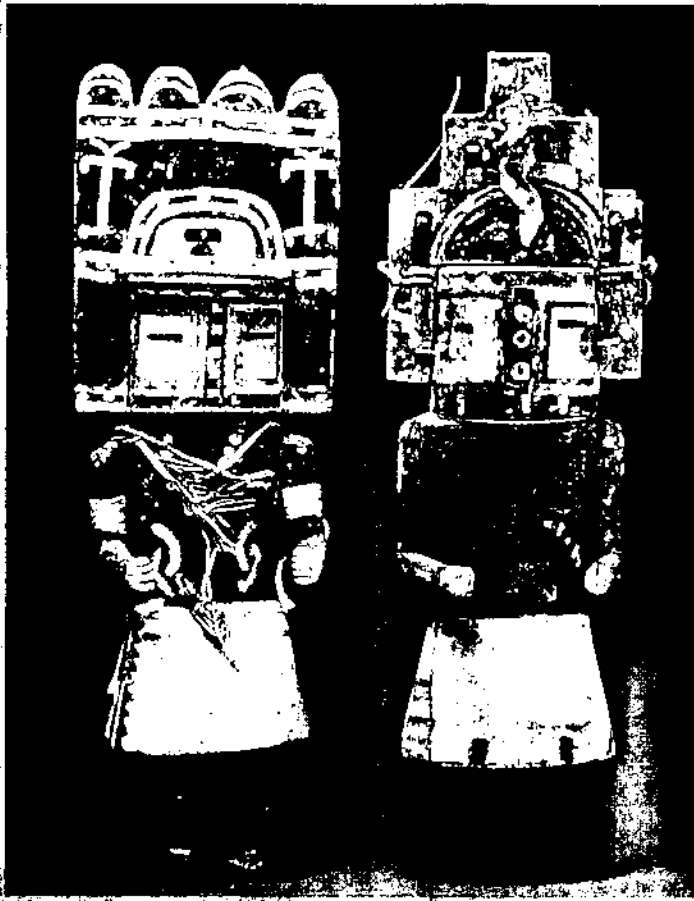
A: x c y.

B: z d c y.

The first, second, and fifth parts of the song, the parts indicated by the capital letter A, are the same. The third and fourth parts, indicated by the capital letter B, are also the same. All A parts begin with a short introduction, usually repeated, which in its combination of meaningless syllables, rhythm, and melodic contour symbolizes and identifies the kachina personified in the dance. I term this section "x," the identificatory introduction. Both the A and B parts close with a short section which, like the identificatory introduction, x, and by similar means, symbolizes and

# HOPI KATSINAM: MORE THAN SCULPTURE

by Wolfgang Mabry



“Carving Katsina dolls wasn’t regarded as making art when I was learning to do it,” says D’Armon Kootswatewa, whose *Early Morning Singer (Talavai)* Katsina doll is one of the many high-value, wood sculptures that he makes as art objects intended to share aspects of Hopi worldview with others. Like other successful contemporary Hopi Katsina-doll carvers, Kootswatewa feels the pull of two worlds, Hopi and American, the latter often referred to as “Anglo” in the Southwest. “Every Hopi learns and understands unwritten rules. We are taught to be considerate of all we see. The dolls we make as art objects reflect our respect for others and for the Earth. Our own personalities come into our work. I want to keep the dolls

authentic, so now I carve every doll from a single piece of cottonwood root.”

Cottonwood trees must have their roots in the water table. Growing along riverbanks in the arid Southwest, they provide wildlife habitat, shade, and organic grandeur in the succulent forms of individual trees and curvilinear patterns of their groves. Katsina dolls are a part of every Hopi child’s acculturation, with meanings in spiritual, physical, and societal realms. Cottonwood root possesses inherent symbolism well-suited to its meta-aesthetic purpose as carving medium and message carrier. Starting as tiny, fluff-encased, wind-borne seeds, cottonwoods take root in the earth, use energy from the sun, and bring water from the

*Opposite page, far left:*  
IhSi'hehiskatsina, Zuni, (pre-1903), 16-3/4 inches high, from the Fred Harvey-Yoth Collection, Heard Museum.

*Opposite page, left:*  
Nimankatsina, Hopi (1900), 16-1/2 inches high, Fred Harvey Collection, Heard Museum.

*Opposite page, right:*  
Hemis Katsina Doll by Uno Youwella, Hopi (c. 1983), Heard Museum Collection.

