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BRIEF MISCELLANEOUS HOPI PAPERS

BY

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I. NOTES ON MODERN BURIAL CUSTOMS

BY

H. R. VOTH.

Photo by G. W. James. Courtesy of the Pass. Dept. of the A. T. & S. Fe. Ry.

PL. XXXIV.

Children's burial places, top view. The piles of the smaller stones at the edge of the mesa, on some of which sticks and food bowls may be seen, indicate the crevice graves.

NOTES ON MODERN BURIAL CUSTOMS OF THE HOPI¹ OF ARIZONA

1. INTRODUCTION.

The belief in a future state and in a continued existence after death is well defined in the religious conception and in many rites and ceremonies of the Hopi. That part of man which they believe to be immortal they call hikvsi. The fundamental meaning of this term seems to coincide with that expressed by the Hebrew "ruach," the German "Hauch" or the Greek "pneuma." In its practical application the hikvsi is to the Hopi what to us is the soul in its ethical sense. At death the hikvsi leaves the body. When asked whether it is this hikvsi or the deceased person that continues to live in the skeleton house, the average Hopi may get confused. He knows that the body of the dead decays, and believes that it is by virtue or through the part that escapes from the body through the mouth at death, that the dead continue their existence in the future world. The details, with regard to this fact, are more or less vague in the mind of the Hopi, and vary considerably in the different traditions, clans and villages.

This belief in a future state is not only manifested again and again in the different ceremonies of the Hopi, but it also plays a conspicuous part in their burial customs, as will be seen in the following pages.

2. THE DEATH CHAMBER.

While with civilized nations illness and impending death usually draws sympathy and helping hands to the place of affliction it is, as a rule, not so with the Hopi. To be sure, families visited by severe sickness or death will usually not be left entirely to themselves, but it is, generally, only either father or mother or some other of the older relatives of the bereaved that manifest sympathy or renders assistance. As a rule the sick, for whom little hope of recovery exists, and the dying are deserted by most of the relatives and friends. A few cases out of very many that came to the notice of the author, may be cited to illustrate this fact. Case 1: Coming into a room one day I found two young women whom I was well acquainted with, sitting close together, silently weeping. They were sisters. Before them lay a beautiful

¹ While these customs are essentially the same on the three mesas, these brief observations refer more particularly to the village of Oraibi.

little child, dying. Upon my inquiry where the father of the child was, they told me, in one of the kivas (underground rooms). I immediately went there and found him at work. When I asked him whether he knew that his only child was dying, he at first would not answer, but finally began to abuse his wife and accuse her of being the cause of the child's illness and death. I reasoned with him, but could not persuade him to go home and to share the bereavement with his broken-hearted wife. Case 2. A young woman, who had been confined, became very ill, as far as I could learn, with puerperal fever. Her husband did not seem to show any interest in her whatsoever and when he was told one day, that she had died and been buried, he seemed to be utterly unconcerned about the matter and afterward completely ignored the little child his wife had left him. Even when this child died, two years later, he did not seem to show any interest in it whatsoever. The aged grandparents, who had taken care of the little orphan, prepared the little corpse all alone and put it into a large rock crevice, pushing aside the bones of its little brother who had been buried there four years previously. Case 3: One day I went through the village and was looking among others, after an old grandmother to whose wants we had administered since my wife had, one cold December morning, found her nearly frozen near a spring not far from our house. When I looked into her little room I found her unconscious on her sleeping place on the floor. It was in the afternoon and none of her numerous relatives had concerned themselves about the sick, aged woman. Soon I found one of her sons, a man about 53 years old, in one of the kivas where he was eating. He said he knew that his mother had seemed to be very sick in the morning; that he had placed a morsel of food and a cup of water by her side and had then gone to herd sheep; but instead of hurrying to his dying mother first of all, upon his return, of whom he knew that she had been left all to herself, he had first gone to his house, gotten some food for himself and was eating it apparently with utter unconcern. Case 4: A little girl, that had been sick with consumption for quite a while, died during the night. As far as I could learn only the immediate family had been present at her death. As soon as the usual preparations of the body could be made, the father wrapped it into blankets and carried it in the dark night, not accompanied by any one, on his back along a narrow, lonely trail over hills, through gulches, between boulders, up a mesa and there, on a ledge, he removed the stones that had been piled over a large crevice and placed the remains of his dead child with those of several others that had been "put away" there; replaced the stones and thrust a new stick between them as a sign of the new inhabitant of that dreary family burial place. When

PL. XXXV. CHILDREN'S BURIAL PLACES, SIDE VIEW.

- A. Graves under rocks, showing food bowls.
- B. Graves in large crevice, showing sticks in stone piles.

Photo by S. W. Matteson. Courtesy of the Pass, Dept. of the A. T. & S. Fe. Ry.

PL. XXXVI.

General graveyard near Second Mesa.

PL. XXXVII.

General graveyard near Oraibi.

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A

ANTHROPOLOGY, PL. XXXVIII.

B

PL. XXXVIII. CHILDREN'S GRAVES.

- A. Graves, showing large bowls.
B. Grave, showing side view.

he carried the usual prayer offerings and food to the grave on the third day I followed him over the same trail. Case 5: A man had died of gangrene in a broken leg. As the unfortunate man had had several peculiar attacks during his life it was extremely difficult to get any one to render any assistance while he was ill. One night, while we had left the patient to the care of his aged father a part of the time, the man had died towards morning and when we got to the house after breakfast we found that the man had died and the father, with the assistance of one relative had wrapped the body into blankets, taken it on his back, the relative supporting the legs, and the two men had thus dragged the very heavy corpse to a graveyard and buried him. Other similar cases could be cited, showing that death, or even approaching death, strikes such terror to the Hopi heart, that he shuns and flees the sick-bed and death-chamber as much as possible. For this reason he does not like to speak or hear others speak about the dead, however much he may have loved them and he prefers to say, "they are gone" or "they have gone to sleep" to saying, "they have died."

When death has taken place those that are present cry and mourn but do not lament and scream, as I have had occasion to observe among other tribes. Occasionally a few relatives will assemble in the death-chamber and weep, but those are exceptions. The remains are at once prepared for burial. A nakwakwosi is tied to the hair in front. The face is covered with a layer of cotton, with openings for the eyes and for the nose, which is tied by a string around the forehead "to hide themselves in." To this string are fastened a number of nakwakwosis which they are supposed to wear in the other world. Black marks are made under the eyes on the lips, forehead, cheeks (I think), the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet.¹ Some nakwakwosis² and sometimes a little food and a small vessel with drinking water is placed on the chest. The body is then wrapped into several blankets around which ropes are wound, and it is then carried on the back of the father or some relative, or on a horse or burrow to its last resting place.

3. THE BURIAL PLACES.

If the deceased be a child, which has not yet been initiated into any of the religious societies, the little body is placed into one of the many crevices along the edge of the mesa, on which the village is situated (see Plates XXXIV and XXXV).

In various ceremonies nakwakwosis are prepared for the dead and deposited in shrines and other places where the dead come and get those prepared for them; and those who find none are said to be very

¹ The faces of small children are sometimes only daubed with corn-meal.

² Turkey or eagle feathers are used.

sorry and to cry. In one of the traditions the dead in the other world are said to complain to a visitor from this world, that their nakwakwosis before their faces are old and worn and that their friends forget to prepare new ones for them.¹ If the burial place already contains the remains or bones of other children, that have died in that particular family, the stones, covering them, are removed, the new bundle placed into the crevice and the stones replaced. For every child thus buried a stick, from one to two feet long, is thrust between the rocks. After the covering of the buried remains has rotted away, the scull or bones may sometimes be seen in the crevice grave (see Plate XXXV).

In the case of grown persons or in fact, anyone that is already a wimkya (member) of some fraternity, the body is buried in a graveyard which is usually on a slope of the mesa or of a hill near the mesa (see Plate XXXVI). A hole from five to seven feet deep is dug and the body placed into it in a sitting posture with the face towards the east. The hole is filled up with the earth or sand and usually a lot of stones placed on it (see Plate XXXVII).

These burial grounds are scattered around the mesas; they are not marked or enclosed, nor taken care of in any way whatsoever. It not infrequently happens, that either the windstorms blow away the sand exposing the bones or currents of water from the high mesas break their way through a burial place and carry them away.

Tombstones or similar signs or monuments, marking the last resting place of particular individuals, are unknown; but certain insignia, indicating the order to which the deceased belonged, are occasionally placed on the graves, such as the so-called Marau-vahos (see my paper on the Marau ceremony), which are placed on the graves of women having belonged to the Marau society, or mungkohos which may be found on graves of members of the Kwan (Agave) or Ahl (Horn) or other societies. (See Plate LV in my paper, "The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony.")

4. POST-MORTEM RITES.

On the third day, after the body has been buried, the last meal and the last prayer offerings are prepared. The first consists of piki (a thin wafer bread baked on large polished stone slabs), cooked beans, (oöngawa), and sometimes a stew of corn, meat, herbs, etc., (nöckwiwi), is prepared by the woman, mother, wife, aunt or other near relative. This food is put into a bowl which is placed on the grave on the third day where it remains (see Plates XXXV and XXXVII). The father, brother or uncle of the deceased, that has prepared the remains for burial, now makes one double green baho (prayer stick, with black

¹ See the author's "Traditions of the Hopi Indians," page 119.

PL. XXXIX.

