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Author
Crotty, Helen K.

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One hundred eighty-one of the plants are illustrated with line drawings, some with leaf, flower, and stem details. Snow, who oversaw the editing and revising of chapter 6, had to limit the number of illustrations. He chose to illustrate obscure weedy plants and plants for which there are no good illustrations in other publications. The drawings are nicely done, and I wish the publishers had seen fit to include more.

There is one lamentable deletion from the plant list: The Iroquois terms for these plants have not been included because of "[m]ultiple (sometimes contradictory) orthographies and the limitations of typesetting options" (p. x). Snow, and presumably Herrick, do not see this as subtracting from the usefulness of this book for archaeologists. However, *Iroquois Medical Botany*, given its plethora of verbatim field notes and the plant list, goes beyond being a reference guide for archaeologists. Really, it is primary source material for anyone interested in not only Iroquois medical botany but ethnobotany, ethnoecology, ethnobiology, medical anthropology, indigenous plant use, and any number of other specialties. The exclusion of native terms, although understandable, flaws the plant list as a primary source. Still, *Iroquois Medical Botany* is an important reference and source book for anyone interested in medicinal plant use, Iroquois and otherwise.

Robbie Ethridge
University of Georgia

Kachinas in the Pueblo World. Edited by Polly Schaafsma. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994. 200 pages. $45.00 cloth.

This is a collection of papers presented by participants in a seminar sponsored by Recursos de Santa Fe and held in that city in October 1991. The essays cover a wide range of topics and disciplines, including examinations of the meaning of *kachina* (some of the authors spell the word *katsina;* for consistency, I have used the spelling *kachina* except in direct quotations) in Pueblo worldview and ritual, art historical concerns with kachina imagery, parallels with Meso-American ideology, and the archaeology and ethnohistory of kachina ritual. In this review I will be concerned mainly with the essays devoted to the concept of kachina and with a group of papers dealing with the prehistoric origins of

the "Kachina Cult" and the extent of possible Mexican or Meso-American influence in its inception.

The authors of the papers that strive to explain the kachina concept and its complex metaphorical symbolism endeavor to do so within the context of Pueblo worldviews and social organization. Fred Eggan's paper (submitted before his unexpected death not long before the conference) provides the reader with a concise introduction to Hopi cosmological beliefs as they are integrated with social organization, subsistence practices, and land base. Eggan mentions some of the important Hopi deities and touches on the role of the kachinas as mediators and messengers of the gods and as spirits of dead Hopi people who return to their villages as clouds to bring rain to deserving Hopi. Edmund Ladd, a native of Zuni as well as an anthropologist, discusses the Zuni ceremonial system in terms of membership in kiva societies and explains some of the rules governing the ownership, production, use, care, and disposition of kachina masks.

The essay by Louis Hieb, who expands on Hopi religious beliefs introduced by Eggan, is the most penetrating and thought-provoking in the volume and is not easily summarized. As a means of getting to a cultural definition of *kachina*, he explores the layers of meaning embodied in the concept of the masked face as a significant "person" in Hopi moral space. A key point is that the kachina cannot be regarded as a separate subject of inquiry apart from the other Hopi belief systems and what he terms person categories. Utilizing recorded statements by Hopi men as his texts, Hieb draws attention to the bipartite structure of the Hopi world, to the role of the priests in that part of the ritual calendar in which the kachinas are absent from Hopi, to concepts of reciprocity, to the symbolism of the masks, and to the underlying meanings of the sixfold division of color and space. He eventually concludes that "the meaning of katsina in its full complexity and richness is only fully comprehensible in the lives of Hopi people" (p. 32).

Tedlock opens his essay with a discussion of the distribution of kachina culture today and in the past, challenging the usually perceived dichotomy between eastern and western Pueblo people. The higher visibility of kachinas among the Hopi and Zuni today is misleading, he believes, because it implies that the kachina religion was always less well developed in the Rio Grande pueblos. The suppression of native religion in the eastern pueblos is well documented (an excellent essay by Curtis Schaafsma sum-

marizes information on the subject from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish documents). According to Tedlock, "Kachinas were everywhere in the Pueblo world of the seventeenth century [and] are everywhere among the Pueblos of our own day, as well, though they may be disguised or hidden from view in many places" (p. 162). He cites unmasked Turtle Dances accompanied by songs in the characteristic five-part structure of kachina music observed at Taos and Isleta, pueblos where kachina dancing is lacking, even in secret ceremonies. Elsewhere in his introduction he discusses similarities and differences in customs and linguistics that cross over the geographic line dividing the western and the Rio Grande pueblos. The body of his essay is a reading of Zuni texts that account for the origin and nature of kachinas and kachina impersonation, "bringing Zuni narratives into a dialogue with current archaeological and ethnological notions about kachinas" (p. 161). Tedlock's paper is the only one that mentions the considerable variation in kachina religion that exists among the pueblos, and he raises a perplexing but unresolved question in alluding to the possibility of an unmasked kachina dance.

