

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

HOPI NATION: Essays on Indigenous Art,
Culture, History, and Law

History, Department of

September 2008

Chapter 4 Hopi Kachinas: A Life Force

Barton Wright

Museum of Man, San Diego, CA

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/hopination>



Part of the [Indigenous Studies Commons](#)

Wright, Barton, "Chapter 4 Hopi Kachinas: A Life Force" (2008). *HOPI NATION: Essays on Indigenous Art, Culture, History, and Law*. 12.

<https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/hopination/12>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the History, Department of at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in HOPI NATION: Essays on Indigenous Art, Culture, History, and Law by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.



Hopi Kachinas: A Life Force

Barton Wright

“Everything has an essence or life force, and humans must interact with these or fail to survive.”

Hopi have many allegories concerning the major events of their past. Their creation beliefs relate that they emerged from the Sipapu, a ceremonial opening to the underworld, leaving several previous worlds where they had lived by climbing upward through a giant reed. There is a rough parallel between this legend and the findings of the lexicostatisticians and archaeologists for certainly the proto-Hopi lived in several different worlds before coming to the mesas which they have occupied since 1100 A.D.¹

The actual beginnings of the Hopi, however, appear to lie far to the west in the deserts of southern California. The drift of a hunting and gathering people from the north to the south in the Great Basin several millennia ago encountered an obstacle, probably in the form of other peoples, as they neared the northern end of the Salton Sea.² Whatever the cause, the southward movement of these people shifted toward the northeast, passing the tip of southern Nevada and reaching the strip of Arizona that lies north of the Colorado River sometime after 700 A.D. The occupation of this region for several hundred years eventually brought the group to the banks of the Colorado River on the east.

It hardly seems an accident that so many Hopi legends incorporate the only two known fords of the Colorado River. The Sipapu, one of the most sacred shrines of the Hopis, although now in the hands of the Navajo, lies at the junction of the Little Colorado and the main stream at the point where the Colorado River can most easily be crossed. It is here that the Bear Clan began its migrations passing through Wupatki and Walnut Canyon as well as Homolovi and other locations before arriving at the Hopi Mesas.³ The Snake Clan also places its origins along the Colorado River and farther north in the neighborhood of Navajo Mountain, or *Toko-onavi* to Hopis. Again there is a ford of the Colorado River at this point. Non-Indians call it the Crossing of the Fathers, from explorer Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante's use of it in 1776,⁴ but it was known earlier as the Ute Crossing and was undoubtedly the main north-south traverse over the Colorado River for many centuries before its use by Europeans. From there the Snake Clan moved southward, joined by other groups such as the Flute and the Horn Clans, and they traveled westward from the Four Corners area. The slow accretion of people on the mesas continued with the arrival of other clans such as the Water or Sun's Forehead Clans, many appearing somewhat later than the original inhabitants of the mesas.

Why did they settle on what to our contemporary view is an inhospitable place? Quite possibly our interpretation may not be the correct view of how it looked to these early migrants. It was a land that had permanent water in springs and arable land of the type needed to grow corn without irrigation close at hand. There was ample wood and game in the eastern uplands and the necessary warmth in the climate for their crops in the sheltered valleys between the mesas. Rains came in summer when

cloud banners flew over the San Francisco Peaks and thunderheads drifted directly over the mesas. To the south lay Belted Mountain and from it came the cloud roads which brought winter moisture needed for the soil. Hopis may very well have chosen an excellent location in which to settle; at least it has proven worthy enough, for they have remained on the same mesas for over 1,000 years.

It was a location, however, that demanded much from its inhabitants. It is an arid land, one that constantly challenges the survivability of those who live on it. The winters are cold; drought is not uncommon, rainfall is erratic, and pests abound to attack crops. Each clan that arrived and sought to join the earlier settlers was asked to contribute something of benefit to the group before being given the right to land use. This was usually an ability to produce rainfall, grow better crops, or increase the fertility of everything that aided in the survival of the village. Each clan possessed its own rituals that had protected or been of benefit to it during its travels, and as the settlements grew, ritual after ritual, some unique but many overlapping, were added to the ceremonial calendar of the Hopi. Foremost among these was the Kachina Cult.

