

KACHINA CEREMONIES and KACHINA DOLLS

Martina Magenau Jacobs



Carnegie Museum of Natural History
Carnegie Institute
Section of Education

Educational Bulletin Number 2
Benedum Resource Project

KACHINA CEREMONIES and KACHINA DOLLS

**Illustrated with photographs
of kachina dolls
from the collection of
Carnegie Museum of Natural History
Carnegie Institute**

**by Martina Magenau Jacobs
Editor, Benedum Resource Project
Section of Education
Carnegie Museum of Natural History
Carnegie Institute**

**with a Foreword by James B. Richardson, III
and a Prologue by Edward Kennard**

**design and illustrations by Patricia W. Kelley
photography by Vince Abromitis
typesetting by Linda J. Smith**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	v
Foreword	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Introduction	9
Pre-Historical and Historical Background	10
Types of Kachinas	13
Distinguishing Characteristics of Kachinas	16
Kachina Names	18
Kachinas and Hopi Life	18
Kachina Ceremonies	20
Royal Ceremony	23
Namuya Ceremony	26
Powamu or Bean Ceremony	30
Preparation for Powamu	31
Powamu Society Initiation	41
Kachina Cult Initiation	41
The Bean Ceremony	43
Patcava Ceremony	47
Soyoko Ceremony	51
Kachina Races	54
Nanktioni or Repeat Dance	55
Plaza Dances	57
Niman (Homegoing) Ceremony	62
Kachina Dolls and Their Construction	66
Changes in Kachina Doll Construction	67
The Carnegie Museum of Natural History Collection	69

FOREWORD

The Hopi collection of the Section of Man, Carnegie Museum of Natural History, Carnegie Institute, reflects many aspects of the ceremonialism of this Arizona Pueblo Culture. Martina Jacobs discusses the kachina ceremonies of the Hopi using some of the museum's extensive collection of kachina dolls to illustrate that each ceremony has its own unique function and distinctive set of kachinas.

The 694 objects in the Hopi collection of the Museum were purchased or donated at the turn of the century through the efforts of Dr. William J. Holland, the second director. The impetus for the securing of Hopi material culture was for the planned ethnology hall to be devoted to North American Indians, and in 1896 Holland hired Theodore A. Mills to prepare lifesize models of American Indian groups. This included the Hopi Snake Dance and the Hopi bride groups.

One of the earliest Hopi accessions was a purchase from Thomas V. Keam in 1900, who operated a trading post near First Mesa. It included three sets of clothing from the actual ceremony of 1899 that Mills used in the Snake Dance group. The Hopi bride was based upon photos and costumes supplied by Frank D. Voorhies, a teacher in the Indian School Service of the Department of the Interior at Second Mesa Day School. In 1901 Voorhies sent additional Hopi material, including 49 kachina dolls and 30 other pieces including clothing, jewelry, tools and food products.

In 1903, Dr. George A. Dorsey, the holder of the first Ph.D. in anthropology in the United States and the Curator of Anthropology at the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago, offered Holland 275 Hopi items for purchase. At this time Dorsey was collecting for his own museum and was working closely with the Fred Harvey Company in Albuquerque, New Mexico in the assembling of their collections. The collection was purchased by Holland in 1906 and included in the assemblage were 129 kachina dolls that were fully documented by Heinrich R. Voth. Voth was a Mennonite missionary at Oraibi and a superb scholar who provided through his publications the information for much of our knowledge of early Hopi social and ceremonial life.

Impressed by the extensiveness of Carnegie Museum of Natural History's collection, in 1948, the late Dr. Harold S. Holton, noted Hopi scholar and director of the Museum of Northern Arizona, contacted Dr. O. E. Jennings, then director of the Museum, and asked if he might study a number of the kachina dolls from the collection. Permission was granted, and research done with the kachina dolls and Voth's accompanying notes was instrumental in the development in 1949 of his book, *Hopi*

LOGUE

seums, characteristically, are designed to display objects. e objects may have values by themselves, esthetic or onstrating arts and skills of a foreign culture, they become significant to the viewer to the extent that he is able to see in the context of that culture.

e current exhibit features a very large collection of kachina , the carved, painted, and feathered representations of Hopi inas. In order to provide the context for them, Dr. Martina bs has written this book, describing in detail what Hopi inas are, what part they play in the ceremonial life of the le, when and where they dance or otherwise perform in the le, and the ideas and practices that center upon them.

ile many people are familiar with the Snake Dance, which rs every other year in August, the reader will discover that achina cult is far more colorful and pervasive in the life of lopi. It occupies fully half of the year, and includes two eight ceremonies, as well as many other performances. It is the s of a considerable body of folklore, and it has been expan- and elaborating, while other ceremonies are being abandon- allowed to lapse for lack of leadership.

is fortunate that prospective visitors to this exhibit have provided with such a wealth of detailed background so that may view it in its proper context.

urd A. Kennard
nct Professor
ersity of Nevada, Reno

essor Emeritus of Anthropology
ersity of Pittsburgh

INTRODUCTION

The religion of the Hopi Indians of northeastern Arizona includes a broad pantheon of both deities and spiritual beings. There are approximately 36 Hopi deities who inhabit the sky, earth, and underworld. The spiritual beings, estimated to number anywhere from 200-500, serve as intermediaries between the deities and the Hopi people and, as such, play a central role in the Hopis' lives. Called 'kachinas,' these spiritual beings are believed to be controllers of natural phenomena and perpetrators of the Hopi way of life.

The word, 'kachina,' signifies three separate but interrelated entities to the Hopi. 'Kachina' primarily refers to the myriad of spiritual beings who play an essential part in Hopi religious practices. The kachinas are believed to leave their homes and come to stay with the Hopi for approximately six months of the year. When not living among the Hopis, the kachinas stay in their own homes, located either in the San Francisco Mountains (to the west of the Hopis, near Flagstaff, Arizona), in the underworld (Hopi heaven), or in the sky. These spiritual beings vary in appearance, personality, and in the role they play in Hopi life. They represent the spirits of the deceased Hopi people (not particular individuals), as well as the spirits of plants, animals, and natural phenomena. The kachinas are an expression of the Hopis' animistic view of the universe.

When performing certain religious ceremonies, Hopi men personify particular kachinas by donning masks and costumes. When a Hopi man wears a kachina costume, he is referred to as a 'kachina.' By wearing the costume and performing as a kachina, he is believed to have lost his personal identity and to have taken on the spirit of the kachina he represents.

Finally, Hopi men carve representations of the various kachinas. These carved wooden kachina dolls are given to girls and women of all ages by the masked kachina performers during certain ceremonies. The wooden kachinas are treated as valued possessions and are displayed on the walls or hung from the rafters of Hopi homes. The dolls serve as instructional aides so that the Hopi children might learn the identities of the various kachinas. They also serve to remind the Hopis of the kachinas when the latter return to their own homes.