- A. Man taking prayer offerings to the grave.
B. Man arranging prayer offerings at the grave.

A

B

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A

ANTHROPOLOGY, PL. XL.

B

PL. XL.

- A. Man, praying over the offerings to be deposited on the grave of his children.
- B. Depositing the prayer offerings.

Figure 1. (a) View of the study area from the north.

(a)

Figure 1. (b) View of the study area from the south.

(b)

points), one single black baho, called chochokpi (seat), a pūhu (road), consisting of an eagle breath feather. To this are tied two cotton strings, a shorter one, twisted several times, the other a single thread, but somewhat longer. Besides this he makes about six nakwakwosis. All this the one who makes the prayer offerings takes to the grave (see Plate XXXIX) towards evening and places the two prayer sticks, the nakwakwosis, some corn-meal and the bowl with food on the grave (see Plate XL), the road he places on the ground west of the grave, the thin string pointing westward. From this road he sprinkles a meal line westward denoting the continuation of the road. According to a belief of the Hopi the hikvsi (breath or soul) of the deceased ascends early the next morning from the grave, partakes of the hikvsi of the food, mounts the hikvsi of the seat and then travels along the road to the masski (skeleton house) taking the hikvsi of the double baho along as an offering. (Comp. Voth: "Traditions of the Hopi," pages 109 and 114.) In the case of the death of a small child, that has not yet been initiated into any societies, the road is made from the grave towards the home of the child, because it is believed that the soul of that child returns to the house of its parents and is reincarnated in the next child that is born in that family. Until that time the little soul is believed to hover over the house. It is said, that when an unusual noise is heard in the house, for instance a crackling in the roof, they think the little soul is moving about and the mother then often secretly deposits a pinch of food on the floor in some part of the house for her departed child. When I asked one time what became of that child-soul in case no further birth took place in the family, I was told, that in such a case the soul remained near the house until its mother died, who then took the little soul with her to the other world.

Later the dead are sometimes remembered by prayer offerings and food in such ceremonies as the Soyal, Marau, etc. (See the "Oraibi Soyal Ceremony" by Dorsey and Voth, page 57, and my paper on the "Oraibi Marau Ceremony," page 30.)

II. NOTES ON THE EAGLE CULT OF THE HOPI

BY

H. R. VOTH.

PL. XLI.

Eagle burial ground.

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Ygth

A

ANTHROPOLOGY, PL. XLII.

B

PL. XLII.

A. An eagle in captivity on the roof of a house.

B. One of the kivas, or ceremonial chambers, in which most of the eagle feathers are used for ceremonial purposes.

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NOTES ON THE DOLLS OF THE EAGLE KATCINA

The dolls representing the Eagle Katcina are of the same size as the others, and are made of the same material. They are of the same shape, and are of the same color. They are of the same size, and are of the same shape. They are of the same color, and are of the same shape.

The dolls representing the Eagle Katcina are of the same size as the others, and are made of the same material. They are of the same shape, and are of the same color. They are of the same size, and are of the same shape. They are of the same color, and are of the same shape.

PL. XLIII.

Dolls, representing the Eagle Katcina.

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NOTES ON THE EAGLE CULT AMONG THE HOPI INDIANS.

As among other uncivilized people, the eagle plays a very conspicuous part in the conception of the traditions of the Hopi, especially in their religious rites and ceremonies. There are Eagle clans, Eagle Katcinas, special prayer offerings for the eagles, eagle burying grounds (see Plate XLI), etc.

The territory around the Hopi villages where eagles may be found is, and has been from time immemorial, divided into portions or allotments, which are controlled by certain clans and families. These territories extend as far as 50 and 60 miles from the villages. The information, regarding this apportionment, is somewhat vague, but I am led to believe that originally the Eagle clan, and later also clans related to the Eagle clan, were the only ones that "owned" the eagles, while it appears that at present families of other clans also share that privilege.¹ It is said that at present, the Bear, Spider, Reed, Young corn, Burrowing Owl, Blue Bird, Bow, Lizard, Badger and Eagle clan of Oraibi control eagle territory.

Every spring hunting expeditions set out to procure young eagles. These, when captured in their roosts, are usually tied to racks (see Plate XLIX) and carried to the villages where they are kept on the flat house tops, tied by one leg to some beam, rock or peg to prevent their escape (see Plate XLII). Here they are fed with rabbits, field mice, etc., until about July, when they have grown to full size. The number of birds, thus captured, varies very much in different years. One year there were thirty-five in the village of Oraibi alone. Among these are usually also various kinds of hawks, especially a certain large kind, which the Hopi call palakwahu "red-eagle," the feathers of which are used very extensively for prayer offerings, masks, eagle shafts etc.

In nearly all the principal ceremonies the eagles are remembered by prayer offerings, prepared for them by the priests. These consist usually of small eagle or hawk feathers, tied to a twisted cotton string, about four inches long, and are called nakwakwosis. These nakwakwosis are handed to those priests who are part owners in an eagle allotment,

¹ Compare "Property-Right in Eagles among the Hopi" by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. II, No. 4.

and who deposit them with some sacred meal in shrines, devoted to the eagles.¹

During the winter and spring months, when the Katcina cult flourishes in all the villages, and Katcinas of the greatest variety may be seen in the different ceremonies and dances, Eagle Katcinas, *i. e.*, masked Hopi representing eagles, or more properly speaking an Eagle deity, may occasionally be seen. The typical features of this personage are a mask with an artificial eagle beak and otherwise representing the head of an eagle; sometimes large eagle feathers are fastened to the arms and to the back part of the costume representing the wings and tail of the eagle (see Plate XLIII). These Katcinas receive prayer offerings at the dances, which they deposit at Katcina shrines "that the eagles may not fail to lay eggs and hatch them again the next year."

On the day after the great Niman (Farewell) Katcina ceremony in July all the eagles in the village, except here and there one that is not fully grown, are killed. This killing is done at about eight or nine o'clock in the morning. While one person holds the rope, another throws a blanket over the eagle and carries him down from the roof, choking him while he descends (see Plate XLIV). No eagle is killed by any other method. When life is extinct the feathers are plucked and carefully assorted (see Plate XLV). When the larger feathers have all been pulled the body of the eagle is flayed and the skin with the remaining feathers also carefully dried and preserved on account of the feathers. Nakwakwosis are then tied to the wings and legs of the carcass "that the eagles should not be angry but hatch young eagles again the next year." During this time a small tray, a small flat doll and a few rolls of blue piki (the thin, typical Hopi bread), about four inches long and about one inch thick, are prepared. When these preparations are completed the carcass, the prayer offerings and a pointed stick are taken to one of the grave-yards especially devoted to eagles (see Plate XLI). Here a hole is dug in the ground with the pointed stick, and the eagle body, with the food, placed into it (see Plate XLVII). These grave-yards are usually located from half to three-quarters of a mile from the village.

The feathers, thus obtained from the eagles, are used for many different purposes, mostly, however, ceremonial. The smaller ones mostly for nakwakwosis, that have only one twisted string and for pūhus, that have one twisted and one single string attached to them. Of these two kinds thousands are made on many different occasions

¹ Mr. C. L. Owen, who just returned from the Hopi-land says: "Small vessels are often placed near rocks where eagles are supposed to hatch and to roost, which are from time to time filled with water and also a pinch of meal sprinkled on it. (See Pl. L).

PL. XLIV. CATCHING AND KILLING THE EAGLE.

- A. The capture on the roof of the house.
B. Choking the bird.

A

1341

B

PL. XLV.

- A. Plucking the eagle.
- B. Assorting the feathers.

A

B

PL. ~~L~~^XVI.

- A. Leaving the village with the eagle bodies.
- B. Arriving at the burial ground.

A

B

PL. ^LXXVII.

Burying the eagles.

PL. XLVIII.

Priests with sun symbols on their backs, in which eagle tail feathers represent the rays of the sun.

Fig 35161

PL. XLIX.

Racks on which the young eagles are fastened and carried to the villages after their capture.

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ANTHROPOLOGY, PL. L.

PL. L.

Pots in which water is kept for the eagles near their roosts.

during the year. The larger feathers are used on masks, standards, altars, arrow shafts, and for many other purposes. The typical Hopi sun symbol is profusely decorated with eagle tail feathers which, in this case, represent the rays of the sun. In the great Flute ceremony every Flute player wears such a sun symbol on his back as a part of his ceremonial costume. He also wears on the head a ring of corn-husks, into which are thrust eagle breast feathers, while other participants in this, and in fact in most Hopi ceremonies, have a smaller eagle feather fastened to their scalp lock (see Plate XLVIII).

In all ceremonies of any importance whistles are used that are often made of eagle bones and the chief priest uses an eagle¹ wing feather when he discharms the participants in the ceremony from the charm, peculiar to that order of ceremony. To the "tassels" on the corners of the bridal costume eagle nakwakwosis are tied and an eagle feather pūhu (road) is placed to the west of the grave of departed Hopi to show them the road to the skeleton house. Also certain prayer offerings, which are placed on the grave, are made of an eagle feather. Other eagle feather roads, with a longer string, are placed by the Hopi doctors on the paths that lead from the village to show the evil spirits of disease the road on which they are requested to leave their victims whom the Medicine man has discharmed, and the village. The natsi or society emblem of the Lagon and the Oaqōl fraternity contain two eagle tail feathers and certain standards and other ceremonial objects of other societies are decorated with the same feather. The whips which the Snake priests take with them on their Snake hunts and use in the Snake dance consist of a handle with two large eagle wing feathers fastened to it, and to the point of which is fastened a small fuzzy eagle feather which is painted red. A number of similar, small red feathers fastened to short twisted cotton strings form the prayer offerings, which the Snake hunter, also takes with him and which he throws with some sacred meal to the reptile which he intends to capture for the ceremony.