It is not known where the Kachina Cult originated, but some evidence points to a Meso-American origin, brought possibly with the clans which migrated from north to south and north again. There are a few archaeological hints which indicate that there was a viable Kachina Cult by the time the Hopi settled at the center of their world in 1100. The Kachina Cult is shared with all the other Pueblo peoples who live to the east, from Zuni to Taos and formerly Pecos on the eastern border. Each of these groups have their own substantive perceptions and practices of the Kachina Cult.⁵

The central theme of the Kachina Cult is the presence of life in all objects that fill the universe. Everything has an essence or a life force, and humans must interact with these or fail to survive. It is much easier to interact with impersonal forces if they are given life forms and if patterns of reciprocity and mutual obligations are established. It is these visualizations, these personifications that are the kachinas.

To understand the relationships that exist between humans and kachinas, a tentative model of their cosmos can be constructed. It consists of either two states of being occupying the same space or as two halves of a sphere. In the spherical model, half of the universe is an underworld or the world of the supernatural, and the other half is the normal, real world. The sun circles endlessly beyond the immediate control of either hemisphere yet interacts with both. The contents of one hemisphere are the mirror image of the other, but where one half is composed of objects and beings of solidity and mass, the other is an ethereal, imponderable world of cloud-like beings. Evidence for this world lies in the clouds that rise above mountain peaks, the smoke from burning objects, the fog that arises from water on a cold morning, steam from food, the breath of living beings that leaves them when they die and passes into the other world. This is the world of kachinas, a place where the bodies of the dead go to continue interacting with their universe, but in a new form—alter egos of their former life.

Kachinas are the life forces of the cosmos that surround the Hopis on either plane, living or dead. Each of these forces, regardless of their physical appearance in the normal world, is a pseudo-morphic human in the supernatural world. These beings possess attributes that humans do not have, for kachinas can make it rain, cause the crops to grow well, or bring a multitude of other benefits if they are properly treated. They are not the ancestors of the Hopi but beings with whom all Hopi have interacted for mutual benefit through the centuries. The appearance of each kachina is dictated by its role

as visually interpreted by Hopis and distilled through time to a traditional form. The more powerful the potential of the kachina, the more abstract are its features and symbols. This second form of the kachinas may be seen when the men who impersonate these spirits appear in ceremonies or dances in the village plazas or kivas from late December to late July as called for by the complex Hopi ceremonial calendar. It is believed that by donning mask, costume, and paint, the impersonator becomes imbued with the kachina spirit, that for the time of the dance kachina and man are one.

There is yet another form in which kachinas may be seen: the small, carved, wooden replicas of the dancers that are presented to Hopi girls by male relatives as prayer objects. For the ethnographer these carefully carved and painted *tihu* or kachina dolls are almost the only physical record, abbreviated though it may be, of the appearance of the dancers in the past. The purpose of the *tihu* is to link the girls and young women with the potential benefits brought by kachinas, for the spirits are irresistibly drawn to their own physical images. Although these small replicas are called “dolls” by the non-Hopi, they are not played with in the same way that non-Indian children play with their dolls. Hopi children are taught that the kachinas are to be treated with respect, and this applies to the *tihu* which are often referred to as being “like your sister.”

Hopi kachina dolls are always carved of cottonwood roots because the wood is easy to shape and does not readily split. The cottonwood is also a tree that has water-seeking roots and will only grow where those roots can reach an abundant supply. It is most appropriate that a water-seeking root be used for a prayer object where moisture is the necessary ingredient for food, health, and long life. The wood is easily fashioned by such ancient tools as a stone flake for carving or a block of sandstone for smoothing, or with contemporary tools. Modern tools merely speed the process.