*On this page, left:*  
Muyingwa Katsina doll (c. 1900), 10 inches high; from the Goldwater Collection, Heard Museum.


*On this page, top right:*  
Polimana Katsina doll by Janmie Kawamoyterwa, Hopi, (1950s), 17 inches high; from the Goldwater Collection, Heard Museum.

*On this page, bottom right:*  
Abölatmana'at Katsina dolls by Oswald White Bear Fredericks, Hopi (c. 1960), right doll, 12 inches high, far right doll, 13 inches high; from the Goldwater Collection, Heard Museum.



river up toward the sky. They grow tall, strong, beautiful, and harmonious in their world—just as Hopi parents want their children to do. Cottonwood root embodies a prayer for moisture and growth. Roots are selected from exposed areas along banks and from fallen trees, consistent with the Hopi respect for all living things.

Any discussion about Katsina dolls (which the Hopi call *Katsina tibu*) can only touch on the complexity and variability of the cosmologies of the Hopi and Zuni societies for whom they have great relevance and importance. A few misconceptions about this complex sculptural form and the indigenous peoples of the American Southwest who have mastered it for centuries arose in the early twentieth century as institutions and individuals outside the Hopi culture began to prize these physically and spiritually intricate sculptures. As there is no "ch" sound in the Hopi language, the correct word for the spirits these dolls represent is *Katsina*, pl. *Katsinam*, from a Puebloan word meaning spirit father, or life. The erroneous "Kachina" dates from the late nineteenth century, when trading posts first made Katsina dolls available to the public.




"Kachina" continues to appear in older references, in some retail sources for authentic Hopi dolls made as art objects, and as a possible indicator of inauthenticity in a market well-supplied with imported and domestic imitations. It takes very little time to discern the differences in

quality, detail, materials, and artistic impact in comparing Hopi and non-Hopi dolls. "Although there is a Katsina religion," says Don Davies, who lectures on the history and meanings of Katsina carvings amid an extensive collection of works by contemporary masters at Packard's gallery on the Santa Fe Plaza in Santa Fe, New Mexico, "it is important to note that no one worships the dolls, even those that are made as ceremonial objects and never sold or exhibited to the outside world." Davies uses the term *religion* in the sense of binding together a society under a system of belief that pervades the public and private lives of its members. The word *Hopi* connotes righteous people, correct people. The Hopi call themselves *Hopitu*, "the Peaceable People."

An ideal place to begin to develop an appreciation for Katsina dolls is the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona. Barry Goldwater gave a collec-

*Top center: Nata'aska by unknown artist (c. 1900), Hopi, 18-3/4 inches high; Gift of Senator Barry M. Goldwater, in exhibit at the Heard Museum, Phoenix, AZ.*



tion of more than 400 dolls to the museum in 1963. The collection is featured in the current Heard exhibition and publication of the same title edited by Ann Marshall, *Home: Native People in the Southwest*. More than four years in the making, and involving the entire Heard Museum staff, the exhibition and book survey the Katsinam and the dolls in the context of Hopi home life, and in the broader scope of other Native expressions of *home* in art. Some of these Katsinam have real, not carved feathers, an indication that they were not made as art objects for the outside world, but for educational purposes in Hopi homes.

Katsinam take three forms. First, they are entities, spirit beings who can influence the natural world. As intermediaries between the physical and spiritual realms, Katsinam are primary teachers of the people. They live for half the year in cloud homes above the San Francisco Peaks, southwest of the three Hopi mesas, and at the Spring of the Shadows to the east. At the winter solstice, they take on physical form in the persons of the men of the Hopi villages, who become Katsinam in any of the estimated 300 active and 200 inactive Katsina spirit forms. It is important to note that the men do not impersonate, but

*On this page, bottom: Early Morning Singer (Talavai) by D'Armon Kootsuwatewa, cottonwood root, 11 inches high. Opposite page: Dog (Poko) by Stetson Honyumptewa, cottonwood root, 11-1/2 inches high.*

rather become the physical embodiment of the Power and spirit are vested in these Katsinam, who are present in the villages until the start of summer, making their presence known in kiva ceremonies, certain plaza ceremonies, and in the discipline and education of children. There are two villages, each with two or more *kivas*, ceremonial rooms

men-only kiva societies meet and work, and where many of the semipublic ceremonies take place. Each kiva society is dedicated to a specific Katsina. Each has its own priesthood, pattern of ritual, permanent and evolving accoutrements, yearly cycle of ceremonies, and special place for rehearsals, rites, and performances. Believing in the unity of life as manifested in all things, the Hopi categorize the Katsina as cosmic, animal, or ancestral.