¹ Usually, however, a buzzard feather is used for this purpose.

III. THE ORAIBI NEW YEAR CEREMONY

BY

H. R. VOTH.

INTRODUCTION.

The ceremony, of which a brief description is given in the following pages, has been observed by the author, partly on September 11, 1897, partly on September 29, 1901, and could even then not be thoroughly studied.¹ He had hoped to have an opportunity to complete his observations at some future time, and for that reason has delayed to publish these notes. But as he has thus far not had that opportunity, it was thought best to place on record these brief notes with the hope, that some one may make further studies of this ceremony and thus be enabled to give a fuller report of it.

The rite, herewith described, is usually called *Yasangulawu*—meaning (to) make, create (the) year, as it introduces the new Hopi ceremonial year, an event which would seem to justify a more pretentious ceremony. It is possible, however, that in times past it may have been more elaborate, like other ceremonies that have dwindled down to insignificant performances since the Hopi have separated into several opposing factions who have carried their strife with great bitterness even into the chambers of their sacred shrines, altars and ceremonies, and into their religious and every day life in general.

This strife between the factions has, since the time this ceremony was studied, gone so far, that several portions of the inhabitants of the old village of Oraibi have been driven out and have built two new small villages a few miles away, so that the people are now not only in sentiment but also locally separated into three factions, which will, of course, very rapidly cause further deterioration of the complicated and extremely interesting ceremonial cults of the Hopi Indians.²

¹ As far as I know, this ceremony has never been witnessed by any other white man.

² A striking illustration of this fact is shown on Pl. No. LIV of this paper, where the altar is shown as it appeared at the performance of 1901. As the conservative faction of the society positively refused to participate in the ceremony and to allow the part of the altar that was in their charge to be used, a few members of the liberal faction assembled and put up the objects that were in their keeping, and observed the ceremony as well as they were able to do, complaining very bitterly about the attitude of the opposing members of the fraternity.

NEW YEAR CEREMONY.

(YASANGWLAWU.)

This ceremony is performed, as far as observed, in the month of September, by the Kwakwantu fraternity in the Kwan or Agave kiva (see Plate LII), which is located at the south edge of the old village of Oraibi. In the performance of 1897, which forms the basis for this paper, the leaders were: Naashashtiwa, Talasswungwnima Chokioma, Nasingyamiwa, Nakwaheptiwa and Shakyeshitiwa. The last named had gotten water from the springs in netted gourd vessels and Nakwaheptiwa had also gotten the sand for the altar sand-ridge when I came in.

Naashashtiwa soon commenced to make prayer offerings. He made the following kinds:

One single black baho, with a turkey feather and chat nakwakwosi.

Two double black bahos, with the same kind of feathers.

Four eagle feather nakwakwosis.

Two eagle feather pūhus (roads).

Talasswungwnima made just the same only his bahos had duck, instead of chat feathers.

Chokioma made six nakwakwosis and two pūhus, all of eagle feathers.

All the bahos and nakwakwosis were laid on a tray.

Naashashtiwa placed one of his bahos and nakwakwosis with Talasswungwnima's, the latter one of his with Naashashtiwa's.

The latter then made a long pūhu. The other men now also made prayer offerings as follows:

Nakwaheptiwa four nakwakwosis and two pūhus.

Shakyeshitiwa, eight of the same kind.

Nasingyamiwa the same.

The two pūhus, I was told, were one for the sun, one for the moon. All then smoked over their prayer offerings, whereupon they were placed on a tray. Hereupon Naashashtiwa spurted honey on the tray and also out of the hatch-way.

This done, Naashashtiwa (see Plate LIII) repainted a stick, about twenty-eight inches long, and four crooks. To the stick he tied six old eagle feathers at one end, and below that, at four different places, a piece of corn-husk and a small feather to the crooks. One of the men

was sent after clay, of which he made five cone-shaped stands or pedestals about 3 x 4 inches large. Naashashtiwa then made a semi-circular sand-ridge, and put thirty-two black eagle wing feathers into the ridge and then corn-meal and black lines on it. He then painted two black lines (crossing each other) on the base of his tiponi and of each clay stand. Talasswungwnima took out his tiponi, old nakwakwosis, etc., from their old wrappings and placed them on the floor, to be used on the altar. Naashashtiwa then put the long, black stick, described before, into one of the stands and placed it in the centre before the sand-ridge. He then placed his tiponi to the west end of the ridge each time, first sprinkling meal first from six directions towards the centre, but instead of from the south-west (✱) (for below), as is done everywhere else, he sprinkled from the north-west (✱). This deviation from the universal rule I have observed several times in the ceremonies of this fraternity in the Kwan kiva, and *here only*. A further variation consists in the fact that tiponis of the Kwakwantu have tied to them what seems to be a small tiponi. The two tiponis, used in this ceremony, were of that kind (see Plate LI).

Talasswungwnima now put up his tiponi at the east end of the ridge, and then placed the medicine bowl before the altar, and poured water into it from three gourd vessels, also observing the directions (as just explained) in the waving of the tiponi, bowl, sprinkling meal, pouring water, etc. Wherever the six directions are observed in this kiva, in whatever performance, north-west takes the place of south-west. Naashashtiwa then strew a small quantity of either meal or corn-pollen into the medicine bowl from the six directions and then sprinkled a meal line in a south-east direction from the altar and put the four gourd vessels and four crooks on the line (see Plate LI). He then took a seat west, Talasswungwnima south-west of the altar; Nakwaheptiwa, who had in the meanwhile lighted a pipe, handed it to Talaswungwnima, who smoked, then handed the pipe to Naashashtiwa, who also smoked.

I now went out about ten minutes, and when I returned I found the corn-ears lying around the medicine bowl, and the two old men were singing, Naashashtiwa rattling a mosilili (cone shell rattle), and Talasswungwnima putting a little corn-pollen on each corn-ear at short intervals. The corn-ears were placed around the bowl not before, but during this song. Whether this was the second song, the first having been chanted while I was not there, I do not know.

Other song: Talasswungwnima placed small pieces of stone or shell near the corn-ears, first one north, then west, south, east, north-east and north-west.

Other song: Talasswungwnima put an old makwanpi (aspergill)

PL. LI. ALTAR OF THE NEW YEAR CEREMONY.

In the sand-ridges are thirty-two eagle wing feathers. On each side stands a tiponi (palladium of chief priests), which differ from all other Hopi tiponies in having what resembles a small tiponi attached to them. They are used also in other ceremonies in this kiva. In the centre stands a standard and in front of it the medicine bowl with the ears of corn and their "husbands," the old aspergills. In front of this are placed, in a slanting line, four netted gourd vessels and four crooks, (symbols of life). By the side of these objects are a cloud-blower, a boy with tobacco, some pipes, bahos and a tray with meal, shell rattles and nakwakwosis.

Drawing by C. L. Dalrymple.

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10-1

PL. LII.

A. The Kwan kiva in which the New Year ceremony is performed.

B. The same, showing the natsi or standard. To the short sticks are tied the following kinds of feathers:

North:	Oriole,
West:	Bluebird,
South:	Parrot,
East:	Magpie,
North-east:	Sparrow,
South-west:	Warbler.

and old nakwakwosi near each corn-ear at short intervals. These aspergills are called the husbands of the corn-ears.¹

Other song: The rattles were moved backward and forward. Talasswungwnima threw a pinch of corn-meal along the north corn-ear into the medicine bowl, took up the corn-ear and its husband and wiped with the latter the corn-pollen from the ear into the medicine bowl and replaced both. This he did with all six. Then he threw the six stones (or pieces of shell) one after the other into the bowl, and then at another round the old nakwakwosis. There not being any intervals between these different acts in the singing, I could not conclusively determine whether all this was done during one song or several; especially since the apparent deficient knowledge of the (mostly archaic) songs on the part of the priest caused considerable confusion. But from analogy I believe that these different rites were performed, or were supposed to be performed during different songs.

Nakwaheptiwa and Nasingyamtiwa were sitting near the fireplace during this singing.

Other song: Talasswungwnima took up all six ears of corn, put them, points downward, into the medicine bowl, and held them in that manner; Nakwaheptiwa took the east and west old aspergill, and held the first with the right hand against the east, the other with the left hand against the west side of the medicine bowl.² Naashashtiwa hereupon whistled with a bone whistle six times. As he was the only one who seemed to know the songs fairly well, the singing stopped while he blew the whistle. The corn-ears were then replaced.

Other song: Talasswungwnima sprinkled six times. Quite a long pause occurred because Naashashtiwa had also forgotten part of the song. After singing for a little while longer they stopped; Naashashtiwa and Talasswungwnima sprinkled meal on the altar. Nakwaheptiwa lighted a pipe and both smoked, which ended the ceremony in the forenoon.

In the afternoon nothing was done except talking, smoking, etc. More men came into the kiva, so that by evening about a dozen men were present. It seems strange, that so few men took part in this ceremony. Many members of the fraternity, who were supposed to be there, were kept away by the existing animosity between the two contending factions in the village, about which those present complained bitterly. Others were deterred by work in their corn-fields; some of them came into the kiva in the evening for the night ceremony.

