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THE HOPI - PART II

CLAN LEGENDS
MIGRATIONS OF THE RATTLESNAKE CLAN

When all the race of human beings emerged from the lower world at Sípapuni,[1] the tribes scattered, each going in the direction it chose. The Cougars and Doves proceeded northward along the east side of the cañon, and on a high mesa at Tokonabi[2] they built a village of stone houses, and called it Tokóna.

One day the son of the Cougar chief stood looking down at the rushing river, and he began to wonder whither all this water went. With such a volume constantly flowing into it, a place should soon become full, and overflow. He decided to find that place and ascertain why it did not overflow. When he mentioned the plan to his father, the chief said, "My son, you cannot go."

"Yes, but I must find whither this water goes."

"When, then, will you start?"

"I shall start in four days," said the youth. "Now I am going to devise something in which to travel. I want my sisters to prepare food for my journey, and you must make pahos."

Then the youth descended to the stream and found a large cottonwood log, which he hollowed out with fire and provided with a round door for each end. His father summoned the head men and they prepared pahos, and on the fourth day the chief's son placed in the hollow log his food and his pahos, a gourd full of water, and a short, pointed stick which his father had given him with the advice that if the log became stranded he should prod its side in order to cause it to start on. While his sisters and the people wept, he entered the log, and from the inside he sealed the doors with piñon-gum. The men rolled it into the stream, and it drifted away and soon disappeared.

For many days the log was carried onward, but at last it stopped and failed to move when he prodded the side with his stick. Cau-

1 Located by the informant in the Grand cañon above El Tovar hotel.

2 Somewhere above Lee's ferry.

tiously, little by little, he opened the door, and no water entered. He removed the door altogether, and found himself on the edge of a great expanse of water, where the waves had cast him up. Then he crept out, and said to himself: "I wonder where I shall go? It is my own fault that I am here alone. But I will do the best I can." He beheld a ladder projecting from the middle of the ocean, and he said to himself, "I wonder if that is the place to which I am going?" He opened his bundle of pahos, selected the one that had been made for the person who lived in the ocean, and fastened it to his belt. He made a ball of meal and cast it toward the ladder. It rolled away over the water, straight to the ladder, down which it disappeared. Behind it the waters divided, and on this path the youth proceeded to the ladder, dry of foot. A voice invited him to descend, and in a moment he found himself in a kiva, in the presence of an old woman who merely remarked, "Have you come?"

"Yes," he answered.

"You arrived a long time ago," she said, "but you did not know it. I am Hûzûin-wûhti ['shells woman']."

The youth gave her the paho, saying: "This is for you. My father made it for you."

"Thank you!" she said. "Nobody has made for me anything like this for a long time, and I am very glad to have it."

Soon the ladder began to shake, and a handsome man came down with many pahos and much cornmeal, all of which he gave to the woman, who sorted out the pahos, muttering to herself, "This is for good crops, and this is for rain, this for children, this for game." Some she angrily threw aside, because they had been planted for evil [that is, for sorcery].

Now the Sun spoke to the youth: "For a long time it has been your desire to come, and now you are here. You must look closely, and heed what I say. Your father has made these pahos for Nánanivo-monwituyu ['world-regions chiefs]. It will be that there will be plentiful crops, and all will be well with your people. It is a long time you have been travelling, and the people are growing anxious. You must go home. I will take the rest of these pahos to those for whom your father made them, to those who live underground. You have seen what I brought. I have brought pahos for both good and evil, and you have seen the scalps I brought. There has been a fight this day, and I am always the first one

in any battle: I get the first scalp, and after that the warriors may take scalps. People who ask for good, for long life, for good crops, and everything that is good, shall always ask in the morning, and people who ask for the bad shall always ask at any time of the day, at noon or at evening. These bad things I have sometimes granted."

Then the Sun descended through the floor of the kiva, and on the following morning Hûzûin-wûhti told the youth that he would find his home by directing his course to a certain mountain in the north. So he returned to the shore over a path made by casting another ball of meal, and started northward, following the river.

Now when he arrived at the foot of the mountain in the north, he came upon many rattlesnakes lying everywhere. He stopped and inquired if they would harm him, and when they assured him they would not, he went on, picking his way among them. More and more numerous they became, and on the top of the mountain he was compelled to tread on many of them. At the very peak of the mountain he found a ladder, and descending it he beheld many people, relatives of the reptiles he had seen on the mountain. The chief said: "You are a man! You have entered our home. You are the only one who has ever done so."

"I do not know," he said. "I do not think I am a man. But you are men."'

They gave him a smoke, and, having finished, he told them that Hûzûin-wûhti had sent him to ask their aid in getting home. But they said: "We are not the ones to grant this. We are only the guards. We guard our chief, who is below." So they allowed him to pass down another ladder,and there was Ísanavaiya, the Rattlesnake chief, sitting alone. He looked up and demanded: "How is it that you have come? How is it that my guards have admitted you? You must be a man!"

"No, I do not think I am a man. I have come a great distance, and I will have a hard time returning home. I do not know how to find food, and I come to you for help."

Then the chief taught him the Snake ceremony and the songs, and sent him up the ladder. In the upper room he found a girl prepared for the journey, and the two started northward, the Rattlesnake girl carrying food in a bundle on the top of her head. She never ate with the young man, and whenever his food gave out, she would remove her belt and shake her body, and food would fall down from it. For

the Rattlesnake people had food under each overlapping scale of their bodies.

After years of travelling they reached Tokonabi, and in due time the girl gave birth to many little rattlesnakes, and, though they were reptiles, the people were fond of them. But when the rattlesnakes bit some of the children[3] the people became angry and departed southward, leaving the rattlesnakes behind.[4] At every camp, as they journeyed, they erected the Snake altar and sang for rain, and the rain always came. After a long time they arrived at the village Wûko-ki ["great house"], where the Lamáti dance was in progress, and here they met other wanderers, the Squash people and the Flute people, and the two bands united.

From Wûko-ki a runner Tsámaheya went eastward in search of people, who, it was rumored, had emerged from the earth in that quarter. He reached the mountains in the east, and, going to the top to look for signs of people, he found two little boys playing shinny. These were the war gods Pökán-hoya ["— little"] and Palönao-hoya ["echo little"]. In reply to their questions he said: "I am searching for people. But I am exhausted. Can you help me?" Although they assured him they were no better travellers than he, going always on foot and driving their shinny-balls before them, they said they would ask their brother, meaning Arrow, the Arrow feathered with feathers from the wings of a bluebird. They shot an arrow southward, and it travelled far onward to an inhabited place, and there thrust itself into the ground.

"Somebody has come!" shouted the people, and they gathered around. "I am searching for people," explained Arrow. "Our elder brother has been going about, but he has become exhausted and I am travelling for him."

The people said: "We have just come out from the underworld,

3 Cf. a similar incident in Volume II.

4 The assumed historical basis of these mythic events is, of course, the acquisition by the Cougar youth of a Rattlesnake wife, probably, as Fewkes has suggested, a nomadic Shoshonean woman. Her offspring composed the Rattlesnake clan, The traditionist, disregarding these historical facts, if such they are, abandons himself to the mythical, and represents her offspring as mere reptiles from which the people fled. As a matter of fact the Rattlesnakes accompanied the others from Tokonabi.

and we are waiting for instructions from our chief." They sat in a circle about their chief, who was a Kachina. Then the chief uttered the cry of a Kachina and motioned with his head toward the northwest, and the people said, "By the gesture of our chief, we are going toward the place from which your elder brother has come." Then the Arrow took the message to Tsámaheya, who at once started homeward; but at Akúka-vi-tûqi ["Acoma place mountain" - Mesa Encantada] he stopped, and lived with the people there.

When the people at Wûko-ki, after waiting long realized that Tsámaheya would not return, they sent Antelope to find him. By following his trail Antelope discovered him at Akúka-vi-tûqi; but Tsámaheya declared that he would remain there, and said that when the people were holding the Snake ceremony they should beat on the floor and he, hearing the sound, would come to help them bring rain.[5]

In company with the Flute and the Squash people, the clans from Tokonabi departed from Wûko-ki, and near Oraibi wash they divided, the Squash clan founding Mûnyá-ovi, near the present Oraibi, and Chukubi. The Flute clan went eastward and settled at Lengyaobi [about thirty miles northeast of Walpi], while the clans from Tokonabi continued their march eastward. Midway between East and Middle mesas they established a village.

One day footprints were discovered in the sand, and the chief, searching among the rocks that were piled up on that part of the mesa now occupied by the central houses of Walpi, found there a man, a tall, handsome man living alone. This was Másôu. He said he had long been wishing that people might come, and promised to visit their village on the following day. The next morning the people saw Másôu start from the foot of the mesa on the west side, masked, carrying a short club filled with all kinds of seeds. When he neared the village, he ran toward the people and threw his club over their heads, in order to frighten them, but they stood fast, unafraid; and the chief ran to him and embraced him. Then Másôu told of a vow he had made, that if

5 The asperger in the Snake ceremony bears the official title Tsámaheya. At one point in the rites the mythical Tsámaheya is called upon in the Keres language, the tongue spoken by the Acoma people.

they proved to be people of courage, they should have his land.[6] "This will be the first and the last meeting between us," he said. "From this time on I shall be invisible. I go below, but I shall always live here." Then he left them and from that time he was invisible, except that very rarely he has been seen dimly at night.

Not long after this the people moved toward the mesa and built the village Kuchaptuvela on the northern side of the terrace below the present Walpi. Later they built Kisakobi on a slightly higher level, and after the destruction of the Spanish priests [in 1680] they founded Walpi on the very top of the mesa.

MIGRATIONS OF THE HORN CLAN

The Horn people were living in the north, and wishing to find a better country they moved southward across Colorado river, [7] and arrived at Tokonabi, where people already were living. After a time all the clans moved southward and settled at Wûko-ki; later the Horn clan separated from the others and founded the village Mûnkap-ki ["small-stream house"].[8] But as the region was too restricted in its cultivable area, they started up the cañon seeking a new country, and for a time lived at a place on Oraibi wash, now marked by an unnamed ruin. But the place was even less adapted to raising large crops, being surrounded by piñon-covered hills, and they removed to Lengyaobi [about thirty miles northeast of the present Walpi], there joining the Flute people. They remained in that place for some years, but the country was hilly, without valley land, so they travelled on one day's journey to Qásta-pa, a spring about two miles north of Wípho spring. All along this journey they had been sending out the Deer, their runner, to scout for a good home. From Qásta-pa the Deer travelled southward and ran all around the mesa on which Walpi now stands, and returning to the people he

6 The Rattlesnake clan holds a strip of land extending from the mesa to the wash between East and Middle mesas.

7 At the point, says the narrator, indicated on maps as "Crossing of the Fathers," near the intersection of the Arizona-Utah boundary.

8 The small stream referred to is a wash at the foot of the knoll on which the ruin stands, near Moenkapi.

reported that the land was good. So they moved toward the mesa, and while they paused near the spring on the west side, their chief climbed up to ask the Bear chief, who was also the village chief, for permission to enter his village. The request was granted, and about the time of the morning meal the Horn people came along the trail toward the Gap.

On the small level space at the head of the trail they found the Bear chief and the Rattlesnake chief awaiting them behind a line of meal across the trail, which signified that they were not to enter. Then the Bear chief asked, "If you enter my village, what good will you do for us?"

"We will make rain for your crops," said the Horn chief.

Four times the Bear chief repeated his question, in order to make sure that the Horn chief was not deceiving him, and then he gave his permission for the newcomers to enter. The Horn-Flute people brought with them the Flute ceremony.

MIGRATIONS OF THE CLOUD CLAN

All the people were living in the underworld, but as there was scarcely room for all it was decided to come up to this world. Mótsini [a bird resembling the mockingbird] was sent up to seek light, and when he returned with the news that he had seen light and a roomy place, the people began to plant trees of different kinds, hemlock, oak, spruce, trying to produce one that would extend its branches into the upper world. But all failed. Then they planted a reed, which at last broke through the earth into the light.

Down at the base of the reed the Qán-wimi fraternity sang their songs, and during the singing the people were allowed to enter the reed and climb upward; but when it ceased, no more were permitted to leave. So thus the people began to climb upward inside the reed, stopping to camp at the successive nodes, and bringing with them the seeds of corn, beans, watermelons, and squashes. The place of emergence was far away in the south, and there they remained one season.

Yôpa ["mockingbird"] gave different languages to the people, and then in various parties they began to move away in various directions. Four divisions came northward in company: the Cloud, Lizard, Rab-

bit, and Sun[9] people. At frequent intervals the Lizard people would spread sand, and the Cloud men would sing over the seeds planted in it, and thus in one day crops were matured. After each harvest a stalk of corn held upright with its roots on the ground was permitted to fall, and the march was resumed in the direction thus indicated.

For many years they travelled before arriving at Palatkwabi ["red — place"], where they built permanent homes.[10] Here was good farming land, and the people lived well. But among the mountains in the east was a huge bird, which preyed upon them; and so many were carried off, especially of the young men and the girls, that at last the people secured the aid of the war gods, who destroyed the monster.

During the following four years the people lived peacefully. Then they became evil. Whenever they hunted rabbits they would quarrel about the game, and would cut rabbits in two - a bad omen. Also the young regarded not the aged, nor respected woman's virtue. When the Houses Chief could bear it no longer, he made a plan.

One night a moving light, far away, was seen to start toward the village. When it reached the plaza, it ran about the streets, and at various places where it stopped there was the sound of grinding stones and singing. After a while it rapidly retreated. On the following day a plan was made to catch the sorcerer, for the elders said that such a light portended bad luck; and after dark the men stationed themselves along the trail. But when the light came, their courage failed. A certain man however remained alone to watch, and when he had caught the sorcerer and the others had come running in answer to his cries for help, it was found that the light was caused by the fiery breath of the sorcerer. They removed the mask, which was like the rabbit-skin mask of Másôu, and the three Kachina masks that were beneath it, and there stood the son of their Houses Chief. At first he denied that there was evil in his work, but at last he explained that he was doing it to punish them for their base life. He told them to bury him alive in the centre

9 At Oraibi the Sun is said to be still a distinct clan, but at the other Hopi villages it has become incorporated with the Reed clan.

10 The narrator, Saqístiwa, identifies this traditional village with a ruin in Gila valley about west of San Carlos and south of Pinal peak, which mountain the Hopi call Qán-tûqi ("mescal mountain").

of the village with the tips of the four fingers of one hand projecting above the ground, and on each succeeding day to bend down one finger.

All this was in accordance with the plan of the Houses Chief, and all was carried out. But nothing happened until, on the fourth day when all were sleeping, the whole place was violently shaken, and water began to appear in the fireplaces and in the corners of the houses. It bubbled out all around the houses. For the man who had been buried alive had become Pá-lölökanû ["water bullsnake"], and when the Water Bullsnake moved in coming out of the ground, the earth was shaken. Now the people leaped up, gathered what few possessions they could lay their hands on, and fled. The very old people they laid on the shelves, thinking the water would not rise so high.

Soon the village was surrounded by water. In the morning a little boy and his young sister, accidentally left behind, awoke and looked out on the water. The boy secured some roasted corn, and thus provided the two started from the house. As they passed through the plaza, they saw the great Water Bullsnake floating on the water, and he spoke to them, "Wait, come to me."

"We cannot come near to you," they said, "for there is water all around."

"Have no fear, but come along. The water will recede before you."

And so it was: when they started toward the Water Bullsnake, the water receded, and they walked on the ground. They stood beside him, and he spoke again, " Follow the trail of your people."

"We cannot find it," said the boy.

"You can find it by noting the direction in which the grass they stepped on is inclined. Cut off a piece of my flesh." The Water Bullsnake directed the boy while he cut a piece of flesh from its side, and then said, "Use this with singing, and it will bring you rain."

Then the two children started on, following the trail of the people, and even as the Water Bullsnake had told them that the people would not have travelled very far, so it proved, for they overtook them at the first camp. On the first day after the establishment of this camp, two men had been sent back to note the condition at the village, and these men had found some houses already falling, and the abandoned elders were turkeys and buzzards roosting there on the shelves.

After the arrival of the children the people resumed their jour-

ney northward, frequently stopping to plant corn, which matured in a day under the influence of their singing. As in their migration to Palatkwabi, so now they determined the direction of their march by the falling of a cornstalk. Sometimes they stopped for only a day or two, sometimes for a few years. At last they built Homolobi [on the north bank of the Little Colorado a few miles east of the present Winslow]. In those days the valley was somewhat swampy, and there were many mosquitoes, and after some years so many children died from the bites of the insects that the people abandoned the village and proceeded northward. About a mile from Homolobi a pregnant woman, exhausted, was left behind, and she became the spirit Tíhkûyi, mother of all game animals. A walled-up shrine of this deity is still there, but is now fallen into disuse. At a small knoll in the valley, four miles south of East mesa, they built the village Pá-koi-tsomo.

After some years they started toward the mesa, and at the spring Anápöl-va near the foot of the cliff, the Firewood clan from the mesa met them and asked what they had for the general good. Though the newcomers replied that they could produce rain in summer and snow in winter, they did not receive permission to enter the village, and resumed their journey. Near Tawá-pa spring, not far from the mesa, they halted and sang their songs, and therefore in the ceremony of the Lakón-wimi the women now run from this place to the village.

From Tawá-pa the Cloud clan proceeded on up the valley, but before they had gone far a messenger from the Firewood people overtook them; and in reply to the repeated question, what they had for the common good, they set up their altar and performed their rain-making rites with the piece of the Water Bullsnake's flesh.[11] Then fell such a rain as had never been known in the valley, and lightning flashed in the sky. And the Cloud clan was invited to join the people of Walpi, which had already been established on the top of the mesa.