In the first two forms, spirit and personification, Katsinam are protective spirits who can help humans if asked properly. They also represent the spirits of good people who die and become clouds, bringing the gift of rain to the arid land. They serve as entertainers, discipliners, and teachers of children. There are about thirty Mongwi Katsinam, wise and powerful leaders associated with forces of nature, such as the sun, the sky, and the earth. The Mongwi have the knowledge and wisdom to show the Hopi how to interact with the physical and nonphysical worlds. There are also Guard Katsinam, Women Katsinam, Hunter-, Runner-, Animal-, Bird-, Insect-, Reptile-, Plant-, and Mixed-Katsinam. In the matrilineal Hopi society, both male and female Katsinam are



exclusively by men. During puberty, young men in villages are inducted into a Kiva society where they learn the secrets associated with the individual Katsina revered by the community. Each Katsina has its own elaborate headdress, costume, and other accoutrements. Each has a sacred name which should not be spoken aloud.



The third form taken by Katsinam is the doll form, which the Hopi call *Katsina tihu*. From ages one through ten, Hopi girls receive two Katsina tihu each year. The Hopi incorporate the Katsina tihu into their home life for the original, longstanding purpose of imparting behavioral, cultural, societal, spiritual, and practical lessons and legacies to children. They have also made the dolls into a culturally and economically significant means of sharing aspects of Hopi society, ideals, and cosmology with others. Hopi Katsina dolls are not intended as toys, whether for domestic use or for sale in trading posts, galleries, and museum shops. The tihu made for internal use by Hopi families are made only by men, who are in closer contact with the spirit form of Katsinam. Given to children and brides, the tihu are displayed in the home to help the children learn the forms, appearances, and sacred meanings of the Katsinam.

Katsina dolls are most associated with the Hopi because they have been making dolls for sale to outsiders since the founding of the Two Grey Hills Trading Post by Don Davies's grandfather in 1897. This willingness to share aspects of Hopi life with others

reflects the dominant theme of Hopi philosophy, which links every element in the universe in a great Oneness. The Hopi perception of a reciprocal relationship between spirit and material realms finds eloquent expression in the complexities of the Katsina doll forms. Hopi dolls can include ceremonial figures that are not Katsinam, such as buffalo dancers, butterfly maidens, and the black-and-white striped clowns called *Koshari*. There are Hopi versions of Katsinam that honor and depict other tribes, such as the Diné (Navajo), Havasupai, Comanche, Zuni, and other Pueblos, according to Hopi author Alph H. Secakuku.\*

Hopi carvers honor their secrecy pledges by incorporating some slight change in the dolls they make for public exhibition and sale. Authenticity is as important to Hopi carvers as it is to museums and collectors. It takes years to become a master Hopi carver. A skilled carver fashions dolls that conform to Katsina attributes as taught in lifelong religious training. Hopi Katsina dolls convey the proper feeling and message, the essence of the particular Katsina. Eagle and Wolf Katsinam are two forms popular with non-Hopi doll makers. Fierce snouts, extraneous fur, leather, metal, plastic, machined wooden dowels, and a mass-produced look are essentially meaningless in Hopi culture, and are clear indicators of inauthenticity.



"Today's carvers only use real feathers if the doll is not meant for use outside Hopi custom," says carver Stetson Honyumtewa. His *Dog Katsina* is a sculpture he made as an art object. In carving the feathers seen hanging from the bow the dog is holding, Honyumtewa demonstrates fulfillment of two purposes. First, he shares the gratitude Hopis feel for the dog as friend, hunting companion, and helper, using methods, materials, and guiding principles that govern Katsina dolls made as art objects. Second, he earns a living by making something authentic, beautiful, and full of accessible meaning, for an appreciative public. "Respect for mother earth, appreciation for the other creatures that live here, that's the message of this Katsina," says Honyumtewa.

"Everything has a spirit. Wherever my Katsinam find a home. I hope they bring peace, security, enlightenment."

