THE HOPI KATSINA ART AND RITUAL:

PRESERVING A PEOPLE OF PEACE

By

Anndrea Dorothea Ploeger

A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment
of
The Requirements of the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN ART HISTORY

University of Wisconsin-Superior

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As members of the Thesis Committee, we certify that we have read the thesis prepared by Anndrea Dorothea Ploeger and that we approve it as fulfilling the thesis requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts in Art History.

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Abstract:

This thesis examines the visual culture of the Hopi through Katsinam. The Hopi have survived for thousands of years by maintaining their cultural traditions through their relationships with Katsinam. Katsinam are multifaceted spiritual beings that are present in the Hopi’s everyday life, ceremonies, and rituals; and as well, in their art form called tithü. Thus, the thesis builds on the existing published information and promotes better understanding of the Hopi visual traditions and their relationships with Katsinam. The thesis also demonstrates how art can provide a meaning of existence for a people of peace.

Acknowledgement

It was an honor for me to return to school and pursue a Master of Arts degree. My journey was supported from my family and friends in more ways than I could ever express. I owe my deepest gratitude and appreciation to the support and encouragement of my parents, Greg and Ditto, and my sister, Nici. Also, I would like to thank my committee, Wole and Pope for their guidance, and helpful suggestions.
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Glossary

**Clan**  A group of people related by kinship or descent.

**Chak-Mongwi** (Chahk-Mohng-wee)  Village Criers, people whose job it was to make public announcements and keep the villagers informed.

**Hopi** (Hoh-pee)  A person who behaves in a polite and peaceful way; *Peaceful Ones or People of Peace*. A communal farming people who reside in stone and adobe villages on and near three mesas in northeastern Arizona.

**Katsina** (Kahts-ee-nah)  In Hopi mythology and religion, spirit of all things. Spiritual beings that act as intermediaries between the people and their gods.

**Katsinam** (Kahts-ee-nam) (plural: Katsina)

**Kiisonui** (kee-ee-sohn-wee)  Open plaza inside a Hopi village designed to contribute to the Hopi lifestyle.

**Kiva** (kee-vah)  Underground chamber use by Hopi for meditation, prayer, rituals, religious ceremony, and religious instruction.

**Kokyangwuti** (Kokeyahng-wuu-tee)  Hopi deity also known as Spider Woman. Spider woman took some soil from the earth and saliva from her mouth and molded the mixture into the bodies of the twin god-beings and brought them to life. The twin beings synchronize the “voice” of the earth with the rest of the cosmos.

**Kwaatsi** (kwahaht-see)  Masks used to impersonate a Katsina spirit being; *Friends*.

**Maasaw** (Mah-saw)  Fire, death, and spirit god; guardian protector of the New World.

**Masao**  Hopi Earth God.

**Mesa**  A flat-topped mountain or hill, usually with steep sides.

**Motee Sinon**  Hopi word for first people.

**Muy'ingwa**  Underworld God or Manifestation of Germination.

**Oraibi**  Regarded as the vibrational center of the earth; *High on Rocks*.

**Pahána** (Pah-hah-nahs)  According to Hopi mythology, Maasaw instructed the people to watch for the return of Pahána, *white man* or the Lost White Brother, who will come at the end of the Fourth World and usher in a new age.
Páhos   Sticks adorned with feathers and used in Hopi ceremonies.
Piki (pee-kee)   Sacred Bread. A very thin wafer made out of blue corn finely ground with ash added.
Pitchcunas   Katsina dress; a woven kilt made from white cloth and embroidered along the lower edge with symbolic designs of clouds and falling rain.
Promised Land   A place the Hopi would recognize because of its spiritual powers and from signs that the Creator would provide on them on stone tablets.
Sacred Stone Tablets   Given to the Hopi when they first arrived in the New World and explain the history of the Hopis and why they should remain united as a people.
Sípàapuni (See-pah-puu-nee)   In Hopi mythology, the opening in the sky that led to successive worlds that the Hopi passed through; place of emergence. Physically represented in the daily lives of the Hopis by a small hole, covered most of the time, in the floor of kivas.
Taiowa (Tie-oh-wah)   The Creator.
Tihü   A tangible form that embodies the Katsina spiritual being; commonly known as a *Katsina doll*. They are traditionally given to children to help instruct them in what is considered proper behavior for a Hopi.
Tithü (plural: Tihü) *Katsina dolls*.
Tunwub   Hopi Germination God.
Tuwanansavi (Tuu-wah-nah-sah-vee)   According to Hopi mythology, it is the home promised by the Creator located in northeastern Arizona. Also called *Center of the Universe*.
Wimi (We-me)   Life of rituals; *Ceremonials*.
Wuchim (Wuu-cheem)   Exclusive groups of men and women to belong to societies.
Wuyolavayi (wuu-yoh-lah-ah-yee)   The essence of Hopi culture; *Tradition*. 
### Katsina Season

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Ceremony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Social Dances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>Powamu, Bean Dance, or Pure Moon Ceremony</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>Hototóm or Racing Katsinam</td>
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<td>May</td>
<td>Hototóm or Racing Katsinam</td>
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<tr>
<td>June</td>
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<td>July</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The interest for my research began about ten years ago. I met Joseph Rael (Beautiful Painted Arrow) in Skiatook, Oklahoma. I was invited to participate in a group chant to learn about vibration from Joseph Rael. I was introduced personally to Joseph Rael after the group session. As I extended my hand to shake his, a great deal was communicated, but no words were spoken. He gave me a vision that created a sacred moment, a moment I will be eternally trying to learn more about. After my return home, I purchased a few of Rael’s books online and began my research to answer questions I had. One, why had I met this mystical man? Two, why did I need to know about the importance of the vibration of words? Last, what did the gift he gave me in the form of no words, only a vision, really mean?

In Rael’s book, Being and Vibration, there is a story about him living with his grandmother in a village that was a mental, emotional, and spiritual place. He spent time learning sacred information inside the kiva. He also states that a blue stone sits outside his grandmother’s house today. This blue stone is from which the Katsinam were transformed. As I continued reading Rael’s books, I did not find any more information about these mysterious Katsinam. Who were they and who are they today? Where was this special place? Then, my research of the Hopi and Katsinam began to answer my questions. Although this research has not provided answers to my original questions for my experience ten years ago, I have begun to understand that a singular experience—witnessing and feeling the Katsinam dance—is essential to many lives.

1 Kiva (Kee-vah). Underground chamber used by Hopi for meditation, prayer, rituals, religious ceremony, and religious instruction.
My masters program at the University of Wisconsin-Superior allowed me to dive fully into researching and examining the visual representation of the Katsinam. My research goals were to devote myself to find out as much as possible from current published sources. Next, my goal was to collaborate all of these sources into one place. And finally, assess the history of the Hopi in order to write this comprehensive thesis detailing the Hopi art, rituals, and traditions. Thus, resulting a single place where one can learn about the beauty of what the Hopi and the Katsinam have given others, and continue to give.

The term Kachina is widely used to refer to carved and painted wooden figures and/or costumed impersonation of a spirit being. Although the term Kachina is a popular reference, it is inaccurate in the Hopi language. The Hopi language has no ch sound. Katsina or Katsinam (plural) is a more accurate translation to refer to the spirit beings carved or impersonated by the Hopi. Furthermore, the carved items referred to as Katsina dolls, is inaccurate. The carved items should be referred to as tihü or tithü (plural). It is important to refer to effigies as tihü because they embody a spiritual being, Katsina. Katsinam and tithü not only represent a spiritual belief, but also include a social structure of values of the Hopi people.

Chapter two addresses the historical and geographic background of the Hopi. Hopi ancestors passed through three previous worlds before the present day, Fourth World. Today,
Hopi live on a reservation in Arizona that was granted to them by United States President Chester Arthur in 1882.

Chapter three introduces what Katsinam are to the Hopi. Katsinam are multifaceted spiritual beings, the impersonation of spiritual beings, and tangible forms of the spiritual being. Also, Katsinam are referred to as the clouds, the dead, friends, deities, messengers, masked impersonation, and tithü.

In Chapter four, I discuss how Katsinam appear in the lives of the Hopi all year long. Every Hopi has a special role in keeping the Katsinam alive. Specific roles for each gender will be discussed. Katsinam are not only spiritual beings providing religious meaning, they teach the Hopi existence by being present in every day life.

Chapter five will establish the Hopi calendar as wimi\textsuperscript{10}, a life of rituals, and how rituals are essential for life (security, fertility, food, rain, and good health). Katsinam ceremonies are conducted by Hopi societies. Private ceremonies and rituals are held inside kivas\textsuperscript{11} for the first eight days of each ceremony. Kivas are underground chambers that symbolize the womb of the Old World and Hopi place of emergence in the Fourth world. The private ceremonies for Soyal, Powamu, and Niman will be discussed.

The public ritual of Katsinam will be presented in chapter six. Public ritual follows the private and sacred rituals in kivas on the ninth day for each ceremony. The Katsina appear for half of the year (winter through spring). The major public Katsina ceremonies will be discussed.

Chapter seven addresses the changes in Katsinam within the Hopi traditional culture. Katsinam are present among the Hopi today, but all villages do not perform ceremonies and

\textsuperscript{10} Wimi (We-me). Life of Rituals; Ceremonials.
rituals in the traditional fullness of the past. Introduction to new ideas, technology and popularity among non-Hopi people have brought changes to Hopi tradition and visual culture.