At about one o'clock in the night (September 12, A. M.) Naashashtiwa

¹ I could not determine whether what was sung until now was all one or several songs. I believe the first to be the case.

² Exactly the same performance occurs in the ceremonies of the Flute fraternity.

swept up the line of meal on which the four crooks and the four gourd vessels were standing. Then he smoked and hereupon sprinkled some meal into the medicine bowl, made a new meal line and placed the four crooks and four gourd vessels on the line again, as before. He and Talasswungwnima then sat down west and south-west of the altar again, as in the forenoon. Old Chokioma now lighted a pipe, handed it to Talasswungwnima and the two priests smoked again; Lomalehtiwa soon joined them. A number of new men had come in during the evening so that there were about a dozen men present at that time.

At about 1:35 A. M. Naashashtiwa offered a short prayer, and then the singing commenced again, several of the newcomers joining in. Lomalehtiwa also rattled a mosilili. Nakwaheptiwa smoked and another man, who acted as Fire chief, soon joined him. At 1:45 A. M. there was a pause in the singing; all rubbed their bodies with their hands and blew into his hands and then into the air. But the singing was soon resumed. Naashashtiwa, during this song, took his tiponi, Talasswungwnima the medicine bowl; the young man, who made the clay stands, took Talasswungwnima's tiponi, six of the others each took an ear of corn and its husband and each one beat time with the object he held in his hand. The song lasted about eight minutes. The objects were then all replaced.

Other song: Naashashtiwa handed his mosilili to one of the other men, I think, because his arm was tired.

Other song: At about 2:35 Naashashtiwa lighted the cloud blower pipe, spurted honey over it and then blew smoke over the altar; the smoke is supposed to represent clouds.

Other song: Several fell asleep; two of the mosililis stopped. Finally old Naashashtiwa sang and rattled alone, and he seemed to be very tired and sleepy too. Here and there he was assisted a little by Talasswungwnima, who seemed to be unacquainted with the songs.

It was now 3:25 A. M.; I could not determine just how many songs were sung, as the intervals, if any, were very brief. Most of the men were sleeping by this time.

Another song was intoned which dragged along until about 3:45. This was followed by several others, mostly sung by poor old Naashashtiwa alone, here and there one of the men assisting him a little either in singing or rattling.

At 5:00 A. M. the singing stopped, the priests smoked, and I think Naashashtiwa uttered a short prayer.

All were then silently sitting and waiting awhile, most of them being awake by this time. At 5:30 A. M. the two priests took their tiponis, sat down north of the fireplace, and Naashashtiwa, waving his one slowly

PL. LIV. PRIESTS AND A PARTIAL NEW YEAR ALTAR.

The picture is an illustration of the havoc which the contentions among the different factions in Oraibi works even in their ceremonies. The altar contains only one tiponi instead of two, only two gourd vessels instead of four, no crooks, and shows a disturbed condition generally.

up and down, sang slowly for awhile, whereupon they replaced them, and the men then smoked a while.

This is as far as I was able to study this ceremony, but believe that no further performances took place. The new ceremonial year, with its cycle of secret and public ceremonies and dances, had been ushered in. A few weeks later the Wuwuchim ceremony, probably the most important in the entire ceremonial calendar, is celebrated. The youths and young men of the village are then initiated into the Wuwuchim (men's) Agave, Horn and Singer fraternities, and right after it appears the first Katsina—the Soyal,—announcing, as it were, the approaching Katsina season. Still a few weeks later on the occasion of the great Soyal celebration, the Qōoqōqlōm Katsinas make the round of the villages, "opening" the kivas for the coming Katsinas, whereupon a series of Katsina performances of great variety of names, costumes and purpose appear at shorter and longer intervals until the Katsina season closes with the Niman, or Farewell Katsina ceremony in July.¹ Meantime certain secret ceremonies by the different orders take place in the different kivas, by the Flute, Snake, Marau, Oaqōl and other societies, especially during December, January and February, some lasting one day others nine days. With the exception of the Powamu ceremony, which is very closely related to the Katsina cult and during which the Katsina imitations take place, these secret winter kiva performances are less complicated and apparently of less importance than those performed by these societies between the Niman (Farewell) and the next New Year ceremony.

¹ See the Author's paper on "The Oraibi Niman Ceremony," in preparation by The Field Museum.

IV. TAWA BAHOLAWU OF THE ORAIBI FLUTE
SOCIETIES

BY

H. R. VOTH.

PREFACE.

The sun plays a very conspicuous part in the Hopi religion. There is, as far as I know, no secret or altar ceremony where some prayer offerings for the sun are not prepared and deposited. But in no other society's ceremonial does the sun cult occupy such a large part as in that of the two Flute orders, the Blue and the Drab. Not only are many prayer offerings made for the sun, sun symbols used, etc., in the regular Flute ceremonies (see Plate XLVIII), but these two societies each celebrate a one day ceremony in winter and one in summer for the special purpose of making prayer offerings for the sun. They call these observances Tawa Baholawu, (Sun Prayer Offering making). This paper gives brief descriptions of these sun ceremonies. None of them is entirely complete, but as a good deal of similarity exists between them they will give a fairly good idea of the general nature of this phase of the Hopi sun cult, until more complete and detailed data can be obtained. As the dissensions and quarrels among the Oraibi have already very materially affected the completeness of the different ceremonies in that village, it was thought best to publish the data which we have, though they may be more or less fragmentary.

All the ceremonies of the Drab Flute society are more elaborate than those of the Blue Flute order. This may be due to the fact that the number of Blue Flute members belonging to the liberal faction, and who do not participate in their ceremonies, is smaller than that of the Drab Flute members who belong to the conservative faction and hence refuse to take part in any ceremony of their—the Drab Flute—society. The latter has usually a greater number of singers and players, and prepares more prayer offerings than the Blue Flutes. The only instance where I have ever seen these two societies coöperate is the nine day summer ceremony. Here the two great observances interlink repeatedly, which makes a coöperation imperative, as without it the great mutual ceremony would be incomplete and hence in the mind of the Hopi fail to accomplish its purposes.

THE WINTER CEREMONY OF THE DRAB FLUTE SOCIETY.

JANUARY 20, 1898.

This ceremony took place in the Hawiowi Kiwa (from hawni, descend, slope), in which all the winter ceremonies of the Masi-Lalentu (Drab Flute Society) take place. The following members were present:

1. Lomáhungwa ¹	Chief priest.
2. Namítnyaoma	} Singers.
3. Tangákyeshtiwa	
4. Chokíoma	
5. Kwávaho	
6. Shákwuna	
7. Qômáhoiwiwa	
8. Talásyamiwa	} Flute players.
9. Towáhoyniwa	
10. Siviletstiwa	
11. Bánümtiwa	
12. Shákyamiwa	
13. Masáveima	
14. Shákwaima	

The men began to come into the kiva at about 10 A. M. Lomahungwa was, I believe, the first, then Talasyamiwa, Towahoyiwa, Masa-veima, etc. Every one smoked first before he commenced to make prayer offerings. At first only an old short single baho stick was in the hatch-way matting, serving as a natsi or society emblem. The two long baho sticks for the regular natsi were lying on the floor.

While more men came in, those in the kiva were smoking, and Masa-veima related old hunting yarns, while Lomahungwa was silently working at four double green bahos about four inches long and four single black bahos about five inches long. Before he finished them he put a large turkey feather, kuñya and maövi,² and the usual corn-husk packet with meal and honey to the two baho sticks that had been lying on the floor and that were about twelve inches long, and tied this natsi to the right pole of the ladder. After much smoking and talking all went to

¹ The accents on the names will be given in this list only.

² *Artemisia frigida* and *Gutierrezia Euthamiae* Torr & Gray.

making nakwakwosis of different kinds and numbers, varying with the different men. Shakwuna and Masaveima each made six nakwakwosis and two pūhtavis; Tangakyeshtiwa, six nakwakwosis and four pūhtavis; Qōmaho, six pūhtavis; Namitnyaoma, nine nakwakwosis and two pūhtavis; Siviletstiwa, a good many of both, etc. Each one, when done, smoked and spurted honey over his bahos or nakwakwosis. Lomahungwa also did the same with his bahos and nakwakwosis, and then also walked up the ladder and spurted honey up the ladder and through the hatch-way.

All bahos and nakwakwosis were then placed on a tray on the north, west, south and east sides; on the north-east (above) and south-west (below) only nakwakwosis.

Food was then brought to the kiva by women, and all partook of the noon-day meal in the kiva.

After dinner Qōmaho fixed the six direction altar (see Plate LV), sprinkling first dry, fine sand on the floor. He then sprinkled meal from six directions, placing the medicine bowl on the centre of these lines. The six corn-ears and six old aspergills he placed around the bowl in the usual ceremonial order. First, I think, he poured the water into the medicine bowl. Then he put a green object, perhaps about two and one-half by two inches in size, into the bowl. This piece of sherd or stone had evidently been broken from a larger piece and seemed to be very old. It was of a light green color, opaque, but had highly polished places, evidently from long usage. On one side it was smooth, on the other it had raised decorations as if it had been either cast in a mould or carved. It resembled stone objects found in the ruins of Mexico. Qōmaho furthermore placed six pieces of shell and stone and six old nakwakwosis of six different feathers near the six corn-ears. Reaching with a small stick into nine different small buckskin bags, he put what little powder adhered to the stick into the medicine bowl. He then rubbed onto each corn-ear a little paste which was said to have been made of various kinds of seeds, and lastly he put a little honey into the bowl. Towahoyniwa then brought in a small ball of snow (about three inches in diameter), into which he thrust four oriole feathers. He said that he did this "so that the snow should melt and make the fields wet."

