

*KACHINAS
IN THE
PUEBLO
WORLD*

University of New Mexico Press

ALBUQUERQUE

The Hopi Cosmology or World-View

FRED EGGAN

PUEBLO cosmology in general emphasizes the earth rather than the heavens, and begins with the emergence of people from the underworld rather than with the creation of the world. The Hopi Indians share this emphasis and their cosmology provides for the evolution of mankind in four worlds, with final emergence of the Hopi (and all other known peoples including the whites) in the Grand Canyon, by way of the *sipapu* or opening from the underworld below. Life in the underworlds was crowded and difficult, and periodically the leaders led their followers through openings in the ceilings of each cave world, leaving behind troublemakers and witches in an attempt to maintain Hopi teachings. With their emergence into the Grand Canyon near the mouth of the Little Colorado River, the Hopi chief thought they had succeeded, but when his child died he knew that at least one witch had emerged with the rest. When the witch was discovered she saved her own life by showing the chief and his followers that his child was alive in the underworld and playing happily with other children. The Hopi believe that their dead return to the underworld, where they live in villages in the manner of the living, and have a continuing role in Hopi life (Quinn 1983; Voth 1905).

The Hopi do provide a brief account of the creation of the physical world in which the Sky

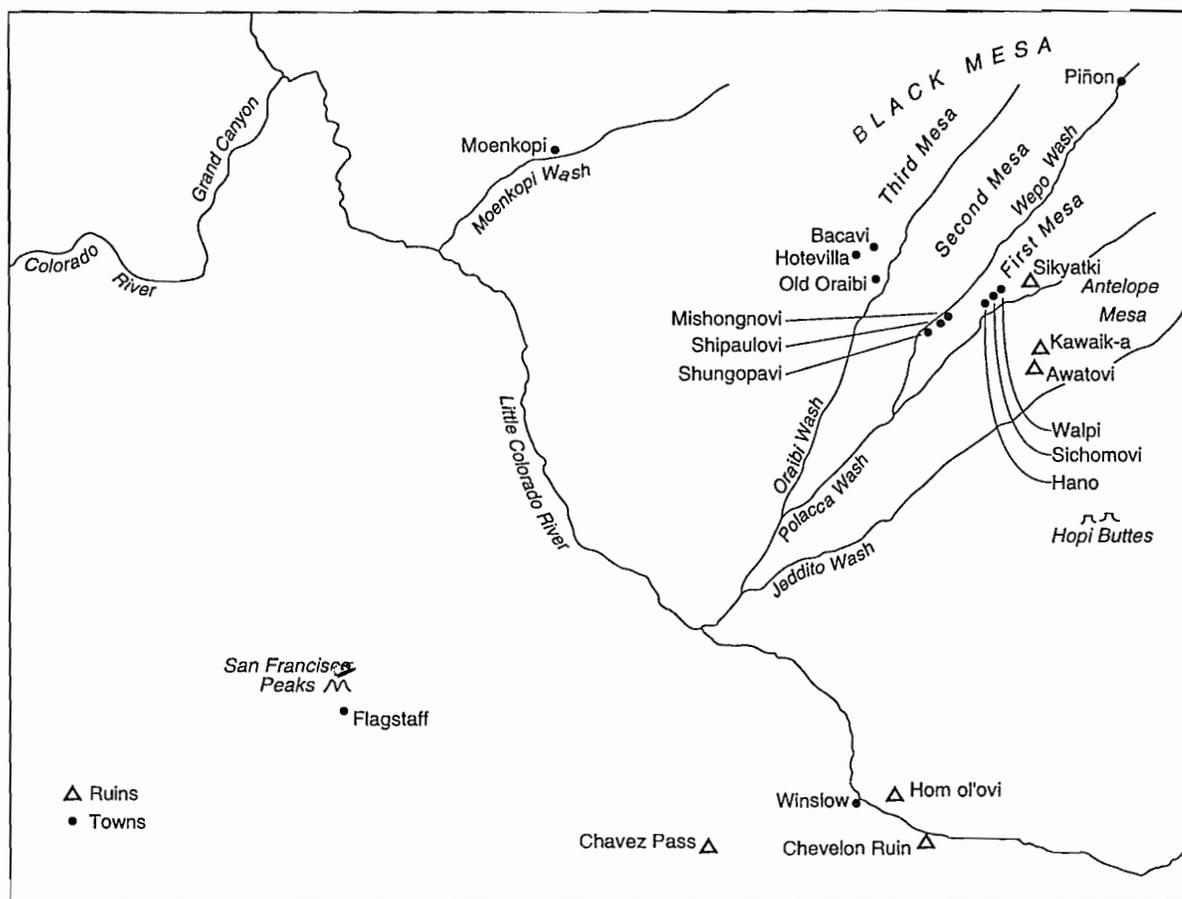


FIGURE 2.1. Map of the Hopi mesas and surrounding geography showing villages and significant landmarks in the Hopi landscape.