Hopi culture and Katsinam have a profound sense of universal reciprocity. The Hopi people believe that all actions have an effect. When the Katsinam disappear, so will the Hopi. It is important to keep cultural traditions alive and for non-Hopi to understand the cultural significance of the Katsinam.
CHAPTER TWO

Hopi People: Historical and Geographical Background

“The supreme law of the land is the Great Spirit’s law, not man’s law” –Hopi proverb

The Native American Hopi were officially granted land in Arizona in 1882, but had previously lived on that same land for thousands of years and continue to call that same place their home today. The Hopi are a peaceful people who have persevered against the harsh conditions where they dwell. Ingenious farming techniques and rituals used to appease the spirits who bring them rain, have helped the Hopi survive for numerous years. The Hopi name meaning, location of their reservation, oral tradition, and spiritual beliefs give us clues to how the Hopi have existed for so long.

The Hopi Name

Hopi, the name these Native American people gave themselves, translated in English, means: “Peaceful Ones”, “People of Peace”, Peaceful People”, “People Who Live in the Correct Way”, “good”, and “happy”. As stated by McMannis, “As a Hopi, one must behave in a polite and peaceful way.” In addition, De Mente states, “To be truly a Hopi, one must be morally and physically strong, tranquil, unselfish, protective of all things including Mother Earth, healthy, and perseveres against all obstacles.”

Location of the Hopi

Today, the Hopi number about 12,500 and live in villages and towns on a 1.5 million-acre reservation located in northeastern Arizona where the Tuwanansavi or Center of the

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14 De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 55.
15 Tuwanansavi (Tuu-wah-nah-sah-vee). According to Hopi mythology, it is the home promised by the Creator and located in northeastern Arizona. Also called, Center of the Universe.
Universe is located (Figure 1). This land was granted to them in 1882 by United States President Chester Arthur.\textsuperscript{16}

The location where the Hopi live is a sacred place, founded on oral tradition. According to Hopi mythology, stories, and songs, they (the Hopi) were the Motee Sinon or first people. Therefore, they were first people on the North and South American continents.\textsuperscript{17} The premise of the oral tradition is as follows: Hopi ancestors passed through three previous worlds\textsuperscript{18} before the present day, Fourth World.\textsuperscript{19} One natural disaster or another destroyed the three previous worlds. As De Mente explains, “The first world was destroyed by fire; the second one destroyed by earthquakes and other upheavals brought on when the earth suddenly shifted on its axis; and the third one destroyed by a great flood.”\textsuperscript{20} Ancestral Hopi were guided into this Fourth World through the Sípàapuni\textsuperscript{21} or place of emergence. Tradition states that the place of emergence is located in the Grand Canyon (Figure 2). Only after a series of great migrations did the Hopi people finally arrive and unite at their current homeland in northeastern Arizona.

When the Hopi arrived in the New or Fourth World, they met the spirit guardian Maasaw\textsuperscript{22}. Maasaw taught the Hopi how to hunt, farm, build fires, and told them they could live on his world and on his land as long as they lived a proper life.\textsuperscript{23} To live a proper life, one must live a “balanced life” and be emotionally, spiritually, and physically healthy. The way of

\textsuperscript{17} De Mente, \textit{Cultural Code Words}, 119.
\textsuperscript{19} For more information on the three previous worlds and present world, see De Mente pp.16-26.
\textsuperscript{19} McMannis, \textit{A Guide to Hopi}, 2.
\textsuperscript{20} De Mente, \textit{Cultural Code Words}, 9.
\textsuperscript{21} Sípàapuni (See-pah-puu-nee). In Hopi mythology, the opening in the sky that led to successive worlds that the Hopi passed through or place of emergence. Physically represented in the daily lives of the Hopi by a small hole, covered most of the time, in the floor of the kivas.
\textsuperscript{22} Maasaw (Mah-saw). Hopi fire, death, and spirit god; guardian protector of the New World.
\textsuperscript{23} Loftin, \textit{Religion and Hopi Life}, 122.
achieving this balance is to obey the commandments of Maasaw and Taiowa\textsuperscript{24} and follow ceremonial lifestyles prescribed for them by deities.\textsuperscript{25}

**Tuwanansavi**

The home of the Hopi today, promised by Taiowa or the Creator, is called Tuwanansavi or Center of the Universe. Hopis believe that all life in the universe is interrelated and the Earth is alive and has its own spirit just as they do and are connected by vibratory centers. The Hopi regard Tuwanansavi as the vibrational center of the earth.\textsuperscript{26}

Today, Tuwanansavi contains many villages. Most of the villages are located on ridges of Black Mesa\textsuperscript{27}, called First, Second, and Third Mesas.\textsuperscript{28} Oraibi\textsuperscript{29} is a village located on the Third Mesa, a short distance from Tuwanansavi or Center of the Universe. It is considered to be the oldest continuously inhabited settlement in North America, with inhabitants dating to 1150 CE.\textsuperscript{30} Many Hopi villages are ancient and contain a Kiisonui\textsuperscript{31} or open-area plaza. The plaza is where social and ceremonial events take place. Kivas, underground ceremonial chambers used for rituals, are also located in the plaza.\textsuperscript{32}

The homes in the villages vary greatly by construction and amenities. Electricity, other utilities, and modern building supplies (e.g. glass pane windows) came late to Hopi land. The older homes, constructed of stone and adobe mud, are located on the top of the Black Mesa.

\textsuperscript{24} Taiowa (Tie-oh-wah). The Creator.
\textsuperscript{25} De Mente, *Cultural Code Words*, 67.
\textsuperscript{27} Mesa. A flat-topped mountain or hill, usually with steep sides.
\textsuperscript{29} Oraibi. Regarded as the vibrational center of the earth; *High on Rocks*.
\textsuperscript{31} Kiisonui (Kee-ee-sohn-pee). Open plaza inside a Hopi village designed to contribute to the Hopi lifestyle.
\textsuperscript{32} Koyiyumptewa and O’Bagy Davis, *Images of America*, 9.
Walpi, on the First Mesa, is the most traditional village today. The homes in Walpi have no running water or electricity. Newer homes with modern amenities, such as running water and electricity, are located in towns below the Mesa. Consequently, the newer homes are closer to where the Hopi grow corn and other crops.

**Hopi Existence**

Everything depends on moisture for life and sustenance. The Hopi have existed in a harsh land for thousands of years due to their agricultural ways, spiritual beliefs, and ceremonies or rituals involving Katsinam. Their whole existence embodies religious dimension and meaning.

Hopi land, located in northeastern Arizona, is harsh, semiarid, with no nearby rivers, and has an annual rainfall of approximately five to seven inches a year. The Hopi believe that the reason why their “Promised Land” was inaccessible and harsh was because it would take all of their energy and resourcefulness to survive, leaving no time for frivolous or evil ways.

Due to the low amount of rainfall per year, the indigenous and resourceful Hopi depended on dry farming techniques. As a result, they became a very agricultural people. The Hopi exist today by their development of dry farming techniques, which produced hearty strains of corn, beans, and squash. Corn is the most abundant crop produced by the Hopi. In the past and still today, seasonal and religious activities are all related to planting, growing, and preserving corn. These seasonal and religious activities (ceremonies and rituals) include Katsinam. Katsinam have the power to bring rain and bestow blessings. Therefore–water, an

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36 Promised Land. A place the Hopi would recognize because of its spiritual powers and from signs the Creator would provide them on stone tablets.
37 De Mente, *Cultural Code Words*, 32.
essential part of life and sustenance—is associated with the spiritual world and spiritual beings called Katsinam.\(^{40}\)

In conclusion, Hopi existence should be attributed to the unification of three dimensions in their way of live: survival skills on a harsh land, religious and spiritual beliefs, and rituals involving Katsinam. Ceremonial chiefs and elders from Shongopavi (now located in Navajo County) once said in 1951, “Our land, our religion and our life are one.”\(^{41}\)


CHAPTER THREE

Katsinam: Spiritual Beings, Impersonation of Spiritual Beings, and Tangible Forms of the Spiritual Being.

“In death I am born.” “The dead add their strength and counsel to the living.” –Hopi proverb

Katsinam are important, meaningful, and helpful counterparts to Hopi religious beliefs. Katsinam infuse the Hopi with meaning, balance, and connection to the past. In addition, Katsinam inspire or demand good behavior and ensure the Hopi live in the balanced or “correct” Hopi way. Katsinam aid this way of life by requiring certain behaviors and obligations from the Hopi in the form of prayer, ceremonies and rituals, and in day-to-day life. If the Hopi are faithful and live the “correct” way, Katsinam will answer their prayers and bestow blessings. The Hopi believe that Katsinam serve all mankind by helping, instructing, guiding, and bringing rain.

In the past, Hopi elders could list and name around 500 Katsinam, but in more recent times the total list is about 300. Although there are hundreds of Katsinam, the Hopi are not polytheistic. Loftin states, “They worship one spiritual substance that manifests itself in many modes of being.” Katsinam are represented in three modes of being: (1) spiritual beings, (2) impersonation of the spiritual beings (masked and costumed Hopi) and (3) tangible forms of the spiritual being called tithü or a wooden Katsina doll (singular: tihü).