Under favorable weather conditions, bountiful crops and a prosperous life are felt to result from the Hopis' petitions to the gods sent through the kachina messengers. A yearly cycle of ceremonies is held from January to July when the Hopis believe the kachinas stay with them in their villages. During this time, the

Oraibi, the oldest Hopi village which is situated on Third Mesa, as established around 1125 A.D. and is considered the oldest continuously inhabited village in the United States. The two newest villages, Hotevilla and Bakabi (Bakavi), were established in 1906 by dissident inhabitants of Oraibi.



Map of the Hopi Mesas

Archeological evidence suggests that the kachinas have played a part in Hopi life for at least four centuries. Hopi legend supports the kachinas' long existence. One Hopi legend maintains that the kachinas accompanied them when they emerged in the Southwest from the underworld. After many years of wandering, the Hopi and kachinas settled together at Casa Grande, near Phoenix, Arizona. During a period of friendly co-habitation, the kachinas performed ceremonies which brought rain for the Hopi crops and provided help and comfort to the Hopi people. After some time, however, Hopi legends say that the kachinas left them. Some legends attribute the kachinas' departure to an enemy attack, while others maintain that the Hopi had begun to take the kachinas and their good deeds for granted and generally abused their relationship. The ritual kachina ceremonies held by the Hopi represent their attempt to continue to insure the good fortune brought by the kachinas.

The Hopis regard these ceremonies as a reciprocal exchange with the kachinas. During the ritual ceremonies, the Hopis present the kachinas with prayer feathers, symbolic food, and other offerings which the kachinas desire. In exchange, the kachinas transport to the gods the Hopis' prayers for such necessities as rain and good crops.

moved to the top of the mesas. Except for a brief revival of their activity in the village of Awatovi, Spanish priests were prevented from re-entering Hopi villages both because of their inaccessible location and the Hopis' resistance.

Following the uprising, Awatovi was the only Hopi village to welcome back the priests. In 1700, warriors from other Hopi villages attacked Awatovi, killing many of its people and totally destroying the village. The village of Awatovi was never rebuilt and Catholic priests and missionaries were never again permitted to establish missions. During the years 1935 through 1939, the city was excavated by an archeological expedition from Harvard's Peabody Museum.

But the Hopi again faced forceful pressure to give up their practices for the white man's ways. When Arizona became a part of the United States in 1863, the effort to Americanize and convert the Indians was taken over by various other non-Catholic denominations with the tacit cooperation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In spite of varying forms and degrees of pressure, the Hopis have preserved and maintained their own religion and way of life. The kachinas and their ceremonies continue as an integral part of the Hopi way of life. The ceremonies, during which Hopi men wear the kachina costumes, are still celebrated during the six-month period when the kachinas are believed to stay with the Hopi in their villages. Hopi men also continue to carve the wooden kachina dolls for the education of their children, though a large number of these dolls are now produced primarily for the tourist trade.

YPES OF KACHINAS

There are a great number of kachinas known to the Hopi. Though their exact number is not known, it has been estimated anywhere from 200 to 500. The vast range in estimates is due to a number of factors. These include variations in kachinas among the three mesas and the sporadic use of some kachinas. Among the most important are the approximately 15 Chief Kachinas who have jurisdiction over the other kachinas and are connected with the more important aspects of Hopi life. The Chief Kachinas play major roles in important ceremonies and appear only at specified times during the year. They are regarded as having the wisdom and power of a religious elder and are treated with great respect by the Hopi.

Masks representing lesser kachinas may be made anew or re-painted as a different kachina each time they are used in a ceremony. In contrast, the right to own and wear a mask representing a Chief Kachina is hereditary. These masks are

same way as that of contemporary comedians. The Hopi respond to the clowns' performances with a great deal of laughter and amusement.

In addition to poking fun, the clowns hold a privileged position. Unlike the general public, they are permitted to touch the kachinas and will often repair the kachinas' costumes if they are torn or become untidy during the ceremonies. They may also act as drummers and announcers during ceremonies. The clowns are believed to have supernatural powers. They serve as priests at certain ceremonies and are thought to cure particular diseases.

The guards or police comprise another grouping of kachinas. Their primary responsibility is to oversee the management of particular ceremonies and events. When they appear individually, they function mainly as policemen enforcing crowd control at ceremonies and insuring that men perform their duties for community projects.

When these kachinas appear in a group, they function more in a warrior capacity. They surround and protect the more sacred kachinas. The warriors are also known for their attacks on the clowns. For example, the Owl kachina characteristically observes the clowns as they become more and more boisterous. Finally, he is joined by other warrior kachinas in an attack on the clowns. During the attack, the clowns are beaten with switches and doused with water.

The warriors bear symbols of war and bravery which harken back to a period of time when the Hopis defended themselves against hostile attacks.

Another similar grouping of kachinas are the ogres who are responsible for disciplining children. During a major ceremony at a certain time of the year they travel from house to house, led by the ugly hag, Soyoko. The ogres confront the children with their misdeeds. Even though each child's relatives defends him or her against the ogres' claims, the child must perform certain tasks in order to absolve him/herself and avoid the drastic punishment threatened by the ogres. Through this performance, children are taught the importance of cooperative effort and that they can depend upon their elders to protect them from danger.

There are many additional kachinas, named after plants, birds, mammals, insects, reptiles, humans and natural phenomena (such as sun, clouds, thunder, snow). The kachinas are not meant to provide a realistic representation, but rather the essence or spirit of the plant, animals, etc., they represent.

Polize the direction from which a kachina originally came to the Hopi village, are typically used on kachina masks. The six directional colors are: (1) yellow, representing emergence from the north; (2) blue-green, representing the west; (3) red, the south; (4) white, east; (5) grey, speckled or all of the above colors, from below or the Nadir; and (6) black, from the Zenith or above. Color is also used to indicate whether the kachina is beneficial or dangerous and fearsome.

Feathers, likewise used to decorate masks, are principally those from the eagle, owl, sparrow-hawk, red-tailed hawk, prairie falcon, crow and turkey. The symbolism attached to each bird (such as swiftness, bravery, keen vision) is expressed through its feathers.

Character symbols are another feature used in distinguishing one kachina from another. Some of the symbols commonly found on the mask or body are those used to represent animal and bird symbols, celestial symbols (clouds, lightning, sun, moon, star, rainbow), vegetation symbols (bean sprouts, corn, cactus and other plants), warrior marks or marks of office, symbols of protection and symbols of friendship.

The costumes of the kachinas show less individuality than the masks. Indeed, many of the costume types worn by kachina performers are also worn in other types of Hopi ceremonies. Typically the kachina is bareheaded and wears a costume consisting of a white cotton kilt with embroidered ends (representing clouds falling rain); a white sash with brocaded ends; a narrower sash of red, green and black worn over the white sash; a fox skin appended from the sash at the back of the waist, with the tails hanging down to the ground; and red or green buckskin moccasins. Strands of yarn and bracelets are worn on the right wrist and a bow guard is worn on the left wrist. The upper portion of the kachina's body is painted with various colors and designs.