God created a beautiful virgin who caused so much rivalry among the other deities that he transformed her into the earth world, her hair becoming the vegetation, her eyes the springs, her secretions the salt, and so on, and he assigned separate regions and powers to the various deities. Thus Musingwa was placed in the center of the earth to guard the germs of all life; Gnatumsi guards the virgin's heart and fecundates the germs of life; Palölökong, the water serpent, presides over the waters of the earth and nourishes vegetation and animal life; Masau presides over the surface of the earth and is in charge of the dead and the afterworld; Omau is the cloud deity responsible for rain; and Tawa, the sun, is "father" to all (Stephen 1940). This account suggests that



the emergence from the underworld may be interpreted as a "myth of gestation and birth," as Washington Mathews (1902:738) long ago observed, and makes the conception of the earth as "mother" to the Hopi intelligible.

In addition to the deities mentioned above, the Katsinas play an important role in Hopi life as mediators and messengers of the gods. They come periodically to the Hopi villages from December to July as masked dancers to bring gifts to the children and moisture for bountiful crops for the villages. Once they came in person but later they taught the Hopi their songs and dances and now come to dance in spirit from their homes in the mountains and springs (Figure 2.2).

FIGURE 2.2. Hemis kachinas, Mishongnovi Pueblo, Hopi, Arizona. (Photo courtesy of Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, negative number 82734.)

The Hopi dead, whose "breath" bodies journey from the grave to the afterworld in the Grand Canyon, are met by sentinels from the Kwan society, who are associated with Masau, and either allowed to proceed or punished in the fire pits for non-Hopi behavior until they are purified. In the villages of the dead they continue Hopi life, existing on the odor or "steam" of food offerings and responding to the prayer offering of the living. Daily they ascend to the San Francisco peaks as Katsinas, and as clouds they provide rain to those Hopis with good hearts who are following the Hopi way of life (Titiev 1944:109-29).

The *pabos*, or prayer sticks, and other prayer offerings are gathered by the sun on his daily travels across the sky and sorted out with Muyingwa on the sun's return journey through the underworld on his way to his eastern house. Muyingwa makes the germs of all living things in the world, the seeds of all vegetation that grows on the surface of the earth and all animals and human beings who walk on it. Muyingwa answers the requests of those Hopis with good hearts by making their crops grow, and discards the requests of witches and those with bad hearts (Fewkes 1894b).

In Hopi belief, prayer offerings made with a good heart require the proper return from the deities who are petitioned, but insincere requests can result in drought or windstorms that bring disaster. In this semidesert environment moisture in the form of rain or snow at the proper time is essential for the growth of crops, principally corn plus beans and squash. Hopi prayers are primarily for rain to grow the crops and for good health and long life. The equation of the dead with clouds and rain, by means of the concept of katsinas, provides a system in which the dead maintain their interest in the living and continue to help their relatives by sending rain. In this system each individual is responsible for the welfare of the whole community and those who do not conform may be branded as witches. Hence public opinion expressed through gossip is a powerful force for

control and until recently was strong enough to obviate the need for policemen.

HOPi SOCIAL organization centers on the matrilineal clan as the basic unit of society (Connelly 1979; Eggan 1950:17-138; Titiev 1944:7-95). Clans were not present in the underworld, but the bilateral groups or bands who emerged via the *sipapu* wandered around for a considerable period during which they took their present names from particular events; the group that became the Bear clan found a dead bear and thus took their name. By emphasizing descent through the female line, the band gradually became a matrilineal clan and established a rule of marrying outside the clan group.

The household likewise became organized in terms of matrilineal residence, with the house belonging to the women and the husbands joining their wife's household, though retaining an important position in their natal households. Marriage became monogamous, but divorce was frequent and remarriage simple. Daughters usually remained in their mother's household, where their husbands joined them. Sons remained until marriage, when they left to join their wives. Each household was therefore composed of a group of women who, with their brothers, formed a clan segment which anthropologists call a lineage group. Men from other clans married into the households, while male members of the lineage married into the other clans and households. Initially clans might be composed of a single lineage but might expand into several households, each of which might become a separate lineage, or alternatively might die out if not enough females were produced.