Spiritual Beings

During the non-Katsinam ceremonial season in summer and fall, Katsinam, as spiritual beings, live in their spiritual home. Their spiritual home is west of the Hopi villages, located in

42 Pritzker, The Hopi, 29.
45 Loftin, Religion and Hopi Life, 16.
the mountains above Flagstaff, AZ, in a place called the San Francisco Peaks. This is the place where Hopi ancestors reside and the spirits of the dead go to become Katsinam. The Katsina spiritual beings return to the village as clouds. When a Hopi man dies, white cotton batting is placed over his face, referring to his cloud mask. Therefore, it is the Hopi ancestors who become spiritual beings and clouds, which the Hopi refer to as Katsinam.

Katsinam answer Hopi prayers and bestow blessings by acting as intermediaries between the people and their gods. They hear the prayers of the faithful and respond by bestowing blessings. The blessings are in the form of clouds and rain, which help the Hopi with planting and fertility of gardens, and harvest of crops.

**Impersonation of Spiritual Beings (Masked and Costumed Hopi)**

During the Katsinam ceremony season in winter and spring, the Katsinam live among the Hopi. They first arrive in Hopi villages during Soyal, a ceremony in late December, and return to their spiritual home after the Niman ceremony in early July. The Katsinam that live among the Hopi are visible. The Katsina spirits become visible due to impersonations of the spirit being by the Hopi. Boissiere states, “It is said by the Hopis that long ago, the spirits themselves came to the villages, but today the people have lost the ability to see them, so they are impersonated by members of each village.”

Initiated Hopi men adorn themselves in pitchcunas and kwaatsi.

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50 Boissiere, *The Hopi Way*, Author’s Note.

51 Katsina dress: a woven kilt made from white cloth and embroidered along the lower edge with symbolic designs of clouds and falling rain.

52 Kwaatsi (Kwahaht-see). Masks used to impersonate Katsina spirit beings; *Friends.*
to impersonate a Katsina spirit being. When a man wears the costume and mask, he is “taken
over” or “comes alive” by a Katsina spirit, thus, transforming him into the Katsina and making
the Katsina visible to all Hopi (Figure 3).

The Katsinam appear in Hopi villages during the Katsinam ceremony season to answer
prayers and bestow blessings. In addition, they help, instruct, and guide the Hopi. They
accomplish these tasks by performing rituals or ceremonies. The Katsina perform ritual dances
during ceremonies to answer to the Hopi prayers for joy, health, happiness, fertility, clouds and
rain for crops, and the harvest of crops.

The Katsina help, instruct, and guide the Hopi by inspiring and demanding good
behaviors (or, the “correct” Hopi way) of day-to-day life through the different roles they play
during the Katsinam ceremony season. For example, Katsinam round up men and boys to
participate in the community cleaning of the water wells. Any young man who refused was in
danger of being whipped by the Katsinam. Another example is when young girls and boys are
disobedient. The parents secretly make arrangements for a fearsome Ogre Katsina to come to
their house (Figure 4). The Ogre Katsina demands that the parents hand over the children for
them to eat. Then, parents act as protector and offer the Ogre Katsina some food in place of their
children. The Ogre Katsina leaves, but warns the children that they would return if the young
people were bad again. Therefore, the Katsinam inspire and demand good behaviors of the
Hopi by instructing and guiding them on how to behave in the correct Hopi way.

53 De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 41.
54 Corbin, Native Arts, 78. Kennard, Hopi Kachinas, 78., Koyiyumptewa and O’Bagy Davis, Images of America, 7.,
55 De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 41.
Tangible Form of the Spiritual Being (Tihü or Wooden Doll)

During the Katsinam ceremony season in the winter and spring, the Katsinam live among the Hopi as costumed and masked impersonators of the Katsina spiritual beings. During this time, the Katsinam (in the mode of impersonation of the spirit beings) give gifts of Katsinam (in the mode of tangible forms) to the Hopi. The gifts are authentic representations of the Katsina spirit called tihü\(^56\) (Figure 5 and Figure 6).

Tithü are important, meaningful, and helpful counterparts to understanding Hopi religious beliefs, and are tangible connections to an ancient culture.\(^57\) Tithü help an individual recognize, associate, and learn about the importance of Katsinam to the conceptual and religious life of the Hopi.\(^58\) As a result, through tithü, the Hopi learn the names of the Katsinam, their spiritual purpose, and teach them the proper way to behave as a Hopi.\(^59\) For example, the children learn about the Ogre Katsina through tithü and what will happen if they do not behave in the correct way--she appears and they get eaten!

The above paragraphs explain fully that the Hopi worship and respect one spiritual substance that manifests itself in many modes of being, called Katsinam. Katsinam are represented as: (1) spiritual beings, (2) impersonation of the spiritual beings (masked and costumed Hopi) and (3) tangible forms of the spiritual being (tihü or a wooden Katsina dolls). The Katsinam are important, meaningful, and helpful counterparts to understanding Hopi religious beliefs and connect the present Hopi culture to their ancient past.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Katsinam in Daily Life: Gender Roles

“You must live your life from beginning to end; no one else can do it for you.” –Hopi proverb

Katsinam—referred to previously as spiritual beings, masked impersonations of spiritual beings, tangible forms of the spiritual being (or tithü), clouds, the dead, friends, deities, and messengers—are involved in the daily lives of all Hopi. Katsinam become visible through domestic activities, ceremonies, art, and gifts, though they are manifested differently for each specific gender. Men and women have clearly distributed gender roles and duties to keep the Katsinam alive all year long—in daily life, during Non-Katsina season, and during public rituals during the Katsina season.

Daily Life

The most all-encompassing organizational level in Hopi society is that of clans. Illustrating gender differences in daily life, it is important to note that Hopi clans are matrilineal, meaning that lineage members consist of people within different households who trace their descent to the same woman. For example, a man retains his own clan lineage, but his children will be members of his wife’s clan. Clearly, women have an essential power in the community, which is given to them at birth.

Gender differences are also seen when considering daily responsibilities, ownership, and art in everyday Hopi life. The Hopi male role includes hunting, growing livestock, and loom weaving. Yet it is the Hopi women who own the farmlands the men work, own the houses in which the families live, own the essential cistern for water storage, and even own the tiiponi.

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60 Clans. A group of people related by kinship or decent.
62 “…the tiiponi is symbolic of the earth mother, the mother or grandmother of all Hopis. Moreover, the tiiponi is symbolic of the cosmic totality, typically referred to by the Hopis as the earth mother and sun father,
which is the heart of each major ritual. Women are responsible for preparing food for their families and the community, both everyday and during ceremonies. Hopi women gather raw materials for baskets and pottery and support their male clan members in ceremonial and harvest duties. Examples of such support duties include the fact that the women are also responsible for three important corn-related tasks essential to Hopi ceremonialism. The three duties are shelling the corn to be planted for the next harvest season, preparing cornmeal for Katsina rituals, and grinding corn for piki or sacred bread. Grinding corn for piki flour is a major chore and ritual for Hopi women. It is a craft learned in childhood by females and continued throughout their lives. Thus, while Hopi men may have a more visible role in many aspects of daily life, it is actually the Hopi women who have the underlying essential roles, ownership, and responsibilities. Restated, the internal power the women hold in the community and in their own societies parallels the external sacred phenomena of the men’s role in Katsinam ceremonies.

**Non-Katsina Season**

Clearly distributed gender roles are also present during the Non-Katsina season (summer and fall). In the Non-Katsina season, the men’s primary responsibility is to do the harvest work (tend to crops and livestock) and society duties (ceremonies, social dances, and storytelling). The women’s roles during harvest time are much more multifaceted. It is during this time that

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65 Piki (Pee-kee). Sacred Bread. A very thin wafer or bread made out of blue corn finely ground with ash added. Traditionally, each Hopi home has a piki “grill” consisting of a slab of granite. See De Mente for more information on piki.


women, only those with initiation into one of the three women’s societies\textsuperscript{68}, learn the art and construction of different types of baskets unique to the Hopi.\textsuperscript{69} The baskets the women create appropriate designs from the masks of Katsinam and serve as a reminder that humans are caretakers of Mother Earth\textsuperscript{70} (Figure 7). Also during harvest season, the women’s societies perform dances to express the concepts of healthy impregnation, fertility, maternal ideals, and curing illnesses.\textsuperscript{71} Only initiated women may dance. These important dances performed by the women’s societies mark the end of the Hopi ceremonial calendar, symbolizing both the end of a year and new beginnings.

**Katsina Season**

Though the females hold an important role during Katsinam season (winter and spring), the male presence is much more dominant, both for initiated and uninitiated males. Some of the responsibilities held by men during this time, and discussed below, include Katsina races and gift-giving rituals.