Lomahungwa had in the meanwhile filled the big cloud pipe, or cloud blower, and put up the tiponi. The Flute players were now getting ready their flutes. Qāmoho put a little talasi (corn-pollen) on a corn-husk to be used in the altar ceremony. All now took their places and waited. (See diagram, Plate LV). Lomahungwa lighted the cloud pipe and blew smoke over the altar. Singing then began.

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PL. LV. DIAGRAM OF DRAB FLUTE BAHOLAWU.

1. Position of the chief priest Lomahungwa.
- 2-7. Position of the other leaders that participated in the singing, sprinkling, etc.
- 8-14. Position of the Flute players.
15. Tiponi (palladium or badge of office of the chief priest).
16. Medicine bowl surrounded by six ears of corn, six old makwaupis, called the "husbands" of the corn-ears, six small nakwakwosis, and six small stones of various colors.
17. Fireplace.

Drawing by C. L. Dalrymple.

First song: Old Chokioma stood up, held a long buzzard wing feather in each hand, sprinkled a little meal on each, beat time with them, circled them over the medicine bowl, and brushed the meal from each with the other. I think he did this six times, and then sat down.

Other song: Old Chokioma made the four lines on the sides of the kiva and between the north-east and east and the south-west and west corn-ears. I did not notice whether he threw any meal to the ceiling.

I should have remarked that the priests number one, two and three were beating time with mosililis (cone shell rattles); number four with one of the long eagle feathers; numbers five and six also with such feathers, and number seven, during the first part of the ceremony with nothing, and during the last with the aspergill (see Plate LV.)

Other song: Qōmaho picked up the north aspergill sprinkled a little cornmeal and corn-pollen along it and into the bowl, then slid the piece of shell along the aspergill and threw the shell in and replaced the aspergill. He repeated this with the remaining five.

Other song: Qōmaho did the same performance in the same way, only now threw the old nakwakwosis, one after the other, into the bowl and whistled with a bone whistle each time.

A short pause occurred here in the singing, during which Qōmaho whistled several times.

Other song: (During which all the players sat around the fireplace and smoked.) Qōmaho picked up each corn-ear and washed off the "paste" into the bowl, and sprinkled each time with his aspergill. He then, between this and the next song, put all the corn-ears into the medicine bowl, points downward. Chokioma picked up the old aspergills from the south and west sides of the bowl, held them in his hand, also holding the medicine bowl with each hand, and then

Another song was intoned. All the players fluted again. The corn-ears were then replaced in their regular order.

Other song: Qōmaho from now on beat time with his aspergill and occasionally sprinkled on the baho tray and then over the altar. Lomahungwa sprinkled corn-meal along the six corn-ears into the medicine bowl. Sprinkling by Qōmaho.

Other song: Sprinkling by Qōmaho.

Other song: Sprinkling by Qōmaho.

I here left, but have reason to believe that very little of importance took place after this.

None of the men wore any part of a ceremonial costume in this entire performance. Some of the players kept their shirts on, but all wore the hair loose, which is always the case in all Hopi ceremonies.

THE WINTER CEREMONY OF THE BLUE FLUTE SOCIETY.

JANUARY 20, 1898.

This ceremony took place on January 20th, 1898, in the Sakwalânve (Blue Flute) kiva, where all the winter ceremonies of this fraternity take place. Lomahungyoma was the leader of the ceremony.

Besides the ceremony Anga-Katcina masks, moccasins, etc., were painted and costumes prepared in the kiva for a Katcina dance that evening.

The men that came in always first smoked awhile near the fireplace. Lomahungyoma, who alone wore a ceremonial kilt, made five double green bahos. All the men who took part in the ceremony made a number of nakwakwosis which were placed on a tray with the bahos. When all had finished their nakwakwosis the tray was placed on the floor in the northern part of the kiva, and eleven men gathered around it and sang, but I could not follow this ceremony as I wanted to get the Drab Flute Ceremony complete. When I came in again they were smoking, and each one took some honey which he spurted on the tray after he had smoked. The bahos and nakwakwosis were then carried out and deposited outside the village. As I followed the first man (to the north), I could not ascertain how many men went, but I think five. The man whom I accompanied put down the baho first, then the nakwakwosis (a good many) in front of it, and in front of the nakwakwosis a pühtavi and along that and towards the sun he sprinkled some sacred meal.

The noonday meal was then partaken of, after which a singing ceremony took place in the north-east corner of the kiva, four of the men sitting on the floor along the north and four along the east banquette. Before them stood a tray with meal and I believe some more prayer offerings, and also a long eagle wing feather.

The eight men had each a mossilili (cone shell rattle) except one who had a long buzzard feather. On the west banquette stood seven Flute players, three of whom were boys. A number of songs were sung, accompanied by playing. Lomahungyoma whistled at short intervals with a short bone whistle. I do not think that anyone had a kilt or any other ceremonial costume on except Lomahungyoma. I could not see the termination of the ceremony, but from analogy I am sure, that at the conclusion of the singing and playing smoking took place. It is also my opinion, that some of the prayer offerings, made in this ceremony, were taken to some more distantly located sun shrines, especially to those on a mesa a few miles east of Oraibi.

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PL. LVI. VARIOUS PRAYER OFFERINGS.

1. White ear of corn with yellow dots.
2. White ear of corn with green dots.
3. White ear of corn with black dots.
4. White ear of corn with white dots.
5. Wooden hoe with green corn-ear painted on it; the hoe being painted white.
6. Meal cake.
7. Wooden cylinder-shaped stick with a duck feather nakwakwosi attached to it. Painted black, the ends green.
8. Ring made of cat-tail leaves with a duck feather nakwakwosi attached to it. Painted black.
- 9 and 10. Boards called "fields." The dark part, painted green, the light part yellow.
11. The same, the light part painted green, the dark part red.
12. The same, painted white with black bird tracks.

Fig. 1. Cylindrical object with a grid of dots.

1. White ear of corn with black dots.
2. White ear of corn with black dots.
3. White ear of corn with black dots.
4. White ear of corn with black dots.
5. White ear of corn with black dots.
6. White ear of corn with black dots.
7. White ear of corn with black dots.
8. White ear of corn with black dots.
9. White ear of corn with black dots.
10. White ear of corn with black dots.
11. White ear of corn with black dots.
12. White ear of corn with black dots.
13. White ear of corn with black dots.
14. White ear of corn with black dots.
15. White ear of corn with black dots.
16. White ear of corn with black dots.
17. White ear of corn with black dots.
18. White ear of corn with black dots.
19. White ear of corn with black dots.
20. White ear of corn with black dots.

Fig. 2. Circular object with a cross pattern.

Fig. 3. Rectangular object with a diagonal line.

THE SUMMER CEREMONY OF THE DRAB FLUTE SOCIETY.

JUNE 13, 1901.

Every summer, as far as observed, in the month of June, the Drab Flute Society observes a one day ceremony for the special purpose of making and depositing prayer offerings for the sun. For this purpose they assemble in the ancestral houses of their respective societies where they also celebrate about two months later the regular Flute ceremony, which lasts nine days.

The participants on this occasion were: Lomáhungwa, chief priest, Shókhungyoma, Tuwáhoyniwa, Masáveima, Sivínōmtiwa, Qōmáho, Siviletstiwa, Talásnōmtiwa, and Nakwáhoiyoma, who are some of the leading men of the Drab Flute Society. All, except Lomahungwa, wore their usual clothes, but were barefooted and had their hair untied. Lomáhungwa¹ wore nothing except a small breech cloth.

The following account states, as nearly as possible, who of the men, present, prepared the different objects, though sometimes they assisted one another, the one doing one part, another some other part of the work.

Lomahungwa prepared the following objects:

1. Four round prayer sticks of cottonwood root, six inches long, one and one quarter inches thick, which were said to represent corn-stalks (see Plate LVI).
2. One wonawika of cottonwood root, four inches long and about one and a half inches wide, representing an old weeding implement. This had an old eagle breast feather and a butterfly wing from the medicine bowl attached to it (see Plate LVI).
3. Two prayer sticks, about six inches long, one with a facet representing a female prayer stick. Both had a nodule in the middle.
4. Five single black bahos (chochokpi) six inches long.
5. Four short and one long pūhus (roads), which he moistened with honey and rolled in corn-pollen. Also three plain short roads.
6. Six double green bahos with black tips four and a half inches long. All bahos had duck feather nakwakwosis tied to them. He smoked over all and spurted honey over them. He also prepared the paint for painting the bahos except the first named, for which Masaveima prepared it. He put into a double mortar green and yellow, and into another mortar some black paint, some honey, a pinch of some ngahu (medicine), also some water and a butterfly wing; the latter he tied

¹ The accents on these proper names will be given in this paragraph only.

PL. LVII. ARTIFICIAL CORN-STALKS.

1. Body yellow, dots black, root white.
2. Body green, dots black, root white.
3. Body red, dots white, root white.
4. Body white, dots red, root white.