The kachin-manas usually wear a black woolen dress with a green and black belt tied around the waist. (This is the traditional Hopi woman's dress.) A white cotton shawl with red and black borders or a white embroidered ceremonial robe is worn over the shoulders. The kachin-mana either appears barefoot or wears white deerskin boots. The kachin-mana's hair is often pulled out at each side of the mask in 'maiden whorls,' butterfly-like ornaments made by wrapping the hair around a frame. (See photograph of kachin-manas on page 36.)

Variations do occur in the kachina costumes. Some kachinas, for example, may wear a shirt and trousers, others may appear in a Hopi bride costume (a white robe held at the waist with a fringed belt and another white robe worn over the

Kachina, Snake, Reed, Squash) through matrilineal descent. Over the past century, approximately 50 different clan names have been identified, although not all clans are found in each Hopi village. Within a village, two or more clans may be associated with each other and thus share such privileges as the joint sponsorship of a particular ceremony.

Each clan has a sacred object associated with it. Some of these sacred objects are the masks of the Chief Kachinas, who, according to Hopi legend, accompanied a particular clan on its wanderings throughout the Southwest before settling with the clan in its present-day village.

A number of fraternities or secret societies are also associated with the clans. Leadership of that society is hereditary within the clan. All members are initiated through a series of secret rites.

A particular clan carries primary responsibility for each ceremony and its ritual. The leader of the clan which is most closely tied to a ceremony carries the greatest responsibility, while others may be entrusted with lesser ceremonial duties. The link between a clan and a particular kachina ceremony is ascribed through legend.

As children, all Hopis are initiated into the Kachina Cult. The various kachinas and their roles are taught, and, at initiation, the children discover that the kachinas who perform at the ceremonies are actually Hopi men wearing masks. The instruction and training provided via the Kachina Cult prepares Hopi men for their participation as kachinas in the various ceremonies.

The cooperative group effort required for the successful performance of a kachina ceremony is a reflection of the very essence of the Hopi way of life. To the Hopi, the common good, rather than individual needs and desires, is of paramount importance. Hopis' thoughts, actions and feelings are to be directed toward the welfare of the tribe. If a kachina ceremony does not achieve its purpose, its lack of success is blamed upon participants' errors or their failure to have a 'good heart' (individuals' thoughts and emotions were not directed toward the common good).

Among their other duties, the warrior or police kachina insure that individuals follow the Hopi Way. Some kachinas discipline youngsters while others threaten or punish adults. Kachinas accompany work parties to encourage the workers and make sure everyone does their share of the work. Kachina songs are sung during some work sessions, such as when cotton is spun and woven. Certain kachinas also provide law enforcement by helping

The major ceremonies share certain common features. Each is conducted by one or more chiefs or clan heads. The ceremonies last nine days. The first eight days are typically devoted to secret preparatory rituals during which purification taboos are observed. The secret rituals are conducted in a Kiva, an underground ceremonial chamber. The ceremony culminates on the ninth day with a public dance. Each has a traditional function established through the ages and coincides with and emphasizes a particular phase of the Hopis' annual agricultural cycle. The primary aim of each ceremony is the production of rain, fertility and growth.

Every man is initiated into one of four societies collectively called by the name of one of them, the Wuwuchim. In the years in which a Wuwuchim initiation takes place, the entire calendar is lengthened through the following Niman or Home Dance.

The kachina ceremonies roughly extend from December to July. The opening of the season corresponds with the winter solstice and its closing occurs at approximately the same time as the summer solstice.

Six ceremonies are held during the kachina season. They are as follows:

Month	Kachina Ceremony
December	Soyal (Winter Solstice Ceremony)
January	Pamuya (Kiva Dances)
February	Powamu (Bean Dance)
March	Anktioni (Repeat Dances)
April	Plaza Dances
May	Plaza Dances
July	Niman (Home Dance)

Some of the ceremonies include subceremonies as a part of them.

Additional one-day kachina dances are held throughout the six-month season. The shorter dances are not characterized by the elaborate ceremonialism that is a part of the other kachina ceremonies. The one-day dances are often sponsored by people who wish to commemorate some special event such as a birth-

ceremonies. The ceremonies are performed in much the same way as they were observed at the turn of the century.

SOYAL CEREMONY

Soyal, held at the winter solstice in December, is the first major kachina ceremony of the year. Everything that is to occur during the following ceremonial year is arranged at Soyal. If a person wants to sponsor a kachina dance in the Spring or Summer months, it is arranged at this time.

In November, sixteen days before the Soyal ceremony begins, Soyal, one of the Chief Kachinas, enters the pueblo via a southwesterly trail. (See page 14 for a drawing of the Soyal Kachina.) He gives the appearance of a weary old man who has just awakened from a long, deep sleep, tottering and seeming to be on the verge of losing his balance. His demeanor reflects the Hopi belief that the kachinas are just awakening from a long sleep at their homes in the San Francisco Mountains.

People stand around the plaza and on housetops, following Soyal's every move. His uncertain balance causes both amusement and anxiety on the part of the spectator.

Soyal wobbles over to the dance plaza where, with great exertion, he dances and feebly sings. The singing is done in a barely audible voice primarily because the song is regarded as too sacred for the public to hear.

Then Soyal totters over to the Chief Kiva (ceremonial chamber controlled by the Bear Clan) where the Soyal Ceremony will take place. He deposits the four prayer sticks he carries against the edge of the kiva opening. Following this he again feebly sings and dances. Taking cornmeal from his sack, he sprinkles the prayer sticks and makes a cornmeal path from the kiva opening in a northerly direction and then sprinkles paths to the west, south and east. This symbolizes the opening of the kiva for other kachinas who will be coming from many different directions.

Next, the village chief emerges from the kiva carrying a tray of cornmeal and prayer sticks. The chief gives the tray to Soyal and, in turn, receives Soyal's rattle and the remainder of his sacred cornmeal. The chief then makes a cornmeal path to the southeast upon which Soyal departs.

Sixteen days later the Soyal or Winter Solstice Ceremony begins. On Third Mesa, the Soyal Ceremony is the keystone from which other ceremonies radiate. The ceremony is controlled by the ruling clan (the Bear Clan) of the pueblo and is held in their kiva. It is led by the village chief or his deputy. His supporting officers include the most important men in the village.

The Mastops leap through the village pantomiming as if they were consumed with sexual desire. They make their way to the chief kiva where they stop and consult with those inside in a high voice. Then, as if suddenly aware of the presence of the women onlookers, they give their characteristic call and dash madly toward the women. Each Mastop places his hands on the shoulders of a woman, and, with little hops, symbolically provides fertility. Returning to the vicinity of the kiva, the Mastops hold another consultation after which they hoot and repeat their actions with another woman. The ceremony is continued until all the women have received their blessing for fertility. The women do not avoid the Mastops' advances as they perform an important fertility rite.

When the Mastops have finished, four Soyal participants emerge from the chief kiva bearing sacred objects. The men make a ritual circuit around the kiva four times. The sacred objects they carry are then taken to a shrine and deposited. After mimicking the men, the Mastops go into the kiva for a brief ceremony. They are then dismissed and retire to their sacred shrine outside the pueblo.