The Hopi males are the sex that participates primarily in the Katsina races that occur around April, during the Katsina ceremonial season called Kwiyamuya. It is their job to produce Hototöm or Racing Katsinam. To “produce” a racing Katsina is to undergo the spiritual transformation of a male Hopi to a Racing Katsinam. For example, a male will enter his kiva and put on his ceremonial dress, transforming him into a Katsina. The races take place in the plaza and each kiva is represented in the races at some point during the month of April.\textsuperscript{72} McMannis states, “The Katsinam test (and thereby promote) the health and endurance of male spectators by

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\textsuperscript{68} See Secakuku for more information on women’s societies.
\textsuperscript{69} Secakuku, *Hopi Kachina Tradition*, 99.
\textsuperscript{72} Secakuku, *Hopi Kachina Tradition*, 64.
challenging them to footraces. Secakuku also states, “The purpose of the races are to bless the people and encourage them to begin training for long- and short-distance running for the upcoming activities in the ceremonial season.” The Racing Katsinam enters the plaza on one end and challenge boys to race them to the opposite end. The Katsinam will race until no one challenges them. Katsinam bless all contestants, but the consequences of the race are very different depending on whether a boy wins or loses his race. If the boy wins, he gets a prize of fruit, bread, and other various Hopi food. However, if he loses, the Katsina who defeats him determines his penalty. Some penalties include: blackening of the face with soot or grease by Greasy Katsina (Wikitsina), stuffing the mouth with hot chilies by Chili Katsina (Tsilimoktaqa or Tsilinonopnaqa), cutting of the hair by a Black-Faced Katsina (Hömsona), tearing of clothing by a Racer Katsina called Navantsitsiklawqa, thrashing with a yucca whip by Cricket Katsina (Sösööpa), or have copulatory gestures made toward them by the racer by Hump-backed or Robber Fly Katsinam (Kokopölö) (symbolically promoting fertility) (Figure 8). During the races of the Katsina season, the women are simply the observers, though the clan mothers may at times partake in dousing the racer with cold water.

Another large part of the Katsina season is gift-giving rituals. The Hopi men are primarily responsible for the giving of gifts when they transform again into a Katsina. Niman Katsinam (or Hemi or Home Katsinam) and Katsina Maidens are the gift-givers during the Niman or Home Ceremony. Secakuku states, “Their gifts represent bounty of harvest, and great virtues of life for all mankind”. Both young male and young female Hopi receive gifts from

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73 McMannis, A Guide to Hopi, 34.
74 Secakuku, Hopi Kachina Tradition, 64.
75 Kennard, Hopi Kachinas, 7.
77 Secakuku, Hopi Kachina Tradition, 4-5.
the Katsinam. These gifts tell children that the Katsina spirits approve their behavior. Boys receive rattles, moccasins, lightning sticks, and miniature bows and arrows. The girls receive dancing wands, decorative plaques, traditional shoes, and tithü. Numerous kinds of tithü are presented to females of all stages and ages of life (Figure 9). Tithü are given to the young to teach them the names and purpose of Katsinam; and accordingly, the proper way to behave as a Hopi. For example, Secakuku states:

A newborn receiving her first doll will be presented with a simple flat doll, while one who has been initiated into the Katsina beliefs that year will receive an elaborately created doll. Finally, to symbolize special blessings for ideal motherhood, each bride of that year will receive a real, lifelike Katsina doll. This is a special day for a bride as she is presented by her mother-in-law to the spirits, whom she will join in life after death, and she will be buried—as she is presented—in her wedding robe.

Thus, the gifts the Hopi men, as Katsinam, give to both sexes promote the Hopi way of life, while supporting the unique role each gender has in the Hopi community.

Katsinam are clearly involved in the daily lives of all Hopi through domestic activities, ceremonies, art, and gifts. The above paragraphs illustrate the different gender roles and duties during the Hopi’s daily life, during harvest season, and during ceremonial season. While it may seem that Hopi men’s role is more visible at times (e.g., the races and rituals during ceremonial season), the Hopi women’s role is foundational to the entire Hopi culture (e.g., matrilineal rights). Both genders work, in their own duties, to keep the spirit of the Katsinam alive all year long.

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80 Secakuku, *Hopi Kachina Tradition*, 4-5.
CHAPTER FIVE

Katsinam and Rituals: It Begins in the Kiva

“Rituals must be performed with good and pure hearts.” –Hopi proverb

Until recent times, the Hopi did not have a calendar or keep track of the years of their age except in terms of ceremonies and life passages. Wimi is a Hopi word that means “life of rituals”. Ceremonies and rituals are observed by all Hopi villages and define characteristics of Hopi life. In Ceremonies of the Living Spirit, Rael states, “All ceremony exists to unify, to bring together, to bring oneness—but within that oneness is the diversity of it all.” Rituals performed during ceremonies link Hopi to their spiritual world, their past, the Creator, and key events in their existence. In addition, rituals reflect the Hopi belief that all life is “one” single, great life force.

Societies and the Kiva

All Hopi ceremonies or rituals are conducted by wuchim or societies. Men and boys who belong to the same society and kiva are called “kiva brothers”. Females are only allowed into the kivas for the rituals directly involving women (e.g. Katsina society initiation).

Kivas are the center for rituals associated with the Hopi ceremonial calendar, and symbolize the Hopi “Place of Emergence” in the New World or Fourth World. “Place of Emergence” is known as Sipàapuni and is physically represented by a small hole in the floor of the kivas. Most rituals have segments that are sacred, performed only in the privacy of kivas,

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81 De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 42.
84 Wuchim (Wuu-cheem). Exclusive groups of men and women who belong to societies.
85 De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 46, 50.
86 According to Hopi history, the “Place of Emergence” into the New World was somewhere in what is now Southern Mexico. De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 28.
87 Corbin, Native Arts, 79., Pritzker, The Hopi, 28.
88 De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 28.
which are underground chambers in the village. Conventionally, each village has several kivas and each society has its own kiva (Figure 10).

**Kivas and the Katsina Season**

Three major ceremonies are included during the Katsina Season, Soyal, Powamu, and Niman. The day for beginning a ceremony is determined by the sunrise or sunset and confirmed by lunar observations as the first day or night of the new moon. The village chief and leaders of the societies gather for a special blessing ceremony and perform ritual prayers and meditation. Then, the Chak-Mongwi make a public announcement of the ceremony. The following eight days of the ceremonies are spent performing secret rituals in the kiva.

Rituals are not simply a technical act, but a sacred experience recalling the emergence from the earth from “long ago”. Katsina ceremonies and rituals are mass prayers towards things that were traditionally essential for life in the past and in present day: security, fertility, crops or food, rain, and good mental and physical health. If prayers are done in a correct way, the Katsinam will carry Hopi prayers to the deities. The more pure the thoughts and the more exemplary behavior of the participants, the greater force of the prayers and the more likely they will be answered.

Smoking tobacco is the most common mode of prayer for Hopi men inside the kiva. Sacred items created inside the kiva support Hopi prayers and include the following: altars, 

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92 Chak-Mongwi (Chahk-Mohng-wee). Village Criers, people whose job it was to make public announcements and keep the villagers informed.
95 De Mente, *Cultural Code Words*, 43.
96 De Mente, *Cultural Code Words*, 43-44.
displays, sand paintings, growing plants, prayer sticks, breath feathers, and medicine water.

Further, rituals involve emphasizing, symbolizing, and giving appearance to the Katsinam include: weaving costumes for Katsinam, preparing Katsina masks, carving tithû (gifts during the public ceremony). For example, when a man weaves a piece of cloth, he experiences the sacred techniques laid down by the deity Kokyangwuti or Spider Woman. Spider Woman was the one who created the Hopi people from a red-colored soil. Loftin states, “Spider Woman was the first to weave. Her techniques and patterns have stood the test of time—or, more properly, the test of timelessness—because they have always been present. It makes sense that one would follow instructions of a deity who helped form the world in which one lives.”

Soyal

Soyal, or Winter Solstice Ceremony, starts the Katsina Season in December. Soyal is a time for the Hopi to review their emergence into the Fourth World and their extensive migrations to the “Promised Land.” Soyal symbolically reaffirms the Hopi way of life, importance of fertility, and the interdependence and reciprocity of the Hopi with their gods and Katsinam. For example, a key event in their existence at the time of the Winter Solstice was when the war god, Pookon, changed the direction of the sun to its Northwood path so he may bring life to the Hopi. Loftin states, “Soyal Ceremony is performed in its traditional form only on Second Mesa. It is no longer performed on First Mesa and only in abbreviated form on Third Mesa.”

At Oraibi, on the Third Mesa, members of the kivas recite prayers and blow smoke upon prayer sticks and feather bundles. Items (prayer sticks and feather bundles) receive the prayers and are

98 Corbin, Native Arts, 79., De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 46.
99 Kokyangwuti (Kokeyahng-wuu-tee). Hopi deity also known as Spider Woman. Spider woman took some soil from the earth and saliva from her mouth and molded the mixture into the bodies of the twin god-beings and brought them to life. The twin beings synchronize the “voice” of the earth with the rest of the cosmos.
100 Loftin, Religion and Hopi Life, 3.
101 De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 42.
102 Corbin, Native Arts, 81., Hough, The Hopi Indians, 51.
103 Loftin, Religion and Hopi Life, 33.
placed on an altar (inside the kiva) as offerings to the Katsina spirits. Also performed inside the kiva, during these eight days, are rituals of silence, fasting, and eating sacred Hopi foods.

**Powamu**

Powamu, Bean Dance Ceremony or Pure Moon Dance is held in February and is the first major ritual following Soyal. Powamu is the most complex ceremony and has become the significant winter ceremony for Hopi, performed on all three mesas. The Powamu Ceremony is based on the legend of a hero who went out to hunt rabbits by the San Francisco Mountains during this “Pure” February moon. He came upon a region of no snow and saw Katsinam dancing in gardens. The hero received melons from the Katsina and carried them home to his village. The hero and a comrade were sent back to stay with the Katsinam to learn how they live. Therefore, they could teach what they learned from the Katsinam back to their (Hopi) people.