In Hopi tradition the clan migrations after emergence from the underworld covered much of the Southwest. It was during this period that agriculture reached them from the south, along with pottery-making and cotton weaving. As agriculture became more important and gradually replaced hunting and gathering as the basis for

subsistence, the Hopi became sedentary, building pithouse hamlets and later masonry storage structures that gradually evolved into the modern Pueblos. Agricultural land and sources of water became more important and the early Hopi settled on Black Mesa, in the Hopi Buttes, along the Little Colorado River, and in the Grand Canyon.

When the villages on the southern portions of Black Mesa were being established, the Bear clan was the first clan to settle there in Hopi tradition, receiving a block of land from Masau, who owned it. The Bear clan thus became the leading clan and the Bear clan chief became the village chief. Later clan arrivals had to demonstrate their prowess of bringing rain, or as warriors and protectors, before being allowed to settle in the village, where they were given land in exchange for their performance of ceremonies or special ritual services to the Bear clan chief.

The Hopi clans are named after animals or plants or various aspects of nature, and the basic clan system is similar in all Hopi villages. There is an important relationship between the named plant or animal and the clan group, and each clan has a set of names referring to its eponym which are bestowed on its members at birth and at all changes in social status through various initiations. Each clan was likewise given a plot of land by the village chief in exchange for performing a ceremony or ritual essential to the religious system. The Sand clan provides valley sands for the altars, the Tobacco clan provides pipes and native tobacco for ceremonial smoking, in which the smoke is symbolic of clouds, the Badger clan provides the roots to put in water and make the medicines and emetics used in the ceremonies, and a member of one of the water clans provides the water for asperging and other purposes.

With the great drought of the thirteenth century (A.D. 1276–1299), many of the northern Pueblo areas were abandoned, and ancestral Hopis and other Anasazi moved to areas such as Southern Black Mesa where the springs were more

reliable and farming was still possible. In Hopi tradition the initial movements were still earlier. The Pueblo populations in the Grand Canyon left in the first half of the twelfth century, when there was apparently a change in climate, and moved toward the Hopi mesas, some stopping in the Moenkopi area and the others joining relatives on Third Mesa. At about the same time other groups moved from northern Black Mesa to join growing Hopi communities to the south, and groups in the Hopi Buttes to the south moved northward.

Hopi tradition assigns priority to the Second Mesa community of Shungopavi, which was founded by the Bear clan, and the village is considered the "mother" village for all the Hopi. As clans arrived the Bear clan chief, as village chief or *kikmongwi*, tested their contributions and assigned them lands and a place to live. Oraibi was founded by a brother of the Shungopavi chief, named Matcito, and settled initially by his relatives and friends. Later it received an influx from the Moenkopi area and the Grand Canyon. On First Mesa "Old Walpi" was established below the mesa top, and at nearby Antelope Mesa, Awatovi and other villages were gradually settled.

As new clan groups arrived they were fitted into the developing social organization. Clans considered similar in some important respect were grouped into phratries and considered to be kinsmen. Thus the Bear clan, the Spider clan, the Bluebird clan, the Rope clan and others were considered to belong together because of similar or related experiences with the same dead bear that gave its name to the Bear clan. Others, such as the Snake clan, Lizard clan, Cactus clan, and Sand clan were conceptually linked in terms of similarity or habitat. The clans in a phratry support one another and may take over ceremonial or other functions in case of clan extinction, and as such are often rivalrous groups, in competition for higher status. Phratry groups are particularly important in maintaining the ceremonial system but have no control over land. When a clan expands in size, through producing more female members or

by aggregation, the lineages may reside in separate households, the "prime" or most important lineage occupying the "clan house" and being in charge of clan lands and ceremonial paraphernalia and providing the chief priests for the ceremonies it controls, with other lineages providing a supporting role and only taking over in case of lineage extinction.

These groupings—lineage, clan, and phratry—are held together by the kinship system, which is a "Crow" type based on matrilineal descent. One's closest relatives are in the lineage and household, and a similar pattern is extended to the clan, so that similarly named clans in different villages are treated as relatives as well. For clans within the same phratry, kinship terms are extended and marriage is restricted, but the obligations are largely limited to hospitality. But the clan *wuyya*, or supernaturals, while primarily the responsibility of the particular clan, are shared by all the phratry group.

In Hopi society, the descent is matrilineal, inheritance is through the female line, and women own the houses and the clan fields, though the men, either brothers or husbands, carry out most of the agricultural work. Only the clan has a name, but the lineage and phratry groupings are clearly recognized by the Hopi, and the same kinship terms and exogamic rules are extended to all clans within the phratry.