On the last day the kachina season is formally opened by the Qoqoqlom who gather at a sacred shrine outside the pueblo with their kachin-manas. The Qoqoqlom are the first to appear as a regular kachina dancing group.



Qoqoqlom



Pamuya Kachinas. Back row, left to right: Canyon Wren, Eagle, Hummingbird.
Front row, left to right: Bee, Butterfly

Preparation for these dances is not as elaborate as that for the big outdoor dances which come late in the kachina season. The size of the kivas restricts the number of participants and, thus, the number of dances and songs to be prepared.

Pamuya dances are arranged on an informal basis. Many kivas independently prepare their own Pamuya performances for the same evening. There is competition between the kivas to have the best performance. Many bird kachinas appear during Pamuya. These may include the Hummingbird, Eagle, Canyon Wren, Mockingbird, Snipe and Chicken Kachinas. The Bee Kachina as well as the Butterfly Kachina and his kachin-mana also frequently appear at this time.

The great variety of kachinas portrayed makes Pamuya one of the most spectacular of kachina ceremonies. In a single night, each kiva group presents a different set of kachinas. Each group dances and sings in its home kiva and then each of the other

Within that small enclosed space the gods seem to dominate. Nothing else matters. As a Hopi once remarked when we were watching a particularly colorful and vigorous dance, 'You don't care about the outside world at all.' The pounding of their feet on the floor reverberates, the song fills the kiva with music. The always pronounced rhythm becomes more pronounced. The flickering of the fire creates lighting effects impossible in a modern theatre as it flashes on silver bow guards, on shining black hair, on brightly painted mask, or glistening body paint. Each detail is accentuated for a moment and dropped into shadow again. The kachinas turn and new colors, new feathers stand out for a moment and then recede to mingle their individual beauty with that of the whole. For it is the whole line performing, the merging of so many details of costume, dance and song, in synchronous movement that creates such an effective performance. Their numbers seem doubled and trebled by the shadows on walls and ceiling, which assume fantastic forms. Unlike the dances in the plaza that are seen from above, here the gods must be looked up at -- perhaps a more fitting point of view. All too soon the leader's rattle is extended and they stop. Slowly they ascend the ladder while the old man sprinkles each with meal and throws a little up the hatchway after them.

But it was only the first act. Again feet are heard on the roof and a rattle sounds in the opening. A new group enters and dances. They may have a Koyemsi with them to beat a drum and to make amusing comments.

A second group leaves and is succeeded by a third. In all, twelve different dance groups perform in the kiva, and each group dances once in each kiva. Often it is dawn before they finish their rounds. In later years when less than

punished by the kachinas. During Powamu further child training is provided by the Soyokos, ogre kachinas who frighten young children in order to teach them the Hopi Way.

Finally, Powamu also provides an opportunity for important village leaders to reaffirm their authority. During certain ceremonies village leaders display their badges of office. Likewise, those Chief Kachinas who perform during Powamu may only be impersonated by specified village leaders. During Powamu certain leaders also show deference to others through ritual activities.

The Powamu Ceremony lasts approximately nine days and is preceded by a number of preparatory activities. A number of subceremonies often are also interjected into the Powamu activities.

Preparation for Powamu. With the appearance of the February moon, the head of the Powamu Society assembles its officers and members in their kiva. Throughout the evening the Powamu Society members make prayer feathers. At day break on the next day the Powamu Chief and Kachina Chief visit each of the kivas. In each kiva they smoke a pipe filled with native tobacco with the head of that particular kiva. After the smoke, the Powamu Chief gives the kiva head one of the prayer feathers made during the previous evening and tells him that his kiva may now begin planting beans for the Powamu celebration.

When the Chiefs leave the kiva, the kiva head appoints a group of its stronger members to collect the particular type of soil used to grow the beans in the kiva. These men take with them the prayer feather given to their kiva head by the Powamu Chief. Before the men begin digging, the prayer feather is partially buried in the sand and sprinkled with sacred cornmeal. A blanket is then loaded with the soil. The bundle is unobtrusively carried back to the kiva so that uninitiated children will not be aware of the nature of their activity.

While the one group is collecting soil, another group is sent out of the kiva to fetch water, large containers and the sacred beans to be planted. These men are also careful to conceal their activity from uninitiated children.

When all of the ingredients are assembled, each man in the kiva fills one of the containers with soil, plants 50 to 100 seeds and waters his crop. A blazing fire is started in the kiva fireplace and continuously stoked until the beans are harvested. That night, the Powamu Chief again visits each kiva to bless the plants by smoking over them and sprinkling them with cornmeal.

Runner Kachinas (left to right); Aya (Rattle) Kachina, Homsona (He Cuts Your Hair) Kachina, Sivu-i-qiltaqa (Pot Carrier Man) Kachina.





Ogre Kachinas (left to right): Chaveyo, Heheya, Heheya, Soyok Wu-uti (Ogre Woman) Kachina.



Kachinas Involved in Kachina Cult Initiation (left to right): Angwushahai-l (Crow Mother) Kachina, Hu (Whipper) Kachina, Hu (Whipper) Kachina.



Soyohim (Mixed) Kachina Dance Kachinas (left to right): Mangya (Lizard) Kachina, Omauwu (Cloud) Kachina, Mosairu (Buffalo) Kachina, Yoongo (Cactus) Kachina, Kweo (Wolf) Kachina carrying another Kweo Kachina.



Soyohim (Mixed) Kachina Dance Kachinas (left to right): Hon (Bear) Kachina, Koyemsi carrying Tuhavi (Paralyzed) Kachina, Po-okang Kwivi (Proud War God) Kachina, Sohu (Star) Kachina.

Each night the kiva groups meet to rehearse the two songs and dances they will perform. Informal kachina dances (with no masks or costumes) which draw upon favorite old songs are occasionally held in the kivas in order to help along the growing bean plants. Since a large number and variety of dances are presented at the Powamu dance, the informal kachina dances provide an opportunity for recently initiated youngsters to learn the art of kachina dancing.

When a kiva group has mastered the two songs and dances it will perform at the Bean Dance, it visits other kivas and gives an informal preview performance. Eventually, all groups hold a preview performance in the other kivas. There is a great deal of rivalry as the dance performances and bean crops of each kiva are compared.

Powamu Society Initiation. In those years when the Powamu Society Initiation Ceremony is held, preparation for it begins in the Powamu Kiva. Powamu Society membership is open to both boys and girls between the ages of six and ten.

During the initiation, the candidates witness esoteric rituals including a spectacular dance by the kachina, Chowilawu. This kachina, whose name translates into English as 'Terrific Power Kachina,' is never seen at public performances. He is supposedly invisible and appears only in the kiva in connection with the Powamu Society Initiation. Chowilawu wears a white mask. His red horsehair kilt is bound with a green belt from which a fox skin also hangs. His body is painted white with a black smudge on the forearms, lower legs, back and chest. He carries either a bullroarer or a plaque.