Powamu has both long and short forms. Long forms of the ceremony occur every three or four years when initiations into the Powamu and Katsina societies are to be held. Powamu is primarily concerned with ensuring the abundance of good crops and with initiation of young boys and girls into adult Hopi life. Powamu art forms, rituals displays, and ritual activities are aimed at rain, fertility, germination, harvest for the coming planting seasons, and purification.

**Preliminary Prayer Rite for Powamu**

Powamu begins when the Powamu Chief first spots the February “Pure” moon. He calls together special society members and Katsina Chiefs to a preliminary prayer rite that occurs

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104 Corbin, *Native Arts*, 79.
eight days before the main Powamu rite. The preliminary prayer rites, done inside the kiva, are prayer offerings to the gods. The offerings include: smoking, prayer sticks, breath feathers, sacred corn meal, and medicine water. If all the offerings are done with a “good heart”, their prayers are answered with blessings in the form of rain, fertility, and health.

**Prayer Rite for Powamu**

The prayer rite begins with the Powamu and Katsina Chiefs smoking together inside the kiva. After smoking, they make páhos\(^{111}\) or prayer sticks and breath feathers while priests create a sand mosaic or painting. Prayer sticks (offerings to be used during Powamu) are wooden sticks adorned with herbs, feathers, and a small cornhusk packet. The feathers attached are from a blackbird and an eagle. The blackbird feather symbolizes the time when the blackbird comes to the village, a sign of warm weather for spring. The breath feather (downy breast feather) of the eagle symbolizes the breath of life and falling rain. The cornhusk packet contains grass seed, cornmeal, pollen, and honey and represents that mother earth will bring moisture and warmth for harvest.\(^{112}\) The priests’ sand painting has prominent solar symbol for warmth. This ritual sand painting blesses the prayer.\(^{113}\) Next, the task for the men inside the kiva is making medicine water, a prayer for creation and fertility. To make medicine water, a ray of sunlight (“above” and “male”) must pass through a quartz crystal into a bowl (“below” and “female”) of spring water. Last, all members smoke together and the Powamu Chief says a prayer and sings songs.\(^{114}\) The next morning, the Powamu Chief visits each kiva to smoke, give the kiva head a prayer stick, and tells him he can begin planting beans. Each kiva grows fifty to one hundred

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\(^{111}\) Páhos. Sticks adorned with feathers and used in Hopi ceremonies.


\(^{114}\) Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life*, 41, 43.
bean sprouts. Kivas will also begin to grow corn plants at this time.\textsuperscript{115} Loftin states, “Seeds themselves are not responsible for the growth of plants. Rather, seeds tell Muy’ingwa, the underworld god or manifestation of germination, which kind of plant is desired. If the seed is planted by a Hopi, with proper thoughts of humility and harmony, Muy’ingwa shaves or shakes the desired plant from his body and pushes it up through the soil.”\textsuperscript{116}

**Powamu Begins**

At sunrise eight days after the preliminary rite, Powamu begins. On the second day, the Powamu Chief visits all the kivas to smoke and bless the bean sprouts.\textsuperscript{117} On the fifth and sixth days, every three or four years, Powamu and Katsina societies are devoted to initiations. Those who will be joining the societies receive religious instruction, initiation, and secrets of the Katsinam inside the kiva.\textsuperscript{118}

On the morning of the fifth day during Powamu society initiation, the following takes place. A special altar is made inside a kiva by placing sacred objects on a ridge of damp sand with paintings of Hú Katsinam or “whippers” on each side. When all is ready in the kiva, the children’s\textsuperscript{119} sponsors guide them inside. Everyone then throws corn meal toward the altar and takes a seat inside the kiva. While seated, each child is given a perfect ear of white corn, referred to as his or her “Corn Mother”, symbolizing the children about to be reborn. Then, everyone smokes over the white ear of corn. Next, during a series of sacred songs, an eagle feather is attached to everyone’s head to symbolize the flight they are about to take. After that, the Katsina


\textsuperscript{117} Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life*, 46.


\textsuperscript{119} Children’s ages vary since the Powamu initiation does not take place every year. Chabolla states that the children are between the ages of eight to twelve and Kennard states that the ages are between six and ten.
Chief and everyone inside rush up the kiva ladder when the ancients are summoned. When they return to the kiva, Chowilawu (or Terrific Power) Katsina follows them and dances around the altar with a plaque with hinged leaves. As he dances, he reveals different leaves on the plaque, each painted with different symbols (rain, clouds, corn, and lightning). The children are instructed to tell no one what they saw or the Katsinam will punish them. The children are now members of the Powamu society. Boys will lead the Katsinam around the plaza and sprinkle them with corn meal during the public ceremonies. Girls play minor roles in the Katsinam public ceremonies.¹²⁰

On the sixth day, Katsina society initiation takes place inside a different kiva. Two sand mosaics or paintings are made with Angwusnasomtaqa (or Crow Mother Katsina) and two Hú (or Whipper) Katsinam holding yucca whips. All the children who were initiated into Powamu the previous day are brought into this kiva. The ritual to promote growth (of children) into productive (and reproductive) adults is now conducted as follows.¹²¹ The Katsina Chief and his assistant hold trays of prayer sticks and sacred meal by the kiva ladder, and Powamu Katsina enters the kiva holding a gourd filled with water (Figure 11). Powamu Katsina is questioned where he comes from and for what purpose. He responds in the form of a long speech and sprinkles the children with water from his gourd. The Powamu Katsina explains the religious significance of the Katsinam to the young Hopi. While Powamu Katsina is saying his long speech, the children have been looking at the sand paintings and making the connection for what is in store for them next. To conclude the initiation ritual, Angwusnasomtaqa (or Crow Mother Katsina) and two Hú (or Whipper) Katsinam come down the kiva ladder and take positions by the sand painting while grunting, swishing their whips, and giving their call (specific noise)

Neither the boys who are to be whipped nor their sponsors wear any clothing. The girls are whipped fully dressed. The Katsina society initiation for growth is over for the children and the boys may now take part in the masked dances. After the Katsinam depart the kiva, the children are warned to keep what has happened a secret or the Katsinam will return to whip them again.\textsuperscript{122}

The seventh and eighth days are devoted to making prayer sticks and sending messengers to gather items for the ceremonies. On the seventh day, a messenger is sent to Kisiwu, a spring about fifty miles north of Oraibi. There, the messenger deposits prayer sticks and breath feathers and blows a whistle to announce his arrival to the spirits. Then, he cuts spruce boughs (a strong prayer to bring rain) to bring back to the kiva. On the eighth day, the messenger returns to the kiva and another messenger is sent out to fetch spring water. When at the spring, the messenger blows a whistle to summon the Cloud People, places four breath feathers in a niche, and sprinkles corn meal for the six directions.\textsuperscript{123} On his way back to the village, the messenger places feathers and cornmeal along his path as a prayer to bring rain to the village.\textsuperscript{124}

The ninth morning of Powamu is for public ceremony, but the initiates are brought into the kiva one last time around midnight. The initiated young are seated inside the kiva. Then, the Katsinam descend into the kiva. This time they wear no masks and the young realize the Katsinam are their own relatives.\textsuperscript{125}

\textbf{Niman}

Niman or Home Ceremony, ends the Katsina Season in July. Niman is harvest-related and celebrates the Katsinam returning to their home. For example, on the fourth day, an altar is

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\textsuperscript{123} North, South, East, West, Above, and Below
\textsuperscript{125} Loftin, \textit{Religion and Hopi Life}, 46.
created inside the kiva with painted cloth images of the Tunwub\textsuperscript{126}. Other symbolic items for harvest are included in or around the altar space: a flat board painted with several rows of semicircular cloud symbols, painted lightning sticks, baskets, gourds, rattles, medicine water, and an Aototo (the Chief of all Katsinam) mask.\textsuperscript{127} The purpose for celebrating the departure of the Katsinam from the Hopi village to their home (San Francisco Mountains) ends the period confined by the Winter Solstice and the Summer Solstice.\textsuperscript{128}

Consequently, the private rituals held inside the kiva during the three major Katsinam Ceremonies, Soyal, Powamu, and Niman, are mass prayers toward things that were traditionally essential for Hopi life: security, fertility, crops or food, rain, growth, and good mental and physical health. The ritual items created inside the kiva support prayers and give appearance to Katsinam and the secrets of Katsinam. Thus, the private rituals in the kiva link Hopi to their spiritual world, their past, key events in their existence, and reflect or define characteristics of Hopi life.

\textsuperscript{126} Tunwab is the Hopi Germination God.
\textsuperscript{127} Corbin, \textit{Native Arts}, 85.
\textsuperscript{128} Kennard, \textit{Hopi Kachinas}, 33.
CHAPTER SIX

Public Ritual of Katsinam

“The rain falls on the just and the unjust.” —Hopi proverb

Hopi life was traditionally communal. People shared farmland and work. Hopi villages are laid around a central kiisonui\textsuperscript{129} or open plaza providing a place for people to come together. The open plaza area is used for social events and religious ceremonies that are so much a part of Hopi life. In the past and today, the open plaza area is where Katsinam perform public rituals.\textsuperscript{130} Boissiere states, “It is said by the Hopis that long ago, the spirits themselves came to the village, but today the people have lost the ability to see them, so they are impersonated by members of each village.”\textsuperscript{131}

The Hopi feel that they can affect the cosmos in a practical manner, but only by returning to the beginning through rituals taught by their ancestors and following the commandments prescribed for them by the deities.\textsuperscript{132} For example, the songs\textsuperscript{133} Katsinam sing during rituals are both prayers and a record of Hopi history. As new events occur, Katsinam create new songs. It is through songs that Hopi communicate with the spirit world.\textsuperscript{134} In addition, rituals were originally designed to maintain vibratory “voices” or achieve the “balanced” life. Therefore, the public rituals held on the ninth day of ceremonies are an important part of Hopi history and Hopi life today.