The earliest forms of kachina dolls appear to be flat slabs of wood with the merest indication of a neck, the faces painted with native earth colors and a simply striped body plus a feather or two. One of the earliest known forms was found in the upper reaches of the Gila River and apparently dates from around 1200 A.D. Although it resembles the flat doll of later years in painting and other respects, it is a figure that would have been used only on an altar. These flat forms have not only persisted but from them have evolved the three-dimensionally carved dolls of today. The earliest of the dolls carved in the round were finished with the arms tight to the chest and the legs barely represented, although the sex was normally indicated by the carving. Later dolls were made with the arms freed from the side, and the legs and kilts being depicted, undoubtedly a reflection of access to improved tools. This trend toward realism has continued into contemporary times with the appearance of the “action” doll. In this form the doll represents the positions which the dancers would assume. Musculature and other bodily details are carved and a costume fabricated which is often completely realistic through choices of cloth, miniature shells, hair, shoes, or jewelry.

The trend toward complete realism has represented a change in the purpose of the dolls to a great extent, as many are now made for sale rather than as the simple prayer object of former times. This practice does not prevent the dolls from being given at dances if the need arises, for they are authentic dolls. In fact, if some Hopi man has not had the time to carve a doll to be given, it may quite often be purchased from a commercial carver and then presented in the dance. Although the dolls have become somewhat commercialized, the kachina impersonators who appear in the plazas of the Hopi villages have not been subjected to this process.

Commercial carvers are a phenomenon that began around World War II. Prior to that time almost all dolls that were purchased were made specifically for religious purposes and possibly sold as the need for money arose. After World War II, the dolls began to be carved specifically for sale and signed by the makers, much to the anguish of more traditional Hopis.⁶ Among the earliest of those who signed their work was Jimmie Kewanwytewa of Oraibi who initialed his dolls under the urging of Mary Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff, where he worked for many years. Others followed the practice, and initials slowly gave way to those who put their full names to their work. Recently carvers have begun adding the name of the kachina as well. During the early part of this post-World War II period, an attempt was made to make dolls that would stand on their own feet rather than hang from a string about the neck in the traditional manner. After a decade of teetery dolls, or ones with abnormally big feet, this gave way in the 1960s to small bases that were nailed on to form the support. Today's dolls are an elaborate form of painted sculpture which replicates the appearance of the dancers in the plaza as closely as possible.⁷

Kachina dolls are made by many tribes in the Southwest. Zunis, next door neighbors of the Hopis, make the dolls which most closely resemble those of the Hopi. Over the years these two tribes have borrowed many kachina impersonations from one another until today they share a large number. Although they have many of the same kachinas and both carve dolls of them, these images are easily separated. The most common differences are the proportions, the materials used, and the symbol portrayals. Zunis make their dolls of pine rather than cottonwood root, and they clothe them with real garments. It is only recently that Hopis have begun the latter process. The symbolic decorations of Zunis are usually more complex and numerous than those of Hopis, but it is in the proportions that they vary most consistently. Zuni dolls are tall, thin, and usually angular, whereas Hopi dolls are stockier in their overall proportions. Presumably Zuni dolls are also distinguished by their movable arms, but Hopis have made similar *tihu* although it is not common.⁸

Farther to the east, from Acoma to Taos, kachina dolls are made, but they are seldom seen and almost never sold. The kachina dolls are simple cylinders with a stylized face and usually a few feathers on the crown of the head. Few collections of dolls have representations of this type.⁹

Even the non-Pueblo Indians, the Navajo, carve similar small images. The earliest form is the re-making doll. These small images, carved of any convenient piece of wood, are usually flat with the head, arms, and legs indicated by notching and rough shaping. They are used when persons fall ill and must be cured. For Navajos, this means putting these persons back into the condition they were in before they fell ill. The prayers in the ceremony are addressed to each part of the body specifically asking that that part be re-made as it was. The small image is a part of the religious paraphernalia. If the cure does not succeed, the doll is buried with the patient. Later Navajo dolls were carved in answer to the burgeoning commercial market in Indian arts and crafts. The first of this type were made by Clitso Deadman and later by Tom Yazzie. They are made of cottonwood root or other woods and are done in the Anglo-European style of chip carving. The subject matter is usually of a dance called *Yeibichai*, although today single figures of individuals performing household chores such as cooking or sheep herding are also produced.¹⁰