At the core of the volume is a revival of an old debate over the prehistoric origins of the so-called Kachina Cult. The issue is whether the "Little Colorado hypothesis "or the "Rio Grande hypothesis" best describes the emergence of the cult in the ancestral Pueblo area. A corollary to the Rio Grande hypothesis is that antecedents of the kachina ritual were present in the Jornada Mogollon area immediately south of the Rio Grande pueblos and that certain of the ideological concepts may be traceable to Mexico and ultimately Meso-America. The Little Colorado hypothesis suggests that the kachina concept first crystallized in the western Pueblo area where immigrants from the ancestral Pueblo homeland in the Four Corners region settled in the late 1200s, displacing or being assimilated by the indigenous population. Limited influence from northern Mexico is admitted as a possibility. Both hypotheses assume that the presence of images of masks—in pottery decoration, rock art, or kiva murals—is a reliable indicator of the presence of kachina ceremonialism. Neither seems to consider the possibility that masking or kachina ceremonialism might exist without being portrayed in the visual arts, or that kachina ceremonialism might exist without masks. Both postulate that the need to integrate the newly aggregated and diverse populations resulting from the relocations of the late 1200s and

early 1300s may have been a stimulus for the development of kachina ritual.

An essay by Kelley Hays treats the kachina depictions on the pottery of both areas. Hays identifies the "typical" kachina depiction on prehistoric Pueblo pottery as a single figure in the center of a bowl with a relatively simple face shape—a circle, a square, or a half-circle, with a rectangular, toothed mouth, elongated eyes, no nose, and some kind of headdress. She notes that images like this, which have no stylistic antecedents in the ancestral Pueblo region, appear in the Little Colorado area in the late 1200s and almost as early in the middle Little Colorado, Hopi, and Rio Grande areas. The diversity of these images, which by the 1300s include additional head shapes and eye forms, suggests to her that "a wide variety of kachinas were present in the early years of this religion" (p. 61).

Noting the almost simultaneous appearance of kachina iconography all over the Pueblo region of the fourteenth century, E. Charles Adams has modified his previous position on the relative age of the Little Colorado and Rio Grande regions. Following a review of the iconographic evidence of kachina depictions in pottery decoration, rock art, and kiva murals in the western Pueblos, he suggests that changes in settlement patterns and architectural styles also indicate the adoption of new religious beliefs. Among the architectural changes he discusses is the development of the enclosed plaza, which he views as a sacred space set aside for public performances of ritual designed to integrate the village populace. He concludes with the observation that further discourse might more profitably focus on an analysis of the causes of the appearance of kachina ritual.

Curiously, Polly Schaafsma does reciprocate Adams's conciliatory gesture but continues to insist on the primacy of the Rio Grande in the development of kachina ritual, a thesis she first proposed with Curtis Schaafsma in 1974 ("Evidence for the Origins of the Pueblo Kachina Cult as Suggested by Southwestern Rock Art," *American Antiquity* 39). The earlier paper is expanded here with additional examples of rock art kachina masks, most of them from the Cerro Indio site, but the dating, always a problem with rock art, is on shaky ground. The 1300–1400 dates given for the associated habitation site at Cerro Indio are based on Glaze A pottery, a type generally thought begun somewhat later and to have lasted considerably longer, particularly in the southern reaches of the Pueblo area. Another problem with dating concerns

the Pottery Mound murals, for which Schaafsma refuses to accept a post-1400 date, claiming that it is "not substantiated" (p. 77). The later date is substantiated by the presence of designs typical of Sikyatki Polychrome pottery, a Hopi type that emerged around 1400, which appear on early layers of nearly every painted kiva at Pottery Mound. This information is easily gleaned from the illustrations and the Kiva Index published by Frank Hibben in *Kiva Art of the Anasazi at Pottery Mound* (Las Vegas, NV: K.C. Publications, 1975). Vivian's essay on the anthropomorphic figures at Pottery Mound, the only essay devoted to kiva murals in the *Kachina* volume, does not discuss the dating of that site.