The villages on each of the three mesas represent independent towns, for the most part, though major villages may have been dependent colonies. We have noted above that Shungopavi is considered the "mother" village in terms of its traditional founding, with Oraibi an early colony. Walpi and other communities at First Mesa and neighboring regions were considered as guardians of the Hopi land base and responsible for its protection. As populations expanded on the Hopi mesas, this pattern was repeated. Thus on Second Mesa, Shungopavi is the "mother" village, and Shipaulovi is a colony established around A.D. 1700 as protection against Spanish reprisals after the reconquest of the region following

the Pueblo Revolt of A.D. 1680. A third village, Mishongnovi, was established earlier as a "guard" village. There is a similar organization on First Mesa, with Walpi as the "mother" village, and Sichomovi as a colony. The refugee Tewas from the Rio Grande, who came around A.D. 1700 and founded Hano or Hopi-Tewa, are the "guard" village. They continue to speak Tewa but are otherwise largely acculturated to Hopi patterns. On Third Mesa, Oraibi was the major village and the largest of all the Hopi villages. An agricultural community had been established at Moenkopi, some forty-five miles to the west of Oraibi, and around the turn of the century became the formal colony of Old Oraibi. With the "split" or division of Old Oraibi in 1906 the conservatives founded Hotevilla and, later, Bakavi a few miles away to escape pressures from the U.S. government. New Oraibi was established at the foot of Oraibi mesa and settled by Christian Hopis and progressives.

There are traditional boundaries between each mesa, as well as within, and the earlier pattern of clan lands is still in operation on First and Second Mesas, but the difficulties that led to the breakup of Old Oraibi on Third Mesa greatly reduced the clan-land system, since it was closely tied to the ceremonial cycle. Between the major communities there is no formal political organization; colonies are tied to the "mother" village by ceremonial bonds as well as by kinship. Within the village the *kikmongwi*, or village chief, has ceremonial authority but little political power, while the tribe as a whole has no formal political organization. As a result of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, however, Indian groups were allowed to organize as units and the Hopi voted to accept and established a Tribal Council to represent the whole tribe in 1936. The Tribal Council had difficulty in getting started because of opposition from conservative villages, but was in operation by the 1950s as a spokesman for the majority of villages and has gradually been accepted.

THE RELIGIOUS organization of the Hopi (Parsons 1939; Stephen 1936; Titiev 1944) centers on

the katsina cult, mentioned above, and a ceremonial calendar in which "clan owned" ceremonies follow each other throughout the year at roughly monthly intervals. Tradition associates the ceremony with a particular clan, and the controlling clan is responsible for the performance and provides the chief priests as well as some of the participants, but in recent times the ceremonies are carried out by societies whose membership cuts across the clan divisions. Much of the ritual of the ceremonies, including the altar and songs, is secret and is carried out by members who are initiated into the society and represent a cross-section of the community.

At birth an infant is kept in seclusion for twenty days, when the father's mother takes the mother and child to the eastern edge of the mesa and presents the infant to the rising sun, giving it a name from her clan stock of names. On the occasion of a boy or girl joining the katsina cult at the age of eight to ten, a ceremonial father or mother is selected by the parents to look after the novice and help him or her through the initiation. This establishes a kinship relation between the child, and the ceremonial father, and the latter's clan. The ceremonial father inducts a ceremonial son into the various societies that he happens to belong to, including the Antelope society, Snake society, and the Blue and Gray Flute societies. A girl is similarly inducted into the Marau society and possibly, the Oaqol and Lakon societies as well.

At the age of sixteen to eighteen, a young man goes through the Tribal Initiation, joining one of the four major men's societies, Wuwutsim, Tao, Ahl, or Kwan, which collectively initiates new members every few years. At Oraibi most of the young men join the Wuwutsim society, who are councilors and with the Tao, or Singers, associated with fertility. The Ahl, or Horn society, are the watchers or heralds and represent all the horned animals, and are paired with the Kwan society associated with Masau and the underworld of the dead, the most mysterious and feared of the men's societies. Initiation into one of these

societies gives a young man a new status. He is now a *taka*, "man," and the four societies together are thought of as "concentric walls of a house" protecting the Hopi against their enemies. Associated with them in this role are the members of the Snake society, who control the deadly powers of the rattlesnake, and the members of the War society, formerly composed of those who had taken scalps from the enemy.

The four societies involved in Tribal Initiation have their own kivas where they perform their particular ceremonies and each group make up a unit in the katsina cult and competes against one another in dances, races and games. When societies without kivas perform their ceremonies they either borrow one of the Wuwutsim kivas or hold the ceremony in the clan house of the controlling clan. In addition there is usually a chief kiva used by the village chief during the Soyal ceremony at the winter solstice. When not in ceremonial use the kiva serves as a men's clubhouse for weaving or other activities. While the kiva is "owned" by the person who takes the initiative in building or repairing it, it can be freely borrowed for any legitimate purpose, and secular meetings often take place in kivas.