More recently the carving ability of the Dinés has been directed toward the carving of kachina dolls. This effort was instigated by government sponsored programs that hired individuals, usually not

Hopi, to teach the Navajo this craft. This unethical effort has presented the public with a fake ethnic object, for kachina dolls are not a basic part of Navajo tradition. Additionally, it has cut severely into the market of Hopi commercial carvers. Most Navajo kachina dolls, although beautifully carved, are overloaded with furs, feathers, and jewelry. To further complicate matters there are Navajo married to Hopi who must carve kachinas as the natural concomitant of their marriage.

There are others who have decided at various times during the years to cash in on this craft. Usually these efforts are attributed to the Japanese, but the only product of this derivation was made of porcelain. There are several companies based in cities such as Tempe and Tucson, Arizona, who specialize in the manufacture of "Kachina dolls." These wooden objects are turned out on a lathe and are produced by the gross. The carving is minimal and the painting bears only the vaguest resemblance to the Hopi doll, yet it is often found in museum shops and quality curio stores offered as real, if not by advertising then by implication.

The worst offenders, however, are the non-Native Americans who carve as a hobby and do not sign their work. These individuals use the scarce cottonwood root as a matter of course to make their dolls "authentic." They also sell their dolls, "only to their friends," and proudly proclaim that they are promoting the welfare of the Hopis or expanding knowledge of this little known group. Again there is the aberrant individual who makes "altar pieces." This person is Hopi and the items that he makes are masterpieces of antiquing, a process he presumably learned at the Los Angeles County Museum. The objects have an air of authenticity and antiquity about them and sell for vastly inflated prices. They are, however, not authentic and have never been anywhere near an altar.¹¹

The carvers of authentic kachina dolls, whether they are touted as commercial or not, call upon the great reservoir of kachinas for their material. They also make images that are not kachinas, such as a Hopi man or woman, a society priest, women's society initiates, Snake Clan dancers, farmers, and occasionally some of the very sacred ceremonial figures. This latter effort is considered so reprehensible by most Hopis that the carving is sold under the counter.

Normally a good Hopi commercial carver will have a repertoire of twenty-five or thirty kachinas that he knows well and consistently carves. If called upon to produce an unfamiliar one, he may ask friends how to do it or go to a collection of pictures or books that he keeps to guide his efforts. Formerly, a traditional carver learned the correct appearance of a doll by observing the kachinas who appeared in the plaza or by carving with other men in the kivas.

Hopis do not organize their supernatural spirits into orders or hierarchies although several tenuous classes of kachinas are recognized. All other divisions of kachinas are the artifacts of study by ethnographers. But foremost among the groups that are recognized by the Hopi are the Chief or Mong Kachinas. These are the most important and most sacred of all supernaturals, and each clan owns at least one of the impersonations. They are, in effect, supernatural partners (*wuye*) who have been inveigled at some point in time into a relationship of reciprocity and mutual obligation with the clan. Only a specific clan member or someone designated by the clan may impersonate this type of kachina. The Chief Kachinas are active in the more important ceremonies, such as the Soyal, Powamu, or Niman, where they perform a variety of specific purposes.¹² Ahola, Ahulani, and Soyal, who open the kivas, and Crow Mother and her two sons, the Hu Kachinas that initiate the children, are characteristic of these kachinas. Eototo, a Chief Kachina who is the equivalent of the village chief and who appears in every important ceremony, is another.¹³

Masau-u, the deity of death, darkness, fire, the surface of the land, the Underworld, ancient foods, and fertility, is another of these important beings. It is Masau-u who gave the land to the Hopis and told them how to use it. When a Hopi man dies and is buried, his grave or *maski* is literally Masau-u's house. If a Hopi walks across the land, it is wise for him to make an offering at Masau-u's shrine lest ill befall him. Yet despite the awesome responsibilities of this spirit, he may appear in the guise of a clown or as helper for the Soyoko.¹⁴

Presumably no member of a specific clan would carve a kachina doll of their *wuye* for sale, because to do so would direct the efficacy of the kachina spirit away from the clan and toward the purchaser. However, in reality this does not hold true and, as previously mentioned, many of the most sacred personages known to the Hopis may actually be carved and clandestinely sold. Occasional carvers will believe that making a particular kachina will cause them to go blind, or make their stomach swell, or will cause some other illness or misfortune if the proscriptions are ignored and hence will not produce it.