The objects are all dressed with a turkey feather, a sprig of *Artemisia frigida*, one of *Gutierrezia Euthamiae* Torr. and Gray, a corn-husk packet, containing meal and a pinch of honey, and a duck feather nakwakwosi, as shown on No. 4.

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2.

3.

4.

Drawing by C. L. Dalrymple.

Sivinōmtiwa made two pūhus of eagle and warbler feathers for the sun and Spider Woman, and also four nakwakwosis of eagle feathers only, for the four cardinal points and four pūhus of eagle feathers only for the eagles. These last he handed to Shakhungyoma.

Nakwahoyoma, who had come in towards noon, prepared two Kal-htaka or warrior bahos, consisting of a single stick about five inches long to which was fastened one of the small wing feathers of a large hawk and a nakwakwosi; I think of the same bird. On these bahos, which were painted red, he rubbed some specular iron. Of these two ingredients he also rubbed some on his face. Later he also prepared the same pūhus and nakwakwosis as Tuwahoyniwa (see above).

Shokhungyoma made one pūhu each for the sun, moon, eagles and Spider Woman, and four nakwakwosis for the four world quarters.

Talasnōmtiwa made three pūhus of eagle and warbler feathers one each for the sun, moon and "God;"¹ two for the eagles, but without the yellow warbler feathers, and four for the four cardinal points. When I asked him why he had not made one for Spider Woman, he exclaimed: "O my, I forgot that!" The prayer offerings to the eagles he handed to Tuwahoyniwa.

I noticed a small quantity of food in a bowl, and was told that it was to be deposited in some shrine as an offering to the sun.

Among the prayer offerings were also four artificial ears of corn, about five inches long and about one and one quarter inches thick, made of cottonwood root. But my notes do not state just when and by whom they were made (see Plate LVI).

At about one o'clock they had finished the prayer offerings, placed them on trays, swept the floor and partook of a meal. When they were through Qōmahō got a medicine bowl, six ears of corn, six makwanpis (called husbands of the corn-ears),² six old small nakwakwosis, and six small stones, different herbs, etc. Of the herbs he placed some into the bowl and rubbed some on the corn-ears which he arranged around the bowl, and also poured some water into the bowl. He then put into the bowl a peculiar green object which looked like a piece of jade probably about two inches long and one and a half inches wide, but of irregular shape. It had some carvings on one side. I had noticed this object in other ceremonies of this society before. Lomahungwa also put

¹ This man had been critically ill some years previously. Missionaries had prayed with him and told him to pray to God. He says he did so and got well, and after that I have found him on several occasions, when he made prayer offerings for his deities, to also prepare some for "God" and for "Jesus" because "they made him well." The same trend of thought, as among the Athenians who built an altar "to the unknown God."

² These objects consist of a hollow stick about six inches long, the ends of which are sometimes open, sometimes covered with a piece of buckskin. To one end are fastened a number of feathers by twine which is wound all over the sticks.

what seemed to be an herb or powder into the bowl. He also got his omawtapi, a large, cone-shaped pipe or cloud blower, ready, made a small sand hill of the sand that Masaveima had previously gotten and placed his tiponi into it. The corn-ear of this sacred object protruded pretty well, the corn from it having disappeared; the feathers were also badly moth-eaten.

When the altar was finished, the tray with the prayer offerings being placed north of the tiponi, the men arranged themselves around the altar. Lomahungwa first lit the cloud blower, blowing the smoke into the medicine bowl, whereupon a number of songs were chanted; Lomahungwa and Siviletstiwa shook mosililis (shell rattles), the others waved eagle feathers to the time of the singing.

First song: Tuwahoyniwa stands and waves two long buzzard wing feathers up and down to the time of the singing, throwing a pinch of ashes on them at intervals, dusting it off towards the door six times.

Second song: Tuwahoyniwa takes meal from the tray and rubs four meal lines on the four walls of the house, first on the north, then on the west, south and finally on the east wall, and also between the white and black and blue and red corn-ears on the floor. He then takes a seat with the others and also shakes a shell rattle.

Third song: Qōmaho sprinkles some sacred meal and corn-pollen along the old makwanpis into the bowl and then throws the small stone lying by the side of the makwanpi into the bowl.

Fourth song: Qōmaho picks up the old makwanpis again, sprinkles meal and pollen along them and then throws the old small nakwakwosis, that have been lying by the side of the makwanpis, into the bowl, each time whistling into the bowl with an eagle bone whistle.

Fifth song: Qōmaho wipes the chewed roots from the corn-ears, one after another, into the medicine bowl. During a brief pause Qōmaho picks up all the ears of corn and holds them, points downward, into the medicine bowl. Talasnōmtiwa picks up two of the old makwanpis, holds them horizontally on two sides of the corn-ears, grasping at the same time the rim of the bowl with both hands, and then the

Sixth song is intoned, during which Qōmaho asperges with each corn-ear into the air, beginning with the yellow one which he replaces to the north side of the bowl and then with the rest in the usual order. Qōmaho's meal tray was placed towards Lomahungwa who sprinkled meal towards the bowl. Qōmaho asperges, and then the

Seventh song commences. Lomahungwa now sprinkles meal along each corn-ear into the medicine bowl. Qōmaho asperges.

Eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh songs: Nothing occurred except occasional asperging by old Qōmaho with the usual aspergill, which

consists of a hollow stick about seven inches long with feathers at one end and wound with twine. When the last song was ended all said kwakwai, (thanks!), held a pinch of meal to their lips, whispered a prayer, and sprinkled the meal into the bowl and on the tray with the offerings. All then smoked, whereupon Lomahungwa uttered a short prayer, to which the others responded by saying, kwakwai (thanks!) which ends the ceremony.

This may perhaps be a proper place to state that most of the songs of the Flute societies are chanted in a language which is no longer understood by the Hopi. Some were in the Hopi language. On several occasions the men had great difficulty to sing the songs, in fact had to stop and repeat parts of the song several times. They complained that their best singer was not there. These facts may account for the uneven number of songs. In my opinion there should be either twelve or sixteen.

The altar was now dismantled. Qōmaho poured out the water from the medicine bowl and took out the sand; Tuwahoyniwa tied up the corn-ears, Lomahungwa made four small balls and one bigger one of sweet-corn meal, into which he mixed the food for the sun already mentioned, and wrapped them in a blanket. He also used some honey. Whether he mixed this with the food balls or put it into a corn-husk, to be used by the depositor of the balls, escaped my observation. These balls, as well as all the bahos and other prayer offerings, were later carried to different, more or less distant, shrines and springs, but most of them to the Tawa-ki (Sun Shrine) on a mesa about four miles south-east of Oraibi, where hundreds of prayer offerings in all stages of decay may be seen. Lomahungwa reserved one baho and some corn-meal for his field.

It might be of interest to state also to what clans the participants of this brief ceremony belonged. As far as I have recorded it, this clan relationship is as follows:

Batki (Water-house) clan: Lomahungwa (chief priest), Sivinōmtiwa, Siviletstiwa.

Honani (Badger) clan: Qōmaho.

Piva (Tobacco) clan: Masaveima.

Kele (Sparrow Hawk) clan: Tuwahoyniwa, Talasnōmtiwa.

Ishawuu (Coyote) clan: Nakwahoyoma.

Honawuu (Bear) clan: Shakhungoma.

All these clans belong, of course, to certain groups of clans with which they are directly related. Thus the Batki (Water-house) Pihkash (Young Corn), Omawu (Cloud) and others belong to a group, or phratry. The Kele is closely related to the Atōka (Crane), Batang (Squash) and

others. But there seems to be no word in the Hopi language to designate such a group, just as there is no name for family, society, etc. The Hopi says "Nu Batki wungwa, Kel wungwa, etc." I am Water-house (clan) member, Sparrow Hawk (clan) member; or Plural: Itam Hanan, Hon nyamu. We are Badger, Bear (clan) members; or he will speak of his wife and children (not family); or say, Nu Tcōb wimkya¹ or Tcōwuu, I am an Antelope (fraternity) member, or Antelope (not I belong to the Antelope society). Questions like: How many families, clans, fraternities, etc., are in the village? could not be asked in a direct way.

A certain rather complicated relationship also exists between clans belonging to different phratries. This, as well as the direct relationship, is recognized and expressed in all ceremonies when two or more participants engage in smoking, and the pipe is passed from one to another.² It then frequently occurs that an aged priest will say to a much younger member: "My father," "My uncle," or even "My grandfather," and vice versa. This seems to be determined, at least partly, by the priority or age of the different gentes. In this ceremony this exchange of relationship was at a certain grouping for a "smoke" as follows:

Lomahungwa (Water-house) to Masaveima (Tobacco): My younger brother; ans: My elder brother.

Tuwahoyniwa (Sparrow Hawk) to Lomahungwa (Water-house): My child; ans: My father.

Siviletstiwa (Water-house) to Tuwahoyniwa (Sparrow Hawk): My younger brother; ans: My elder brother.

Talasnōmtiwa (Sparrow Hawk) to Siviletstiwa (Water-house): My younger brother; ans: My elder brother.

Nakwahoyoma (Coyote) to Talasnōmtiwa (Sparrow Hawk): My child; ans: My father.

Qōmaho (Badger) to Nakwahoyoma (Coyote): My child; ans: My father.

Lomahungwa (Water-house) to Qōmaho (Badger): My child; ans: My father.