Besides the rites of the Lakón-wimi, the purpose of which is to

11 Fewkes has pointed out that the cult of the Water Bullsnake corroborates the testimony of the tradition, that these people came from the south. He identifies it with the snake cult of Mexico. The fact that these clans brought the winter solstice ceremony is also good evidence that they came from the south, the land of sun worship in this form. The Sun Priest is always of the Cloud clan.

produce rain, the Cloud people brought the winter solstice ceremony. Among those who arrived at Walpi in this group was Kötsa, the man who possessed the secret of maturing corn in a single day. He used to practise his magic on the bank of the wash east of the village, but with his death the secret was lost. The Cloud clan was the last to be incorporated among the people of Walpi, and it arrived after the destruction of Awatobi.[12]

MIGRATIONS OF THE TOBACCO CLAN

A great flood in the underworld made it impossible for the people to remain there, and it was decided to plant a hemlock and a spruce tree, which, growing upward, would break through the earth into the upper world. But instead of breaking through the crust, the tips of the trees bent downward, and the people then planted a large reed, the sharp point of which broke through. Then the people gathered around the base of the reed and climbed through its hollow stem; but at the top the passage was too small, and they sent back a messenger to Badger, who soon forced his way through to the surface and then dug away the earth from the tip of the reed, so that it spread laterally into a roomy passage. In the new world was light, but, as below, water was everywhere; so they implored Pökánhoya and Palönao-hoya, two little boys who had accompanied them from below, to devise means of draining the earth. The brothers directed them to feather some small arrows with the feathers of a bluebird [*tsózo*] and a robin [*mûzínyawû*], and shooting these tiny missiles into the great rocks that confined the water, they formed the Grand cañon [Pisis] through which the water soon drained off, leaving the earth soft and muddy. Then the brothers ground up many kinds of shells and hard pebbles, and spread the pow-

12 This opinion of the narrator is upheld by the fact that the Qán-wimi, a fraternity of the Cloud clan, stands apart by itself in many respects in the New Fire ceremony, as if it was a later accretion. The other three participating fraternities came from Awatobi, after the destruction of that village. That these three were the originators of the ceremony there is no question. This is indicated by the traditions of the Reed clan and by the fact that the ceremony is named from one of the three, while another plays the most important part in the rites.

der over the land, and the ground became hard and dry.

Five clans departed together: Tobacco, Firewood, Tûvis,[13] Reed, and Badger.[14] They passed to the south of San Francisco mountains, and at last built a village at Honû-vi ["juniper-shoots place"] among Hopi buttes.

After many years they moved onward and built Awatobi, where good crops were raised and food was abundant. They began to think of instituting ceremonies, and the three fraternities Tô-wimi, Wûwût-sim-wimi,and Ál-wimi were formed. Tapólo, Hóinniwa, and Sákuyeva were the respective chiefs. Among the women they organized two societies, Owákûl-wimi and Mazô-wimi.

At Palatkwabi [in Gila valley] were the Cloud, Rabbit, and Sun clans; at Tokonabi [on Colorado river] were the Rattlesnake and Horn clans; and at Wûko-ki were the Squash and Flute clans. At East mesa the only person was Másôu. Tapólo, chief of those at Awatobi, wished tomove to East mesa, but Sakuyeva, chief of the Ál-wimi fraternity, objected, because their own farming land in Jeditoh valley was good.

The daughter of Sákuyeva was a pretty girl, and all the young men desired her; but she refused all. In San Francisco mountains lived Álosaka, who, meeting her at a spring one day, received a drink from her. And as they talked, they fell in love, and she promised to come to him in four days. So she did, and a little later she brought her husband home.

Frequently now the people saw lights southward of San Francisco mountains. Each night they were closer, and the chiefs began to growuneasy; but Álosaka promised to help them on condition that all remain in their houses. The next day clouds covered the mountains, and there was a great cloudburst accompanied by a fall of hailstones as large as shinny-balls. When the flames in the south crept up to Hûkyát-vi [a small butte inthe valley near East mesa], Álosaka ran forth from the village and met the wall of fire. He ran his horn into the ground in the path of the flames and tore up the earth in a narrow furrow. There the fire stopped: it could not cross the furrow, and from this line to Awatobi the land was never burned, although all the rest of

13 *Tûvisala,* to censure. This clan is not mentioned in other traditions.

14 The statement does not agree with the legends of some other clans.

the country was seared by fire.[15]

Not long after this event a man seduced the wife of Álosaka, and he departed with their child, a boy of five years, after declaring that, although they had enjoyed abundant crops by his favor, thenceforth they would have to do without his aid. From that time their fields never produced more than enough for mere existence. It was at this time that people were beginning to settle at East mesa, and in response to a message from Tapólo some of them visited him. He had prepared certain sticks, one of which he gave to the Firewood clan as a token that the country in Keams cañon should be theirs for hunting eagles. To the Horn clan he assigned the valley north of Keams cañon; to the Bear clan the valley lying east and north of East mesa; to the Earth clan the country north of the Bear eagle preserve; and to the Corn and the Reed clans the Hopi buttes. His own eagle grounds were to be the country immediately about Awatobi. Then when the people began to use many eagle-feathers for pahos, crops became better and rabbits increased.

There was a kiva of sorcerers[16] at the east end of Awatobi, and at the west end was the kiva in which Tapólo was chief. In a race between the young men of the two kivas, from the west side of Awatobi down the valley to the midst of Hopi buttes and then up Jeditoh valley and back to Awatobi, the sorcerers were the winners; and Tapólo criticized his young men. But one of them, Patöska, angrily bade the chief cease his faultfinding. The old man was smoking. He said simply, "All right!" and continued to puff slowly. He finished his smoke,

15 This incident is perhaps inserted into the traditions to account for evidences of volcanic fires in the region; or it may be one of those touches, not infrequent in Indian traditions, which one is tempted to regard as dim recollections of actual events in the extremely early life of the people. The description of the slowly advancing fire might well apply to a flow of lava.

16 As Fewkes has suggested *(Seventeenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology,* 11, 605), this probably refers to the liberal faction, which welcomed the Spanish priests after the reconquest in 1692. The other Hopi towns - Walpi, Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi, and Oraibi - were united in hostility to the foreigners, and the conservative element at Awatobi, led by the chief Tapólo, appealed to them to punish the "sorcerers," as they called the devotees of the strange religion.

picked up his tobacco-bag, and left the kiva, and from that time he never reëntered it.

One day the men of the chief's kiva performed a Kachina dance, and members of the sorcerers' kiva played the clown. One of the Kachina clowns was pretending to be a sorcerer, and the other clowns pursued him among the spectators, who included visitors from the other three Hopi mesas. At last they caught him, and one of them grasped his hands, swung him about with his feet off the ground, and suddenly released his hands, and the clown fell violently to the ground. His Kachina mask fell off, and the clowns quickly threw a blanket over him to prevent his face from being seen by the people. When the mask falls from a Kachina dancer in a public place, the others make a mock attack on the clowns; so Sísivû, the Kachina chief, summoned all his young men to the kiva, where they hurriedly dressed, gathering up all the masks they could find. Meantime the clowns too were preparing for the fray, wrapping deerskins about their bodies for protection, and arming themselves with bows and arrows and clubs. About the middle of the afternoon the Kachinas climbed out of their kiva and rushed upon the clowns. In such instances the Kachinas whip the clowns, and if the latter defend themselves it is taken as a sign that they desire more whipping. Some one lost his temper, and the mock combat became a real battle, in which some were nearly killed. The visitors in fright ran away from the village, and the dance broke up in a row.

Not long after this there was a quarrel among the rabbit-hunters, who, disputing the possession of a rabbit, cut it in two parts, which is a very bad omen.

On account of all these evils [which of course were regarded as the result of the abandonment of the Hopi religion by the "sorcerers"] Tapólo sent a messenger to the chief of the Rattlesnake clan at Walpi, requesting him to destroy Awatobi. "I am a brave man," replied he, "but not for that reason will I consent to destroy Awatobi. I wish to increase the population, not to destroy it."

So the runner returned to Awatobi with the report that the Rattlesnake chief refused, and Tapólo sent a messenger to Oraibi with two small images, a male and a female figure. The Oraibi chief asked, "What is it?"

"I have come," said the messenger, "to ask if you will destroy Awatobi." He showed the two images, which represented the men

and women of Awatobi, bidding him take his choice. The land with the springs of Awatobi was to go with the images. The Oraibi chief selected the female image, signifying that he chose to take the women. After the runner had departed, the Oraibi chief summoned all his officials and informed them that he had consented to destroy Awatobi in exchange for all the females of that village, and the springs and the land. They at once disapproved his course, declaring that they could have no use for land so far away; and so the chief despatched a man to Awatobi with the female image.

Next a man was sent again to Walpi, this time to the Warrior Chief, who, it was thought, on account of his office would surely do what was desired. The Warrior Chief gave the messenger a smoke and inquired, "What is it?"

"I have come to ask if you will destroy Awatobi.

"That is my business," answered the chief, "and I will do it. How many of my people do you want?" He meant by this to ask how many of his warriors the Awatobi people expected to kill in the battle. The messenger replied: "There is nothing like that. We do not wish to kill any of your people. You will have all the women and girls, and the springs and the land for your payment."

"All right. I will do it. When do you wish me to come?"

"I will notify you later as to the time," said the messenger.

One day Tapólo went up the cañon into the Navaho country and requested the Navaho to receive his clanswomen, and after some talk they consented to do so. He directed them to build a signal fire at the appointed time, and then returned to Awatobi.

About midnight of the day set for the destruction of his people, Tapólo led his women outside the village, placed his *típoni* on the ground, strewed a line of meal in the direction they were to take, and bade them wait in the cañon until daylight and then make their way toward the column of smoke. So it was that the Tobacco women went into the Navaho country.[17] The chief took up his *típoni* and returned to the village, gathered up his valuables and a little food, and departed toward the north. In a little cañon near the spring Totövi he took ref-

17 It is well known that Háni, chief of the Tobacco clan at Walpi, is of mixed Navaho and Hopi descent.

uge among the rocks.

It was the season of the New Fire ceremony, and consequently all the males above infancy were passing the night in the kivas. Just before dawn the men of Walpi, accompanied by some from Mishongnovi and Oraibi, entered the town, bearing fagots of grease-wood, pitchy piñon, and dry juniper-bark. They crept up to the kivas, and at a signal drew up the ladders. Embers were quickly secured from the numerous pits in which *píkami* was baking, and blazing fagots, followed by armfuls of brushwood from the surrounding piles, were tossed into the kivas. Strings of red peppers were snatched from the walls and thrown upon the flames to add their pungent fumes to the suffocating smoke. Scarcely a man was left alive, and with the few male survivors and all the females and infants, the raiders set out toward Walpi.

At a small sandy knoll between Walpi and Mishongnovi they camped, because they thought it better not to enter their villages at night with so many prisoners. On the following day they killed and mutilated the men and some of the women, and after dividing the remaining captives among the men of Walpi, Mishongnovi, and Oraibi, the parties separated and proceeded homeward. This knoll is called Más-tsomo ["corpse knoll"].

When they had taken their departure from the raided village, Tapólo crept out of his hiding place in the cañon and went into Awatobi. There was a man left alive in a kiva. He called up to the chief, reproachfully: "Why are you waiting? They have gone. Why do you not go with them?" The chief answered, "The people are to blame for this, and they must bear it." Then he threw more wood down into the kiva and suffocated the man.

Tapólo remained four days in hiding, occasionally going to the ruined village. On the fourth day he began to wonder which way he should go. Should he follow his people? Should he go to Oraibi, to Mishongnovi? In the end he decided upon Walpi. He obtained water from the spring and set out westward. Not far from Awatobi he came upon the mutilated bodies of a man and a woman. Later he found four bodies similarly mutilated, and farther on, four more. It was now nearing sunset, and here he waited, for he wished to reach Walpi at night. At sunset he started again, and when he arrived at Walpi he went to the house of the Rattlesnake chief. Food was placed before him, and when he had eaten, he thanked the household, saying: "Thanks for

your food, which I have eaten. Now you may do to me what you wish. You may kill me, or you may find some way for me to live with you."

"Who are you?" demanded the Rattlesnake chief.

"It is I. I am from Awatobi."

"Move over into the light where I can see you."

When Tapólo had moved into the light, the other at once recognized him and declared, "I will not kill you, because you have already eaten my food."

Then Tapólo thanked him, and the chief filled his pipe and handed it to him, and Tapólo said, *"Í-naa* ['my father']." And the chief responded, "*Í-tii* ['my child']." Tapólo smoked the pipe, returned it to his host, and filled his own, giving it to the chief, who said, "*Í-naa.*" And Tapólo replied, "*Í-tii.*" After the Rattlesnake chief had smoked, Tapólo said: "I will help the people here. I possess the power of bringing rain., and thus making good crops." So he was admitted to Walpi with the understanding that he was to do everything in his power for the good of the people.

When it became known that the Rattlesnake chief had admitted Tapólo, there was apprehension that he would cause trouble, because he was believed to be a sorcerer. They said he was a "man of two talks." When Tapólo learned what they were saying about him, he assured the chief that he would never practise sorcery; and he complained that some of his accusers were themselves sorcerers. He confessed that he knew something more than the common life, but promised never to do anything but the straight things.

From Tapólo Walpi acquired the altars and rites of the fivesocieties: Tô-wimi, Wûwûtsim-wimi, Ál-wimi, Owákûl-wimi, and Mazô-wimi.

At that time the Tewa people had not yet built the village Hano, nor had the Cloud clan from Homolobi settled at Walpi.

The Tobacco women who had escaped from Awatobi dwelt with the Navaho near Steamboat cañon for a year; then came Tapólo to bring them to Walpi, but the Navaho objected. Much disappointed, he devised a plan by which the women stole away while their husbands slept, and by different routes made their way to Walpi, where they married men of the Rattlesnake clan, and their sons married into the Rabbit clan.

MIGRATIONS OF THE REED CLAN

In the underworld Pökán-hoya and Palönao-hoya, the elder and the younger brother, lived with their grandmother Kókyan-wûhti ["spider woman"] near the people, but apart from them. When the Reed people emerged upon earth, and observed that these three had accompanied them, they proposed that all travel together and help one another. To this the brothers consented and soon they were sent to find out a new and better land. They climbed to Nûvá-tûkyá-ovi ["snow mountain high-place"-San Francisco mountains], whence they beheld the basin of the Little Colorado covered with pools of stagnant water, and when they reported this condition, the people requested them to get rid of that water. So the brothers descended into the Grand cañon and consulted with another family just like themselves, two brothers of that name and an old Spider Woman. And after all together had prepared a bowl of medicine-water and looked into it to see what should be done, they made six arrows, using one feather each of a bluebird, a road-runner, a chicken-hawk, an eagle, a paroquet [*kyázo*], and a *táwa-manôu* [a yellow bird about the size of a magpie]. With these the two brothers returned to the Snow mountains, and from the south side they shot the arrows one by one into the sides of the mountains, making small holes through which the water might drain off. But the holes were too small, the arrows too weak. They returned again to the cañon, and after another consultation with their relatives they prepared another bowl of medicine-water. They gazed into it and saw a condor [*qátukua*], and they shot their arrows at the bird in the bowl. Immediately a sound of fluttering and falling was heard above them, and a great condor fell down before them. With its feathers they tipped four arrowshafts of pine, oak, spruce, and syringa, which they shot one by one into the rocky walls, and through a great hole water began to rush. As it poured through it cut out what is now the cañon of the Little Colorado. Though all the water drained off, the ground was too soft to support the weight of a man, so the brothers ground up a quantity of hard shells and stones, and scattered the dust over the mud, which soon hardened. Then they returned to the people, who prepared to move.

Making no permanent halt on the way, they reached Middle mesa and built a town of stone houses at Lömé-va, on the top of a small,

conical butte on that side of the mesa looking toward Walpi. Then the two brothers, after giving to the chief two small stone images of themselves, declared their intention to go, and, in spite of the entreaties of the people,they and the Spider Woman departed to Öna-patûpa ["salt lake"-the Zuñi salt lake], where they still dwell.

While the Reed people lived at Lömé-va, others established a town on the other side of the mesa at the place now marked by the ruin of Old Mishongnovi, and thereafter the two peoples would join on such public occasions as dances and rabbit-hunts. A man had a pet cat,[18] which would hunt rats at night, and sometimes would bring rabbits to its master. Sikyátsi-tiyo ["yellow bird youth"], the son of the Crier Chief, longed for a pet, and, the people having heard of certain tame animals, he inquired of his father where they were to be found. The Crier Chief objected, "They are in the far-distant east, at Sucháptûqi."[19] But still the youth persisted, and his father at last gave his consent. "In four days I go," said the youth. "Let my sister grind corn and make piki."

On the third day the Crier Chief tied up a bundle of piki and at sunrise on the following morning the youth started. Both day and night he travelled, making brief stops at frequent intervals, and after many days he reached his journey's end. As he neared the mountaintop he saw Piváni [weasel] on guard. He approached. Weasel was angry, and was preparing to leap at him, but he said, "Be quiet!" and offered a paho, and Weasel became peaceable. Thus also he appeased Cougar, and Bear, to whom he gave a red paho: for to Bear a red paho is always offered. On the top of the mountain, at the entrance of the home of the Dog people, lay the huge Snake, Kátoye, whom also he placated with a paho. At the very apex of the mountain was a large space covered with water, from the midst of which projected the tips of two ladder-posts; and as he looked downward, he saw human beings, who invited him to descend. He waded through the water to the ladder, which he found completely surrounded by walls of water, but itself

18 Probably a wildcat is meant, though the narrator is positive it was a pussy cat *(púahiki)!*

19 "Shell mountain" - the mountains east of Albuquerque. *Sucháva,* Olivella shells, are highly valued by the Pueblo Indians for making disc-beads.

untouched. He descended.

There was an old man smoking, and he gave the visitor a smoke. After four puffs, the youth said, "My father!" And the old man responded, "My son!" Then the young man filled his own pipe and gave his host a smoke. Meat and piki were placed before him, and when he had finished, the old man inquired, "Well, what is it?"

"Yes!" said the youth. "I have come hither a long distance, and I have endured hunger and thirst and weariness just for the sake of obtaining a dog for a pet."

"Anchaaí!" said the old man. "You shall have a dog. But first we will dance, and while we dance you must look to see which you will take. Choose a pair, a male and a female."

Then preparations for the dance were made. All around on the walls hung dog-skins, which the people now put on; and as they danced, the young man sat by the fire observing them. He chose two, the smallest in the party, and when he picked them up all ceased dancing, hung up the skins, and gathered around their visitor, giving him counsel: "When you bring these dogs home, take good care of them; do not mistreat them. If any one mistreats them, he will have rheumatism in the knees: for that is the way the dogs defend themselves." The youth promised, and tied a cord about his waist for a belt, and in the folds of his robe he placed the two puppies. Then he departed.