A second class of kachinas are the guards and warriors. A few of these approach the status of the chief kachinas while others have relatively minor roles. They safeguard the most sacred kachinas when they appear, acting as a master-at-arms in these performances. They guard against witchcraft or other intrusions during special kiva events such as initiations. Formerly they insured that all individuals were present during the cleaning of the springs or other community projects. Today they are used to insure that all who are involved in a ceremony are present and not idling at home. They punish transgressions by methods that range from striking a single blow or two to a reputed whipping with cactus that would produce death. In every Hopi procession there are members of this class of kachinas in the vanguard or as flankers. In appearance they are usually ferocious and always armed with the accoutrements of war.

For the carvers of kachina dolls they are among the most favored, for their appearance satisfies the non-Native American impression of what is "primitive." Foremost among these is the pan-Pueblo characterization of Chaveyo,¹⁵ who may well be the most often carved kachina doll next to the Koyemsi.¹⁶ Another of these is both a warrior and a chief kachina as well as the guardian of springs—Wuyak-kuita.¹⁷ He-e-e is a leader of a fearsome group of warriors during the Powamu or Bean Dance.¹⁸ These are but a few of the multitudinous warrior-guardians.

A third division that closely resembles this latter group in appearance are the ogres or Sosoyok't. Monsters and cannibals, they are the unholy offspring of a kachina marriage. Their purpose is one of enforcing the incorporation of the children into the village structure. Goals are set for the children and the rewards and punishments graphically presented. A child who strays from the correct pattern of behavior is brought to the attention of everyone by this family of kachinas. The group is normally composed of a talking kachina, such as Hahai-i Wuhti¹⁹ or Soyoko²⁰ herself, and the horrendous Natas-kas²¹ with great fanged Jaws and the obscene Toson Heheyas²² waiting to check the results of a small girl's corngrinding. Soyok' Mana²³ awaits the errant children with a huge basket on her back to carry them off to the cooking pot. As a reinforcement of village solidarity, it is unparalleled.

This particular group of kachinas shows strong evidence of having been borrowed at some earlier time from Zunis. The main characterizations and their supporting mythology is present among the Zuni, but the visual elaboration is entirely the contribution of the Hopi. These graphic interpretations are also among the most popular of the kachina carvers. It is usually the Nataskas or Soyok Wuhti who receive this attention.

The full capability of Hopi carvers is realized in their interpretation of clowns. There are a number of these from which to choose. The Koyemsi, or Mudhead,²⁴ borrowed from the Zuni, is the all-time favorite of carvers. It is easy to make and paint, and it invariably sells well. In popularity it is closely followed by the Hano Clown or Koshari,²⁵ brought to the Hopi mesas by the Tewa people. To these are added the Hopi Tachukti²⁶ in two or three varieties. Upon these are lavished the skill of the carvers, the humor, and the ability to parody the actions of individuals. Pot-bellied, gluttonous, timid, dressed in mismatched debris of clothing, they rollick silently in craft and curio shops wherever kachina dolls are sold. They are often accompanied by the non-kachina *piptuka*,²⁷ the ad-lib figures that accompany the clowns between kachina performances in the plaza dances. Often a *piptuka* version of a Navajo, Apache, or even a man from outer space will be carved. These latter figures are not considered by the Hopi to be *tihu* or kachina dolls, but are rather simply carvings of personages with whom they are familiar that might possibly sell well.