In early Hopi history ceremonial activities centered on hunting and gathering and the cure of illness through medicine men or shamans, but as agricultural practices became more important fertility rituals were added to the older hunting rites, and rituals for rain became central in the ceremonial system. In Hopi thinking the growth of the corn paralleled the development of the child, the germs for both being provided by Musingwa in the underworld. And as we have seen, the dead came to play a role in the bringing of rain and snow, as they ascended as katsinas and clouds and brought moisture to the fields of the deserving.

THE BASIC means of securing rain and good crops is by prayer and offering—*pahos* and other ceremonial gifts to the deities and katsinas, which are placed on altars or shrines or in springs and fields to secure their aid in the growth of crops

or other needs. The Hopi make pilgrimages, usually annually, to clan shrines, eagle shrines, ancestral ruins, salt sources, places associated with the katsinas or ceremonies, and places still kept secret. The Hopi have a large number of shrines (Titiev 1944:271), some associated with the emergence of the Hopi from the underworld in the Grand Canyon, some derived from the experiences of various clans in their wanderings, some at earlier sites where they lived for a period, and others in and around their present villages, or in neighboring mountains and springs associated with katsinas. In addition each clan has an allotted section of cliffs along the Little Colorado River and the main Colorado River and in the Hopi Buttes to the south of the villages, where they gather young eagles each spring for ceremonial purposes. The fledglings are brought back to the villages and treated as members of the household, each being given a name and tethered on the roof where it is fed daily until after the Niman ceremony, when it is ritually killed and buried after its feathers have been secured for prayer offerings to the deities.

The most important shrines or sacred areas are in the Grand Canyon where the Little Colorado River flows into the Colorado. Here the *sipapu*, or place of emergence, is physically present in a large raised pond. Here is their "source," the place of emergence from, and the entrance to, the underworld. Here the deceased Hopi live and respond to the prayers of their descendants. In this area are salt deposits that are periodically visited to gather salt, essential to their diet, with shrines to the Spider Woman, who created the salt, and the Twin War Gods, who are her grandchildren and the protectors of the Hopi and their domain. Here, too, are many of their early villages in which their world-view was shaped, and which are still shrines to their descendants. Only Hopis initiated into Wuwutsim, the Tribal Initiation, could journey to this area, since the trip was physically difficult and involved danger since the spirits of the dead lived in this region and

Masau, the God of Death, had his major home in the cliffs. The Salt journey from Oraibi took several days, and involved stopping at Moenkopi for final preparations and the making of offerings and rituals at a number of shrines along the "salt trail," both going and returning (Talayesva 1942:232-46; Titiev 1937).

Important shrine areas are likewise found in the San Francisco Peaks, the major home of the katsinas. The katsinas are thought to use the entire surface of the peaks to prepare the making of rain and snow, and who manifest themselves daily as clouds above the peaks, as well as appearing from December to July as spirit dancers in the Hopi villages. The peaks are extremely sacred and the shrines on their tops are essential in Hopi ritual, while the high spruce forests furnish symbolically important portions of the katsina costumes, as the katsina join with the men of the village to pray and dance in the kivas and plazas.

Annual expeditions are made to gather spruce boughs for use in the final or Niman home going dance, when the katsinas are sent to their homes in the peaks for the next half year. Other important katsina shrines are on Black Mesa, particularly at Kisiwu, northeast of Piñon, where there is an important spring, from which come the katsinas involved in the Powamu or "Bean Dance" in March and the associated initiation of Hopi children into the katsina cult. The region around Kisiwu is also an important source of spruce for the katsina dances, and parties from different villages regularly visit the spring and make prayer offerings to the resident katsinas before gathering spruce boughs.

Archaeological sites, representing former homes of particular clans, are sacred areas that are visited periodically to make offerings to ancestors, with requests for aid in growing crops. Nearby ruins are visited in connection with particular ceremonies to notify the deceased relatives buried there that the ceremony is in progress and the dead should do their part.

Around the villages are local shrines to particu-

lar deities who are impersonated in the ceremonial system and to whom offerings are periodically made. Thus there are shrines to Masau, the deity of the surface of the earth who owns the land and is also the God of Death, near each village, as well as near his "real" home in the Grand Canyon. The Tribal Initiation, itself, dramatizes the emergence from the underworld through the *sipapu*, with each of the constituent societies playing particular roles. On the night of initiation the spirits of the dead are invited to return to the village and Masau is impersonated by the chief of the Kwan society. The novices, who are "little chicken hawks," are apparently "killed" and revived as "men" in the presence of the spirits of the dead, who will thus recognize them when they in turn reach the land of the dead. The Kwan and Ahl societies kindle new fire in the kivas after all the fires in the village are extinguished, in recognition of Masau's ownership of fire, and jointly patrol the village to insure that no intruders enter the village and that the Hopi remain in their houses while the dead are present. The Wuwutsim and Tao societies dance through the village periodically, the Wuwutsim carrying emblems of fertility and taunting the Hopi women, and the Tao singing the songs that were used when the Hopi emerged from the *sipapu*.