At evening he camped, but before he himself ate, he fed the dogs. And thus he continued to do. When he was nearing home he put them down, and they followed him, but when they cried with weariness he carried them. At last he arrived home, very proud of his dogs, which, as they grew to maturity, helped him to hunt rabbits.

After a while the female dog bore four puppies. At night she would prowl about, seeking food for her children, and often she would go to Mishongnovi and steal the food which was customarily placed in the little open windows. One night she was detected, and the next night the villagers set a watch, and after the dog had entered Mishongnovi they guarded all exits and killed her.

Then the Reed people were very downcast; they felt like leaving that place, and the young man, through his father the Crier Chief, announced that in four days they would depart. During the next four days the people ate as much as they could, so that they would not have to leave food behind them; for it would be impossible to carry all

with them. Before sunrise on the fifth morning they placed in the flat south of where the mission now stands a long row of bowls containing cooked food, and, returning to the village, they took up their burdens and set out. As they passed the dishes, each person took a bit of food from each bowl, thus offering a prayer that the food might accompany them in spirit.

When the people of Mishongnovi discovered their departure, they sent after them messengers, who, overtaking them at the arroyo midway between East and Middle mesas, urged that it would be best for all if they should return; but the Reed people refused, saying that, having once started out, they could not turn back. Then the messengers begged some of their man-medicine,[20] and the leader of the Reed people placed a very small bit of his medicine in the palm of the other chief's hand; but a puff of wind swept it off into the dust. Unable to find it, the Mishongnovi chief asked for another piece, but the Reed chief replied: "No! I have given you one piece, and if it is lost, that is your fault." He did, however, give an ear of corn: for the Reed people had sacred corn, which yielded more than the corn of the Mishongnovi people. In the course of time a juniper grew up where the bit of man-medicine had fallen, and in later times, when the Mishongnovi warriors were preparing for battle, they came to this place and planted pahos.

As the Reed people moved toward East mesa, they found the Rattlesnake people living in the valley, and remained with them for a time; but owing to the attacks of surrounding tribes, the Rattlesnake people built the village Kuchaptuvela on the terrace at the west side of the mesa, and the Reed people founded Kisakobi[21] also on the terrace, but at the southern point of the mesa.

At a later time, when enemies became so troublesome that there

20 The Reed clan controls the Warrior fraternity, and possesses medicines that are supposed to bestow courage. These are used also by the Snake fraternity.

21 Kisákobi is the ruin now sometimes called, as by Fewkes, "Old Walpi." Formerly its inhabitants were called Tsanö Wáhlpitu ("seven Walpians"), in allusion to the fact that only seven families were in the party of Reed people who left Middle mesa.

was no safety below the mesa, the Bear chief asked the Reed people what they could contribute to the common good if they were permitted to join the village on the mesa. The Reed chief replied that they had the medicine of bravery, and by this they would be able to defend the village. So they were admitted to Walpi.

MIGRATIONS OF THE BADGER CLAN

After emerging from the underworld with all other human beings, the people who afterward composed the Badger clan wandered about the earth and at last settled at Kisíu-va,[22] where they lived with the Katsínamu. They left that place and travelled down Oraibi wash, and about halfway to the site of Oraibi they stopped and built a village, the ruin of which is called Síu-va, because it is only a short distance from the spring of that name. It was at this place that they saw a Badger come out of its burrow, and they began to call themselves Badger people. Porcupine also appeared to them, but they did not take him for their *nátuila* ["relative" - a word applied to the totem of a clan, as well as to a blood relation]. So Porcupine said, "I will do something for you, so that you will be very glad to take me for your *nátuila*." Then he ate piñon-gum, and defecated blue paint. He ate skunk-bush berries, and vomited red paint. He ate flowers of rabbit-brush and defecated yellow paint. So then they took him also for their totem. Some of these people later took Butterfly for their *nátuila,* as he was their messenger.

One day Butterfly was sent to seek a new country, and going down the valley he discovered the village Oraibi. When the people received his report they moved toward Oraibi, but as they could not obtain permission to enter they camped for a short time, less than a year, at the foot of the mesa, and then went on down the valley for a distance of about three miles. It was autumn.

One winter day the son of the Crier Chief at Oraibi, hunting, pursued a rabbit far down the valley. At last it disappeared in a clump of bushes. The youth had searched long for its tracks without finding them, when he heard a voice: "Here I am!" In the midst of the clump of grass whence the sound came he saw a circular hole in the earth.

22 A spring, the principal home of the Kachinas.

Said the voice, "Come in!" He asked, "Will there be any harm?"

"There will be no harm. Come!"

So he went down through the opening, and found himself in a room with a number of people. He then learned that the rabbit he had been pursuing was one of the girls who now sat there in the kiva. They gave him food and a smoke, and when he had finished they bade him watch the girls, who were weaving a picture of Wiyáköte,[23] uncle of the Kachinas, so that he might learn how to make ceremonial sashes for the Kachina dances. He was to remain all night, they said. During the night they performed the Kachina dances, and in the morning sent him home to tell his people what he had seen.

The Crier Chief was absent searching for his son; yet when his father returned the youth said nothing, but passed the day wandering about the streets. That evening after the chief had smoked with his son, he asked the boy where he had been. So the youth related his adventure, how he had visited the people who had been spurned from the village, and had learned their dances, and ended with the statement that the Badger people, though they had not been permitted to remain at Oraibi, still hoped that in return for what they had taught him they might be allowed to enter. Then the Crier Chief summoned the Houses Chief, and it was agreed that the Badger people should join the village.

There was rejoicing among the Badger people when the Crier Chief's son brought the message. Four days he remained with them, and when he returned to Oraibi he announced that they would come within four days. "They do not wish to come in the day," he explained, "but at night. And we must give them entertainment during the night." It happened that the Flute clan were to make their pahos on the third day from the time, but it was decided that this rite should be postponed until the day set by the Badger people for their arrival.

On the fourth day the youth returned to the Badger people, and found them in readiness for the journey, with quantities of food for distribution at Oraibi. Having informed him that he must marry the

23 This Kachina is represented in the design on ceremonial sashes. Two diamond-shaped figures are the eyes, the teeth are indicated, and two parallel straight lines represent upright stripes on the checks.

girl who had brought him to them, and that he should be chief of the new Kachina clan, they gave him a *típoni* and sent him ahead to have his people in their two kivas that night.

The uncle of the Kachinas declared that he would remain there as a supernatural being, and the others, leaving him, started on their way. When they reached Oraibi in two parties, wearing their Kachina masks, the first division went into Món-kiva and danced, and distributed their gifts of food; and as they departed to the kiva Násavi, the second party entered Món-kiva. Thus the one party followed the other throughout the night. At sunrise they ran about on the roofs of the houses, and the people, who had gathered there to watch the dance, fled in terror; and while they were hiding in the houses, the Badger people ran to the north side of the plaza, and, removing their masks, appeared as ordinary human beings. In that part of the village they built their homes.

After they had lived for many years at Oraibi, a Badger woman on a visit to Walpi during a ceremony failed to return. It was learned that she had married a Walpi man, and thus the Badger clan was founded in that village. This Badger woman bought an apartment in the group of Rattlesnake houses near the rock in the dance place, but later the Rattlesnake people took back this house by force, and the Badger family moved across the mesa and erected a house in the newly founded village Sichomovi, which was established to relieve the congestion in Walpi. The first family to build in this new village was of the Squash clan, the second of the Cloud, the third of the Bear, and the fourth was the Badger family. Last in Sichomovi was the Tansy-mustard clan.[24]

MIGRATION OF THE ÁSA CLANS

The people from whom are descended the Ása ["tansy-mustard

24 After the destruction of Awatobi most of the Awatobi Badger women were taken to Mishongnovi, and a few to Oraibi. There is now one family of Awatobi Badgers at Oraibi, but the Hopi think there is no relationship between them and the original Oraibi Badgers, the former having their own separate traditions. The Awatobi Badgers once inhabited a village, now a ruin, between Hathorn's store and the ruin of Awatobi, before they moved to Awatobi.

people came upon the earth at Sípapûn-tûqi ["Sípapûni mountain"], near the head of Hopók-vayû ["east river" - Rio Grande].

When the Hopi began to have trouble with the Navaho and the Ute, the Crier Chief was sent to East river for help, and these Tewa people at the village Háno said to him: " If you will treat us well, we will come. You must give us land and food." This the Hopi chief promised, and they told him to watch the east, and when he should see a narrow streak of cloud he would know they were starting: this cloud would carry their food and other possessions.

The people who left Háno were Cháqaina.[25] They took with them Pá-lölökanû ["water bullsnake"], both the male and the female, and for their scouts they had Hóspoa [roadrunner] and Pósiw'û [magpie]. Acoma was the first pueblo they visited, and some of the people remained at that village. Several times on the march they were attacked by Ute and Navaho. Some of these Tewa joined the Zuñi [founding the Aíaho clan], and the rest resumed their long journey westward. On the mesa near Awatobi they built the town Cháqaina-ki, and later went on toward East mesa.

Near the place now called Five Houses some children were crying, and flowers of *ásа* [tansy-mustard] were given to them. This was the origin of the name of the clan. Roadrunner and Magpie were messengers of the people, and they also were *nátuila* [totem]. During their journeys some of the people once rested under a clump of oaks [*qínvi*], and hence arose the use of names referring to oak.

South of Five Houses a Hopi met them with the report that he did not know whether or not his people would admit them to their vil lage, because it was not the chief himself, but his brother, that had sent for them. Much disheartened by the thought that they might not be admitted after their difficult march, they nevertheless decided to go on and see what was the chief's intention.[26]

At the foot of the mesa near the present ruin of Kisakobi the Bear

25 The Ása clan brought into the Hopi pantheon the Cháqaina Kachina, the mask of which personage is displayed in the kiva during the winter solstice ceremony.

26 The existence of a small ruin at the place where this news was brought leads Hopi traditionists to think that the Ása must have lived there for a time.

chief and the Rattlesnake chief met them, and, when the Tewa chief confessed that he brought no beneficial ceremonies for the common good, refused to admit them. So they went on to the spring Tevéskya, into which they put the two Water Bullsnakes, the male looking toward the west, and the female toward the east. Then they marched on, climbing up the hill andpassing through the Gap, and built a village a little west of the spring Ís-va, the ruin of which is now called Sikyá-owa-tsomo ["yellow rock knoll"].

From this village the women would go up to Walpi and grind for the Hopi women, but, contrary to a custom that still prevails, they received no meal for their labor, only a little food, which the Hopi women would place boiling hot in their palms. And when the Tewa men worked for the Hopi, they were never paid except with discarded food. But mostly the men passed their time in hunting rabbits.

While they lived at this place there was a raid by the Ute, and the Crier Chief came down from Walpi to ask if they would help; but the Tewa men would make no answer, because they had been so badly used. Again and again he came, but not until the Houses Chief himself appeared and said, "My children, the enemy is coming close to us," did they consent to help. Then they threw off their clothing and painted their bodies from head to foot with red paint, and in the old Tewa fashion they wrapped beaver-skin strips about the braids of their hair and painted their faces with different colors. Then they marched up to the Gap, whence, in the valley to the west, they saw the Hopi fighting the Navaho and the Ute; and they went down the trail to the spring Tevéskya. When they drew near, the enemy made a charge, but the Tewa warriors pressed forward, and the enemy, finding them men of courage, retreated, and the Tewa pursued them, killing many as they went up the valley past Wípho spring. There on the side of the cliff at Siqí-teika[27] ["meat promontory," so called because here they killed all the horses of the enemy] the invaders took refuge among the rocks. When only four of the enemy were left they begged for mercy, that they might go back to their people and spread the news; and they were spared.

27 According to Fewkes, Siqí-tûqi ("meat mound"), because here the Ute made a rampart of sheep bodies.

When the warriors returned to the Gap, the Walpi head men met them and thanked them, and the chief, pointing to Sávû, a point on the cliffs at the south side of Keams cañon, and to Owáko, a place on the cliff northwest of Walpi, said: "These two places will never disappear. They will remain. They shall be your landmarks. You shall have the land up the valleys above both of these points."

On the following day the chiefs of Walpi led the Tewa people to the site of the present village of Hano and left them there. They were still building houses there when another raid was made, and this time they made ready for defence without solicitation from the Warrior Chief of Walpi. They went down into the valley west of the mesa against the large party of Ute, who retreated up the valley. Clear into the cañon above Wípho they were pursued, and about five miles above the spring the chase ceased and a pitched battle was fought. The Ute chief made a mark on the ground, and shouted: "We have had enough of this fighting! The few who are left will go back with the news!" But regardless of this plea, the Hano men continued the battle, and when only three were left, the leader of the trio said, "We three will take back the news to our people." So at sunset the fighting ceased and the Hano men returned homeward. On the way back they removed the hearts from four corpses, and at the mark made by the Ute chief they dug four small, circular holes to the depth of an arm-length, placed the hearts in them, and piled stones over them. The piles of stones are still there, and any one who wishes to have a brave heart makes an offering at that spot.

Some time after this an Ása man took away the wife of the Walpi Crier Chief, and the Walpi people were so angry that they wanted to drive all the Hano people out of the country. The Ása made an offering to the Water Bullsnakes in Tevéskya spring and then started eastward toward their former home on East river; but when they were only at Tawá-pa spring the Walpi people, reconsidering the matter, sent the chiefs of the Firewood and Bear clans to lead them back, fearing that if they went beyond the wash the Water Bullsnakes in Tevéskya would move and the mesa would be shaken down. So they were led up the Stairway trail into Walpi and placed at the south end of the mesa, to become the guards at that point.

Having learned of the courage of the eastern people and being again hard-pressed by the Navaho and the Ute, the Hopi sent anoth-

er invitation to the Tewa in the Rio Grande country. Those who answered this call did not come along the usual route through Zuñi and Awatobi, but through Keams cañon. They built their houses on the ruins left by the Hano people when they started back home after the stealing of the Walpi Crier Chief's wife, and thus founded the modern village of Hano. After living here for some time and helping the Hopi against their enemies, two of the chiefs desired to return to the eastern country. Some of their people determined to go with them, and they brought their blankets down from the village and piled them up preparatory to departing. This place is now called Tavûptsomo ["blanket knoll"]. They set forth, stopping here and there to build villages, in which they lived for a few years. Finally they became extinct. None ever got back to East river.[28]

At the time of the great famine [about 1780] some of the Hopi went to Tûpkaï-páka ["cañon mouth" - the mouth of Cañon de Chelly], where they lived among the Navaho, still holding their Hopi ceremonies. Many ofthese migrants were of the Ása clan. The second generation of mixed Hopi and Navaho returned to the Hopi villages, and at first they were taken back into Walpi; but this crowded the pueblo, and many of them joined the recently established village of Sichomovi. These first families in Sichomovi were of the following clans: Cloud, Butterfly of Hano, Ása, Badger, Bear, and Squash.

RELIGION

The principal Hopi deities are the following:

1. Katsínamu (singular, Katsína). The Kachinas are supernatural, anthropomorphic beings inhabiting the water-world that underlies the earth. While a certain spring called Kisíu-va[29] is regarded as their home, they are believed to be present also in all other bodies of living water, the Hopi conception being that all bodies of water are parts of

28 The Hopi believe it is a very bad omen to retrace one's trail, and on this ground they account for the extinction of this group of people.

29 Kisíu-va ("shadow spring") is on the east side of the timbered hills to the northeast of Walpi, the spot being known as Kísiuû ("shadow place") on account of the shade cast *by* perpendicular rocks about the spring.

one great ocean underlying the earth, in other words, mere openings through the earth-crust into the water-world. In ancient times these beings sometimes appeared to the people, but when they did so they always wore masks made of yucca-leaves. The first Kachinas were visible beings of supernatural power, but because the people did not treat them with consideration they became invisible. They are now represented by masked dancers. Certain clan legends represent the ancestors of those clans as having been Kachinas who gave up their supernatural attributes and became mere human beings. All Hopi boys and many girls are initiated into the Kachina order and thus become capable of participating as masked Kachinas in the various summer dances. This initiation of children, occurring as a part of the Powámu ceremony, is elsewhere described. The Kachinas are of numerous kinds, the most important being:

(a) Léna Katsínamu ("flute Kachinas").

(*b*) Kûwan Katsínamu ("all-colors Kachinas").

(*c*) Muzíwus Katsínamu ("beans Kachinas").

(*d*) Ká'na Katsínamu, or Yého Katsínamu ("throwing Kachinas," so called because they throw boiled corn among the spectators). Their songs begin with the word *Ká'na,* hence the first name. They dance only in the evening after the daylight dancing of the others.

(e) Hehéa Katsínamu *(hehéa,* a nickname applied to uxorious men). These Kachinas are represented as being very fond of women.

(f) Kóyemsi Katsínamu, or Tatsökta Katsínamu ("knob-head Kachinas," in allusion to the peculiar protuberances on their masks, which completely envelope the head). They correspond to the Zuñi Kóyemashi, and it would be difficult indeed to distinguish between a Zuñi and a Hopi mask.

(*g*) Tûmas Katsínamu ("female Kachinas").

(*h*) Hahaíi Katsínamu (so-named in allusion to their cry). These last two kinds are called the "mothers of all the Kachinas," but thus far no myth shedding light on the epithet has been discovered.

(i) Tûnwûp Katsínamu ("whipping Kachinas"). These ceremonially whip the children at their initiation into the Kachina order.

(*j*) Hée Katsínamu. These are personated by women dressed as warriors.

(*k*) Tûvats Katsínamu ("weeping Kachinas"). These always weep after speaking.

(*l*) Kököle Katsínamu (so named in allusion to their peculiar cry).

(m) Powámu Katsínamu. These are called the uncles of all the Kachinas."

(*n*) Wiyáköte Katsínamu. These also are described as "uncles of the Kachinas."

(*o*) Natáaska Katsínamu.

(p) Soyál Katsínamu. These appear only in the winter solstice ceremony, Soyálanû.

(q) Aná Katsínamu ("long-hair Kachinas").

(*r*) Cháqaina Katsínamu.

(s) Wawásh Katsínamu ("running Kachinas"). These pursue and punish in various ways those spectators who attempt to escape with food brought into the plaza by the Kachinas.