Among the animal kachinas the Wolf Kachina is undoubtedly the most popular, although the Bear Kachina is a close second. Cow or Wakasi Kachinas at one point in time were very popular and dozens of variations were introduced. However, most of the animal kachinas are popular subject matter for the carvers, and deer and antelope vie with chipmunks and squirrels. Great Horned Owls and hummingbirds, turkeys and eagles, butterflies and bison, gnats and prairie falcons, as well as lizards and snakes abound in the pantheon of kachinas. A recent favorite that has received great attention from Navajo kachina doll carvers is that of the White Buffalo dancer. This is not a kachina nor is it a *tihu*, but it is a spectacular personage and the image that is carved of it is no less impressive. It sells very well and is consequently crowding out many of the carvings of true kachinas.²⁸

This unhappy circumstance occurs when a *tihu* does not sell well. The doll may still be made but instead of being produced in quantity, it becomes a rare item and in consequence is seldom seen either by the Hopi or the prospective purchasers. If this process continues for any length of time, the doll is no longer made. Commercialization has contributed to the demise of several doll forms, but even worse it has emphasized the importance of relatively minor kachinas.

During the late spring and early summer when the corn is growing, kachina dancers present performances in the plazas where all of the impersonators are of the same kachina. The long lines of these kachinas dancing in unison are most impressive. Characteristic of these are the varieties of corn dancers, Navajo kachinas, or the farming Kuwan Heheya. They bring moisture for the plants and assist in their growth. Dolls of these kachina dancers are made in quantity. Some of these *tihu* take a new shape, an innovation in recent years, and are carved with the head of the kachina surmounting an ear of corn. Many of the kachinas in this category have been derived from the Rio Grande, as is evidenced by the use of black and white moccasins.

Other than the chief kachinas, the most interesting of the kachina dolls are the images or special impersonations who appear at great intervals. Characteristic of these are the Hopi Salakos.²⁹ The Salako impersonations among the Hopi are a nine foot tall male and female being surmounted by a tableta of elaborate form and complex symbolism that rests upon the head. Their bodies are armless and are composed entirely of eagle wing feathers with a dance kilt across the shoulders. These two central figures are accompanied by Hahai-i Wuhti, the Hopi Grandmother, who entices these strange beings back and forth across the plaza of the Second Mesa village of Shungopavi. At either side of these

are lines of the Tukwinong *manas* and *takas*, the male and female forms of the thunderhead kachinas. Flanking them on either side are two pairs of Danik'china who beat the ground with long willow switches as they pass back and forth along the lines. They represent the whirlwinds that accompany the massive thunderstorms in the Southwest. Commercial doll carvers often make an entire group of these kachinas to resemble the actual dance in the manner of a movie set.

A final category is composed of dolls that have never been danced as kachinas; dolls that are often the result of a specific non-Native American request. Characteristic of these is the field mouse. This delightful creation springs from the folktale of a Hopi field mouse who went to war against a hawk that was killing the chickens belonging to Hopi villagers. Arming himself with a tiny spear and taunting the hawk, the mouse succeeded in luring the bird into striking at him and impaling itself on the spear, to the great satisfaction of the townspeople. This story was translated by Edward A. Kennard, a Bureau of Indian Affairs employee, and illustrated by the well-known Hopi artist, Fred Kabotie.³⁰

The illustration caught the fancy of some unknown carver in the late 1950s, and overnight the Field Mouse Kachina became a part of the repertoire of the commercial carvers, though it has never been impersonated or appeared in the plazas or kivas. A similar inspiration produced the Mickey Mouse Kachina, and probably the Easter Bunny Kachina. At intervals other odd kachina dolls have appeared, some of which were actually *tihu* with a particular innovation, others of which were not. Characteristic of the former was the jumping doll initiated by Ben Seeni at Walpi on First Mesa. This figure, modeled after a Swiss mountaineer doll, had movable arms and legs and was strung on strings in such a manner that it appeared to be doing acrobatics when the strings were pulled and relaxed. These aberrant dolls cannot be called *tihu* in that they either do not represent kachina impersonations or have been too radically changed. They appear rather to be the fancy of the moment.