When a child dies its spirit or "breath body" does not go to the underworld, but returns to the household of its mother where it resides in the roof and is reborn in the mother's next child. The Wuwutsim initiates go to the general underworld and to the homes of the katsinas in the San Francisco Peaks or the spring at Kisiwu. Deceased Kwan members have a special home at Kwanivi, a small mountain near the Grand Canyon, while Ahl members go to a lake in the San Francisco Peaks known as Alosaka, and the Singers have a home at Dowanasavi, the center of the earth with a shrine south of Oraibi (Titiev 1944:136, n. 48).

Initiation into the man's societies automatically provides for entry into the Soyal ceremony,

which occurs at the winter solstice and sets the stage for the new ceremonial year. The kivas are opened by the Soyal katsina, who is impersonated by the village chief and head of the Bear clan, and the main chiefs or priests of the village are involved. The sun is started back on his path toward his summer home by Sotuknangu, the Star or Sky God, impersonated by a Sun clan leader twirling a sun shield, and prayer offerings are made for relatives and friends, for plants and animals, and for known ancestors and placed on shrines nearby. The dead have been invited to come and share the offerings and food. The first katsinas also come at this time and inaugurate the season of katsina dances which continue at intervals until the Niman, or "home going" in July, when other societies take over the task of providing rain for the crops.

Throughout the year offerings may be made to the springs and other sources of water. Springs are sacred, being inhabited by water serpents who are mythical creatures quite separate from the ordinary snakes. The earth is thought to rest on two gigantic water serpents, or *palölökong*, who may punish the Hopis by turning over and thus causing earthquakes, or by causing floods or other disasters. In tradition a village chief might have to sacrifice a son or daughter to appease them.

The exterior boundaries of the Hopi domain are likewise marked by a series of shrines that the Hopi elders now revisit every year. There are eight major shrines, marked in part by spirals or concentric petroglyphs and buried prayer offerings at locations of importance to the Hopi. In general the eight shrines mark the last staging areas in the final migrations to the Hopi homeland.

Hopi religion is central to their life and for centuries has involved their land. The Hopi have no word for "religion" as such, because for them all aspects of their life have a sacred quality. Relatively isolated on their mesas for centuries, they have integrated their subsistence practices, their land base, their social organization, and their cosmology into one interdependent whole.

This land, from the four encircling oceans, the mist- and moss-draped mountains, to the sacred springs and peaks, is the sacred dwelling place of the spirit beings and people alike. Above all else, the people who came up from the four worlds below have never lost their faith in the view of their relationship to the universe. They realize the extreme importance of their individual responsibilities and their collective ceremonial and ritual supplication of the spirit beings that help to maintain and operate the universe on an even balance for the good of all people and for the joy of the K/apinna:hoi (spirit beings).

Before the earth became hard, spirits from Kolhuwalaaw'a (spirit village), which is our sacred place, came to Zuni in human form, much like the ancient Greek gods. The gods became humans when they came into this world. They performed the Kokko dances, and the women of our tribe fell in love with the dancers and followed them to Kolhuwalaaw'a. But because they were not dead they could not enter Kolhuwalaaw'a, and it became a great problem. It became such a problem that there were women sitting around the great lake. They couldn't come home, and they couldn't go in because their time on earth had not been concluded yet. And so the wise people of our village, the elders, said to the K/apinna:hoi, you must leave your image with us but disappear forever, never coming again to the village in human form, and that's where the Kokko (mask) began in ancient times. Kokko means the mask, the dancer, and the spirit being, spirits of the afterworld, and the afterworld is a perfect reflection of this world in our belief.

When a person dies its spirit becomes a Kokko, a spirit being, at Kolhuwalaaw'a. And he lives at Kolhuwalaaw'a. When I die the spirit that is in my body now, leaves the body and goes to Kolhuwalaaw'a and that's where it resides. It resides there until it dies four times and then comes back up to this world in the form of any one of the prey animals, depending on what you were in this life—a mountain sheep, rattlesnake, stink bug,

and so on. But there is no reincarnation in human form. There is only reincarnation in animal form. That's why we are reverent to animals, because they are our ancestral spirit beings. They are the K/apinna:hoi—the word is poorly translated in anthropological literature as the "raw people." They are not "raw people," they are spirit beings.