\textsuperscript{129} Kiisonui (kee-ee-sohn-wee). Open plaza inside a Hopi village designed to contribute to the Hopi lifestyle.
\textsuperscript{130} Kennard, Hopi Kachinas, 3., Koyiyumptewa and O’Bagy Davis, Images of America, 9.
\textsuperscript{131} Boissiere, The Hopi Way, Author’s Note.
\textsuperscript{132} Loftin, Religion and Hopi Life, xxiv, 57.
\textsuperscript{133} It is said that some Hopi men know as many as 500 songs that had been passed down to them by their fathers, uncles, and elders. It is customary for a Hopi man to compose songs of their own during their lifetimes.
\textsuperscript{134} De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 51.
Hopi’s believe that Katsinam serve all mankind, but are a beneficial counterpart in Hopi religious beliefs.\footnote{J. Brent Ricks, et al., \textit{Kachinas}, 4.} Katsina ceremonies are tied to the seasons and Hopi prayers are directed to bring clouds and rain for crops (survival).\footnote{Koyiyumptewa and O’Bagy Davis, \textit{Images of America}, 7.} McMannis states, “Survival as a people depends on maintaining proper relationships with the inhabitants of the spiritual realm, for only the Katsinam have the power to bring rain and bestow blessings.”\footnote{McMannis, \textit{A Guide to Hopi}, 2.} In addition, Katsinam infuse the Hopi with meaning, balance, and connectedness to the past. Thus, Katsina rituals reference the origin, nature, and destiny of the world.\footnote{Loftin, \textit{Religion and Hopi Life}, 58., Pritzker, \textit{The Hopi}, 31.}

**Katsina Impersonation**

Katsina impersonators identity is kept strictly unknown to those in the audience who are uninitiated by dressing in the kiva. Katsina attire is elaborate and symbolic that can be ‘read’ by the audience. The mask and costume worn by impersonators distinguishes a Katsina. Each Katsina impersonator has been trained to play a role in rituals (e.g. dance step, call, song).\footnote{De Mente, \textit{Cultural Code Words}, 38., Corbin, \textit{Native Arts}, 78., Kennard, \textit{Hopí Kachinas}, 4, 12.} When playing a role of a Katsina, the man is “taken over” by the Katsina spirit and his mask “comes alive”.\footnote{De Mente, \textit{Cultural Code Words}, 38.}

**Types of Katsina**

During the Katsina Ceremonies there are two types of Katsinam that appear, Chief Katsina and various other Katsinam that are chosen according to the desires of the people. Chief Katsina appears singularly and wears a mask that is permanently decorated. Chief Katsina only appears at specified times of the year. For example, the Soyal Chief Katsina only appears for Soyal rituals. The right to impersonate and wear these Chief masks is hereditary. The other
Katsina impersonators wear masks that are painted and decorated for each appearance. In a usual dance, these Katsinam dance together in groups of about twenty-five to sixty, who are all dressed and masked alike. They dance and sing in unison.\textsuperscript{141}

**Symbolic Quality of Katsina Costumes**

Symbols represented in Katsina attire are from elements and forces of nature, fertility, plants, and animals. The common symbols painted on masks are of corn, clouds, falling rain, lightning, circles, stars, and crescents. These symbols mirror the same ones found on altars and sand paintings.\textsuperscript{142} In addition, the colors used hold a symbolic quality. McMannis states, “Yellow represents the north or northeast; blue/green points to the west or southwest; red connotes south or southeast; and white bespeaks east or northeast. Black signifies above, while grey—all colors combined—indicates below.”\textsuperscript{143}

Masks are the basis for all Katsina impersonators. Older masks were made from buckskin or white cotton cloth stretched over a willow frame. Today masks are made from leather.\textsuperscript{144} The greatest attention is paid to the eyes of the mask. There are always two openings for eyes and they are represented in the shape of rectangles, crescents, circles, or triangles. The painting of the mask is usually all one color with just the eyes and mouth indicated or divided into sections by lines with contrasting colors in each section.

Katsina dress is a kilt of woven white cloth and embroidered along the lower edge with symbolic designs of clouds and falling rain. A woven sash is worn along with each pitchcunas or

\textsuperscript{141} Kennard, *Hopi Kachinas*, 6.
\textsuperscript{142} Kennard, *Hopi Kachinas*, 9-10.
\textsuperscript{144} Kennard, *Hopi Kachinas*, 9-10.
kilt. If the sash is tied on the right side of the body, the Katsina is male. If the sash is tied on the left side of the body, the Katsina is female.¹⁴⁵

Other items used for Katsina impersonation are standard decoration: collar, feathers, gourds, animal parts, jewelry, and paint. The collar of the lower edge of the mask is made of evergreen boughs to symbolize the Katsinam everlasting spirit.¹⁴⁶ Feathers (of an eagle, parrot, owl, sparrow, crow, and turkey) are used to carry prayers. Horns are made from necks of gourds, and dry grass or horsehair symbolizes Katsinam hair. Rattles worn under the right knee are made of a turtle shell that help mark the beat when they dance. Brass bells are worn around the left leg to also accompany the dance. Moccasins of buckskin are in the colors of white, brown, or blue. The left wrist is adorned with a bow guard, strand of yarn, and bracelet. Necklaces of turquoise are worn around the neck. All exposed skin is covered with paint.¹⁴⁷

**Soyal Public Ritual**

Various Katsinam appear during the public Soyal Ceremony to reaffirm the Hopi way of life, the importance of fertility, and the relationship with deities and Katsinam. The first Katsina to appear is one of the Chief Katsinam called Soyal Katsina (Figure 13). He enters the village from the south placing prayer sticks by the kivas to serve as an announcement of the approaching Winter Solstice Ceremony.¹⁴⁸

Mastop or Death Fly Katsinam representing Masao¹⁴⁹ also appears at this time. The Mastop mask is cylindrical with circular eyes and a triangular mouth (Figure 14 & Figure 15). There are dots over the eyes to represent the constellation Pleiades and large dots on the cheeks to represent the Big Dipper. The right angle patterns on the forehead represent the nine days of

¹⁴⁶ Boissiere, *The Hopi Way*, 17
¹⁴⁹ Masao is the Hopi earth god.
the ceremony. Other items add to the impersonation of Mastop: feathers, horsehair, cornhusks for ears, and dry grass. Mastop Katsinam appears in the village to perform symbolic ritual acts that promote the procreation of life. Mastop Katsinam run around the plaza, give their call, and simulate intercourse with women. This act is a symbolic fertilization of the women from the Mastop Katsinam. At the same time, Mastop Katsinam carries Hopi prayers to the supreme deity for healthy life and peace for the world. Mastop Katsinam continue to run about until all the women have received their blessing for fertility.

Last, the Qoqolo Katsinam formally opens the Katsina Ceremony season (Figure 16). They are the first to appear as a regular dancing group. They dance in a line beside Katsina Manas (female figures). The Manas hold woven plaques containing seeds. The Powamu Chief leads Katsinam about the village as he sprinkles them with cornmeal. During the course of the afternoon, they visit every kiva and mark the opening on all four sides with cornmeal to “open” the kivas and symbolize the opening of the Katsina season. At the end of the Soyal ceremony, various other Katsinam bring presents of food that they distribute to children.

**Powamu Public Ritual**

During Powamu, different Katsinam emerge in the village for a variety of rituals to ensure good crops and initiate the young into adult Hopi life. Some amuse, others bring terror to naughty children (Ogres), and others bring presents of food, rattles, bows and arrows, and tithü

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150 Corbin, *Native Arts*, 81.
to distribute. For example, Hototo Katsina appears at the dance, directs Hopis to gather wood for kiva fires, and has many roles, such as guard, gift bearer, and warrior (Figure 17).

On the morning of the Public Powamu ceremony, Angquisnasomtaqa or Crow Mother goes to a shrine where she gives her call (Figure 5). The Powamu Chief places prayer sticks, breath feathers, and meal in the shrine. At the shrine, Powamu Katsina Chief hands Crow Mother a woven tray containing pine sprigs and fresh green corn shoots that have been grown in the kiva. Then, Crow Mother is led toward the village. She enters the plaza singing with her tray of presents. Hopi women and children sprinkle her with cornmeal and take some of the corn sprouts and pine sprigs. These gifts are presented to the uninitiated are signs of the miraculous power of the Katsinam. The whole ritual (singing, sprinkling water, and gift giving) is a prayer for fertility among Hopi women.

Meanwhile, Aototo (or Eototo, Ewtoto, or Chief Katsina) and Aholi (or Ahooli) emerge from one kiva and make their way to the Powamu kiva. Aototo is the Chief of all Katsinam, knows all rituals, and controls the seasons. He has a phallic-shaped mask with a white costume with black spots. Aholi is a leader of great wisdom and has a tall cone shaped mask adorned with feathers and small images of the germination god on each shoulder (Figures 18, 19, & 20). On the way to the Powamu kiva, Aototo makes a mark on the ground and Aholi sets his staff on it, circling it and uttering a long drow-out cry. This is a prayer ritual for rain to fall on the village.