According to Gregory Schaaf, director of the Center for Indigenous Arts and Cultures in Santa Fe, real feathers have been used for centuries, until enforcement of the Federal Migratory Bird Act in the 1970s prompted the Hopi to begin hand-carving and painting feathers along with the rest of the doll. Plumage from legal sources, including pheasants, chickens, turkeys, and other nonendangered species are again being added at the discretion of contemporary carvers to their authentic Hopi Katsina





*Opposite page, top: Nata'aska or Ogre Katsina doll by Brian Honyouti (1998), Hopi, 33-1/4 inches high, in exhibit at the Heard museum.*

*Opposite page, bottom: Katsina dolls in exhibit at the Heard museum.*

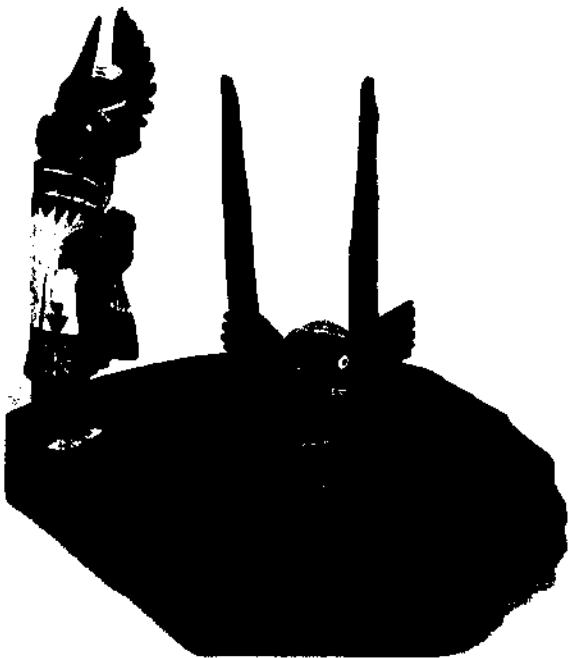
*On this page, top left: White Bear (Kocha Hona U) by Stetson Honyumpteua, cottonwood root, 15 inches high.*

*Top right: Eototo & Aholi by Roger Surtopke, cottonwood root, 12-1/2 inches high.*

*Bottom left: Crow/Owl by Laurence Dallas, cottonwood root, 3 inches high.*

*Bottom center: Crow mother (Angwusnasomtega) by Adrian Poleabla, cottonwood root, 12 inches high.*

*Bottom right: Brainfreeze (Hano Clown), by Neil David Sr., cottonwood root, 11 inches high.*







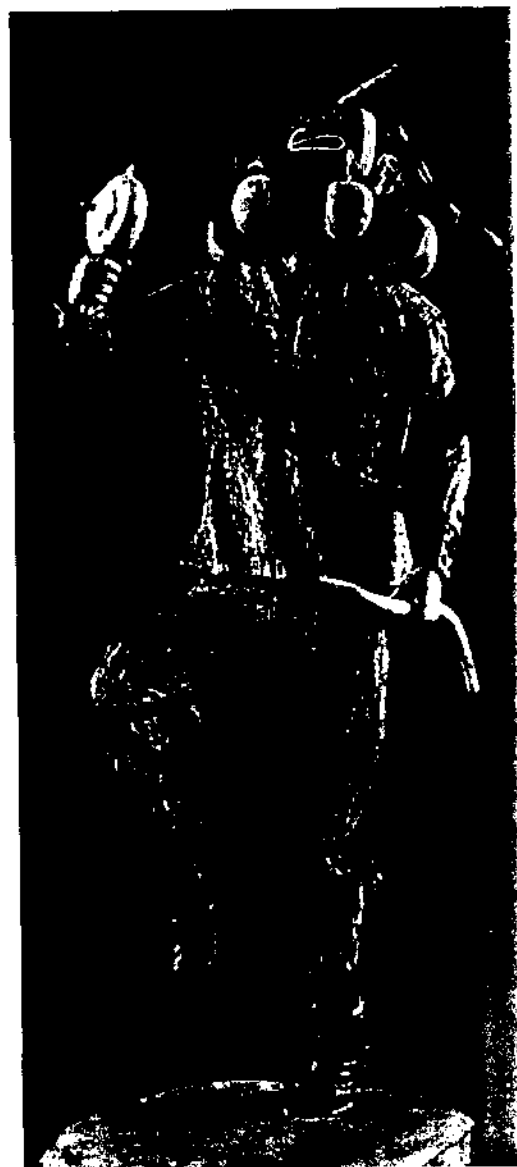
*Above, left: Crow Man (Angwusi) by Stetson Honyumptewa, cottonwood root, 16-1/2 inches high.*