The spirits come to visit in the summer during the rainmaking ceremonies, and in the winter during the winter ceremonies. If you were a person who never attended ceremonies and didn't participate in any of these activities, you would not come as part of a group; have you ever seen a cloud all by itself, the only little cloud . . . that's exactly what spirit you'd be. Alone. Because you didn't participate in ceremonies.

Now, when you are born into Zuni you are born into a clan. Your maternal ties and your paternal ties are the ones that decide on what clan you will be. And in our culture, it's the mother's clan. We trace our descent through the mother, not the father. Like somebody said, everybody knows who their mother is, but the father, maybe. You're a clan member of your mother's clan for life, but in addition to that, to make it a little more confusing you are also a *child* of your father's clan. So we have a dual clan system. First of all you belong to your mother's clan and you are a child of your father's clan. And you cannot marry anyone in your mother's clan. Theoretically, you cannot marry anyone in your father's clan either, but it's done now and again. But the clan is a very, very important function of the Zuni religious system. If you are a female, you have really no problems because there's only a small number of options left as far as a religious position is concerned. If you are an adult and you become ill and you can't be cured by regular medicine, your life is "given" to the curing society. If they cure you of whatever ails you, then you are obligated to become a member of that particular curing society. If you are of the right clan, you might inherit the position of rain priest. But those are about the only options you have as a woman. A male has a number

of options. His mother or his father chooses his godfather, the one who is to initiate him into the kiva society. When a boy reaches the age of about eight to twelve, he is initiated into one of the six kiva societies.

There are six kivas to which all the males are divided, and kiva membership cuts across all clan lines. It cuts across medicine society lines, priesthood lines. So if you are a member of a kiva group, you can also be a member of the curing society, and if you are the right clan you can be a Rain priest, if you take an enemy scalp you can be a Bow priest, so as a male you can be in a number of different societies. Women are not completely excluded from kivas. Kivas are inviolate, however, during certain ceremonies in which only men are involved. Otherwise females are allowed to come into the kiva at any time. And as far as women are concerned, however, in my lifetime there were two women that were kiva members. The initiation ceremonies are very stringent and very severe, and although they are not completely excluded, women are not encouraged to be members of the kiva society.

Every adult male kiva member must have a mask made for himself. They don't make it. The kiva society performs that for them. It's a highly religious activity that is quite expensive. It's not something that you do at a whim of an idea. But that mask belongs to you as a person. It's individually owned. That's your passport to Kolhuwalaaw'a. When you die that mask is buried with you or buried at the time you die because when you get into the afterworld, and your spirit comes back to Zuni in the form of rain dances, you have to have your mask to come with. If you don't have a mask, you can't join the rainmaking ceremonies. And so it's very, very important that you acquire a mask when you are a young adult. You can sell your mask to another individual, another Zuni individual, but when you die and you go to Kolhuwalaaw'a, your mask will not be there when you get there if you predecease your purchaser. When the purchaser dies the mask is

buried with him and when he gets to Kolhuwalaaw'a the mask goes to the original owner. So the buyer loses. So it's very, very important to have your own mask, not buy one.

If a person moves away from Zuni the mask stays in the person's home. And the women take care of it. The women take care of it and they feed it. They keep it in the corn storage room with the *a:towa*—the corn.

So you see, the way in which masks are handled and the attitudes about masks are not only mythologically based or based on legends, but these things are put into actual practice even today. I'm not talking about three thousand years ago, I'm not talking about two hundred years ago, I'm talking about now—1994—in which these kinds of practices are still adhered to and still followed by the Zuni people. I'm not going to tell you exactly how the masks are made, or how they are used, or discuss the types or forms of the ceremonials in detail or, why masks are painted the way they are. All I'm going to tell you is that they are owned by individuals who are charged with keeping them in the kiva. They can sell them but it's not condoned. They are not sacred in the sense of the Twin Gods (*ahayu:ta*), which are very sacred to our culture. Ahayu:ta are communally owned—no one has a right to sell, own, or give them away. Masks you can give away or you can sell. During the early collecting days of Cushing and Culin, Hodge and Stevenson and all the rest of the anthropologists, people did sell their masks. But they, the collectors, came to Zuni to buy these things when the Zuni people were absolutely starving. They were hungry, they would sell anything. I read very interestingly, a little comment about how a Zuni man made a corn rock for one of the collectors and said that he must never show it to anybody because it was very sacred. Well, the Zunis learned very early that these guys, collectors, wanted something sacred and they wanted to be told that they were sacred. The Zuni man drew a picture of a corn stalk on a rock and gave it to the collector as a "sacred

stone." And he made out. He sold it for fifty cents (which in 1909 was a lot of money.)