With no solid evidence for the appearance of kachina imagery earlier in the Rio Grande than in the Little Colorado, the Schaafsma hypothesis must rest on the corollary, the proximity to the Jornada Mogollon people believed to have transmitted Mexican and Meso-American influences. The Thompson and Young papers represent a revival of the search for the "Mexican connection," a quest that has engaged Southwestern scholars from time to time since the early 1900s but has recently been neglected. Thompson's paper deals with the iconography of Mimbres Mogollon pottery, dated 1000–1150, which is thought to have influenced Jornada Mogollon rock art. He attempts to establish ideological connections between the imagery on Mimbres bowls, Classic Maya vessels, and Pueblo pottery by reference to the *Popol Vuh*, a compendium of Meso-American myth. The success of this enterprise depends on the reader's willingness to accept Thompson's interpretation of the images as the only possible one, and Thompson facilitates assent by labeling the iconography discussed or illustrated with the name from the *Popul Vuh* that he attributes to it. The skeptical reader will find it worthwhile to check out the references cited in the text but not illustrated. In one example, animals that Thompson refers to as deer and associated with the sun, as in Meso-American myth, are clearly antelope. This is not in itself a serious error, but it does undermine the credibility of the purported ideological similarities. Young's essay seeks to make connections between Puebloan and Meso-American ideology / cosmology by looking for parallels in the functions and attributes of supernatural beings. Some of the parallels mentioned would seem to be virtually universal: a male / female generative pair, the sun traveling from its eastern to its western house, a prediction of the end of the world, reciprocity between deities and worshippers, an association of sun, water, and fertility, and observation of the movements of the celestial bodies.

The similarities between the Pueblo supernatural beings and the Aztec gods with whom Young compares them do not seem to outweigh the differences that she scrupulously points out. As she acknowledges, it is highly unlikely that Meso-American religious concepts would have been adopted without change, and differences in climate and ecology would certainly require adaptation. So, surely, would differences in social structure between the stratified societies of the city-states of Meso-America and the nominally egalitarian Pueblo villages. The relevance of all of this to an understanding of Pueblo kachina religion is not clear. Are we to believe that the Pueblo people were incapable of creating their own cosmology? Would kachina ritual have greater value in the eyes of its participants if it could be traced to Meso-America? Would evidence of Meso-American origins elevate the status of Pueblo culture in Euro-American eyes? Why is it so important to establish links to the "superior" cultures of Meso-America?

As noted earlier, neither the Little Colorado nor the Rio Grande hypothesis entertains the possibility of the existence of a kachina religion that is not represented in the visual arts. Yet the arts of the ancestral Pueblo from about the 800s to the late 1200s generally avoid the depiction of life forms, especially in pottery and mural decoration. Changes in the arts begin to appear in the late 1200s all over the ancestral Pueblo area, and life forms are suddenly included in pottery decoration, even in the Mesa Verde region. These changes coincide with the sudden appearance of kachina imagery described in Hays's paper. The diversity of style and iconography of those depictions suggests that they had already been in existence for some time. Long-established beliefs and practices would appear to be in keeping with the very complex relationship between kachina ritual and other ceremonial practices and social organization described by Eggan and Hieb.

In addition to the essays discussed above, two others deserve mention. Barton Wright's paper on the changing kachina reviews differences in kachina types, both prehistoric and modern, and suggests that the observed diversity, if understood more fully, could be projected back in time. J.J. Brody's thoughtful essay examines the Euro-American appropriation and transformation of kachina dolls from sacred objects in the societies in which they originated to ethnographic specimens or curios and finally to the status of fine art.

The volume is obviously directed toward the general reader with an interest in the Southwest. Professional anthropologists

and cultural historians will find much of it a rehash of the nonissue of when and where kachina religion first becomes visible in the archaeological record. Discriminating readers will be annoyed by the typographical errors and incorrect or incomplete citations and disappointed by the quality of at least half of the color plates. Yet the book does contain some fine essays as well as illustrations of prehistoric kachina imagery not easily available elsewhere.

Helen K. Crotty

Letters from Wupatki. By Courtney Reeder Jones, edited by Lisa Rappoport. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995. 151 pages.

Courtney Reeder Jones wrote the last of her *Letters from Wupatki* less than fifty years ago; readers of the book are reminded of how much has changed in those years. Our phone calls and e-mail messages are ephemeral, and the year-on-a-page shorthand of Xeroxed Christmas letters cannot match the warmth and detail of letters written regularly to maintain links with friends and family. By nature episodic, letters provide a gradual unfolding of life told as story, with the author conscious of sharing an adventure, highlighting for readers the unique events, people, and places that transform the very daily-ness of life. Usually less introspective than a diary and more unvarnished than a memoir, letters provide a unique window on the past that historians of the future will rarely be able to open.

For Courtney Jones, letters were a vital link to the outside world after she married the "custodian" of Wupatki National Monument in 1938 and moved into a two-room apartment within the ruin itself, where their lives became enmeshed with those of their Navajo neighbors. Jones's position as an "honorary custodian without pay" (p. xxv), as Park Service wives seem to have been called, ended when her husband enlisted during World War II. While another wife became "the first permanent girl ranger" (p. 105) during the war, Jones worked at a museum in Flagstaff. She and her husband returned to Wupatki for the first few postwar years, and then moved on. But their years at Wupatki remain special, and Jones's letters preserve that quality without sentimentality.

Although the ruins still stand north of Flagstaff as mute testimony to the people archaeologists call the Sinagua, the intercul-