Masaveima (Tobacco) to Tuwahoyniwa (Sparrow Hawk): My father; ans: My child.

With the Hopi this clan relationship is of more importance than the blood relationship. Usually, if one asks several Hopi how they are related to one another, they will give their clan relationship, in the same way as described in connection with ceremonial smoking, without, however, mentioning the respective clans.

¹ Wimkya, pl. Wiwimkya, refers to membership in a society or fraternity; wungwa, pl. nyamu, to clan membership. It would be as erroneous to use nyamu to designate a group of clans or a phratry as it would be to use wiwimkya for society or fraternity.

² Such exchange of relationship is also frequently observed where one participant of a ceremony hands prayer offerings or other religious and ceremonial objects to another

THE SUMMER CEREMONY OF THE BLUE FLUTE SOCIETY.

JUNE 12, 1901.

This brief ceremony took place in the ancestral home of this society. The following of the older members of the order took part in the ceremony:

Lomáyeshitiwa, Mokáhtiwa, Wúngvniima, Náashashtiwa, Naóshi, Qōyábuya and Taláswungvuúma. All had prepared a number of prayer offerings of different kinds which were placed in three different trays as follows:

1. Four artificial ears of corn, made of old cottonwood roots, each about four and one-half inches long and about one and one-quarter inches thick, rounded at one end and all painted white. The first had yellow dots, the color of the north; the second green, the color of the west; the third black, the color of above;¹ the fourth white (a slightly different shade than the body of the object), the color of the east (see Plate LVI).

2. Four flat slabs about five and one-quarter inches long, two inches wide and about half an inch thick (see Plate LVI). I have been repeatedly told that these slabs which are also used in other ceremonies represent fields. They are called tochkwa (land or field).

3. One so-called wonawika representing a wooden sickle or knife, such as the Hopi are said to have used in olden times, four and one-quarter inches long, one and one-half inches wide and one-half inch thick (see Plate LVI).

4. Four pikawikis, four by one by one-half inches. As far as I can find out these represent food for the cloud deities. In other ceremonies they are sometimes made of gourd shells or even of corn-meal dough (see Plate LVI).

5. Five black prayer sticks (chochokpis) about six inches long, pointed at the lower end. To each one was attached a turkey feather, a sprig of kunya, and one of maōvi,² a small corn-husk pocket, containing corn-meal, honey and a small duck feather, which was suspended by a cottonwood string.

6. A small ring made of wipo (cat-tail grass) about three inches in diameter, to which was also fastened a small duck feather nakwakwosi (see Plate LVI).

¹ It seems that these spots should have been red, the color of the south, but I have frequently observed such apparent inaccuracies in detail in the preparation of ceremonial objects, arrangement of altars, etc.

² *Artemisia frigida* and *Gutierrezia Euthamiae* Torr. & Gray.

7. A cylinder consisting of a stick of cottonwood root, two and one-half inches long and about one inch thick, the body of which was painted black, the ends green. To the centre of this was attached a duck feather nakwakwosi (see Plate LVI).

8. Four double green sun bahos (prayer-sticks) about six inches long, to each of which two eagle breath feather nakwakwosis were attached.

9. Two single warrior bahos. They are about six inches long and are painted red. To each one was attached, at the upper end, a short eagle wing feather, instead of the usual turkey feather; to the lower end an eagle breath feather nakwakwosi.

10. A lot of common nakwakwosis of turkey, eagle and hawk feathers which were made by the different men, but just how many by each one was not recorded, nor do my notes state just who participated and to what extent in the preparation of all the above named objects.

Just what disposition was made of all these objects could not be observed as the different shrines and springs, where they were deposited, were much scattered and some of them several miles away. But from other observations and information obtained the sun bahos and probably the war baho and some nakwakwosis were taken to some Tawa-ki (Sun Shrine), some prayer offerings to Lânva (Flute Spring) west of Oraibi, and probably to Achamali, a shrine north of the village; the wooden objects to Sikakwu Baho-ki, an old shrine on the mesa about four miles east of the village.

V. FOUR HOPI TALES

BY

H. R. VOTH.

1. THE GIRL THAT WAS SAVED BY THE WREN.¹

In Oraibi (they) lived. At the place where now Kohtutwa (Found Wood) lives, lived a man, his wife and their daughter. It was winter and there was snow. The parents wanted to go and get wood, and said to their daughter, that she should prepare food for them. But after they had left, the girl played all day in a corner of the house and the steps with sheep bones, which were people and for whom she built a house, talking to them all day. So when her parents returned in the evening they found nothing to eat and the mother had to get fire and prepare a meal herself. She was tired and angry. The next morning they went after wood again, and again told the girl to prepare food for them. "But you must do it this time," the mother said, "because I shall be tired." But when they returned in the evening they found their daughter still playing at the same place. The mother was very angry. When she had laid down the wood she grabbed the girl by the belt, tore it off, tore off her dress and then threw her through a hatch-way into a lower room, covering the hatch-way with the stone cover. When they were eating late the father asked where their daughter was, since she had not come in. "Why, she has gone somewhere," the mother said "because she has not come in." The parents finally went to sleep. The girl in her lower room hunted for a blanket and finally found a small one in which she wrapped herself up and also went to sleep. In the morning the parents again went after wood without asking for their daughter. She staid in the room all day and slept there again the next night, the parents going after wood again the following morning. Thus the girl remained in the room three days and three nights. On the morning of the fourth day she was very hungry, as she had not eaten anything for a long time. She was very tired and was lying down. In the north wall was a small opening. All at once she saw something sitting in the opening. It came in and when the girl looked up she saw it jumping up and down on the floor, leave the room, and come back again. It was a Tūchvo (Wren). Finally the Wren came close to her and said "Alas! that you are here that way; but just continue here that way, I shall go and hunt something for you." The Wren soon returned with a string of ears of sweet corn. "Here, eat this," the bird said, "and then you must go out and

¹ Compare tale No. 15, page 71, in "The Traditions of the Hopi" by H. R. Voth, published by The Field Museum.

come to the gap north-east of the village, where I shall be waiting for you." The girl ate the corn and then removing the stone cover from the hatch-way, climbed out. Her parents were eating their morning meal near the fire-place. She was using the little blanket as a loin cloth. She passed her parents and went out. "Where are you going?" her father said. "Oh my, that you did not tell me about yourself." The girl went down and around the east side of the village. "Don't go away," her mother said. The girl proceeded, weeping as follows:

Hao inguu!
 Oh my mother!
 Um nui mâva, mâva
 You me refused, refused
 Owata, kwâwata,
 Bridal robe, (and) belt.
 Um nui mâva, mâva,
 You me refused, refused.

The people on the housetops saw her, and some were angry. All at once they saw the Kokoshori Katcina meet the girl, take her on his back, and take her away. The Wren had sent the Katcina. In a little while they came upon a batu-vota (water shield) which they mounted. They were then carried away to Kishiwuu where they arrived in a little while. They came to a spring which was the door to their kiva. This door the Kokoshori opened and they entered. The Hahaii Wuhti lived there with the Kokoshori, and beside her very many Kalcinas. It was winter, but they fed the girl water-melons, muskmelons, roasting ears, etc. When they had eaten, all the Kalcinas danced all day and were very happy, because the Kokoshori had now a child. They brought much sweet-corn and gave it to the girl. Every evening they had a dance. At last the girl had grown up to be a maiden.

The Kokoshori often went to Oraibi and saw that the girl's mother was very homesick. She did not go anywhere, but was lying down all the time. One time the Kokoshori said to the maiden "Your mother is very lonely and is crying. We shall take you to her." The girl cried and did not want to go. But the Kalcinas said they would pity her and visit her sometimes. One time all the Kalcinas dressed up and took the maiden to the village. When they arrived they danced at the place where the Wikolapi kiva now is. While they danced some of the women recognized the maiden and told her mother. The latter would not believe it. "My daughter is gone," she said.

Her hair was all tangled up, as she had not combed it for a long time. The Katcinas then danced north of the village. The father said, "May be it is her. I shall go and see." He looked and saw that it was their daughter. He was very happy. He at once made bahos and nakwakwosis. When he was done he went down and gave them to the Katcinas.

2. HOW A LITTLE TURTLE DECEIVED THE COYOTE.

At Sakwa-vayu (Blue Water), near Winslow, some people were living. In the river lived many Turtles. Near by lived the Coyote. He coveted the Turtles, and was wondering where they lived. He hunted all around the village, but could find only some turtle shells. He took some of them in his mouth and went away. Approaching the river he heard some one cry. He came near and saw a short distance from the river, in the shade of some brush, a small Turtle which drew itself into its shell when he approached.

The Coyote came close by, took the Turtle into his mouth, turned it over and said: "So it was you that said something here." "Yes," the Turtle replied. "What did you say?" the Coyote asked. "I cried," the Turtle answered. "Why?" the Coyote asked. "You sang nicely. Sing for me again." "Oh no, I cried," the Turtle said. "But you must sing again. You sang so nicely. If you don't, I shall devour you." "But I do not want to. My mother has gone away, and therefore I cried. I shall not cry for you again." "Very well, I shall devour you then." "All right, that will not hurt me." "I shall throw you on the hot ground." "Very well, that will not hurt me." "Well now, why do you not want to sing? If you refuse I shall throw you into the water." "Paiu, (oh my), do not do that, for I shall then die at once." The Coyote then rushed at the Turtle, grabbed it and threw it into the water. When it reached the water the Turtle exclaimed, "Ali! (good)! This is my house," stretched its feet and head, dived down, came up again, and swam away. "Oh my!" the Coyote exclaimed, "Why did I not devour it?" And on that account the turtles still live in the water.