(*t*) Náa'mû Katsínamu.

(*u*) Súyuk Katsínamu ("ogress Kachinas").

Many other Kachinas have been added by late borrowing from other pueblos, such as Zuñi, Jemez, and other eastern settlements. Recently a number of Kachinas have been invented by individual Hopi; and this doubtless is a result of the universal desire among primitive people for masked characters. It is not to be believed that a man could deliberately create a dog mask or a sheep mask, as has been done recently, and persuade himself that there are any supernatural beings among the Kachinas whom these masks represent. Even Pahána (American) Katsína appears in the dances of today.

It is firmly believed that the Kachinas dwell in Kisíu-va. Sometimes the people who visit this spring see what they believe to be evidences that the Kachina children have been making mud piki, in the same manner as human children, and occasionally they see fingerprints on the walls of rock.

2. Táwa, the Sun, is considered to be the father of all life. Every Hopi utters or "thinks" a morning prayer and offers cornmeal to the rising Sun, asking for long life without sickness. Chiefs pray for all the people, while others pray only for themselves. The Sun is the principal deity worshipped in the winter solstice ceremony, which was brought to the Hopi country by the Cloud clan and others from the south.

3. Mûyôu, the Moon, is the Father who guards the people at night. He is not especially worshipped in a ceremony, but any individual in

trouble makes pahos for many deities, including the Moon, and deposits them in various unprescribed places.

4. Sótûû, the Stars, are regarded as supernatural beings. Until about 1890 the taboo on drinking water at meals was commonly observed; and when the desire to drink became imperative, one went outside and with uplifted face" inhaled the spirit of the stars," and thus made oneself strong. When a Hopi happens to pass near a spring in which the stars are reflected, he takes a drink from it for the same purpose. In the winter solstice ceremony pahos are made for the Stars and the Moon, and individuals starting on a journey make pahos for them in order that these deities may guard the travellers at night.

5. Sótukunani ("star rain god) is a sky deity especially besought for rain. He is a supreme being to whom prayers are offered for general and specific benefactions of all kinds. He is not identified with anyvisible object, but is said to dwell above, and is sometimes called Óvemonwi ("above chief").

6. Mûinwa, a god of germination, dwells underground, and having no particular shrine, is supplicated in any place for good crops.Átkyakmonwi ("nadir chief") is said to be another name for the same deity. He is represented as a very large man with a body made up of all the edible fruits and seeds. A successful farmer is said to be a "Mûinwa man."

7. Nayánap-tûmsi ("all-kinds-of-seeds clanswoman") is another deity concerned with the germination of seeds. As the wife of Mûinwa she lives with him beneath the ground, and both are supplicated by those who especially desire bountiful crops. Like all other supernatural beings they receive prayer-sticks at the winter solstice ceremony.

8. Nalönanu-monwitu ("four chiefs") are rain gods presiding at the four solstitial points, that is, the points on the horizon marked by the rising and setting sun at the summer and the winter solstice. Sótukunani, the sky god, is the rain god of the zenith, but apparently Mûinwa takes the place of the nadir deity. Pahos made for these gods are deposited at springs, the suppliant choosing a spring at each of the solstitial points. One going on a journey makes pahos for these deities and places them all in one spring in the direction of his destination. The North Chief controls the cold, and the north wind (*qínyôu;* cf. *qiní'wika,* northward) is his breath. These deities manifest themselves to the eye in the form of clouds.

9. Halákvû, or Tûvíp-haiyanû, is the whirlwind. The name Halákvû refers to the rattling noise made by the rubbish carried along by a whirlwind; Tûvíp-haiyanû to the whirling motion itself. In every ceremony this deity is supplicated that he may remain peaceful and quiet, and permit the ceremony to be finished in good weather. Pahos or *naqáqusi* are always made for him, but there is no particular shrine at which they are deposited. Warriors ask him to become active, that they may the more easily approach their enemy unseen.

10. Másôu grants both good and evil petitions. When the first clans came into the Walpi country he was a supernatural in human, visible form, dwelling on the spot where Kuchaptuvela afterward was built; but he soon disappeared and became a spirit.[30] His ancient home among the rocks below the mesa is now his shrine. Másôu is one of the principal deities worshipped in the winter solstice ceremony, and indeed few, if any, are to be ranked above him. In a way not yet clearly understood he is connected with fire. He is also in a sense a god of the dead, his name being used as the term for corpse; but the connection here lies merely in the fact that both Másôu and the spirits of the dead inhabit the underground region. Most important of all, Másôu is a god of germination; and here the connecting idea seems to be the conception that the growth of plants is dependent on warmth, and warmth is the product of fire.

Probably the best statement of the position of Másôu in Hopi mythology is that he is the *genius loci* in very much the way this phrase was understood by the Romans. He is a beneficent spirit, and answers the requests of all who in the prescribed manner pray for good crops, long life, and health. But also he grants the desires of those who pray for evil purposes; hence he formerly was much supplicated by sorcerers. To summarize: while the several conceptions of the function of Másôu are not perfectly clear, perhaps not even to the Hopi themselves, it is quite plain that his chief function is the care of germinating seeds and growing crops.

All the deities mentioned above receive attention in every Hopi

30 In spite of this localization, which is recognized at the other villages, both Middle mesa and Oraibi have shrines of Másôu.

ceremony. The following however are supplicated only on special occasions.

11. Tíhkûyi, or Tûwá-pon-tûmsi ("earth around clanswoman") is a female deity who gave birth to all the species of game animals, from rabbits to elk. Offerings are left at her shrine in the winter solstice ceremony, that she may increase the supply of game, and when a hunting party is organized she is requested to give the hunters permission to kill her children.

12. Pökán-hoya (*pökan*, meaning unknown; *hóya,* little) and Palönao-hoya ("echo little"), his younger twin, are the boy war gods. Two gods bearing these names live in the crater of Zuñi Salt lake, and twoothers at Ön-tûpka ("salt cañon") in the Grand cañon., each pair with its grandmother, Spider Woman. When the Hopi make prayersticks or *naqáqusi* for the warrior gods at the Salt lake, they deposit them on the east side of the pueblo, and when the offerings tare intended for those at the Salt cañon they are placed on the west side of the mesa. The exigencies of story-telling have resulted in the invention of many other homes for the warrior gods, but these two places are the only homes recognized in ceremonies. The twin gods are supplicated for courage, and because of their indifference to suffering, they are requested to visit the North Chief and have him send cold weather, which brings snow and resultant moisture for the fields. As there are numerous myths describing the manner in which the brothers extricated people from all kinds of difficulties, so in actual life they are besought with pahos and prayers to help the sufferer out of his worst troubles. In mythology the war gods travel on the rainbow, or on the downy feather of an eagle, and thus move about with almost instantaneous rapidity. They understand the language of all creatures, and know all the secrets of medicines to cure sickness. They have great power, not only against ordinary human beings, but even against sorcerers, whom they outwit by becoming invisible and concealing themselves behind an invisible but impenetrable barrier; so that the sorcerers, though they also can assume invisibility, can do no harm to the war gods because their missiles of *sucháva* (Olivella shells) are checked by the unseen wall. Two wooden (?) figurines of the war gods are kept in a shrine on the southern slope of a mesa south of Walpi, and are taken thence to Mishongnovi for the approximately quadrennial initiation of Wûwûtsimu. Another pair, made of stone, is kept in a niche in the

Walpi Warrior Fraternity house.

13. Tála-tûmsi ("dawn clanswoman"),[31] a deity supplicated only in the new fire ceremony, is said to be a personification of the female principle. Since women are not admitted to the kiva during the new fire ceremony, the image of the goddess, when brought to Qán-kiva, is set on the roof during a certain number of days, while the initiates are within. She thus typifies the godmother called in to officiate at the birth of a child. While the image sits on the roof, women throw meal toward it and pray to the goddess that they may have children and bear them without pain.

14. Naná-mana ("cornsmut girl") has a shrine at the left of the trail from Walpi to Middle mesa. Like many other shrines it contains a piece of petrified wood. These objects, being somewhat uncommon in this region, are placed in shrines simply to mark them as unusual places, and have no special religious significance. There is a myth relating how Nanámana, after bidding the people pray to her for good crops, disappeared at the place now marked by the shrine.

15. Ón-wûhti ("salt woman") is supplicated with offerings at two shrines, one at "Salt cañon" in the Grand cañon, the other near the Salt lake of the Zuñi. Supplicants pray that they may obtain the salt easily, saying, for instance, "We offer these prayers to you that you may keep the salt pure, and let us get it easily." The warrior gods also receive similar petitions from the salt gatherers.

16. Pá-lölökanû ("water bullsnake") is the personification of the water-spirit. This is the so-called "plumed serpent." The cult was brought from the south by the Cloud clan, and another phase of the same cult was imported by the Tansy-mustard clan and other Tewa people from the Rio Grande valley. The earth is believed to be underlaid by a world of water, and springs are mere openings, or eyes as the Spanish call them, leading out of the water-world. Although the Water Bullsnake inhabits the lower world, while his power is everywhere and offerings to him may be made in any spring, still the spring Tawá-pa is regarded as the real home of Pá-lölökanû. Images of the Water Bullsnake are exhibited in any Kachina

31 While Fewkes's translation of " *Dawn* Woman" has been used here, no informant interviewed would concede the translation. Dawn is *talávaiya,* while *tála* is daylight, or a period of twenty-four hours. There seems to be no reason for questioning the translation, in spite of the dissent of informants.

ceremony in February and March, and sometimes in the winter solstice ceremony.

17. Kókyan-wûhti ("spider woman") is prominent in myths, playing the part of fairy godmother and is possessed of almost unlimited power. She is the grandmother of the twin warrior gods, and appears sometimes in human form, sometimes in the form of various animals, but more often as a spider. In opposing sorcery she assumes the spider form and bids the one whom she is defending to place her behind his ear, from which position she directs his acts. Prayers for help are offered to Spider Woman at any time.

CEREMONIES

The religious and ceremonial life of the Hopi centers in the kiva, which is simply a room, wholly or partly subterranean and entered by way of a ladder through an opening in the flat roof. The five kivas at Walpi, from south to north, are as follow:

1. Món-kiva ("chief kiva"), which, as its name indicates, is regarded as the most important. Its membership is derived largely from the Flute division of the Horn clan and from the Cloud clan.

2. Wiqálvi, or Wiqálap-kiva ("boiling-fat kiva" - so named in allusion to the boiling of a very fat sheep at the dedication), which is closely allied with the Tansy-mustard clan.

3. Násavi, or Nasá-kiva ("middle kiva"), in which men of the Rattlesnake clan predominate.

4. Ál-kiva ("horn kiva"), which obtains its members mostly from the Horn clan.

5. Tsiváto (an adopted Spanish word), or Tsivátop-kiva ("ram kiva" - a ram having been served at the dedicatory feast); or Qán-kiva ("mescal kiva"), in which a majority are of the Reed clan.

While the membership of a kiva consists principally of men and boys from some certain clan or clans, there is no case in which all the members of a kiva belong to one clan - a condition inseparable from the provision that a man may change his kiva membership, and in fact made necessary by the existence of more clans than kivas. It is probable, nevertheless, that originally the kivas were clan institutions.

The following is a complete list of the fraternities, or priesthoods, at Walpi, the religious rites controlled by them, and the date of the ceremonial smoke that precedes each ceremony.

Fraternity	*Member*	*Members*	*Ceremony*	*Ceremonial Smoke*	*Usual Designation, or Character of Ceremony*
Wûwûßim-wimi	Wûwûßimū	Wûwûßimtū	Wûwûßimū	Fifth day after the end of Mamzó-yûṇya, November	New fire ceremony
Tó-wimi [1]	Tátôkya	Tátôkyamū			
Ál-wimi [2]	Ála-taka [2]	Áahltū [2]			
Qán-wimi [3]	Qáni-taka [3]	Qáqantū [3]			
Soyál-wimi	Soyál-wimkya	Soyál-wiwimkyamū	Soyálaṇû	Tenth day before the winter solstice, about December 12 [4]	Winter solstice ceremony
Móßs-wimi [5]	Móßs-wimkya [5]	Móßs-wiwimkyamū [5]	Mómßit-yĕsĕ [5]	Final day of Soyálaṇû, about December 21	Warrior fraternity ceremony
			Powámū-yûṇya [6]	First day of the moon Powá-mûya, February [7]	Public purification ceremony
Powámū-wimi	Powámū-wimkya	Powá-wiwimkyamū	Nímaniw'û [8]	July	Niman, or Farewell, Kachina dance
Kaßín-wimi [9]	Kaßína	Kaßínamū	Kaßín-ti [10]	Numerous dances from February to the end of July	Kachina dances
Chū-wimi [11]	Chū-wimkya	Chū-wiwimkyamū	Chū-yûnya	Fourth to eighth day of summer	Snake dance
Tsôp-wimi [12]	Tsôp-wimkya	Tsôp-wiwimkyamū	Tsôp-yûṇya	Pá-mûya moon (August) in odd years	Antelope dance
Lĕn-wimi [13]	Lĕn-wimkya	Lĕn-wiwimkyamū	Lĕn-yûṇya	Fourth to eighth day of summer Pá-mûya moon (August) in even years	Flute dance
Lakón-wimi [14]	Lakón-wimkya	Lalkón-wiwimkyamū	Lalkón-yûṇya	Fifth day after the end of the Snake or the Flute dance	Lakon dance
Yayá-wimi [15]	Yayá-wimkya	Yayá-wiwimkyamū [15]	Yayá-yûṇya	About the first of September at irregular intervals	Magician's ceremony
Mazó-wimi [16]	Mazó-wimkya	Mamzó-wiwimkyamū	Mamzó-yûṇya	Fifth day after the end of Lalkón-yûṇya	Mamzrau ceremony
Owákûl-wimi [16]	Owákûl-wimkya	Owákûl-wiwimkyamū	Owákûl-yûṇya [16]	October, at irregular intervals	Owakul ceremony

[1] Also Tátôkya-wimi. *Tólawi*, singing.

[2] *Ála*, horn; *ála-taka*, horn man; *áahltū*, horns.

[3] *Qáni*, mescal; *qáni-taka*, mescal man; *qáqantū*, mescals.

[4] But when Soyálaṇû is to be a sixteen-day ceremony, involving the initiation of new members, the Smoke occurs on the eighteenth day before the solstice, that is, about December 4.

[5] *Moßs* may be related to Keres *Mo'ßʰʌ*, Hopi. The individual member of this society is also called Kalĕ-taka, "brave man," plural, Kákalĕ-taktū. An alternative of the collective Móts-wiwimkyamū is Mómßitū. *Mómßit-yĕsĕ*, "Mómßitū sit."

[6] *Yûṇya*, assembly.

[7] See Lunar Calendar, pages 250–251.

[8] *Níman*, go home.

[9] The Kaßínamū are not, strictly speaking, a fraternity.

[10] Kaßín-ti ("Kachina dance") is the generic name of various Kachina ceremonies occurring from February to the end of July. The first Kachinas appear in the Powámū ceremony in February, and the last appearance is in Nímaniw'û in July.

[11] *Chûa*, rattlesnake.

[12] *Tsŏvioū*, antelope.

[13] *Lĕna*, flute.

[14] A society of women, with certain male officials.

[15] The fraternity of magicians is extinct. An alternative of the collective designation is Yáyatū.

[16] Lálkon-ti, Mámzô-ti, Owákûl-ti, et cetera, merely designate the last day of the respective ceremonies, when the members dance in public (*ti*, dance), and are not the proper names of the ceremonies themselves.

Each day of the ceremony is named, and the names are constant for all ceremonies of the same length. In the following list the calendar date on which the various days fell in 1911 is given.

Nov. 12 Tsoótsuna ("they smoke")[35]

Nov. 13 Tínava ("announcement")

1. Nov. 14 Sûs-tala ("first day")

2. Nov. 15 Lös-tala ("second day")

3. Nov. 16 Païs-tala ("third day")

4. Nov. 17 Yûnya ("assembly")

5. Nov. 18 Sûskahimu ("one not anything," that is, one day of rest)

6. Nov. 19 Komók-totókya *(kómokta,* to carry a bundle of wood; *mókta,* bundle)

7. Nov. 20 Totókya

8. Nov. 21 Tíhuni ("they will dance"), or Tíkiveni ("they will dance"), or Pílamnovi ("they eat *píkami*")[36]

For a sixteen-day ceremony the calendar is as follows, the two preliminary days being understood ·

1. Sûs-tala} Tínava nalös-tala ("announcement four-days")

2. Lös-tala} Tínava nalös-tala ("announcement four-days")

3. Païs-tala} Tínava nalös-tala ("announcement four-days")

4. Nalös-tala} Tínava nalös-tala ("announcement four-days")

5. Sûs-tala} Apiyunwisni ("from then to assembly")

6. Lös-tala} Apiyunwisni ("from then to assembly")

7. Païs-tala} Apiyunwisni ("from then to assembly")

8. Yûnya} Apiyunwisni ("from then to assembly")

9. Sûs-tala

10. Lös-tala or Naás-komók-totókya, or Ás-komók-totókya (*na*, reciprocal pronoun; *ási,* to wash the head)

11. Païs-tala, or Naás-totókya, or Ás-totókya

12. Nalös-tala, or Naásna

35 The first two are preliminary days, and in the Hopi calendar of the ceremony do not count as a part of the performance, which really begins its eight or sixteen days' course with Sûstala.

36 The forms Tíhu, Tíkivee, Totókpe, and Komók-totókpe mean respectively "on Tíhuni," "on Tíkiveni," "on Totókya," and "on Komók-totókya."

13. Sûskahimu
14. Komók-totókya
15. Totókya
16. Tíhuni, or Píkamnovi

Tsoótsuna, the Smoke (November 12, 1911)

Shortly after sunset there met in the house of Háni[37] the chiefs of the four fraternities: Háni, of the Tobacco clan, for Tô-wimi; Kavötima, of the Earth clan, for Wûwûtsim-wimi; Wûnûtu, of the Reed clan and Kótka, of the Bear clan, for Ál-wimi; and Saqístiwa, of the Cloud clan, for Qán-wimi; as well as Köyáwaima, chief of the Rattlesnake fraternity, who was acting for his uncle Hónyi, the Crier Chief.