Masks are used for different dances and different kinds of masks are made for the purposes of the ceremonial dances. The mask is free to be loaned to anybody, any kiva. Masks are freely borrowed between kivas. A single mask may be used in three or four different dance performances in a year. There are only so many masks of a certain type that are contained in the village. And each kiva has the right to borrow the ceremonial dance mask from another kiva. The mask itself is not used perpetually for one thing. The kiva leader comes to your house and says that a particular kiva is performing a ceremony of so and so next week—we'd love to *illopi*, borrow, your mask. You give it to him, and the kiva leader takes it away and uses the mask. At the conclusion of the dance, the person who used the mask returns it to the home of the owner, cleaned, scraped, and ready for the next performance.

Masks are never kept completely decorated. After each performance they are completely cleaned. All the feathers are taken off, all the paint is removed and the mask is ready for the next performance. If you keep masks decorated, you trap the spirit. The spirit cannot return to Kolhuwalaaw'a and the spirit can do harm to the individual or to the keeper and so it's very important that they be dismantled. You don't keep a mask for an ornament; you don't keep a mask in a completely decorated state as a curatorial or curious object, even replicas of the Kokko. It's not done.

There's not a single thing that I can think of that is used in Zuni ceremonies and religion that should be allowed to be preserved and protected in perpetuity in a museum—masks, prayer sticks—all of these items are made to be disintegrated into the earth. They are gifts to the spiritual beings. We believe that even if an individual sells his own mask and it's in a museum somewhere, that mask will stay there until it disintegrates. It may take ten years, it may take

twenty years, it may take a thousand years. But it will eventually go to where it's supposed to go. Zunis say "the mask will eat itself up."

The Koshari Boy Scouts of Colorado were asked to give to Zuni a replica of the Shalako image made from ice-cream cartons and paper towels. Replicas are just as important as the real thing, because how does a child know that this is a replica and not the real thing? You see, what we are trying to protect are the children because if they see this mask unconnected to the body and the spirit being, harm comes to that child. Not to you, not to the owner of the mask or not to the mask, but to the child. So that's the reason that we don't condone or we don't appreciate having masks kept on exhibit—and we had at the Museum of New Mexico eighteen replica masks made during the WPA period that were given back to the Zunis last year. I know that they were buried like real masks in the riverbed to the west of the village.

And the other thing that I wish to point out is the fact that objects that are considered to be sacred, are sacred only in the function of the ceremony. For example, the cloud bowl, the so-called cornmeal bowl or cloud bowl, with the cornmeal in it, when the cornmeal is put in that cloud bowl and it's used in a ceremony, it's a sacred part of the cornmeal and the ceremony. Once that cornmeal is used up and its ceremonial use is over, it's put on the shelf and it's no longer sacred. Or religious, or ceremonial. It becomes a decorative object. So it's the function that makes the difference.

The dolls also have an important function in Zuni, and they are completely out of context when they are presented in this society as collection items. The dolls (the *we ha*—baby) are gifts to girl children from the Kokko. At Hopi also. But the Hopis have commercialized these dolls to the point where it's now all kinds of action kachina dolls, and most are being made for sale. Zunis are still not making them for sale, but they are getting close. The doll is given to the individual child during the ceremonies of the Kokko dances, or during the winter night dances.

A Kokko brings the *we ha* to the child as a gift, and that child plays with that doll but plays with it very carefully because it's a spirit being. It's a Kokko doll and unbeknownst to the child, they don't let her know that the doll, or the *we ha*, is made by her uncle or her brother, or her father. She's told that the female Kokko, in the afterworld at Kolhuwalaaw'a, gives birth to that *we ha* and brings it to the child. For the male, it's a little bow and arrow. When the Koyemshi are going by the house, for example, my little sisters would say, "Nana, will you bring me a doll?" And the Koyemshi said, "Okay, we'll tell Kokko that you want a doll." And so, her uncle hears her or her brother hears her and he makes a doll and the Kokko presents it to the child at the plaza dances. At the gathering at the village the child is presented with the doll. It's a big event for the child and for the person that's giving it. So,

there's a world of difference between what you call the "kachina doll" that you saw at the School of American Research and the collections that we have here at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture that were made for commercial uses. They weren't always. The Hopi dolls were also given for special reasons at a special occasion at Hopi land and still are.

In conclusion: (1) Masks, different types, are privately or individually owned (a male member could possibly own two or three masks). (2) They are freely loaned between kivas. (3) They are not sacred but are highly respected (except for a very special class of masks which are communally owned). (4) Masks are never kept decorated. (5) Women care for the masks and can handle them, but they do not participate in the Kokko dances.