After Chowilawu's appearance the initiates are addressed by the Powamu Chief who tells them to sprinkle the kachinas with cornmeal when they perform at ceremonies and to observe certain dietary restrictions in connection with kachina ceremonies. At the end of the instruction, the initiates are warned not to divulge or discuss with anyone what they have seen or heard. If the initiates break the bond of secrecy, they are told that the kachinas will punish them.

Upon initiation into the Powamu Society, boys may attend the ceremonies and learn all of the Powamu Society secrets. Only male members may serve as kachinas or Kachina Fathers. Initiated girls may sprinkle the kachinas with cornmeal and play other minor roles in kachina ceremonies.

Kachina Cult Initiation. Kachina Cult Initiation, also open to both boys and girls, is held on the day following the Powamu Society Initiation. This initiation is held in another kiva so as to

As soon as one child has been whipped, another is brought forward. When all have been whipped, the Hu Kachinas whip each other and then the Crow Mother. The three kachinas are then dismissed by the Kachina Chief with gifts of prayer feathers and cornmeal. The kachinas depart the kiva in as noisily a manner as when they arrived.

When the Crow Mother and her sons are gone, the Kachina Chief warns the initiates that they must never reveal the secrets they have witnessed. If they do so, the initiates are warned that the kachinas might return and whip them again. The ceremony is thus concluded and the initiates are led out of the kiva by their ceremonial parents.

At the homes of their ceremonial parents, the initiates partake in an elaborate feast. From this point on, initiated boys may impersonate kachinas, although they usually don't participate in kachina dances for another year.

The Bean Ceremony. Powamu rites continue in the Powamu Kiva on the next day. On the following day a messenger who has been sent to a sacred kachina shrine to collect spruce branches returns to the Powamu Kiva with the branches. He narrates, in detail, the events which occurred during his trip. Sacred rites are continued in the kivas and masks and paraphernalia which will be used in the Bean Dance on the following evening are also readied.

At approximately three or four A.M. on the following morning, men creep quietly into their kivas to harvest the bean 'crops.' The soil in which the beans were grown is hidden and the beans brought secretly back into their homes. When the uninitiated children awaken, they are told that the beans were brought by kachinas, who raised them at their homes in the San Francisco Mountains.

In the kivas, men also bind handfuls of the beans with yucca string and attach a bundle to each of the gifts they have prepared for the day's ceremonies. Men who will dress in kachina costumes are given these gifts to distribute. Later in the day, the kachinas distribute the gifts to their intended recipients who may include ceremonial children, uninitiated offspring or favorite relatives.

At dawn, the Village Chief and other officials emerge from the Chief Kiva carrying their badges of authority. The Village Chief makes a prayer to the sun. A few moments later, strange, subdued singing is heard coming from the eastern edge of town as the Crow Mother Kachina appears. (See the photograph of the

Instead of leaving the village, Eototo and Aholi go to the homes of important people of the village. At each home they repeat the rites performed at the symbolic water supply and the Owamu Kiva. They also present a bunch of the recently sprouted corn plants to the head of each household. After visiting all of the homes, Eototo and Aholi return to the Chief Kiva and change into civilian clothes.

At the same time Eototo and Aholi have been making their rounds, men dressed in various kachina costumes distribute the gifts with which they were entrusted early in the morning. Bearing such gifts as dolls, rattles, bows and arrows and food, these kachinas emerge from their kivas and seek out the child for whom the present is intended. There are frequently 40-50 different types of kachinas, with kachinas of the same type traveling in pairs. Each kachina gives his distinctive call or performs in his characteristic manner. All of the kachinas wear sprigs of spruce on their armbands and under their belts. Members of the Owamu Society break off pieces of the spruce and consecrate them for distribution to the homes of the village where they are placed under the corn seed in preparation for the spring planting.

Feasts are held throughout the rest of the afternoon. A ceremonial meal of gravy, piki (a thin, flat cornmeal bread), and boiled beans is served in the Chief Kiva. The meal is brought to the kiva in special trays and bowls by the Chief's wife and women relatives of the other officials. In keeping with the dietary taboo observed during ceremonies, no salt or meat is used in preparing the food.

In the other kivas, meals of bean sprouts and corn stew are served. The stew is prepared in individual households and brought to the kivas in huge containers.

A kachina parade is held during the afternoon. He'e'e, the Warrior Maid Kachina, visits the shrines around the village which are regarded as the homes of certain Chief Kachinas. As she visits his shrine, each Chief Kachina joins the procession which then makes its way towards the village. Once in the village, the procession visits each kiva, picking up more kachinas at each stop. The village is eventually filled with kachinas. In *Hopi Kachinas*, Kennard reported seeing as many as 100 kachinas participating in such a parade.

The participants entertain people and hand out gifts left over from the morning festivities. After circulating through the plaza for some time, He'e'e leads the kachinas back to their respective kivas, and the large parade slowly dwindles away. By the time the edge of the village is reached, only the Chief Kachinas remain in

at the corn. Preceding this incident, the ceremonial parents have warned the initiates that it is wrong for them to leave their spot once seated in the kiva. The kachinas are thus testing how well the children have learned the lessons taught regarding the Hopi Way.

Following this episode, the kachinas begin descending into the kiva. As the performers come down the ladder, a comically dressed kachina remains at the hatchway and yells out jests at their expense. As each kachina performer reaches the bottom of the ladder, he announces that he is a real kachina. However, since the kachina dancers are not wearing their masks, the newly initiated children realize for the first time that the kachinas are actually impersonated by men from the village.

The performers, called Powamu Kachinas, depict both male and female kachinas exclusive of their masks. From the moment that the performers enter the kiva, the Bean Dance moves along at a fast tempo. The male and female kachinas line up on opposite ends of the kiva. A type of square dance is performed with the first male and female pairing up and dancing forward and backward before taking their place at the end of their respective lines. The next couple follows and each line progresses circular-

When the dance is completed, the performers distribute gifts to the young girls in the audience. The girls, in turn, give the kachinas packages of cornmeal cakes wrapped in cornhusks. This exchange provides the girls with an opportunity to express their affection for a male by, in addition to the cornmeal cakes, giving him a loaf of sweet cornmeal. By offering a loaf of sweet cornmeal, the girl is making a wedding proposal.

After exchanging gifts, the dancers move on to the next kiva to repeat their performance. The performance is given in all kivas before the men begin their second kachina dance. Each set of dancers gives their final performance in their home kiva. At about midnight, the dancing comes to an end and the performers sit down to a meal in their home kiva. The cornmeal cakes gathered from the young maidens throughout the evening are eaten at this time. While the kachina dancers eat, the newly initiated youngsters are taken to the homes of their ceremonial mothers where their heads are washed and they are given new names.

Patcava Ceremony. Powamu thus comes to a close unless another initiation, called the Wuwuchim Ceremony, was held during the preceding November. Every four or five years men are initiated into four Wuwuchim Societies. During these years, Powamu is extended to include another three-day ceremony called Patcava. When the Patcava is held, two crops of beans are

While the people are held, the bean plants are harvested in the kivas and taken to a shrine outside the village. Here, Patcava Maidens, specially selected by certain kivas, wait. With the help of male partners, the Patcava Maidens will carry trays filled with the beans back into the village.