Each man had a bag of native tobacco and a pipe, and after they had smoked, Háni made a *pötavi* by tying a long cotton string to a yellow feather. He then prepared some *naqáqusi* (feathers to which short strings are tied, and used for offerings when such can be tied to an object instead of being thrust into the ground, as the stick of a paho is used). The *pötavi* and the *naqáqusi* he laid on a tray basket of meal, and then the other chiefs made *naqáqusi,* which they placed on the same basket of meal. This tray was then passed from one to another, beginning with Háni, and each man in turn, holding the strings of the *naqáqusi,* prayed silently. When this was finished, each chief took a small handful of meal from the basket and went out, and on the way to his home cast it away at some point, wherever he wished, over the edge of the mesa, uttering a silent prayer for good fortune.[38] The Crier Chief took the offerings with him.

37 The Smoke must, or should, occur in a house of the Tobacco clan. Some time previous to the year 1911 the only house belonging to this clan was out of repair, and for two years the Smoke took place in the house of a woman of the Tansy-mustard clan, whose cousin (in the Hopi way, her son) was chief of Wûwûtsim-wimi and kept his fraternity *típoni* in this house.

38 The meal used for religious offerings is in no way different from the meal prepared for food. It must however be made of white corn, and must not be parched. It is not ceremonially prepared. A woman simply grinds some white corn, and those of the household who wish it take a small portion for prayer meal, the remainder becoming bread or mush. As the priests explain it, the ear of corn is itself sacred, having been given originally by the supernaturals.

Tínava, the Announcement (November 13)

At sunrise the Crier Chief stretched the string of the pötavi across the trail at the narrowest part of the mesa, between Walpi and Sichomovi, and sprinkled meal along the string. It remained there throughout the ceremony, and after. As the long string of the *pötavi* represents long life, it is stretched across the path where most of the people will many times cross it during the ceremony, in order that it may impart to them its sacred influence. The Crier Chief then took the *naqáqusi* to the roof of a house of the Rattlesnake clan near the rock[39] in the plaza, and there deposited them as prayers to the spirits of the six world-regions.

It was here that Fewkes observed the Smoke. Háni's house has since been repaired, but is uninhabited. It stands east of Món-kiva and next to Wiqálvi. Any fraternity chief may attend the Smoke of any other fraternity. The Tobacco clan chief should always be present, and the Crier Chief necessarily attends because he must make the announcement.

A little after sunrise the Crier Chief from this housetop called out the following announcement of the ceremony:

Pátikae kyée ûmmaa sínomu talához yá....! Ûmma-pá peo-inûmi tûkaívastotané...!

Around I suppose ye people have awakened! Ye to to me listen!

Pûûyan táhltekat épni káeyan nánal tálat épyan Wûwûtsimtu wimi kûkûivani ....!

Now daylight at from eighth day on Wûwûtsimtu fra-will finish! ternity

Óvi ûmmaa pánkae sínomu ka nánami hin unánwa-kyakyan[40] *ôhoyóyûkûni.*

So ye around people not toward one another heart (adverbial si-

39 This rock, known to white people as the Snake rock, because the public part of the Snake ceremony is held there, is called Tûqi ("mountain").

40 In the ordinary conversational order the phrase *ka nánami hin unánwa-kyakyan* would be *kahín unánwa-kyakyan nánami.*

fux) will go toward it

Náphakawat qáqat unánwa tákat, átsvi kaás'at tala híyani …

Any one of good heart having by his effort before day we will drink!

Pûkûsnûtsavahl tiyó-hoya, mana'-hoya, wûhti-háskû, unánpakiyat-áqa épe híyaní…!

If there be boy-small girl-small woman-old, by his heart with then any such we will drink!

Óvi ûmmaa pánkae sínomu halaíkyakyan ôhoyótaní.…! Paíyaní.…![41] So ye around people happily go toward it! So be it!

"Ye people about me have awakened, I suppose. Listen to me. Now on the eighth day from tomorrow's daylight the Wûwûtsimtu fraternity will complete its ceremony. So ye people around me will go toward it without ill feeling toward one another. If any one of you have a good heart, by his efforts we will drink before daylight. If there be any such boy, girl, or old woman, by his goodness of heart we will then drink. So, ye people about me, go happily toward it. So be it."

Sûs-tala, First Day (November 14)

Lös-tala, Second Day (November 15)

Païs-tala, Third Day (November 16)

Nothing of a ceremonial nature occurred on these days; they were in fact like any secular days. In the sixteen-day rite, in which new members are initiated, seven idle days pass before Yûnya is reached.

Yûnya, Fourth Day (November 17)[42]

The four fraternities assembled in their respective kivas, the roofs of which were covered with orderly fagots, principally of greasewood, brought in by the younger members during the preceding days of the ceremony. Not all the members assembled at this time, and in fact it was not until the last day of the ceremony that they came out in full

41 This is the formula used in announcing nearly all ceremonies, with necessary changes for the time of the ceremony and the name of the fraternity having it in charge.

42 The eighth day in the initiation ceremony.

force. Formerly it was the rule that all should be present from Yûnya on, except that men with wives about to deliver children were not permitted to be present on this day, when the new fire is kindled. Should such a man be present, the child would be born covered with red sores. Even today, in the initiation ceremony all members are expected to assemble on Yûnya. Once having entered the kiva, whether on Yûnya or on any succeeding day, a man must be present on each day and each night following; and he must practise continence until the end of the rites. There is little done in the kivas during the daytime; those present sit about, smoking and talking, and all who have begun their attendance on the ceremony take their meals there, though they spend most of the day in the village and at home. At night they sit up as late as possible, smoking, as a form of vigil and sacrifice for the bringing of good crops.

At noon in each of three kivas a bowl of medicine-water was prepared. The water for this purpose is obtained from Tawá-pa, a large spring near Walpi. On a low, square mound of sand was placed the bowl (*ná-kûyi*, medicine water-jar), the edge of which, at four diametrically opposite points, rises in a terraced design representing cumulus clouds. About it lay six ears of corn, corresponding in color to the colors associated with the six world-regions; the ears representing the cardinal points being severally at the middle of the four sides, while the one for the zenith lay between the north and the west ears, the one for the nadir between those of the south and the east. These typify not only the corn which it is hoped will be harvested next year, but the variously colored clouds for which the priesthoods constantly ask in prayer and offering. Beside each ear of corn lay beads of turquoise, of coral, and of small blue Olivella shells, and meal was sprinkled about the whole arrangement. Various powdered herbs were placed in the water, and the resultant medicine-water, which remained in the bowl until the end of the ceremony,[43] was used in frequently asperging to the six world-regions. During the public dances of the Wûwûtsimtu and the Tátôkyamu, both at Ál-kiva and Qán-kiva a Badger man came up on the roof with the medicine-bowl and asperged the dancers as they passed. Six songs, one for each world-region, and all supplicating

43 In Qán-kiva a new mixture is prepared on the seventh day.

for rain, were sung while the medicine-water was being mixed and stirred.

While the other fraternities made their medicine-water at noon, the Tátôkyamu in Món-kiva made theirs at sunrise; and the only symbols on the mound of sand supporting their medicine-bowl were six radiating lines of meal. The Tô-wimi procure their sacred water from the spring Tötövi, near the ruin of Awatobi, to which place one of their members is sent on foot on the day before Yûnya. This was the only spring retained by Tapólo, the Awatobi chief, when he gave up his land and springs to the people of Walpi for their assistance in destroying the inhabitants of Awatobi.

About sunset (five o'clock), the Tátôkyamu being already assembled in Món-kiva, the Qáqantu, Áahltu, and Wûwûtsimtu approached, single file and led by their respective chiefs. As each group reached the hatchway, each man threw down into the kiva a ball of meal, thus announcing his arrival. In the order named they entered and took their places in their several corners. In the procession of the Qáqantu the second man carried a slab of stone with three circular holes drilled into it. This was their fire-stone. The second man of the Áahltu carried their fire-board, a long slab of wood with circular holes drilled along each lateral edge.

When all had assembled, two Qáqantu held the fire-stone on the floor with a bunch of shredded juniper-bark under it, and two others grasped the fire-drill. On the opposite side of the fireplace two Áahltu knelt with their fire-board, and two with the drill. All the others rose, and the Tô-wimi chief prayed briefly. Then each chief addressed his fellows, exhorting them to have a fixed and single purpose and good hearts, and to think only of the end for which the rites were being held. "Now go to it gladly," they concluded, and amid a chorus of *"Anchaaí!"* (an expression of approval) the drillers whirled their spindles vigorously, while the Tátôkyamu and the Wûwûtsimu sang, the other two fraternities accompanying the songs with bells and rattles. Everybody watched the drillers intently, for if the spark is slow in making its appearance, there is sorrow, since they believe that the growing season will be delayed. The two drillers in each pair relieved each other at very brief intervals, and smoke quickly appeared, and then sparks, which were caught on the bark fibre. Then the bark was carried to the fireplace, where it ignited a pile of greasewood, and the singing ceased.

An Álosaka, an Ál-wimi member wearing a horn head-dress, lighted a roll of bark and thus carried fire to the other three kivas.

One after another the chiefs of the respective societies rose, and, standing beside the fire with a tray basket containing a number of pine-needles fastened to short strings, each one prayed, and dropped one by one, six of these offerings into the fire, one for each world-region. At one side of the room the chief of the Qáqantu had been sitting concealed by a black robe held up by two of his men. He represented the spirit of fire.After the other five chiefs (the Áahltu have two chiefs), the man behind the blanket uttered a prayer, to which all responded, *"Anchaaí"*

After the kindling of the new fire, three fraternities left the kiva andproceeded in a ceremonious procession - Áahltu followed by Tátôkyamu and Wûwûtsimu - down the trail at the southern end of the mesa to the shrine of Tûwá-pon-tûmsi[44] (who is called also Tíhkûyi), at the foot of the steps leading down from the mesa to the terrace. After depositing offerings and uttering prayers, they proceeded along the trail to the shrine of Naná-mana on the north side of the ruin of Kisakobi (Old Walpi), to plant pahos and offer meal to this deity. They now retraced their steps for a short distance and then diverged to the ruin Kuchaptuvela, where, after marching four times around in a large circle, they offered feathers and scattered meal to all the various spirits. This place, though a shrine, bears no special name as such, and the feathers were given to various supernaturals, while prayers for good health and good crops were murmured.[45]

44 Fewkes mentions "Muiyunwû-wüqti, the goddess of germs," as the spirit presiding over this shrine. Apparently there is confusion here with Mûinwa, a god of germination with no particular shrine.

45 Fewkes says that at this place prayers were addressed and *naqáqusi* offered to the spirits of the Hopi who used to live in this ancient village. The statement is very explicit and positive, and apparently it is made on his own authority as an observer, and not on that of an informant. It would appear not improbable that, since there is no shrine of a specific deity at this place, the offerings might be intended for the spirits of those who once lived here. All informants questioned on this point, however, declared with great positiveness that prayers are never addressed and pahos never given to the spirits of ancestors. In the winter solstice ceremony a paho is made for each deceased

Returning to the village, the procession paused on a high bluff, and one of the Wûwûtsimtu said, *"Taaí* ['go ahead']." Another addressed the Áahltu, "Well, how are your friends?" The reference was to the women of the Mazô-wimi. Then one of the Áahltu replied, "They are all right, onlythey are lazy and dirty." For a few minutes the Áahltu were plied with questions by the others, and in their replies they uttered obscene witticisms at the expense of these women. The air was filled with laughter. This is the only occasion when the Áahltu joke at the expense of the Mazô-wimi women, but in the following days the other two fraternities took their turn.

The procession returned to the mesa, and near the hatchway of Món-kiva they stopped, and the Wûwûtsimtu sang four songs for good crops, while the others stood silent. The Qáqantu were still in Món-kiva.At the conclusion of the songs the Wûwûtsimtu and the Áahltu went to their respective kivas, while the Tátôkyamu withdrew a short distance to permit the Qáqantu to come up and go to their own kiva, after which the Tátôkyamu descended the ladder into Món-kiva. From each kiva certain members now went to their homes for watermelons, while the chief of each fraternity brought from his home a tray basket of *tósi* (meal made of parched sweet-corn), which the members ate uncooked, a bit of meal alternating with a handful of melon. Finally they mixed meal with the juice that remained in the empty rinds, and ate the paste, in this act thinking of themselves as children receiving nourishment from a mother.

Yûnya in the Initiation Ceremony, Eighth Day

After the new fire has been kindled and distributed among the other kivas, the initiates, except those of Qán-wimi, are brought to Món-kiva by their ceremonial fathers, who of course are always members of the same fraternities which their respective charges are to join. The novitiates are from twelve to fifteen years of age. They remain in Món-kiva during the rest of the evening's rites and are then led back to their respective kivas, only the Tô-wimi novitiates remaining in

member of the family, but such offerings are simply for the use of the recently dead in the spirit world. Neither in the investigation of the present ceremony, nor in any later discussions, was any trace of ancestor worship discovered, unless the Kachina cult is such.

Món-kiva.

When the ceremony includes the initiation of new members into the fraternities, there enters into the rites the image of Tála-tûmsi ("dawn clanswoman"). This is a rude wooden figurine, about two feet high and ten inches thick, with only the head delineated. On the evening of Yûnya amember of Ál-wimi, personating the mythic character Álosaka, goes down to the shrine of Tála-tûmsi, which is behind a large bowlder near the eastern foot of the mesa, just below Walpi; and when he judges that all the members have assembled in Món-kiva, he takes up the image, brings it to Món-kiva, and sets it on the roof at the edge of the hatchway. At this moment the drilling for new fire begins, and there the image remains until after the three fraternities have returned from their pilgrimage to the three shrines, as previously described; at which time it is removed to the roof of Qán-kiva.

After Orion has appeared above the horizon, the Tátôkyamu begin to sing in Món-kiva, and when the constellation is about one hour high they go in a body to Qán-kiva, and standing in the street they sing from thirty to thirty-five songs for rain and good crops. The songs are short, but in the aggregate they occupy a considerable part of the night. It is from this act that the fraternity derives its name, which means "those that sing." As soonas the singing begins, the Álosaka who brought the image of Tála-tûmsifrom the shrine dons his costume, emerges from Ál-kiva, carries the image to Qán-kiva, and deposits it at the hatchway. He remains with the singers, standing behind them as a guard. Then the Qáqantu chief climbs the ladder and gives a lighted cornhusk cigarette of native tobacco to the Tátôkyamu chief, who puffs it four times and then tucks it inside the small, ceremonial robe in which the figurine of the goddess is wrapped. Soon he receives from the Qáqantu chief tobacco in a large clay pipe, the bowl and the stem being of one piece and the hole about two inches in diameter and four inches deep. This is passed from one to another of the Tátôkyamu as they sing, and if it is not smoked out by the time their singing is finished, they must take it to their kiva and finish it. It is then returned on the next day to Qán-kiva. While most of the songs on this occasion are hymns for rain and crops, one of them refers to the Qáqantu initiates, who, contrary to the custom of the other societies, in which the initiates take part in the dances, must sit constantly during the next three days and most of the remaining nights with their knees drawn close up under the chin.

When this song begins, the Qáqantu initiates come up the ladder to urinate at a shrine on the eastern edge of the mesa near the south end of Sichomovi, where also their legs are rubbed by the Qáqantu in order to relieve the stiffness caused by constantly sitting in one position.

The Qán-wimi, it should be remembered, were a later addition to the personnel of this ceremony. It is probable that this carrying of the image of Tála-tûmsi to Qán-kiva and the singing of the Tátô-kyamu around the same kiva were originally acts of welcome to the new priesthood. It is significant that these things are done only when new members are being admitted.

Sûs-tala in the Initiation Ceremony, Ninth Day

Each morning of the three days following Yûnya, an Álosaka, stripped to the loin-cloth, leads the naked novitiates, except those of Qánwimi, to Tawá-pa spring, moving very deliberately in spite of the bitterly cold north wind that may be blowing. Another Álosaka guard brings up the rear. At the spring the two grasp the arms of each novitiate in turn and plunge him four times into the water, completely submerging him. Those who are first plunged in must stand and watch the others, and frequently icicles form on the dripping hair. On the return the leading Álosaka subjects them to many pranks, compelling them to stand and toss pebbles at a mark, or leap from one rock to another, likemountain-sheep, which the Álosaka represents. Each Álosaka carries a gourd, which at the spring is filled with water; and halfway back to the village they pour the contents over the shivering boys and despatch two of them back to the spring for a fresh supply. In their absence all must stand still and wait. At the edge of the village the two gourds are emptied over the boys before they are permitted to go into the kiva. If the ground happens to be covered with snow the visit to the spring is omitted, and thetwo Álosaka guards assemble the boys with the cheering information, "We will now have a bath in that nice warm snow." All descend to the valley and roll naked in the snow. After the return to the village and theirrespective kivas, the novitiates of Wûwûtsim-wimi, Ál-wimi, and Tô-wimi accompany the Tátôkyamu about the village, singing and dancing. Bathing in the spring or in the snow is repeated on the four following days.

Morning and evening the ceremonial father brings his child cooked food containing neither salt nor meat, and at noon an ear of parched corn.At night the novices of Ál-wimi and Wûwûtsim-wimi are taken

to Mónkiva, whence, with those of To-wimi, they accompany the Tátôkyamu, whonow repeat their songs at Qán-kiva, with an Álosaka standing guard behind the singers. During the singing the ceremonial father holds his arms about his child, like a protecting parent. With the exceptions here named, the novitiates spend the day in their kivas, where they sit with knees drawn up to the chin.

Lös-tala, or Naás-komók-totókya, in the Initiation Ceremony, Tenth Day

This day does not differ from its predecessor.