Next, the Tobacco Katsina, Powamu Katsina, and Katsina Chiefs emerge from the Powamu kiva with other Powamu officers. The Tobacco chief smokes over the Katsinam. The

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156 J. Brent Ricks, et al., Kachinas, 53.
Powamu Chief sprinkles Katsinam with medicine water and gives them each a prayer stick and cornmeal in exchange for a tray of corn and bean shoots. The Katsina chief gives them a prayer stick and cornmeal. The Powamu officers give them cornmeal and breath feathers.\textsuperscript{160} After that, Aototo and Aholi visit important households and give the senior clan woman a bunch of corn sprouts. Then, all Katsinam go to the edge of the village to deposit their offerings to a shrine.\textsuperscript{161}

Feasts are held during the rest of the day and in the afternoon, and many different Katsinam are seen wandering the streets, presenting gifts to children. A Mother Katsina (Hé é e, or Warrior Maiden Katsina) leads Katsinam to the plaza (Figure 21). She is portrayed with half of her hair up. Hopi legend states that Warrior Maiden Katsina was putting her hair up when she learned the village was being attacked while the men were away. She immediately jumped up and ran to lead the other women in defending the village until no men could return and help.\textsuperscript{162} Each gift giving Katsina seeks out the child for whom his present is intended. Receiving a present tells the child that he/she has behaved in accordance with standards approved by the Katsina spirits.\textsuperscript{163} After the gifts are given, the Katsina proceeds to the Powamu kiva where he receives the usual blessings of smoke, medicine water, prayer sticks, and corn meal. After the Katsinam have been in the plaza for some time, Warrior Maiden Katsina leads the Katsinam in procession back to their kivas. Only the Chief Katsinam remains in the village.\textsuperscript{164}

Late in the evening at about midnight, Katsinam return to their kivas to dance. Each group of Katsina dancers starts to dance in their kiva and travel to dance in the other kivas twice. During an intermission between dances, many gifts are exchanged between men and women. It

\textsuperscript{161} Loftin, \textit{Religion and Hopi Life}.
\textsuperscript{162} McMannis, \textit{A Guide to Hopi}, 23.
\textsuperscript{163} Secakuku, \textit{Hopi Kachina Tradition}, 16.
is often during this time that a girl will offer her sweetheart a loaf of sweet cornmeal as a marriage proposal.\footnote{Loftin, \textit{Religion and Hopi Life}, 54.}

When the rituals are over, all the Powamu Katsinam remove their headdresses and either place them in a shrine or plant them as a prayer for rain. Therefore, it is the hope that Powamu rituals will bring warm weather and more precipitation in order to prepare the fields for planting.\footnote{Loftin, \textit{Religion and Hopi Life}, 55.}

\textbf{Niman}

During the Niman ceremony, numerous Katsinam appear in public for harvest related celebrations and returning the Katsinam to their home. Children especially enjoy the Niman dance because the Katsinam bring presents tied to cornstalks. These presents represent success for the crops to come and the intangible virtues of life for the Hopi\footnote{McMannis, \textit{A Guide to Hopi}, 21.} (Figure 9). Presents are of corn, beans, melons, bows and arrows, and tithü.\footnote{Hough, \textit{The Hopi Indians}, 52., Secakuku, \textit{Hopi Kachina Tradition}, 16.}

The privilege of dancing in the public Niman or Home Dance rotates annually among the kivas. Niman Katsinam dance eight times during the ninth day of the ceremony. When the Katsinam come to the village to dance for the first time, just after sunrise, they bring armfuls of corn to distribute to the people in the village. In addition, the Katsina Chief is present.

Two different Katsinam perform the public dance, Hemis Katsinam and Katsina Manas or Maidens (female figures). The Hemis Katsinam masks are complex. The lower part of the mask is a cylindrically-shaped form that is divided into two parts by a vertical band from the forehead to the lower chin, pink on one side and green on the other. The forehead is painted with
cloud symbols and little dots representing raindrops. The lower chin (divided into a band of short vertical shapes) is painted red, yellow, green, blue, and white representing a rainbow. Attached to the mask is a stepped tableta, which is covered with rainbow, phallic, corn, rain, cloud, and lightning symbols. In addition, twigs and white down feathers are attached to the forehead and tableta\footnote{Corbin, Native Arts, 85.} (Figure 3). The Katsina Manas’ costumes are finely woven and embroidered dresses. Their hair is up in ‘butterfly’ whirls that symbolize maternal idealism and indicate the women are unmarried\footnote{Secakuku, Hopi Kachina Tradition, 88.} (Figure 22).

During the Niman dance, two lines of Katsina appear. The Hemis Katsinam dance in unison toward the houses with the Katsina Manas next to them. As the Hemis Katsinam dance, the end figure starts to turn until they all face in the opposite direction. As they turn, the symbols painted on the back of the masks are revealed (corn, clouds, rain, lightning). When the first song has been sung, the Katsinam take a different position. The Hemis Katsinam face toward the center of the plaza while the Katsina Manas kneel with their backs to the plaza (Figure 23). The Katsina Mana set a beat with their gourds for the Hemis Katsinam to dance.\footnote{Kennard, Hopi Kachinas, 34., Secakuku, Hopi Kachina Tradition, 88.}

In closing, the visual demonstration of Katsinam public rituals, held on the ninth day during each Katsina ceremony, connect the Hopi to the past and reflect ancient teachings of the survival of Hopi ancestors. Katsinam appear in the villages to visually demonstrate that the Hopi have lived in the “correct” way, just as their ancestors did, and to bestow important blessings for survival.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Perspective on Katsinam Today

“Work hard, keep the ceremonies, live peaceably, and unite your hearts.” -Hopi Proverb

Hopi ancient culture that had continued for hundreds, if not thousands of generations, developed a philosophy of life that still remains today.\(^\text{172}\) The Hopi philosophy is based on tradition; the essential aspect of Hopi culture that has united them for hundreds of years. The tradition of Hopi Katsinam art and ritual illustrate how one can rise above his environment and flourish as a spiritual system and as an art form.

However, since the first contact with Spanish explorers, the unique culture of the Hopi people has changed. Outside contact brought the introduction of disease, foreign education and government, the imposition of alien religion and ideas, and changes in the ceremonies.

Tradition

Wuyolavayi\(^\text{173}\) is the Hopi word meaning tradition. Tradition is the fundamental nature of Hopi culture. From birth to death, Hopi lives are programmed by traditional beliefs and customs. Despite the fact that outside contact has brought changes to the Hopi culture, it is the Hopi traditional beliefs and customs that have kept the culture alive today. Hopi tradition incorporates myths, ceremonies, Katsinam rituals, prayers, and songs.

Outside Contact

Pahánas\(^\text{174}\) or “white men” first arrived in Hopi land mid-July 1540. When the Hopis saw the light skin of Spanish Troops, they immediately assumed they were the legendary Pahánas or

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\(^{172}\) De Mente, *Cultural Code Words*, 120.

\(^{173}\) Wuyolavayi (wuu-yoh-lah-ah-yee). The essence of Hopi culture; *Tradition*.

\(^{174}\) Pahánas (Pah-hah-nas). According to Hopi mythology, Maasaw instructed the people to watch for the return of Pahána, *white man* or the Lost White Brother, who will come at the end of the Fourth World and user in a new age.
“white brothers”. Hopi prophecy states that the True White Brother would lay the sacred stone beside the stone given to the Hopis by Maasaw, completing the “Great Plan”. Later, after the Spanish Troops produced no stone, the Hopis became convinced that the Spanish were not their brothers. Nevertheless, Hopi allowed visits from the Spanish Troops for the following seven decades.

**Changes in Ceremonies and Rituals**

In 1628, the Franciscans initiated a major program to convert all Hopis to their brand of Catholicism. Despite the Hopi recognition that the Spaniards were not their true “white brothers”, they gave in and allowed Spanish priests to establish missions in their villages. Resistant Hopis who performed traditional rituals were punished (flogged and doused with turpentine, and even setting the turpentine on fire). In 1680, the Hopi joined with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in a rebellion against the Spaniards. Twelve years later the Spaniards recaptured the New Mexican Pueblos, killing and enslaving thousands, but they made no effort to capture the Hopi.

**Government Programs and the Decline of Hopi Population**

In 1848, when the United States officially annexed the northern half of Mexico at the end of the Mexican-American War, the U.S. agreed in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to confirm titles of the Indians to their homelands. However, gold was discovered in California the same year and the treaty was ignored. The government began a new program of dividing the huge Territory of New Mexico into several smaller units, including the Territory of Arizona where the

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176 Sacred Stone Tablet. Given to the Hopi when they first arrived in the New World. The tablet explains the history of the Hopis and why they should remain united as a people.


Hopi live today. Later, Anglo-Protestants moved westward and made no attempt to live with the Native Americans. Their strategy was to exterminate Native Americans; bounties for their scalps were set in motion. Then, the American government forced Indians to move to Missouri, Oklahoma, and Florida. Last, the surviving Hopi fell to smallpox epidemics in 1853-53 and 1861. An estimated 60 percent of the Hopi population did not survive.

Keam’s Canyon

In 1870, Protestant missionaries arrived in Hopi land to establish a mission school in what is now called Keam’s Canyon. Twelve years later, in 1882, U.S. President Chester A. Arthur established the Hopi Indian Reservation. Five years after the Hopi Reservation was established, the federal government set up a boarding school for Hopi children at Keam’s Canyon, and made attendance compulsory. It was not until the 1930s that the U.S. began to obey its own laws in its treatment of Indians.