Fads are a continuous phenomenon in both the presentation of kachina dances and in carvings. Kachina dancers, other than the impersonations of chief kachinas, may appear with great regularity and expanding diversity for several years and then disappear only to reappear after a long lapse of time. This is a reflection of the popularity of their songs and performances. Kachina dolls of today fluctuate to the demand of a market that is no longer Hopi and in consequence shows many aberrations.

A few years ago it was the rage to have gigantic kachina dolls. These oversized creations were often two or three feet in height, but one monster was over six feet tall. It was soon discovered that there are very few homes that can support a collection of two foot tall dolls. The demand was soon exhausted, and the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme with the appearance of miniatures. Dolls were made that were only three to four inches in height, and when these were snapped up by the collectors they became progressively smaller. Today it is possible to buy a doll that is complete in all details and is less than half an inch in height, a far cry from the dolls made at the turn of the century.

The winds of change that first touched the Hopis in 1540 were ones of political and religious differences. During the confrontations in these arenas, Hopis remained steadfast to their beliefs with relatively little change. The arrival of the Anglo-Americans marked the appearance of even greater threats to their being and with it insidious changes. This was brought to full florescence when the young men of the villages were transported to many parts of the earth by the exigencies of World War II. The subsequent return of these young men initiated an economic direction that has wrought more change than the previous four hundred years, and the Hopi economy is still incomplete. Irrevocably Hopis have set

their feet on a new path, one that will disrupt their way of life in the same relentless manner that Hopi *tihu* have been subverted from an object of prayer and communion with their environment to another commercial object produced for a relatively uncaring market with little understanding of what is purchased. The Hopi people and their way of life so patiently wrought through their observations and interactions with their environment deserve better.

Notes

1. Florence H. Ellis, "The Hopi: Their History and Use of Lands," in Florence H. Ellis and Harold S. Colton, *Hopi Indians* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974), pp. 17, 33, 65, 201. See also Harold S. Colton, *Black Sand: Prehistory in Northern Arizona* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1960).
2. *Ibid.*
3. Wupatki is located approximately forty-five miles southwest of the Hopi Mesas along the Little Colorado River. Walnut Canyon is located about sixty-five miles southwest of the Hopi Mesas near the base of the San Francisco Peaks.
4. In 1776, Padre Silvestre Vélez de Escalante and Padre Francisco Domínguez and nine others attempted to find a route from Santa Fe to Monterey, California. This expedition traveled northwest from Santa Fe across southwestern Colorado and into Utah until they reached Utah Lake where imminent winter weather and a shortage of supplies compelled them to turn back. They turned south and forded the Colorado River near Glen Canyon, then visited the Hopi villages before returning to Santa Fe. For a detailed account, see Walter Briggs, *Without Noise of Arms: The 1776 Dominguez-Escalante Search for a Route from Santa Fe to Monterey* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1976).
5. For Kachina Cult practices of non-Hopi Indian tribes, see Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); and Hamilton A. Tyler, *Pueblo Gods and Myths* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964).
6. After World War II, more Hopi began to work for wages on the reservation or left the reservation to move to nearby towns. They began to carve dolls to supplement their income and in time were urged by non-Indians to sign their work. For more details, see Barton Wright, *Hopi Kachinas: The complete Guide to Collecting Kachina Dolls* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press), pp. 16–18.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 18–19.
8. For information on Zuni kachinas, see Ruth L. Bunzel, *Zuni Kachinas*, Annual Report 47 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929–30).
9. For further information on Rio Grande kachinas, see Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*; and Tyler, *Pueblo Gods and Myths*.
10. For more information about Navajo kachinas, see Gladys A. Reichard, *Navajo Religion: A Study of Symbolism* (Bollinger Foundation, 1950); and Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navaho* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).