*Above, center: Warrior Maiden (He-e-e), by Glenn Fred, cottonwood root, 13-1/2 inches high.*

*Above right: Rattle Gourd by Arnold Homes, cottonwood root.*

*Left: Paralyzed Warrior (Tuhavi) by Henry Naha, cottonwood root, 13-1/2 inches high.*

*Right: Kokopelli by D Armon Kootswatewa, cottonwood root, 11 inches high.*



dolls and masks, but only for ceremonial and home use. Historic and present-day affinity for symbolic use of tropical feathers, such as the macaw, in headdresses and dolls may have roots in the origins of the Zuni and Hopi peoples.

Katsinam can be  
beautiful, majestic,  
funny, or frightening,  
depending on  
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When they arrived in 1540, Spanish explorers found more than 40,000 indigenous people living in about ninety villages on the Colorado Plateau. These "town dwellers" have been associated ever since with the term "Puebloan," after the Spanish word for town. Puebloan peoples never constituted a single tribe, each village being an autonomous political structure with distinct cultural identity. Divided into Western, Eastern Tanoan, and Keresan Bridge Pueblos, only the five Western Pueblos have a strong Katsina foundation: the Hopi, Hano, Laguna, Acoma, and Zuni. These five are also characterized by dispersed political authority, matrilineal clan identity, female ownership of house and garden, and a peaceful ceremonial focus: rainmaking, agriculture, and education. Each of the three Hopi mesas has its own dialect of the Uto-Aztecan language, with Second Mesa having two, for a total of four. The Hopi call their ancestors *Hisatsinom*, the name archaeologists use to differentiate the Kayenta Branch Anasazi who lived in northeastern Arizona, from the Eastern Anasazi, whose descendants became the Rio Grande Pueblos.

The Zuni speak a language unrelated to any other in the world. While they have Katsina societies, personify and become Katsinam, and make Katsina dolls, they do not sell the dolls.



Each Hopi Katsina can be identified by its own personality, character, song, costume, and dance. Katsinam can be beautiful, majestic, funny, or frightening, depending on the lesson the spirit is imparting. The number of Katsinam can never be precise, because the pantheon constantly changes, according to the needs of individual villages and the Hopi in general. Historic shifts in climate and the arrivals of other peoples, such as the Spanish and other Europeans, have sought to impose new territorial, societal, or religious imperatives that have presented both difficulties and rewards. Technology and the modern world have brought a mix of benefits and challenges as well.

Living for centuries in a relatively barren and dry part of Arizona's Great Plateau region, the Hopi have established a rapport with nature that has sustained them through droughts, floods, and crop failures. Their philosophy reflects a deep connection to every aspect of their environment: the weather, the earth, the plants, and all the animals, large and small. It also seeks to sustain a peaceful, harmonious, and respectful society in which both tradition and creativity are honored and rewarded. *Katsina tibu* are the loving expression of a precious heritage and of high aspirations for future generations. ☪

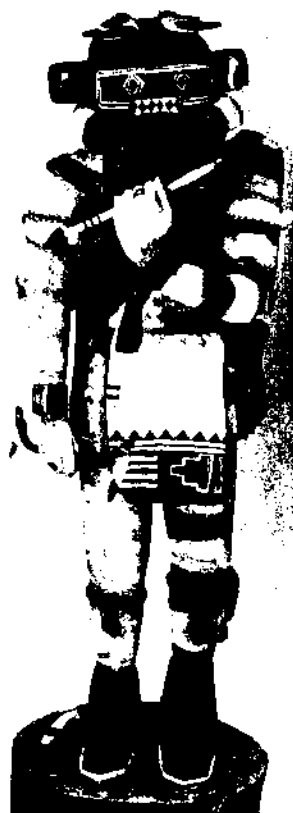
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\*Alph H. Secakuku, in cooperation with The Heard Museum. *Following the Sun and Moon: Hopi Kachina Traditions* (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Publishing, 1995), 81-83.

Wolfgang Mabry has written more than seventy-five articles about art, artists, and galleries for *Focus Santa Fe Magazine* over the past seventeen years.

*Top:* Chasing Star by Vernon Mabkee, cottonwood root, 9 inches high.

*Bottom:* Left Handed Warrior (Suyangevif) by Johnnie O. Wester III, cottonwood root, 18 inches high.



Wilson  
Web

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