Changes in Life and Culture

Although Hopis were forced to make changes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they did so as necessary for dealing with an outside dominant society. Loftin states:

It is true that some ceremonies have been forgotten, game is scarce, salt is usually purchased at a grocery store, houses are commonly built of cinder block, and children often drag out their traditional education by spending time away from home. Nevertheless, it is still fair to say that the Hopi are very religious in a Hopi way. All of these changes are related to their being dominated by another society.

Introduction of outside contact, building churches and schools, and various items such as sheep, horses, new crops, and modern amenities resulted in profound changes in the Hopi way of life.

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180 De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 92.
181 De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 94.
182 De Mente, Cultural Code Words, 96-97.
183 Loftin, Religion and Hopi Life, 117.
Changes in Ceremony and Rituals

Until outside contact and the U.S. government establishing the Hopi Reservation, the entire lifestyle of the Hopi was based on and built around their religious beliefs and rituals involving Katsinam. Today, aspects of rituals have changed by incorporating outside ideas such as dress, language, and holidays, but the Hopi still preserve their core culture and their rich arts and traditions.\(^{184}\) For example, Loftin describes the rapid loss of traditions as early as 1942 when the Hopi began to adapt to the “white” way of life. A Hopi named Talayesva, witnessed a Spinach Katsina (Isöökatsina) ceremony and stated, “We are spoiled by the white man’s fancy foods and foolish clothes. Now the Hopi turns his nose at the old-fashioned foods, and the day will come when no woman will dress in a decent Hopi way…”\(^{185}\) Another example of ritual changes on the reservation happened in 1981. Shongpavi is currently the only village that conducts all major ceremonies, but even parts of some dances had to be taught in English starting in 1981. This was due to the fact that the young Hopi were not fluent in their native Hopi language.\(^{186}\) The most recent Katsina rituals include: Katsinam dance at nontraditional times, they fail to distribute traditional gifts, and have been seen accompanied by Santa Claus during the Powamu Ceremony.

In addition, Non-Hopis have affected the traditional Hopi rituals off the reservation. A group called Smoki, off the reservation, does improper performances of Hopi rituals.\(^{187}\) Smokis are eroding the sacred rituals of the Hopi and Hopi elders have pleaded for them to stop.

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\(^{184}\) Koyiyumptewa and O’Bagy Davis, *Images of America*, Intro.


\(^{186}\) Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life*, 95.

Changes in Tithü

Tithü strengthen connections to Hopi tradition and culture and serve as a resource by which the non-Hopi may better understand and appreciate the Hopi culture. For a non-Hopi, it is important to take into account that tithü or Katsina dolls represent a spirit being and was originally created by Katsinam in their physical embodiment. Ceremonial tithü occupy places of honor in every Hopi home. To the Hopi, family tithü are neither playthings nor home decorations.

Today, tithü or Katsina dolls are a popular art form among non-Hopi. Tithü have undergone some major stylistic changes throughout history and all have not been produced the traditional way. Yet, each piece tells a story and reflects the Hopi way of life. It has been argued by traditionalists that contemporary Katsina dolls may be works of art, but they are not true tithü. For a Katsina doll to be considered tihü, the carver must be a Hopi male and carve the form of the doll from the root of cottonwood trees. Hopis believe it is inappropriate and illegitimate for women to carve Katsina dolls and those who attempt to do so will come to harm. The Hopi word for cottonwood root is paako, which means water wood. The ability for the root to seek and find abundant water mirrors the ability the Katsinam to do the same for the Hopi people.

The stylistic changes of tithü over time can be distinguished as “flat or cradle”, “rounded”, “freestanding”, “active and lifelike” or “dressed”, “Route 66” or “Bellyache”, and “Katsina Sculpture”. Many of the first dolls purchased were the “flat or cradle” style (Figure

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24). These flat dolls only show the Katsina markings on the face. Arms were only painted and legs were seldom shown. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Hopi carvers began making more “rounded” style with carved legs and arms. After 1900, as the Katsina dolls became more popular as a tourist item, extended arms became more common and commercial paints began to be used instead of traditional mineral and vegetable pigments.192 “Route 66” or “Bellyache” are named for the legendary highway they were sold on and because the arms were folded over the lower torso193 (Figure 25 & Figure 26). After WWII, carvers began to make tithū less rigid and more active and lifelike. “Dressed” style became the new norm as makers began to adorn their dolls with yarn, felt, cloth, fur, shells, plastic, small metal bells, and feathers of eagles and other wild birds. Acrylic and oil paints were the new paint choice preferred. During the 1970s, it became illegal for Hopi to produce tithū for commercial sale if it included feathers of certain migratory or endangered species. This led to artists carving feathers. The advanced techniques of carving feathers grew into focusing the attention of Katsina head and the new style born has become known as “Katsina Sculpture”194 (Figure 27).

As a non-Hopi, I understand the concerns about Katsina rituals and tithū evolving away from Hopi tradition. Tradition is essential for Hopi life. Outside influences have broken numerous traditions and rituals. American Holidays have been intermingled amongst the Hopi ceremonial calendar, tithū have been stylistically altered from the original forms, and non-Hopi have adapted and perform sacred Katsina rituals. All of these outside influences have changed and transformed the Hopi culture. The religious philosophy and art forms that remain today demonstrate how one can appropriate tradition and rise above a dominant environment.

I believe it is important to comprehend and appreciate Hopi life ways, rituals, spiritual beings, and traditional art forms. By doing so, one can gain knowledge of the unique culture and philosophy that has helped the Hopi survive today.
Figure 2. Johnson, Inge (n.d.) Grand Canyon [Photograph]. From The History and Cultures of Native Americans: The Hopi (p.19) edited by Bary M. Pritzker, 2011, New York; Infobase Learning.
Figure 3. Earle, Edwin (1907) *Niman, Hemis, or Home Katsina* [Painting]. From *Hopi Kachinas* (plate XIV) edited by Edward A. Kennard, 2002, California; Kiva Publishing.
Figure 4. Earle, Edwin (1907) Soyok or Leader Ogre Katsina [Painting]. From Hopi Kachinas (plate X) edited by Edward A. Kennard, 2002, California; Kiva Publishing.
Figure 5. Earle, Edwin (1907) *Angwusnasomtaqa or Crow Mother Katsina* [Painting]. From *Hopi Kachinas* (plate VI) edited by Edward A. Kennard, 2002, California; Kiva Publishing.
Figure 7. ---- (n.d.) *Hopi Women Weaving Baskets* [Photograph]. From The History and Cultures of Native Americans: The Hopi (p.53) edited by Bary M. Pritzker, 2011, New York; Infobase Learning.
Figure 10. ---- (n.d.) *Kiva* [Photograph]. From *Hopi Kachina Tradition: Following the Sun and Moon* (p.96) edited by Alph H. Secakuku, 1995, Arizona; Heard Museum.
Figure 11. ---- (pre 1901) *Powamu Katsina* [Mixed Media]. From *Hopi Kachina Tradition: Following the Sun and Moon* (p.19) edited by Alph H. Secakuku, 1995, Arizona; Heard Museum.
Figure 12. Earle, Edwin (1907) *Hú or Whipper Katsina* [Painting]. From *Hopi Kachinas* (plate VII) edited by Edward A. Kennard, 2002, California; Kiva Publishing.
Figure 13. Earle, Edwin (1907) Soyal Katsina [Painting]. From *Hopi Kachinas* (plate 1) edited by Edward A. Kennard, 2002, California; Kiva Publishing.
Figure 14. Earle, Edwin (1907) *Mastop Katsina* [Painting]. From *Hopi Kachinas* (plate II) edited by Edward A. Kennard, 2002, California; Kiva Publishing.
Figure 16. Earle, Edwin (1907) Qökölö Katsina [Painting]. From Hopi Kachinas (plate III) edited by Edward A. Kennard, 2002, California; Kiva Publishing.
Figure 18. ---- (c.1980) Left: Aototo, Ewtoto, or Chief Katsina, Right: Aholi or Ahooli [Mixed Media]. From Hopi Kachina Tradition: Following the Sun and Moon (p.9) edited by Alph H. Secakuku, 1995, Arizona; Heard Museum.
Figure 19. Earle, Edwin (1907) *Aototo, Eototo, or Chief Katsina* [Painting]. From *Hopi Kachinas* (plate IV) edited by Edward A. Kennard, 2002, California; Kiva Publishing.
Figure 20. Earle, Edwin (1907) *Aholi or Ahooli Katsina* [Painting]. From *Hopi Kachinas* (plate V) edited by Edward A. Kennard, 2002, California; Kiva Publishing.
Figure 21. Earle, Edwin (1907) *Hé é e or Warrior Maiden Katsina* [Painting]. From *Hopi Kachinas* (plate IX) edited by Edward A. Kennard, 2002, California; Kiva Publishing.
Figure 22. Earle, Edwin (1907) *Hemis Katsina Mana* [Painting]. From Hopi *Kachinas* (plate XV) edited by Edward A. Kennard, 2002, California; Kiva Publishing.
Figure 23. Mootzka, Waldo (late 1930s) *Niman Home Ceremony* [Painting]. From *Images of America: The Hopi People* (p.82) edited by S.B. Koyiyumptewa and C.O. Davis, 2009, North Carolina; Arcadia Publishing.
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