País-tala, or Naás-totókya, in the Initiation Ceremony, Eleventh Day

On the morning of the eleventh day in the initiation ceremony theinitiates of Wûwûtsim-wimi, Tô-wimi, and Ál-wimi form in single file, and,led by one Álosaka and followed by another, and accompanied by some of the older members, they go dancing through the village and down the Pötsi[46] trail. Once in the valley, the Álosaka men draw a line in the sand, stand the novitiates on it, and instruct them that when theyshall see the Álosaka men at a certain place (usually across the arroyo), they shall run to overtake them. So begins a race that ends at Sûs-tavantûqi ("first western mountain "), the westernmost of the Hopi buttes, about twenty-five miles distant.[47] There they gather soapweed to be used in the head-washing on the following day, and with it return running to the village, through which each straggling group dances its way to the kiva. In former times the Apache, knowing this custom, sometimes lay in wait and killed the runners, who of course were unarmed; and the practice of carrying weapons, then begun, is still in force long after the necessity ceased. On the morning of this day all the trails, except one on the east for the use of live stock, are closed

46 *Pötsi*, a hard, wooden point used on reed arrows. The trail is so called because such points used to be found in a hole in the rocks along this path, shot there doubtless by hunters as an invocation before setting out on a hunt. This is the trail known to travellers as the Walpi trail, or, from a large rock at the convergence of two branches, the Split trail.

47 This long course has not been taken for many years, though there are two middle-aged men at East mesa who used to cover it.

by lines of meal across them. The Pötsi trail however is open to the initiates, but after their return at about nine o'clock in the evening it too is closed. The trails are not opened until the following morning. In former times, it is said, any one crossing a closed trail would have been put to death.[48] The Qán-wimi novitiates spend this day, like the two preceding ones, in their kiva.

The three fraternities pass the night of this eleventh day in Món-kiva. Soon after their assembling, a member of Ál-wimi goes to Qán-kiva and draws a line of meal about the hatchway, thus closing this kiva and confining the Qáqantu therein. Then begins in Món-kiva a period of singing, which continues until about two in the morning, when the head-washing occurs. The novitiates of the three fraternities seat themselves in a circle, and each ceremonial father, taking his place behind his son with a bowl of water in which yucca-root has been mixed, washes the boy's head and bestows upon him a name, saying, "This will be your name through a long life." Then each member of the three fraternities passes around the whole circle, rubbing the lathered hair of each novitiate and asking, "What is your name?" The boy replies, and the older member says, "Well, if your name is thus and so, may you bring it through a long life." Then fresh suds are made and the older members wash one another's heads. The Wûwûtsimtu and the Áahltu, including the new members, return to their kivas, the proper individual of the latter society having first obliterated the line of meal about the hatchway of Qán-kiva. The Qáqantu, who have remained inactive in their kiva, are then free to come out to urinate, and one of their number ceremonially closes the other three kivas with lines of meal.[49]

Now begins the head-washing of the Qán-wimi novitiates, and

48 See earlier in article for the quarrel between Tovar's Spanish soldiers and the men of Awatobi, when one of the former attempted to cross such a barrier.

49 Here again is seen the line of demarcation between the three fraternities from Awatobi and the Qan-wimi of southern origin. It may be assumed that when the latter were admitted to participation in the ceremony, the original three societies, by means of this ceremonial sealing of the kiva of the newcomers, kept them from approaching their Món-kiva during the head-washing, and the Qáqantu then retaliated in kind.

when, at its conclusion, the lines about the hatchways of the other kivas are obliterated, the three fraternities go in a body to Qán-kiva and sing. It is now about dawn, and the three fraternities go to the eastern edge of the mesa, where in a certain place the novitiates deposit their body-scrapers. The Qáqantu novices however will deposit their scrapers at a rock below the mesa later in the morning, when the image of Tála-tûmsi is carried back to her shrine.

The novitiates are now full-fledged members. From now until the end of the next initiation ceremony four years later, each new member will be dressed for the dances by his ceremonial father, and in Al-wimi, instead of the white curving deerskin horns worn by other members, the novice will wear horns made of long-necked gourds and painted with a pigment made by crushing a soft variety of turquois and mixing it with piñon-gum and water. After the next initiation he will make a pair of white horns.

Nalös-tala, or Naásna, of the Initiation Ceremony, Twelfth Day

At sunrise the Tátôkyamu and Áahltu assemble at Qán-kiva, nine ofthe latter personating Álosaka. The Álosaka who brought up the image of Tála-tûmsi now takes it up and starts off through the plaza toward thePötsi trail, followed successively by the Tô-wimi chief, the Ál-wimi chief,the Tátôkyamu, and the Áahltu. In a separate body come the Qán-wimi chief, the Qáqantu novitiates, and the elder members. As the procession passes the kiva of the Wûwûtsimtu that fraternity joins it, their chief fallingin behind the Ál-wimi chief and the members behind the Áahltu. At the large rock in the trail the Qáqantu, leaving the others, move southward along a side trail, and passing down some steps to the terrace they come to a certain rock, where each novitiate deposits the wooden body-scraper which he had used in lieu of fingernails during his days of confinement. Pahos and meal are left with these objects. Meanwhile the other three fraternities have gone to the shrine of Tála-tûmsi, and theÁlosaka who bears the image takes it inside the rock wall that has been built up around the shrine. The Wûwûtsimtu now move up in front of the others and close around the wall, where they sing eight songs addressed to this deity for rain and good crops. In the meantime the break in the wall has been repaired, so that the figurine and niche are completely concealed, and finally each man sprinkles meal on the shrine as he silently passes. The procession forms in the original order and returns to the mesa, the Qáqantu falling

in behind in a separate body as before.

During the day novitiates of Wûwûtsim-wimi, Tô-wimi, and Ál-wimi dance with the elder members; but the Qán-wimi novitiates remain in the kiva until the end of the ceremony, though they are no longer required to maintain their former cramped position.

Sûskahimu, Fifth Day (November 18)[50]

The day was marked by the appearance of the Wuwûtsimtu in a public dance shortly after sunrise. They formed at the kiva in two lines facing each other, the individuals being shoulder to shoulder. Their chief, at the end of one line, held the fraternity *náchi,* which is a bunch of sparrow-hawk feathers on the end of a short stick; his left was clasped in the right hand of the man next to him, and both of these hands were folded over an ear of corn with the fingers interlocked. All the Wûwûtsimtu had their hands clasped in this manner over ears of corn, and each man had another ear, his "mother," which is carefully kept as a sacred object. Their faces were smeared with white, and the tips of the separated fingers had been drawn downward zigzag, scraping off some of the white paint and leaving a line for each finger on each side of the face. A yellow band encircled each calf and each thigh, and there were similar bands on the arms and the chest. Loin-cloth and moccasins were the only garments, but a fox-skin hung behind from the girdle. Each line was preceded by anÁlosaka and followed by one or more. These personators of Álosaka arethe most recent initiates of the Áahltu, and they are distinguished by the slenderness of the fabricated horns they wear as a head-dress, and by the turquois-blue pigment with which the horns are covered. Between the two lines of Wûwûtsimtu walked their drummer, with a large drum consisting of an irregular hollow section of cottonwood log covered at both ends with deerskin. It was about thirty inches deep and eighteen to twenty-four in diameter.[51] The Áalosaktu (plural of Álosaka) and the Wûwûtsimtu proceeded from the kiva northward along the east street, moving sidewise with rhythmical dance steps, and singing. Before certain

50 Thirteenth day of the initiation ceremony.

51 There is only one drum in Walpi, all the others having been disposed of to collectors. Since this was written this last drum was sold, with some secrecy, in 1919.

houses belonging to women of the Mazô-wimi society they paused, dancing back and forth, still sidewise, and chanting taunts and making suggestive jokes in song at the expense of these women. Some of those thus taunted came running out, usually with laughter but sometimes with pretended anger, and dashed cold water or vessels of urine over the naked men. Some of the men could be seen to shrink and shiver in the cold morning air, others were quite indifferent. This custom is said to have arisen from the deliberate pouring of water over the heads of young initiates, who were thus made to typify young plants. If a woman should happen to throw water on an Álosaka, she would have to indemnify him. After passing through Walpi the dancers walked across the intervening space and then danced through Sichomovi, after which they returned to their kiva.

Sûskahimu in the Initiation Ceremony, Thirteenth Day

In the sixteen-day performance the novitiates of Tô-wimi, Ál-wimi, and Wûwûtsim-wimi assemble on Sûskahimu day in Món-kiva. At intervals throughout the day the Wûwûtsimtu dance publicly in the mannerpreviously described, being led and followed by Álosaka guards; and the novitiates, except those of Qán-wimi, emerge from Món-kiva and dance at the same time, usually performing as clowns. On Sûskahimu night and onthe following two nights, the Qáqantu and the Áahltu, old and new members, except perhaps one or two old men who remain in the kiva to keep up the fire, run about the mesa to different shrines and leave offerings. On these occasions they carry cow-bells.

Komók-totókya, Sixth Day (November 19)[52]

Soon after sunrise the Wûwûtsimtu appeared and danced through the villages as before. About nine o'clock in the evening (and this occurs also in the sixteen-day rites) the *tiáwaya* ("word bearer") of the Ál-wimi chief, a herald appointed by him for life, visited the other kivas in the following order: Món-kiva, Wiqálvi, and Qán-kiva. At each he went through the same form. Entering, he was invited by all to sit down, and after smoking in silence the pipe they gave him, he was addressed by the chief: *"Taaí* ['go ahead']. For what are you walking?" He answered: "*Owé* ['yes']. Tomorrow is the day we will work [make

52 Fourteenth day of the initiation ceremony.

pahos] for our fathers in all directions. If anybody has ill feelings, let him put them away and work happily. That is why I am going around, in order to notify you of this. *Paiyáni* ['so be it']." The chief of the fraternity replied that this would be done, and all chorused assent, *"Anchaaí!"* When the "word bearer" departed, they returned to their planning for the next day. In Món-kiva the Tátôkyamu were making up their songs and the jibes they would hurl at the women. Having completed his rounds, the "word bearer" returned to Álkiva, where, after he had smoked, they asked, "How is it? " He reported what he had said to the fraternities, and what their chiefs had answered, and his fellows chorused, *"Anchaaí!"*

The Wûwûtsimtu remained up, all night, smoking and talking, because on the next day they were to dance; but in the other kivas the men retired when Orion was near the zenith.

Komók-totókya in the Initiation Ceremony, Fourteenth Day

The Wûwûtsimtu appear once in the morning and once in the evening, and they are accompanied by the novitiates of their own fraternityand of Tô-wimi, who perform as clowns, and by Álosaka guards. The Álwimi noviates however do not appear.

On this day the members of the three Awatobi fraternities are led byan Álosaka into the valley at the south end of the mesa, another Álosaka following the procession; and near the spring Anápöl-va ("short-hair spring") each fraternity builds a little cell of stones, in which the members place their "mothers," the ears of corn carried in the dances. This done, an Álosaka draws a line of meal, sets up his *món-kuh,* or *món-kohu* ("chief stick"),[53] a short distance away, and, arranging the novitiates along the line, he bids them throw their rabbit-sticks at it; for if any one strikes it, he will surely kill a rabbit. This is all in fun, and merely a method of badgering the novitiates. As this is called Komók-totókya ("wood-gathering Totókya"), the purpose of the expedition into the valley is to obtain fuel for the kivas;but at a certain place, as they proceed, the Álosaka bids a novitiate call out the invitation, or challenge, to hunt rabbits. The hunt being thus ostensibly unpremeditated, no pahos have been prepared, and there is none of the usual cer-

53 A flat stick about eighteen inches long, whitened with gypsum, used as a badge of office.

emony before the circle is formed and the drive begun. There is much rivalry among the fraternities. After the hunt they return to the starting point, and early in the afternoon they roast some of the rabbits, and feast, after which each one gathers a fagot of wood, ropes it, and places it on his back. The two Álosaka guards, however, after the novitiates have loaded themselves, distribute their own burdens among them, and then fold up their blankets, rope them like bundles of wood, and carry them on their backs like heavy loads. Arriving on the mesa the novitiates begin to quarrel and fight among themselves for possession of the game, and the women of Mazô-wimi stand by and jeer at the novices of Wûwûtsim-wimi and Tô-wimi. This ends in their giving all the rabbits tothe Ál-wimi novitiates, who carry them to Ál-kiva.

At night the messenger of the Ál-wimi chief visits the other kivas, as previously described.

Totókya, Seventh Day (November 20)[54]

About noon an altar was prepared in each of the four kivas by the respective chiefs of the fraternities. The altar in Ál-kiva was begun by spreading a layer of sand on the floor over a space about four by three feet. On it were placed in a row four small, equi-distant mounds of sand, and cloud symbols were drawn on the sand by means of meal. The ears of corn, the "mothers " of the members, were placed in three piles between the mounds, and the two típoni were severally set upright in the two middle mounds.[55]

54 Fifteenth day in the initiation ceremony.

55 A *típoni* is made by placing a heavy wrapping of cotton string about the quill ends of a bunch of long, white, downy feathers of an eagle. (But the Snake Chief's típoni has black wing-feathers.) Among the quills and within the cotton wrapping are feathers plucked from many species of birds, and seeds of all kinds of plants that furnish food. Every fraternity chief has his *típoni,* and practically all are alike. They are addressed as "grandmother," and represent the same idea as the Zuñi *éttonne.* Each *típoni* remains secreted in a certain house of the clan to which the fraternity chief belongs, and never is taken to the house in which he lives. Nor is it ever touched except at the prescribed ceremonial times. Two típoni appear in the Ál-wimi altar, because in this fraternity there are two chiefs, Ál-monwi ("horn chief") and Saqá-al-monwi ("blue horn chief"); and the membership consists of two groups, Saqá-áahltu ('blue horns") and Kötsá-áahltu ("white horns"), each of which

In the sand mound at each end of the row was thrust a *sáqa-vaho* ("blue paho"), a paho with a double shaft painted blue to represent the prayer for green crops.[56] One was for Tála-tûmsi, the other for Qiníinyakmonwi ("north chief"). In the mounds were now set many small sticks to which were attached the *naqáqusi* made by the members.

Similar altars were prepared in the other three kivas, but as the other fraternities have only one chief each, their altars had but three mounds and one *típoni*. On the Tô-wimi altar was a *saqá-vaho* for Tálatûmsi and one for Távan-monwi ("west chief"). The Wûwûtsimwimi had one for Tála-tûmsi and one for Tátkyak-monwi ("south chief") the Qánwimi one for Tála-tûmsi, one for Hópak-monwi ("east chief "), and a thirdfor Átkyak-monwi ("nadir chief"). No *saqá-vaho* is made for Óve-monwi ("zenith chief"), because, it is said, all the*naaqáqusi* are intended for all the divine spirits, including this one, as well as for those to whom they are specifically offered. At this time, and so in all ceremonies, pahos are made for Tûvíp-haiyanû ("whirlwind"), whose shrine is at the south end of the terrace of Old Walpi, and for Másôu, whose shrine is on the slope of the mesa northwest of the Gap. The pahos for these deities are not necessarily placed at the shrines, but may be deposited anywhere in the vicinity of them. All these prayer-feathers were to be placed in the shrines and in the valleys the following morning.

At noon a new mixture of medicine-water was prepared in Qánkiva.

At intervals throughout Totókya day the Wûwûtsimtu passed through Walpi and Sichomovi in the dance previously described; and after their last appearance, at about four o'clock, the Tátôkyamu appeared in the open space about Món-kiva. Their bodies and faces were yellow, and red stripes extended from eyes to ears and from the cor-

has its half of the kiva. New members wear head-dresses, the horns of which are coated with turquois-blue paint; but this fact apparently has nothing to do with the dividing line, for when the next class of initiates is received their predecessors separate and are divided among the Blue Horns and the White Horns.

56 Blue and the green of vegetation are not differentiated.

ners of the mouth across the cheeks; while the hair, interwoven with cornhusks, was tied in a bunch which projected out over the forehead. Some had a phallus painted on the back, chest, legs, and arms; and all, or nearly all, carried, impaled on the ends of short sticks, large pieces of watermelon rind so cut as to suggest the vulva. Accompanied by a drummer and followed by anÁlosaka guard, they danced and sang near Món-kiva and then proceeded, singing, to the plaza, where they stopped in front of various houses, principally, but not exclusively, those occupied by women of Mazô-wimi, and sang and danced. Continuing this performance, they moved along the east street and around through the west street. The songs were obscene, consisting of slurs on the chastity of the women addressed and of challenges to come down from the housetops to the men. Suggestive movements accompanied the songs. Some of the women ignored the singers, others threw cold water or urine upon them, laughing the while, and still others became genuinely angry and heaped abuse upon them while throwing water. One woman hurled a pot at them and followed it with a stone, but it appeared that she did not really try to make her missiles effective.

After each public dance of the Wûwûtsimtu there went through thevillage two men each of Qán-wimi, Ál-wimi, and Tô-wimi, carrying basket trays and begging for meal. These were some of the members most recently initiated. In pairs they stopped at each house and waited silently at the door or at the foot of the ladder until some woman of the household came out and dropped a handful of meal into each basket. After completing the rounds, the beggars returned to their kivas. All the meal was later sent to Ál-kiva.

After the last appearance of the Wûwûtsimtu, women came flocking to the four kivas with great piles of piki in baskets wrapped in cloths, and vessels containing stews and *píkami*. Every household in the three villages sent at least one female representative, and the quantities of food they brought were enormous. A bit from each dish and basket was laid aside near the fireplace, and on this heap the chief placed four *naqáqusi*[57] some meal, and tobacco. Then from each kiva a man who was empowered to personate Másôu took these offerings to the deity and cast them over the western Cliffs.

57 In Qán-kiva each member makes a *naqáqusi* for this purpose

About ten o'clock on Totókya night the Wûwûtsimtu came into Món-kiva, and after dancing and singing for a short time, they left, one by one. About midnight this was repeated. When Orion was at the zenith, the Tátôkyamu began their songs, and two personators of Álosaka descended and took their stations at opposite sides of the ladder. Each had a largegourd full of water, so that if any singer became too sleepy an Álosaka might wake him by pouring water on his head. The songs continued until dawn.

After the Wûwûtsimtu returned to their kiva from the midnight-dance in Món-kiva, the Áahltu came to them in a body and informed them that, having worked hard during the day, they might now go to sleep, All the other fraternities, however, passed the night in singing. In Ál-kiva and Qán-kiva the singing began when Orion was at the zenith. Each of these kivas had a watchman stationed on the roof to warn off the curious, but the others had their sentinels below within the chamber.