3. THE LITTLE LOCUST HUNTER.

In all the villages the people were living: in Shongopavi, Oraibi, Shupaulavi, Mishongnovi, Walpi, Sichcomovi, and Hano. The Hopi relished locusts very much and hunted them in the fields. There was some shiwahpi (*Chrysothamnus Howardii* Torrey, Gray) at one place,

and on top of one of the brushes sat a locust, and a boy wanted to capture the locust. The locust was singing the following song:

Mahu, mahu, mahu, mahu,
Locust, locust, locust, locust.

Lâlena, lâlena, lâlena, lâlena,
Flutes, flutes, flutes, flutes.

Shiwap chokit, ovek chokiokango,
On (the) sage (?) he sits, on top he is sitting,

Lâlena, lâlena,
Flutes, flutes,

Aapiyo hongiomakang,
Off, being fleet.

Rup! (Imitation of the noise of the wings).

As he was singing the word "rup," he flew away. When he flew away the boy, not being quick enough, was very sorry. "Aya!" he said, because he had not caught him.

Told by Lomáventiwa.

4. TRADITION ABOUT SEVERAL MISHONGNOVI CLANS.

The Batki clan and Sand clan come from Palatkwabi. The Sand clan is also called Snake and Lizard clan, because the snakes and lizards live in the sand. When traveling they sometimes halted, and the Sand clan would spread sand on the ground and plant corn. The Batki clan would sing and thereby cause it to thunder and to rain, and the crop would grow in a day, and they would have something to eat. At Homolovi (Winslow) they lived a long time. They brought with them the Soyal Yunga, the Lagon Yunga, and the Soyal Katcina. They then went to Aokatovi. Here the people did not want them, and hence they moved on to Mishongnovi, where they found the Bear, Parrot, and Crow clans. They were asked what they knew to produce rain and crops. They spread the sand and made corn grow, whereupon they were welcomed and their leader was made the chief of the village.

The spring Toreva was then very small. But the Batki clan had brought from the Little Colorado river mud, grass and water in mung-

wikurus (netted gourd vessels). This they put into the spring and that increased the flow of the water. Formerly there was also much grass around it when there were fewer burros than there are now. The Bear clan had the Antelope altar, the Parrot and the Crow clans the Blue Flute cult. The Crane and the Eagle clans had the position of the Village crier and the Drab Flute cult. The Batki were admitted to the Antelope and Blue Flute fraternities, and hence, the narrator said, he makes the cloud symbols in the ceremony of the Blue Flute society.

After that the Pihkash (Young Corn-Ear) or Kaō (Corn-Ear) clan came from the east, from the Pueblos, Sikánakpu thinks. According to him the earlier clans came to Mishongnovi as follows:

1. The Parrot and Crow clans who had the Blue Flute cult and the village chief.

2. The Bear clan who brought the Antelope altar, now used in the Snake ceremony.

3. The Crane and Eagle clans, who brought the Drab Flute and Marau cult and had the Village crier.

4. The Kacina clan with the Kacinas.

5. The Sand clan with the Lagon, Soyol and Snake cult.

6. The Batki clan. These had no altar, but controlled the water and helped to make it rain.

7. The Young Corn-Ear clan. These had no altar of their own, but brought a better quality of corn and made the corn grow.

Before the Batki people came, the corn was very small. They made it rain and so it grew large. The Pihkash clan brought better and larger corn with them.

Told by Sikánakpu.

VI. HOPI MARRIAGE RITES ON THE WEDDING
MORNING

BY

H. R. VOTH.

HOPI MARRIAGE RITES ON THE WEDDING MORNING.

As the heading indicates this brief sketch does not intend to describe, even briefly, an entire Hopi marriage ceremony, which includes different preparations, rites, etc., running through several months.¹ It simply gives the proceedings and rites of the morning of the wedding day proper, after which the contracting parties are considered married, subsequent observances and customs (that still form a part of the entire marriage ceremony) notwithstanding.

The author was well acquainted with the young people and all that were present. The wedding took place in Oraibi in the home of the groom's uncle and aunt, his parents having died long before. This aunt was the sister of the village chief, and of the chief priest of the Soyal fraternity, who at the same time was also a member of various other societies. She is probably the most important woman of the village, and I have seen her figure very conspicuously in different secret religious ceremonies, especially in the Soyal and Marau. When her sister, the mother of the groom, died years ago, she adopted all the orphan children, I think seven in number, and was to them a real mother. She had no children of her own. Her husband is also one of the prominent men of the village and of the Soyal society.

The marriage took place on March 1, 1904, and the following persons were present:

Taláskwaptiwa, Tawa (Sun) clan, stepfather of the groom.

Pungnyánōmsi, Honawu (Bear) clan, stepmother of the groom.

Sívânka, Ishawuu (Coyote) clan, mother of the bride.

Nakwámōsi, Ishawuu (Coyote) clan, grandmother of bride on mother's side.

Sákwēmōsi, Ishawuu (Coyote) clan.

Báyamka, Ishawuu (Coyote) clan.

Nuvávânka, Ishawuu (Coyote) clan.

Kiwánhoynōm, Ishawuu (Coyote) clan.

Mōsínōmka, Tuwa (Sand) clan.

Nasíngyaonōm, Honani (Badger) clan, grandmother of bride on father's side.

Honánmana, Ishawuu (Bear) clan.

¹See the author's "Oraibi Marriage Customs," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. II, April-June, 1900.

Kiwánhongka, Ishawuu (Bear) clan, opened bride's hair.

Mótooma, Ishawuu (Bear) clan, groom.

Tobángyamsi, Ishawuu (Coyote) clan, bride.

We proceeded to the house at four A. M. The mother and the grandmother of the bride (the latter on the mother's side) just arrived. The inhabitants of the house were still abed, but all said that they had been waiting for us. The bride slept at the home of the parents (step-parents in this case) of her future husband, where she had been taken by her mother three days previously, and had ground corn during that time. Pungnyanömsi, the groom's aunt (mother) at once got some sticks of wood from outside and built a fire in the fire-place in one of the corners of the room, another fire having already been built in the stove. Both mothers then took their places near the fire-place where they commenced to make suds in two large bowls of yucca plant roots that were first mashed by stones, Nasingyaonöm and the sister of Pungnyanömsi taking a place beside them. Several of the women were sitting on the west wall, near the stove. While the two women were preparing the suds, Kiwanhongka opened the bride's hair. At about half past four Motooma came in. The couple then knelt on a pelt before the two bowls, the bride before the bowl of her future mother-in-law, and the groom before that of his future mother-in-law. The two women then commenced to wash the heads of the couple, but in this all the women participated. Usually the hair of the young couple is then washed thoroughly together in each bowl, and this hair washing, and especially the washing of the two heads in the same bowl, is said to be the "crucial moment" in which the two are supposed to "become one." In this case, as also in others where the groom's hair had been cut, this mutual washing was dispensed with, which caused some remarks, teasing and laughter, and the suggestion whether he could really be considered as having been married. After they were through, another woman came in and the bridegroom had to come forward and submit to another washing. He was in his usual working clothes and the bride was robed in an atöe (white ceremonial blanket with red and blue border).

When they were through the young man seated himself on the west side of the room quite a little distance from the stove, while the bride seated herself behind and close to the stove. Pungnyanömsi got a bowl into which the suds were poured and carried it out later on. There were present in all about eleven women, the husband of Pungnyanömsi being the only man present. The father of the bride usually does not come until later.

After the bowls had been emptied and fresh water poured into them

Pungnyanōmsi took off the atōe of the bride and invited her to come to the bowl again, where the upper part of her body was bathed, the bride washing her arms herself. The bridegroom somewhat protested saying the water was too cold. He seemed to be at first embarrassed to take off his shirt, and so the women suggested that he go outside and take a bath there, which I have also observed in other cases. Several women again assisted in the bathing of the bride, also washing her feet after they had bathed the upper part of her body and her arms. It took quite a while before the young man could make up his mind to submit to the bathing. He protested, saying that the water was too cold, he had taken a bath the previous evening, etc.; but finally, after being encouraged on all sides, he cast off his shirt, knelt down at his bowl, then all the women participated in rubbing his body thoroughly. The delay was accompanied by a good deal of joking and hilarity on the part of the women. While he was being bathed his bride was again sitting behind the stove drying her hair. The second addition of the water was again poured into the tin pail.

As soon as the bathing was over all the women left except the mother of the bride and Kuktiwa's wife. At about five o'clock, as soon as the hair of the young people was somewhat dry, Pungnyanōmsi handed them a pinch of corn-meal, whereupon they went outside and sprinkled the corn-meal towards the dawn that was appearing in the east. They did this standing on the edge of the house, instead of going to the edge of the mesa as is usually the case. When they came in Pungnyanōmsi put some meal into a bowl which the young bride commenced to knead. When she was through she made piki of this dough, and then assisted in the preparing of the morning meal which is really the wedding feast and for which other friends and relatives, also the bride's father came in.

After this feast cotton was distributed to the friends and relatives of the young couple as usual, who then prepare, during the following six to eight weeks, the bridal costume which is used in another part of the general marriage ceremony.