11. For more information on kachina abuses, see Wright, *Hopi Kachinas*, pp. 19–24. See also Frederick J. Dockstader, *The Kachina and the White Man*, Bulletin 35 (Bloomfield Michigan: Cranbrook Institute of Science, 1954), for information about the impact of non-Hopis on kachina dolls.
12. Soyal (also *Soyálangwul*) is the ceremony that marks the winter solstice and occurs in December. Powamu is a purification and initiation ceremony involving the Bean Dance and occurs in February. Niman, or Home Dance, ceremony is involved with the return of the kachinas to their homes in the underworld. This ceremony occurs in July. Mischa Titiev, *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: Change and Continuity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), pp. 4–6, 96, 135, 143–7, 156, 163, 168–78, 186–8, 210–9, 300, 311–3, 338–45.
13. Eototo is the chief of all kachinas, the spiritual counterpart of the village chief and knows all the ceremonies. He appears during the Powamu and Niman ceremonies but may also be seen in any ceremony because of his knowledge of all. Wright, *Hopi Kachinas*, p. 30, 32, 34–35.
14. Masau'u is the earth god (Skeleton Kachina) and god of death and is the only kachina who does not go home at the Niman ceremony. He does many things backwards as the god of death, for the world of the dead is the reverse of this world. He may dance at any time of the year. *Ibid.*, p. 34 and p. 254.
15. Chaveyo is represented in almost every Pueblo in Arizona and New Mexico. His origin is probably the San Juan area in New Mexico. He is a giant kachina and disciplines those who misbehave. Wright, *Hopi Kachinas*, p. 82, and Wright, *Kachinas*, p. 238.
16. Koyemsi, the mudhead kachina, was introduced to the Hopis from Zunis. He acts as a clown in almost every Hopi dance. Wright, *Hopi Kachinas*, p. 82, and Wright, *Kachinas*, p. 238.
17. Wuyak-Kuita, broad faced kachina, is one of the fierce guard kachinas seen often during Powamu, Palölökong (Waterserpent) ceremony. Wright, *Kachinas*, p. 26.
18. He-e-e is the warrior woman based on the Hopi tradition of a young Hopi woman who defended her village from attackers. She leads a band of warrior kachinas to protect the Powamu ceremony. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
19. Hahai-i Wuhti is the mother of all kachinas. She is also the mother of dogs and of the monsters, the Nataskas. She is a very vocal, and hence an unusual kachina. She is seen in many ceremonies. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
20. Soyoko or Soyok 'Wuhti is the ogre woman who appears after or during Powamu. The ogres stop at each house and tell the boys to catch mice and the girls to grind corn, and warn that if they return and find no cornmeal or mice the children will be taken for food instead. The Soyoko returns a week later, at which time it necessary for the relatives to ransom the children. In this way the children are taught several object lessons. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
21. Nataskas are the monster children of Hahai-i Wuhti who accompany Soyoko on her rounds through the villages threatening the children. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
22. Toson Heheyas or Toson Koyemsi, the Sweet Cornmeal Tasting Mudhead or Mudhead Ogre accompanies the Soyoko to sample the cornmeal ground by young girls. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
23. Soyok 'Mana or Nataska Mana is the sister of the monsters, Nataskas. She accompanies her brothers and the Soyoko on their rounds during the Powamu ceremony. *Ibid.* p. 77.
24. The Koyemsi, or Mudhead Kachinas, are probably the most well-known of all Hopi kachinas. They appear in almost all ceremonies as clowns, announcers of dances, drummers, and many other roles. *Ibid.*, pp. 237–244.

25. Edna Glenn, "Commentary II: Ceremony," *supra*, pp. 100–110.
26. Tachukti or Tsuku are Hopi clowns that accompany most plaza dances. Wright, *Kachinas*, pp. 237–244.
27. Piptuka (male) and Piptu Wuhti (female) are not kachinas but a sub-group of Hopi clowns. *Ibid.*, pp. 240–41.
28. White Buffalo Dancer or Köcho Mosairu is not a kachina but a social dancer who is seen in January on Second Mesa. Wright, *Hopi Kachinas*, p. 82.
29. Hopi Salakos include Sio Salako, Sio Salako Mana, Salako Taka or Salako Nana and appear to be Hopi adaptations of Zuni kachinas. Wright, *Kachinas*.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 22.