Totókya in the Initiation Ceremony, Fifteenth Day

The rites of the initiation ceremony on Totókya day do not greatly differ from those of the corresponding day in the shorter form of the ceremony. Before sunrise the Qáqantu send to Ál-kiva the pahos theymade on the previous day, and soon six personators of Álosaka emergefrom Ál-kiva with these pahos and with those made by their own fraternity, and carrying large baskets of the meal collected on the previous day by the beggars. The six go to Qán-kiva and throw meal down into it, a symbolic gift of food from the gods in return for the pahos of the Qáqantu, and proceed to Wiqálvi and to Món-kiva, at each place receiving pahos. As they go from place to place, each one scatters a broad trail of meal. Two carry pahos to the shrine of Tála-tûmsi, two to the shrine of Táwa ("sun") at Tawá-pa ("sun spring"), and two to the shrine of the Nalönanu-monwitu ("four chiefs") near the painted rocks in the vicinity of the Gap.

Tíhuni, Eighth Day (November 21)[58]

At sunrise, in each of the four kivas each member placed in a large piece of watermelon rind ashes from the sacred fire, which had been constantly burning in the kiva since it was kindled on Yûnya night. As

58 Sixteenth day of the initiation ceremony.

this fire is sacred, it must not be profaned by common use, as for lighting cigarettes. Matches are now used for such purposes, but formerly smokers went outside for fire. In each kiva the fire-keeper took up the *naqáqusi* which throughout the ceremony had been beside the sacred fire, and laid it on the ashes in his melon rind. Then, with the ashes and half-burned embers, the fraternities left their kivas, the Qáqantu going to the end of the mesa overlooking the ruin Kisakobi (Old Walpi), while the other three societies proceeded along the trail toward Sichomovi to a point at the edge of the cliff. At these places each man sprinkled a little sacred meal on the ashes as an offering to the spirit of fire, and then, after vomiting on the ashes, tossed the rind over the cliff and addressed to the rising sun a prayer for long life.

In each kiva after the return from the cliff a man of the Badger clan sprinkled on a buzzard-feather some ashes from an ordinary outside fire, and in a low tone sang four songs while waving the feather over his companions, who sat about him. At the end of each song he cast the ashes from the feather. This performance, like the vomiting at the cliff, is intended to rid the members of the influence of the spirit of fire: having breathed the hot air of the kiva, where the sacred fire burns, they think it well thus to purify themselves. A Badger man is selected for this duty, as well as for asperging with medicine-water, because the badger is believed to have special knowledge of medicinal roots and herbs, derived from his habit of digging.

The night of Tíhuni and the three following nights were spent by the chiefs of the fraternities in their respective kivas, in order that they might maintain the prayerful state of mind in which the pahos had been prepared and offered, and thus make sure of obtaining an answer to their petitions. This continuation of their vigil is not, as some have supposed, for the purpose of making the number of days in the kiva the same as in the longer form of the ceremony, because even in the sixteen-day rites the same practice is observed.

It used to be the rule that shortly after the close of the ceremony each fraternity should engage in a ceremonial rabbit hunt (*kivá-mákiwa*), but this was not done in 1911. The rabbits obtained in such hunts were brought into the kivas and eaten with the piki remaining from the Totókya feast.

Wûwûtsimû is a most solemn and a most important ceremony, inaugurating a new year. Nothing must be left undone to propitiate the

supernatural powers, which can send an early summer and bountiful crops, or a late summer and meagre harvests; and during the rites every mind is supposed to think solely and strenuously of the desired end.

The purpose of the ceremony is of course to bring warm weather with plentiful showers and abundant crops. As the new fire with its consequent warmth is created by natural means, that is, by two pieces of wood, or by a piece of wood and a slab of stone, one of which is regarded as the mother and the other as the father and the resultant fire as their offspring, so they hope and pray that warm weather will be granted by the beings who are supplicated.

Másôu, say the old men of Walpi, is the principal deity worshipped in this or in any other Hopi ceremony; but the statement is scarcely in harmony with what we know of the ritual, in which Tálatûmsi ("dawn clanswoman ") certainly plays the most prominent part. A logical explanation is that the Tála-tûmsi cultus probably came from Awatobi with the ceremony itself, while Másôu, as we know, is a local deity, for whom as such the Walpi people have inherited such a feeling that without conscious error they assign him the first rank.

A quotation from Prescott will show an interesting and suggestive parallel in Aztec life.

"I shall conclude the account of Mexican science with that of a remarkable festival, celebrated by the natives at the termination of the great cycle of fifty-two years. We have seen . . . their tradition of the 'destruction' of the' world at four successive epochs. They looked forward confidently to another such catastrophe, to take place, like the preceding, at the close of a cycle, when the sun was to be effaced from the heavens, the human race from the earth, and when the darkness of chaos was to settle on the habitable globe. The cycle would end in the latter part of December, and as the dreary season of the winter solstice approached, and the diminished light of day gave melancholy presage of its speedy extinction, their apprehensions increased; any on the arrival of the five 'unlucky' days which closed the year they abandoned themselves to despair. They broke into pieces the little images of their household gods, in whom they no longer trusted. The holy fires were suffered to go out in the temples, and none were lighted in their own dwelling's. Their furniture and domestic utensils were destroyed; their garments torn in pieces; and everything was thrown into disorder, for the coming of the evil genii who were to descend on the desolate earth.

On the evening of the last day, a procession of priests, assuming the dress and ornaments of their gods, moved from the capital towards a lofty mountain, about two leagues distant. They carried with them a noble victim, the flower of their captives, and an apparatus for kindling the *new fire,* the success of which was an augury of the renewal of the cycle. On reaching the summit of the mountain, the procession paused till midnight, when, as the constellation of the Pleiades approached the zenith, the *new fire* was kindled by the friction of the sticks placed on the wounded breast of the victim. The flame was soon communicated to a funeral pile, on which the body of the slaughtered captive was thrown. As the light streamed up towards heaven, shouts of joy and triumph burst forth from the countless multitudes who covered the hills, the terraces of the temples, and the house-tops, with eyes anxiously bent on the mount of sacrifice. Couriers, with torches lighted at the blazing beacon, rapidly bore them over every part of the country; and the cheering element was seen brightening on altar and hearthstone, for the circuit of many a league, long before the sun rising on his accustomed track, gave assurance that a new cycle had commenced its march, and that the laws of nature were not to be reversed for the Aztecs. The following thirteen days were given up to festivity. The houses were cleansed and whitened. The broken vessels were replaced by new ones. The people, dressed in their gayest apparel, and crowned with garlands and chaplets of flowers, thronged in joyous procession to offer up their ablations and thanksgivings in the temples. Dances and games were instituted, emblematical of the regeneration of the world. It was the carnival of the Aztecs; or rather the national jubilee, the great secular festival, like that of the Romans, or ancient Etruscans, which few alive had witnessed before, or could expect to see again."[59]

The period of rejoicing over the beginning of a new era is represented in Hopi ritual by the winter solstice ceremony.

Soyálanû, The Winter Solstice Ceremony

In those seasons immediately following a celebration of the six-

59 Prescott, C*onquest of Mexico,* after Sahagun, Torquemada, Gama, Clavigero.

teen-day form of the new fire ceremony, when new members are initiated into the four fraternities, Soyálanû is announced as a sixteen-day rite; that is, the announcement takes place on the sixteenth day before the final day of the ceremony. The rites in the longer and the shorter form are exactly alike, the only difference being that in the longer form there are twelve idle days intervening between the announcement and Yûnya, and four in the shorter.

On the evening of December 17, 1911, the Soyál-tsoótsuna ("Soyál smoke") was held as usual in the house of Vénsi, a woman of the Cloud clan. This is the principal house of the Cloud clan. Those present were Sûpla, of the Cloud clan, the Soyál-monwi ("Soyál chief"); Chû've, another Cloud man; Tûnoa, of the Horn clan, the Houses Chief; Síhtaima, of the Cloud clan, the Sun Priest; and Köyáwaima, of the Rattlesnake clan, the acting Crier Chief. Beginning with Sûpla each man, after the usual smoke, made a brief speech, the burden of which was that in eight days they would make pahos, and all should go toward that time with good thoughts and with happiness.

On the following morning shortly after sunrise Köyáwaima made his announcement from the housetop in the usual formula.

Sûs-tala, First Day (December 14)

Lös-tala, Second Day (December 15)

País-tala, Third Day (December 16)

Nalös-tala, Fourth Day (December 17)

On these four days nothing of a ceremonial nature was done. Even the Sun Priest did nothing special, having already concluded his observations of the sun when he settled on the proper time for the announcement.

Yûnya, Fifth Day (December 18)

After the morning meal some of the men went into retirement in their respective kivas. Of the others, all except those whom necessity called away from the village, as, for instance, the shepherds, took their meals in the kivas, bringing cooked food from their homes. This and the next day are supposed to be spent in the kivas, in order that the men may be purified for the making of pahos on the seventh day. Nothing of a ceremonial nature occurred. Continence being compulsory, the night was spent in the kivas in story-telling and smoking. A part of the process of self-purification is to remain awake as late as possible.

Komók-totókya, Sixth Day (December 19)

Four young men of the Cloud clan, or sons of Cloud clansmen, were selected by the Sun Priest and sent out in the four cardinal directions. From north and south was brought wood for the use of all the kivas in making pahos; from the east were brought earth and sand for use in Mónkiva. The fourth man, who went westward, merely made offerings in that direction, as did the others also in their quarters. They returned late in the afternoon. In the kivas the day and the night passed like the preceding.

Totókya, Seventh Day (December 20)

On the seventh day all the men, as well as the boys who had been initiated into the Kachina order and hence were members of a kiva organization, were present in the kivas to make pahos and *naqáqusi*. In the present instance there were few boys, because of the compulsory attendance of children at school, and a number of men were absent on herding duty. Each person made a *saqá-vaho* ("blue paho") for the Sun and a number of others to be distributed on the following day among his friends and relatives; a paho with a cross at the top for his sheep; and many *naqáqusi,* one to be tied to the mane or tail of each of his burros and others to be distributed in the afternoon among his friends and relatives. The *naqáqusi* made in this ceremony have two or three pine-needles attached as a symbol of strength, the pine being the strongest tree known to the Hopi; for the purpose of the ceremony is to promote the general good and strength of the people as a whole. It is a time of much good feeling. The men sitting about in the kivas smoked, told stories, joked, and laughed. There was no solemnity apparent. Late in the afternoon they went out, the members of each kiva being in a separate group which slowly and with quiet good nature made its way through the streets, stopping at the various houses and giving, each man of them, a *naqáqusi* to each member of the household who came out to greet them. Quiet words of thanks and felicitation were exchanged. There was a noticeable spirit of happiness and benevolence.

While the *naqáqusi* were being distributed among friends and tied to the tails and manes of burros and horses, and even to wagons, stoves, and ladders, two men from Món-kiva with large burden-baskets on their backs went from house to house, walking rapidly and calling, "Your corn!" From each household in Walpi and in Sichomovi a woman came out with four ears of corn tied together in such a manner that

either by the color of the strings or by the manner of wrapping them she could distinguish the bundle from all others. With these the men returned to Món-kiva, where they deposited them on a bed made of the earth and sand brought from the east by the Cloud man on the preceding day. There the corn remained all night and the next day.

The *saqá-vaho* ("blue paho") made for their friends and relatives were not given away at this time, for the reason that these had to remain in the kiva all night. Each man made a bundle of his *saqá-vaho*, and these bundles in each kiva were tied to a stick about three feet long, which a man carried to Món-kiva. The members of Món-kiva sat up all night singing, and toward morning each of the other kivas sent a messenger, who gathered up his bundles of *saqá-vaho* and brought them back to his fellows.

During, the night the members of Tsivátop-kiva, joined by a few from Ál-kiva, went to Món-kiva, then to Wiqálvi and to Násavi, and at each kiva performed an Ani Katsína dance. They wore ordinary clothing, and no masks.

Tíhuni, or Píkamnovi, Eighth Day (December 2l)

While it was yet early the other kivas sent messengers to Món-kiva for their bundles of *saqá-vaho,* and when these were brought, each man, reclaiming his particular bundle of prayer-sticks, went about the village distributing them to the persons for whom he had made them. Each deposited at some spring or in some niche in the rocks the *saqá-vaho* he had made for the Sun, and the same disposition was ultimately made of those received by his friends.

There was no feasting nor dancing, as the name of the day implies there should be, and the time was spent in sleep either at home or in the kivas. In the afternoon three men personating Soyál Katsína and two personating Soyál Katsína Girls dressed themselves in Món-kiva and came out, led by Sûpla, the Soyál Chief. Each personator of a male Kachina carried four ears of corn under one arm, and each personator of a female Kachina had a tray basket on which was a circle of ears of corn standing on end and held together by a string wrapped around them. In the midst of the circle of corn was a heap of cotton, representing snow. Standing outside Món-kiva, they danced and sang for a few minutes, then moved a short distance and danced again. Thus they danced four times near Mónkiva, and were then led to the *kí-son-*

vi,[60] where they danced four times, after which they were led back through the plaza to Món-kiva, dancing at each place as before. Finally they went down into the kiva and danced four times. The ears of corn collected on the preceding day were brought out and laid on the roof of the kiva, and the women reclaimed their own. This ended the ceremony. The dance of the Soyál Katsína refers to the incident related in the legends of the Cloud clan, when crops of corn were brought to maturity in a single day.

Ceremony of the Warrior Fraternity

The cultus of the war gods, which is in the hands of the Warrior fraternity, Móts-wimi, was added to the Hopi ceremonial calendar by the Reed people, who were among the earliest arrivals at East mesa, and the head of the Reed clan is always the Warrior Chief, Kalé-tak-monwi ("brave man chief"). The members of the society are known as Mómtsitu or Kákale-taktu ("brave men"), and are either Reed men, the sons of Reed men, or individuals who have taken scalps in battle. The ceremony is called Mómtsit-yese ("Mómtsitu sit").

According to the Reed legends the twin boys Pökán-hoya and Palönao-hoya, with their grandmother Spider Woman, accompanied the people in their ascent from the underworld, and after getting them safely started on their slow migration toward their future home, they gave the people stone images of themselves and then disappeared. The images of the war gods, and a small stone called Spider Woman, are now kept in a sealed niche in the wall of an unused room in a Reed house. As the war gods not only are very powerful against sorcery, but also control cold weather, they are worshipped in the winter, four days after the winter solstice ceremony, in order that there may be abundant snow to store moisture in the ground. The two figurines, and Spider Woman as well, are then removed from the niche and set up on the altar of the Warrior fraternity. The Warrior Chief personates the elder war god.

On the evening of December 22, 1911,[61] four members of the

60 "House enclosed place" - the plaza.

61 The smoke was to have been held on the previous evening, that is, the

fraternity met where the images of the war gods are kept in a room beneath the living rooms of Lénho, a young woman of the Reed clan. As her quarters are in the second story, the ceremonial room is really on the ground level, though it is apparently an underground cell, being reached only through a hatchway, like a kiva. Those present were Yóywûnu, of the Reed clan, the Warrior Chief; Sámi, of the Firewood; Wísti, of the Rabbit division of the Tobacco clan; and Wûnûtû, brother of the Chief. During the smoking it was formally decided that "the Mómtsitu will sit four days from tomorrow; let everybody go toward it gladly." This is the usual formula in ceremonial smokes. After the Chief had spoken thus, another man followed in the same strain, and so on, each speech being greeted with a chorus of *"Anchaaí!"* As this is a minor ceremony the days are not named as in more important ones, and no public announcement is made.

In the morning of December 25, a young man, son of a Reed clansman, was sent to obtain wood for pahos. It is significant that the material used by the Warriors is syringa, the same as for war arrows, and that the pahos consist of a single stick pointed at both ends.

Just after daylight on December 26 the Warrior Chief went to the ceremonial room and removed from their hiding place the images of the war gods, which are rough cylinders of stone twelve or fourteen inches high and five inches thick. Only the face is delineated. Spider Woman is represented by a small stone. In this room are kept hanging all the paraphernalia of the Warrior Chief, most important of which is the *tóziki*, an ancient badge of office consisting of two thin strands of twisted deer rawhide, which at a certain point swell into a thicker rope wrapped with deerskin Pendent from the strands are a rawhide war-cap, an imitation of the Apache article, if not an original, with *suchâva* (Olivella shells) sewed on it here and there; and two small pieces of cotton netting, which represent the war-caps of the two gods. This badge of office was formerly worn by the Warrior Chief like a baldric, the pendent objects and the two enlarged portions of the ropes hanging at his left side under the arm, and the ropes passing over the right

last day of the winter solstice ceremony, but it was decided to wait for Máho, who was visiting Zuñi. Máho failed to return on the following day, and the smoke was no longer postponed.

shoulder. Other ceremonial objects are the large and the small *tála-wipiki* ("light zigzag") lattice-work devices, capable of extension and retraction by pressure on the free ends; the fraternity *típoni;* a cougar-skin quiver with bow and arrows; and two small baskets (*hoápû*), one filled with small, hard pebbles and bits of lava, the other with small shells.

On the walls of the chamber are charcoal drawings of several animals, all fierce beasts of prey: a bear on the west wall, a mountain-lion on one north wall and a wolf on the other, and a wildcat on the east. Above the wolf is a circle for the sun, the presence of which is accounted for by the statement that years ago the sun's rays struck this spot, while at present direct light cannot possibly enter the room. The north wall is not a straight line, but is broken by a narrow offset, in which is the secret niche.

The Warrior Chief, after opening the niche, made a *pötavi,* and in the northwest corner in front of the niche he proceeded to arrange the altar in this manner:

In a row from left to right were Spider Woman, Pökán-hoya, the fraternity *típoni*, and Palönao-hoya. In front of the elder god was the large lightning-stick, and in front of the younger the small one. Between the two lightning-sticks the *pötavi* was stretched on the floor, the feathered end toward the centre of the room and the other almost touching the *típoni*.