The Patcava Maidens are the only kachinas actually impersonated by women. These women wear orange half-masks with a beard attached. The Patcava Maiden's hairstyle depends upon their own marital status. If unmarried, maiden whorls are worn; if married, the hair is worn long. Each Patcava Maiden wears a shawl over a black dress. White moccasins with attached white leggings are worn on the feet.



Patcava Maidens and Their Partners

The partners have been selected by the same four kivas as selected the Patcava Maidens. These men, who wear kachina costumes of their own choosing, have been tending the special crop of Patcava lima beans in their respective kivas.

In addition to the bean crop, the Patcava Maidens' trays are filled with spruce branches, various colored ears of corn, and a special stick to which some bean sprouts and sweet cornmeal dough, shaped into string beans, have been attached. All of the kachinas assemble at the shrine. Among the great horde is the Chief Kachina, Eototo. The Powamu Chief approaches Eototo and asks his permission to enter the village. When consent is given, the kachinas form in a line and prepare to march toward the village. The Patcava Maidens and their partners carry the heavily laden trays.

have fed the inhabitants with the crops they carried. In exchange for this service, the men of each kiva tend a special crop of corn during the planting season. When the crop is harvested, it is brought to the Patcava Maidens' homes by the men who served as their partners during the ceremony.

Soyoko Ceremony Another subceremony sometimes occurs during Powamu. The primary purpose of this ceremony, called Soyoko, is the discipline of young children. During the Soyoko Ceremony, many monster kachinas confront children with the misdeeds they have performed throughout the year and threaten to carry them away. According to Hopi legend, if the Soyokos catch Hopi boys and girls, they will cook and eat them or feed them to their own children. When Hopi children misbehave, they are warned of the ogres. Their appearance at this ceremony thus reinforces their reality and usefulness to child discipline.

Any parent can request the Soyoko Ceremony and any kiva can take responsibility for it. On the evening before the Soyoko Ceremony begins, ritual smoking and prayers for health, rain and crops are held in the sponsoring kiva.

Then one of the kiva members dresses as Hahai-i Wu-uti who is regarded as the mother of all of the other ogre kachinas. She is pictured on page 14. Another kiva member dresses as Kwikwilyaqa, who is pictured on page 34.

The two kachinas visit all of the kivas and announce that the Soyoko performance will begin on the following day. The kachinas carry baskets filled with shelled sweet corn on their backs. Kwikwilyaqa is a clown who is also referred to as the Mocking Kachina. He characteristically mimics the actions of others, and, as he accompanies Hahai-i Wu-uti on her rounds, mimics her words and actions.

In the sponsoring kiva other kachina roles to be enacted over the following days are assigned. Then the parents of young children tell the performers the naughty deeds, saucy words and stubborn actions for which they want their children reprimanded. The Soyoko performers must remember which misdeeds were performed by each child, as the effectiveness of their performance depends upon creating the impression that they know the children's every deed.

On the following day the parents warn the children that something unusual will happen. Hahai-i Wu-uti and Kwikwilyaqa dress at a shrine and enter the village. The parents make sure that they are home with their children when the kachinas arrive. At each home, Hahai-i Wu-uti leaves sweet corn for the young girls and warns them to grind it well because the Soyokos will be

Soyoko Wu-uti leads the procession of ogres who make a low umbling noise as they move through the village. At each house he recites, in a falsetto voice, a list of the child's misdeeds and threatens to put the child in the burden basket she carries on her back. While she enumerates the child's misdeeds, the Nata-skas and Tahaum Soyoko begin steadily stamping their feet and randishing their weapons. The Nata-askas scrape the ends of their saws against the walls of the house.

One of the child's relatives begins to argue in his defense as the terrified child clings to his mother's skirts and attempts to hide behind her. Soyoko Wu-uti and the relative debate back and forth, with the relative emphasizing the child's good points. Spectators who have gathered to watch the performance comment on the quality of each side's argument.

If the Soyokos have stopped at a boy's house, the boy next holds out a stick to which the animals he has trapped are attached. The Soyokos pass the stick among themselves, examining the boy's catch, and declare it worthless. The ogres make postures as if to catch the boy, while Soyok Mana whistles in disapproval and Heheya Kachin-mana whistles and attempts to lasso him with her rope. The boy may have to demonstrate that he is obedient and can properly perform tasks. At last, cornmeal and other foods prepared for the occasion are presented to the Soyokos. They examine this food and finally agree to accept it as ransom. The food is placed in the burden basket which some of the ogres carry on their backs.

At a girl's house, a slightly different procedure is followed. The girl's bad behavior is described and a female relative argues in the girl's defense. It is pointed out that the girl is not lazy but is, in fact, a good housekeeper who diligently grinds corn. The girl offers the ogres a heap of baked sweet cornmeal which the Heheya-aumutaqa and Toson Koyemsi grab and taste. If these kachinas say it is good, the cornmeal is accepted as ransom and added in the carrying baskets.

When they have made the rounds of all the children's houses the Soyoko Kachinas, their baskets filled with food, make their way to their home kiva. At the hatchway they stop and listen to the music and singing going on down below. Heheya Kachin-mana peeks down the hatchway and throws her lariat at the drummer. She makes motions as if she has roped the drummer and is hauling him out of the kiva. The drummer emerges from the kiva and begins arguing with the kachinas. He tells them that they are interfering with a dance rehearsal. The kachinas threaten to carry the drummer off to the San Francisco Mountains while Heheya Kachin-mana and Heheya-aumutaqa lasso and bring up the other members of the kiva.

The 20 or more runner kachinas wear a great variety of masks, usually equipped with large holes for the eyes and mouth so that they might run more effectively. They wear a minimal amount of clothing, typically a breech cloth or loosely fitting dress.

ANKTIONI OR REPEAT DANCE

Soon after Powamu, ceremonial control transfers from the head of the Badger Clan to the Kachina Clan. This transfer is marked by the resumption of night dances in the kiva. This series of night dances is named Anktioni (or 'Repeat' in English) because various aspects of the Bean Dance are often re-enacted at this time.

The beginning of Anktioni is announced by two Koyemsi, a type of clown whose photograph appears on page 39. The Koyemsi deposit an offering on the roof of a specified house. This completed, they jump into public view. They clang cowbells and make wild gestures as they announce the kachinas' appearance that evening. The Koyemsi run rapidly from kiva to kiva, arousing laughter wherever they go. They order men to prepare stews and piki bread (cooking is typically a woman's duty) and exchange repartee with the kiva members.

The Anktioni Ceremonies sometimes include the Palulokong, or 'Water Serpent' Ceremony. This ceremony, held in the kivas, consists of a puppet performance by mythical serpents. The large water serpent puppets perform in front of a screen which is transported to each kiva where the performances are given.

As with the Powamu Ceremony, a crop is planted and force grown in the kivas. In the case of the Water Serpent Dance, corn is grown. With the opening of the corn plant leaves, preparations for the Water Serpent Ceremony begin. In the evening He'e'e Kachina enters the village with a procession of kachinas. (See He'e'e and her procession of kachinas on page 34.) As with the Powamu Ceremony, the kachinas are led around the kivas. He'e'e continues to conduct her procession through the village for three successive evenings.

On the morning following her final procession, He'e'e leads her entourage into her kiva for a lunch of bean sprout stew and afterwards makes several rounds of the kivas. On the final round, as their respective kivas are reached, the various kachinas descend into them. Finally, He'e'e and her kiva mates reach their kiva and disappear into it. With the conclusion of the He'e'e procession, the corn plants are harvested.

During this marionette performance two bird effigies were made to walk back and forth along the upper horizontal bar of the framework, while bird calls issued from the rear of the room.'

At the conclusion of the song, the Kachina Father for the ceremony puts tiny brooms in the puppets hands. The puppets are manipulated so that they appear to sweep the freshly ground cornmeal into little woven trays. The Kachina Father then picks up two small trays which are filled with cornmeal and offers their contents to the spectators. This completed, the room is darkened by covering the fire and the materials are disassembled and taken to the next kiva for a repeat performance. Once the puppet performance has been given, kachinas enter the kiva for a dance performance.

Several Insect and Bird Kachinas appear during Anktioni. These include the Bee, Hornet, Butterfly, Eagle, Canyon Wren, Hummingbird, Mockingbird, various Owls, the Snipe, Roadrunner and Turkey Kachinas. Some of them are depicted on page 27.

PLAZA DANCES

In spring and early summer the fields are prepared for planting and the crops sown. The weather has become mild enough so that between mid-April and mid-July, one-day kachina dances are held in the village plaza. Although no more than three such dances are held in each village, they occur in a number of villages throughout this period. When a plaza dance is held in a village, its inhabitants serve as hosts to visitors from other villages who come to watch the performance.

A woman may ask that a particular dance be held in the plaza at this time. If she observed a night dance that she would like to be repeated in the plaza, she prepares piki (a form of bread) and takes it to the kiva where the particular night dance was held. Her request is a very generous gesture, since she and her female relatives must prepare great quantities of food to feed the dancers. At the time of the plaza dance, everyone knows who has sponsored it, and for that day, 'she stands in front of the Village Chief.'

In *Hopi Kachinas*, Kennard has described the preparation for such a ceremony:

'For sixteen nights before the dance the men who take part go to the kiva

the prayers of the village. The Kachina Father has made a path of sacred cornmeal for the kachinas to follow to the plaza. The cornmeal represents food for the kachinas. As the Kachina Father leads the kachinas along the path, he also walks among them sprinkling more cornmeal on their shoulders.

In the plaza, the kachinas position themselves in a line, with the best performers in the middle. Once assembled, they wait for the Kachina Father's signal to begin.

In the typical Hopi Dance Pattern, the performers are led to the southside of the plaza where they form a line facing east. The dance leader, who is positioned in the center of the line, shakes his rattle and begins singing a song. One by one, the performers on either side of the leader begin singing and keeping time with their feet. The kachina dancers hold gourd rattles in their right hands and have tortoise shell rattles attached to their right legs.

The kachinas are sometimes accompanied by kachin-manas who play rasps as musical accompaniment to the dance. The rasps consist of a large gourd placed on the ground, a knotted stick placed on top of the gourd and a sheep scapula (bone) which the kachin-mana scrapes up and down along the stick. A chorus of elderly men and a drummer may also provide musical accompaniment for kachina dance.



Kachin-mana Playing Rasp

When the song is finished, the Kachina Father leads the kachinas to their second position on the eastside of the plaza. Facing north, the kachinas begin another song. When it is finished they are led to the third position, at the northside of the plaza.

essence of their humor.

When the kachinas are dancing the clowns, too, sprinkle them with meal. They address the kachinas with foolish questions, only to receive the kachina's hoot or call in reply When the kachinas leave the plaza the clowns indulge in mock dramatizations of myths, crawling through hoops and then acting as if they had been transformed into some animal.

But probably the most effective of all their antics are the burlesques. During the absence of the dancers from the plaza, special groups of clowns, wearing grotesque masks and clothing in keeping with the character impersonated, enter the plaza. Sometimes they are Navahos, sometimes they stage a mock Hopi wedding, sometimes they ridicule government officials and school teachers. One of the most humorous that I have seen was a take-off of the behavior of the swarms of tourists who invade the villages for the Snake Dance each year. First several clowns ran into the plaza carrying small black boxes, and then proceeded to 'take pictures' of everything in sight and from every imaginable angle. They even dragged people out of the houses and made them assume ridiculous poses. Then they settled themselves on the housetops, removed their shirts, and exhibited all the manifestations of restlessness seen on such occasions. Finally, a clown entered at the far end of the plaza and immediately called in a loud voice to another sitting at the opposite end. They carried on a conversation in English and at the top of their lungs. The new arrival strode across the plaza, made a great fuss as he clambered up the ladder, and then they indulged in a great deal of hand shaking and back slapping.'

branches, used to adorn the kachinas' costumes, are principally worn around the neck as a wreath, as arm bands, and extending down from the waist. The two bushes, one representing a male and the other representing a female, are set up in the plaza during the ceremony.

The Hemis Kachinas have been typically associated with the Niman Ceremony. These beautifully arrayed kachinas (presumably borrowed from Jemez, a Rio Grande Pueblo) wear carved wooden tabletas atop their masks. The stepped tabletas are decorated with cloud and fertility symbols and a rainbow design. Turkey and eagle feathers and long grass stalks are also projected from this tall, flat headdress. Such kachinas as Heheya, Ang-ak-china, Malo and Tasap may be substituted for the Hemis Kachina as well as a Zuni variety called the Sio Hemis Kachina.

Just after sunrise, specially planted sweet corn is harvested. The corn, referred to as 'Home Dance' corn, was planted in early April in anticipation of this ceremony.

The kachinas enter the village bearing the ripe corn plants. These knee-high plants are distributed to the people of the village along with other gifts they carry.

Similar to other plaza ceremonies, the Niman Kachinas are led into the plaza along a cornmeal path. The two spruce shrubs collected at the distant shrine have been erected in the plaza. Once assembled, the kachinas dance in a single line, with their kachin-manas dancing in a line parallel to them. The kachin-manas carry rasps (musical instruments consisting of a gourd, notched stick and sheep scapula) in their arms.

In *Hopi Kachinas*, Kennard described the Niman performance.

'As they dance, the end figure starts to turn, and as he completes his turn the next one starts. Gradually, one by one, the kachinas dance about until they face in the opposite direction. In the execution of this turn the kachin-manas go in the opposite direction, so that it gives the impression of them being turned by a series of meshed gears. After the entire line has turned, they start reversing the process down the line until they are back in their original position. As they turn, the different symbols painted on the back of the flat superstructure surmounting the mask, are revealed, the familiar symbols of

About this time, the two spruce shrubs are removed from the plaza and the kachinas are led to a spot near the Powamu Kiva where they perform their final dance. While the dance is in progress, the shrubs are taken into the Powamu Kiva. Various village dignitaries (including male and female members of the Powamu Society) emerge from the kiva and, at the conclusion of the kachinas' performances, bless them with smoke and sacred water and distribute meal and prayer feathers to them.

The Kachina Fathers then solemnly address the kachinas with a speech:

'Indeed, it is like this.
After all, I set the date
For you at this time.
The sun has come
To the appointed place.
Therefore, you will return.

At your homes
Your fathers,
Your mothers,
Your people,
Are awaiting you.
So, you will start
To carry our words to them.

Listen.
We, here,
Have worked all day for you.
You have voiced our prayers.
We are tired.
You, too, are tired.
When you arrive at your homes,
These words of ours
You will give to them.

Soon, you will come from there
To bring us drink.
Around here
Our crops, our plants
Are growing poorly.
You will come soon
To bring them drink,
When you have brought them drink,
When they have drunk,
When their children [corn] have grown,
When they have eyes [kernels],
When our children, the little ones, taste them
They will surely be happy.
Therefore, you will come soon
To bring us drink.

Once carved, the kachina doll is covered with a wash of white paint. Other distinguishing colors and decorations are then added. Although acrylic paints are now used, native pigments were once employed to create various colors. White was derived from kaolin, a type of clay found in the Hopi region. Blue and green pigments were created with copper carbonate and malachite. Soot or corn smut was used to achieve a black paint, while ground hematite was used for red and limonite was used to produce yellow. A variety of colors were likewise produced with vegetal dyes.

In addition to paint, feathers from specific birds are used to decorate the headpiece. A green spruce bough ruff is attached around the neck, and shells, beads, tin or silver are added as decoration to the body. Carved rattles, bows, woven plaques and other accessories may likewise be placed in the hands, as a reflection of the objects held by the particular kachina dancer.

More simplified versions of the kachina doll are carved for infants from flat pieces of wood. The most prominent feature of these kachina dolls (called 'puchtihus' by the Hopi) is the mask. Arms are indicated at the sides and vertical red lines extend across the flat, slab-like body.

At birth, these kachina dolls may be placed inside or suspended from the baby's cradle to keep it from harm. Usually the first such kachina doll given is Hahai-i Wu-uti, the smiling grandmotherly kachina.

CHANGES IN KACHINA DOLL CONSTRUCTION

Kachinas, as well as the carved kachina dolls, probably played an active role in Hopi life before the Spanish entered the region. Murals depicting kachinas, dating back to the 1400's, have been uncovered during archaeological excavations. These early paintings portray particular kachinas in much the same manner as they are represented today.

Probably the oldest evidence of a carved kachina doll dates back to the twelfth or thirteenth century. This carved and partially painted figure has a head shaped like a mask. It was carved in a stiff stance, as were kachina dolls carved in the 1800's.

Kachina dolls carved before 1890 often bear a resemblance to the kachina dolls given to infants. Little carving was done on their flat torsos. In addition to the prominence of the mask, the bodies were painted with red vertical stripes on a white background.

Other kachina dolls from this period were either naked or stiff-

frozen in time. Today, exact body proportions are represented with form and muscle indicated down to the carving of individual fingers. Kachina costumes and accessories are also indicated in fine detail. Acrylic paints now provide a brilliance and depth not possible with the original pigments. Whereas kachina dolls carved at the turn of the century were purchased for \$.20 to \$1.00 apiece, the 'action' carvings of today command prices of \$75 to \$300.

THE CARNEGIE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY COLLECTION

In 1906, Carnegie Museum of Natural History purchased a diverse and representative collection of Hopi artifacts. Purchased from the Fred Harvey Company, the collection was assembled by Dr. George A. Dorsey with the assistance of Reverend H.R. Voth. Dorsey, while Curator of Anthropology at Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History, also amassed American Indian collections for sale by the Fred Harvey Company, a restaurant and hotel chain intimately connected with the Santa Fe railroad.

In preparing the Hopi collection, Dorsey enlisted the services of Voth who had lived among the Hopi since 1898. In addition to his duties as a Mennonite missionary to the Hopi of Third Mesa, Voth held a fascination for Hopi culture and religious practices. He not only mastered the Hopi language, but attended and became familiar with the esoteric details of Hopi ceremonies. This knowledge was translated into numerous publications on the Hopi published by the Field Museum during the early 1900's. Both likewise prepared exhibits illustrating various aspects of Hopi life for both the Field Museum and the Fred Harvey Company.

Carnegie Museum of Natural History's Hopi collection includes a descriptive catalog, with detailed information on each artifact prepared by Voth. Background information, as well as details regarding construction and use, are included in the descriptions. Among the 694 Hopi articles in the collection are 175 kachina dolls.

Another Hopi collection purchased earlier does not include this wealth of information. In 1900, a number of Hopi artifacts were obtained from Mr. Frank D. Voorhies, then a teacher with the U.S. Government Indian School Service. Forty-nine kachina dolls were among the 82 artifacts collected by Voorhies on Second Mesa. Although Voorhies included some descriptive material on the artifacts, his knowledge and understanding of the Hopi was far less than that of Voth. Whereas the Voth descriptions provide a wealth of basic resource information, those provided by Voorhies often do not supply sufficient infor-

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bradfield, Richard Maitland. *A Natural History of Associations; A Study of the Meaning of Community*. Gerald Duckworth and Company, Limited. London, England. 1973.

Colton, Harold S. *Hopi Kachina Dolls with a Key to Their Identification*. University of New Mexico Press. Albuquerque, New Mexico. 1959.

Dockstader, Fredrick J. 'The Kachina and the White Man.' *Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bulletin 35*. Bloomfield, Michigan. 1954.

Dozier, Edward P. *Hano: A Tewa Indian Community in Arizona*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. New York, New York. 1966.

Earle, Edwin and Kennard, Edward A. *Hopi Kachinas*. J. J. Augustin. New York, New York. 1938.

Erickson, Jon T. *Kachinas: An Evolving Hopi Art Form*. The Heard Museum. Phoenix, Arizona. 1977.

Fergusson, Erna. *Dancing Gods: Indian Ceremonials of New Mexico and Arizona*. Alfred A. Knopf. New York, New York. 1931.

Fewkes, Jesse Walter. 'Hopi Kachinas, Drawn by Native Artists.' *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. U.S. Government Printing Office. Washington, D.C. 1903.

Horr, Daniel Agee (Ed). *American Indian Ethnohistory: Indians of the Southwest*. Garland Publishing, Inc. New York, New York. 1974.

James, Harry C. *Pages from Hopi History*. The University of Arizona Press. Tuscon, Arizona. 1974.

Lummis, Charles F. *Bullying the Moqui*. Prescott College Press. Prescott, Arizona. 1968.

Malokti, Ekkehart. *Hopitituwutsi: Hopi Tales*. Museum of Northern Arizona. Flagstaff, Arizona. 1978.

O'Kane, Walter Collins. *Sun in the Sky*. University of Oklahoma Press. Norman, Oklahoma. 1950.

Ortiz, Alfonso (Ed). *Handbook of North American Indians; Volume 9: Southwest*. Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D.C. 1979.