About the middle of the morning the members of the fraternity began to straggle into the room, and each proceeded to make five *naqáqusi,* one for each war god, one for Spider Woman, one for Whirlwind, and one for Másôu. As soon as finished the first three were placed before the respective images, and the other two on the tray basket of the Warrior Chief, who later was to deposit them at the proper shrines. Then each man made about four pahos, which were finished late in the afternoon, the work proceeding in a very leisurely manner and with much smoking intervening. The pahos, painted with a mixture of water and ground lava, so that they were brown instead of blue-green, like most pahos, were placed in three tray baskets. As soon as his pahos were made, each member was at liberty to leave the room. In a short time women from the three villages began to flock toward the house with bundles of piki and bowls of stew, and those members who had left the room now returned for the fraternity feast. It is not

compulsory to bring food to the Warrior fraternity, nevertheless the great majority of households send food. Many women from Hano were seen in the throng. The men carefully noted the names of the women and kept a close account of their number, and after the conclusion of the meal they counted their pahos. If in such cases the latter are not equal in number to the women who have brought food, enough must be made to supply the deficiency. In the present instance eight more had to be made.

In the evening the members sat smoking and telling stories. A young man educated at school entertained the audience with tales from the bible and instruction in the methods of the United States Government. The biblical stories held the men deeply interested because of similarities noted in the customs of the Hopi and those of the ancient Hebrews.

When Orion was a little past the zenith, the singing began. Only two men, the chief and his brother, knew the songs thoroughly, but the others were able to assist. The songs, fourteen in number, are supplications to the war gods for snow and rain. The words are said to be in the language of some eastern pueblo, in explanation of which it is alleged that the foreign language is used for secrecy. This is less probable than that the ceremony and songs owe their origin to some other tribe.[62]

At the conclusion of the singing the Warrior Chief distributed very hard bits of roots, which the men chewed and deposited in a medicine-bowl. The ingredients of this "man medicine" are called *hón-napi* ("bear medicine"), *tóho-na* ("cougar medicine"), *momó-na* ("bumblebee medicine"), *höya-na* ("bee medicine"), *wûkó-chûata-nahûata* ("big rattlesnake his medicine"), *piván-na* ("weasel medicine"), and *hékpa* ("hemlock"). It will be seen that the animals for which these medicines are named are fierce, or have powerful weapons, or are extremely stealthy in their habits. All are roots, except the hemlock, of which the leaves are employed, and all grow in timbered mountains. The one yielding "bear medicine" is known quite commonly

62 Fewkes has called attention to the probable connection between the warrior fraternity and a similar Zuñi society, and deduces that the Reed people came from the Zuñi villages, bringing the war god cult with them.

among the Hopi, but the others, with the exception of hemlock, are known to few. Yet the secret is not possessed exclusively by the Warrior Chief, but is shared by a number of prominent men, including medicine-men. Shortly before he was interviewed in 1911-1912 the Warrior Chief had made a journey to San Carlos and gathered a large supply of all these roots with the exception of the one that yields "bumblebee medicine," which he always obtains from the Zuñi. This plant he himself does not know. During the story-telling the men had removed the bark from many willow shoots and then torn the woody fibre into thin strips, which they doubled up and tied in small, neat packets like the arrangement of a Hopi man's hair in the back. These were now dropped into the medicine-bowl that they might absorb the "man medicine." Four songs were sung in a foreign language.[63]

Orion was about to set. Daylight was approaching. Some old men were sleepy, and the small boys had actually fallen asleep during the storytelling. The others now amused themselves by teasing the sleepy boys and the nodding old men, and in this way the time was passed until daylight broke, when each selected his pahos and an equal number of willow-fibre packets and went up the ladder. The houses of all those who had brought food had been apportioned among the members, beginning with those at the south end of the mesa. A packet and a paho were handed in at the door of each house, and the inmates, who were up and waiting, received them with thanks, placing the medicine-soaked packet in the household water-jar and the paho among the roof-beams.

Ceremony of the Snake and Antelope Fraternities

The Snake[64] dance, best known of Hopi ceremonies and one of the most spectacular of all primitive performances, is a biennial, sixteen-day rite conducted by the Snake and Antelope fraternities as a dramatized prayer for rain. It occurs in the odd-numbered years at

63 It was not possible to record any of these.

64 The ceremony is so widely known as the "Snake" dance that it is so designated throughout this volume, although the Hopi name specifically means rattlesnake.

Walpi and Mishongnovi, and in the even-numbered years at Shipaulovi, Shongopavi, and Oraibi, and also at Hotavila, a recent offshoot of Oraibi.[65] As the preliminary smoke is held on the fourth day of the Pá-mûya moon, the ceremony is a variable one, failing, roughly, within the month of August,[66] and generally culminating about the twentieth.

The Antelope Chief (Tsöp-monwi), who must be of the Rattlesnakeclan, personates Ísanavaiya, chief of the Rattlesnake people who lived, according to the clan legend, under the mountain that was covered with rattlesnakes. As such he is the real head of the ceremony, and the Snake priests are his servants, just as the rattlesnakes on the mountain were theguards and servants of Ísanavaiya. This relationship is indicated by these facts: that for each performance the Antelope Chief selects a Rattlesnake clansman, or the son of one, to be his Warrior; that the Antelopes meet in Món-kivai the principal kiva; that each morning before the Snake priests hunt snakes, their chief goes to the Antelope kiva for pahos which the Antelope priests have made, and the Antelope Chief says to him: "Now you will go and gather snakes for me. If it should rain, you may drink." (While hunting snakes they are not permitted to drink standing water, unless it fell on that very day.) But the Snake Chief is called Warrior Chief of the ceremony, and his men are Warriors for the time being.

Preparations for the Snake dance begin in the winter, not long after the ceremony of the Warrior society, when the leaders of the Snakes and Antelopes make pahos, which are then planted in the four directions as offerings to the chiefs of these world-regions.

The extremely dramatic performance of the last day, in which the priests dance publicly with rattlesnakes in their hands, about their necks, and even between their lips, has generally been accepted as a remarkable and inexplicable exhibition, the triumph of primitive philosophy, or craft, or courage, or what-not, over one of Nature's most venomous reptiles. But the most remarkable aspect is that so little scepticism seems to have been aroused. The Snake priests do handle

65 There was no performance in 1918 at Oraibi, which is well-nigh deserted.

66 In 1906 the celebration at Shongopavi was a day later than at Shipaulovi, and in 1919 Mishongnovi preceded Walpi by three days.

rattlesnakes. But the rattlesnakes have first been rendered absolutely harmless by the removal of their fangs before a hand is laid on them. For the truth of this statement we have only one man's word; but as that man is a Snake priest of many years' standing, there need be no hesitation in accepting it. The roots of broken fangs in a snake drop off in the course of a few days, so that a majority of the rattlesnakes are probably quite fangless at the time of the dance. However, the rattlesnake possesses a considerable number of rudimentary fangs, one pair of which pushes forward to supply the deficiency, and not long after their release the snakes used in the dance are as well armed as ever.

Initiation into the Snake and Antelope Fraternities

Boys of the Rattlesnake clan, and sons of Rattlesnake clansmen, as well as those who, having been bitten by a snake or afflicted with a disease believed to have been caused by one, have been cured by a Snake priest, are obliged to join either the Snakes or the Antelopes.[67] Female members of the clan and daughters of male members, as well as those who have been cured of snake-bite or a swelling of the body by a Snake priest, become associate members of the fraternity. The only part played by these women is in preparing water for the snake medicine and watching the boiling medicine during the day; in sprinkling meal on the snakes while the priests dance with them; and in being present for a short time in the Snake kiva after the making of the "man medicine." Nevertheless they are regarded as members, being called Chû-wimkya, just like a male priest.

The initiation takes place in early boyhood, and the child is given his choice of entering the Snake fraternity at once, or of joining the

67 The Rattlesnake clan does not exist at Shongopavi and Shipaulovi, and there the rule is that a boy must join any fraternities to which belongs the ceremonial father who introduced him into the Kachina order. This rule probably applies also at Mishongnovi and Oraibi, although both have Rattlesnake clans. It is generally affirmed at Walpi that the performance there is the norm, because "the Walpi Rattlesnake clan is directly descended from the original Rattlesnakes of Tokonabi"; and that the rather widely variant forms of the other villages, being derived from the Walpi ceremony, are more or less corrupt.

Antelopes for a time. Later, as a young man, he will become a Snake priest, provided he is brave enough, and as a very old man he will return to the ranks of the Antelopes. Those who are cured by Snake priests of either snake-bites or diseases supposedly caused by snakes join either the Antelopes or the Snakes, according as they are timorous or courageous. If they fear the snakes, they frankly declare it, and say that while they are willing to do their best, they will have to "go in the humbler way." They remain in the Antelope fraternity to the end, unless they later become courageous enough to join the Snakes.

When a boy is ready to join one or the other order, his father goes to the kiva of that fraternity on the seventh day of the ceremony, and informs the chief of his son's intention. The matter is then discussed among the members, and one volunteers to be the boy's ceremonial father. On the following day (Yûnya) he brings the boy to the kiva, where the novitiate remains with the other members and learns what he can from their actions and their conversation. When the snake-hunt begins, if it is the Snake fraternity he is joining he is taken along and the first snake discovered must be picked up by him. Boys sometimes weep with fear, but they are nevertheless forced to endure the ordeal, although sometimes one of the men must first take up the snake in order to reassure the novitiate and show him how it is done.

There is no formal instruction of novices in the songs, traditions, and secrets of the order. These must be learned by observation. The inner secrets of the Snake order are possessed only by the Snake Chief, who, years before he begins to age, gradually imparts them to one, usually a relative, whom he thinks capable of filling his position. There are only seven Snake songs, and they are sung to the snakes, "for their amusement," as well as in washing the reptiles. In the public dance in the plaza the numerous Antelope songs are used.

The Smoke

In the evening the Antelope Chief, the Snake Chief, the Crier Chief, and a few of the elder members of the two fraternities, meet in a house of the Snake clan near the so-called Snake rock for the ceremonial smoke, and in the usual manner they agree that on the following day shall be made the announcement of the Snake dance, which

shall occur "on the sixteenth day from the day after tomorrow."[68] The evening for the Smoke is set by the Antelope Chief, who, having observed the moon, determines what will be the fifth day of Pá-mûya, the July-August moon.

The Announcement

At sunrise the Crier Chief makes the usual announcement in the manner previously described. Absolutely nothing of a ceremonial nature is done in the next seven days. The priests do not yet begin to abstain from food and to practise continence.

Yûnya Assembly, Eighth Day

(a) In the Snake Kiva

The Snake Chief goes into the kiva called Wiqálvi, usually accompanied by two or three old men. Nothing ceremonial is done, and soon he goes to help the Antelope Chief make prayer-sticks. Formerly all the members entered the kiva on this day and remained there during the rest of the ceremony, except as their ceremonial duties called them out. The night is even now passed in the kiva, and at mealtime the members go home for food, which they bring to the kiva. They are careful not to enter the houses, because the odor of woman is believed to be very repulsive to the snakes, which would be much offended if their priests should go near women at this time.

(b) In the Antelope Kiva

In the morning the Antelope Chief enters Món-kiva, accompanied by his Hónovaiya ("strong servant"), the "Warrior" mentioned previously, and by a few of the elder members. He makes four *saqá-vaho* and sings over them, and these offerings the Strong Servant takes out and plants in the four cardinal directions, according to the Hopi orientation. Then the chief sets up his *típoni*, with that of the Snake Chief beside it. The Snake *típoni* remains in this position until Totókya day.

Sûs-tala, Ninth Day

Nothing occurs in the Snake kiva. The Snake Chief and some of his old men are present, usually a few more than on the preceding day.

The Antelope Chief, assisted by the Snake Chief, again makes four pahos, which the Strong Servant takes out as before. With the help of

68 Counting the "day after tomorrow" as the first day, in the usual manner of Indian reckoning.

the priests who happen to be present the Antelope Chief makes pahos which the snake men will use when they hunt snakes.

Lös-tala, Tenth Day

This is the first day of the snake-hunt, and all Snake priests enter the kiva immediately after breakfast,[69] and make *naqáqusi*. They strip to the loin-cloth, and smear their bodies and the *naqáqusi* with red paint, which is the " pollen of the snakes." At the same time the chief offers a prayer that the snakes may not harm them. Each man is provided with a wooden dibble, a throwing-stick, and sometimes a hoe, all of which are used in digging snakes out of their holes, and catching them; and two eagle-feathers, a cloth bag, and a packet of food. Their practical nakedness is a kind of prayer that rain may fall and incidentally cool their sunburned bodies while watering the fields. The chief reminds his men that they may drink only from living springs and from newly fallen rain. Then with the pahos made by the Antelopes and their own *naqáqusi* the Snake priests climb the ladder and go single-file down the trail to the north. They plant pahos in Tevéskya spring, and a little farther on, at the place where on the last day they will deposit some of the snakes, they leave their *naqáqusi,* with a prayer to the snakes that they be well disposed.

Taaí, itá-naa, Pá-lölökanû ûm-ita mûioqátûwûni. Pá-lölökanû,

well our father water bull snake you us have-pity water bull snake

ítamu û-sínomu. Óviya nátko tákamûi ep salaí-totini. Taaí,

we your people for-them plenty thereof (?) here enough will-be well

itá-naa, chûchû-pöhöknani nok ka-hákam himûwa nákyatani. Pai lólmani.

our father rattlesnakes pacify so no where anyone angry-will be that good-will-be

Yókuvani. Amûtsvi mónvas-totini. Yántani.

rain-will on their account benefit will-be so-be-it

"Now, our Father, Water Bullsnake, have pity on us. Water Bullsnake, we are your people. For them let there be here abundance. Now, our Father, pacify the rattlesnakes, so that none will be angry.

69 Nowadays it sometimes happens that a few fail to join in the snake-hunt, on account of fear.

That will be well. It will rain. On their account good will come. So be it." Then they scatter to the hunt.

The people understand, without special announcement, that on this day no one may go into the valley northward from the village. If the Snake men encounter any one during the hunt, they call out, "Do not run!" They go up to him, and holding a snake out toward him they make a downward motion four times with the snake, and then say, "It is done! Go!"[70]

When the first snake is found they all surround it, and each throws meal on it, begging: "Do not be angry! Be quiet; do not harm us! May the Sun, our father, help us." Then the one who discovered it tames the reptile by brushing over it with his two eagle-feathers (*wûvápi*, whip) until it straightens out and tries to escape, when he seizes it quickly by the neck. If a novice is present, the reptile is then put down, and he is told to catch it. Some boys are afraid, and cry, and some cannot be made to catch the snake, in which case the novitiate is told to hold his bag down on the ground; and the others drive the snake into it. He is not yet, however, a full-fledged member. A little later, when familiarity with the sight of others catching snakes has made him more courageous, he catches one and completes his initiation. Little boys occasionally are more reckless than older men who are being initiated; for a man thinks more of the possible consequences than a boy, who is inclined to do just what he is told to do, trusting fully in the wisdom of his elders.

A rattlesnake is moved about with a stick until an opportunity is offered to catch its head under the stick and press it down on the sand. The pressure causes its mouth to gape, and the blade of a wooden hoe, or of any flat stick, is slipped in between the jaws. Then with the thumbnail the fangs are broken off short, the nail pressing against the fang near the base while the point of the fang rests on the blade

70 At Middle mesa the Snake men surround the intruder, and the chief asks, "Who will be his father?" If anyone is willing to be his ceremonial father, which implies that the volunteer will have to provide the new member with a ceremonial kilt, a sash of deerskin fringe, moccasins, feathers, and rattles, the unexpected novitiate is taken along to the hunt. If, however, no one is willing to be his ceremonial father, they have to let the man go.

or stick.[71] Then its body is handled and rubbed while the head is still

71 At the conclusion of a discussion of the ceremony with a certain Snake priest, the writer, having some years previously observed a rattlesnake with distended jaws trying in vain to effect a hold on a dancer's cheek, abruptly asked the informant how the rattlesnake's fangs are treated before the reptile is handled. When the interpreter had at length been persuaded to put a question so palpably foolish, the old man showed considerable surprise, a speculative surprise as he studied his interviewer's face, endeavoring to determine how much was actually known. When the question was repeated in a matter-of-fact way, as if there was nothing at all mysterious about the subject, his reluctance gave way. After revealing the procedure, however, he was noticeably perturbed, and brought the interview abruptly to a close. The interpreter was more backward. After a few hesitating pauses he gave the information, which was news to him, and at the conclusion he blushed with chagrin that this great bit of Hopi magic had been exposed as a clever trick.

Eight years later, in 1919, the same informant was asked, without the embarrassing presence of an interpreter, whether for a small sum (five dollars was suggested) he would catch a rattle-snake and break its fangs, permitting photographs of the process to be made. He replied that for six dollars he would willingly do it, provided he might so turn his face or bend his head that his features would not be recognizable. He would do this, he said, because for eight years his secret had been so well kept that he had great faith in his confidant. He then went on to describe again, in a mixture of Hopi, English, Spanish, and gestures, the manner of removing the fangs, and added the information that when he was initiated as a boy there were two other boys and a youth, none of whom knew the secret; for only after long-tried loyalty and taciturnity were the members informed that the rattlesnakes' fangs were removed. In the course of the hunt this youth, inadvertently left alone for a time, came upon a rattlesnake and proceeded to catch it as if it had been a bullsnake. It bit his wrist, and he was hurriedly taken to the kiva. There he sat for two days and a night, motionless, with bowed head, his arm tremendously swollen and the flesh decaying with a terrible stench. He did not die, but the misfortune threatened for a time to give the deathblow to the Snake dance at Walpi.

It should be stated that the only purpose in proposing to photograph the operation was to open the subject for discussion, to observe how the retired Snake priest would react to such a suggestion, and perhaps to acquire some new bit of information. The risk of accident in handling the snake by one long unaccustomed to it, and the practical certainty that the publication of such a photograph would result in serious trouble, perhaps in murder, were the

pressed down, and after a while the reptile becomes passive and is easily picked up and dropped into the bag. To catch the first snake quickly is a good omen.

At noon the Snake men assemble at Pûhû-va ("new spring"), on the north side of the valley lying west of Walpi, to partake of a light meal, and after a brief rest, during which the snakes are shaken out on the sand to cool themselves, while the novitiates keep them together with their "whips," they scatter and return to the village, still searching for snakes. In a certain place at the foot of the mesa they assemble, and thence come single-file into the village and down into the kiva, each one bringing a quantity of sand in a bit of cloth. Usually they hunt in pairs or trios to help one another.

A prayer-stick is deposited at each spring and shrine visited by the snake-hunters.

In the kiva they spread the sand in a strip about three feet wide, extending laterally across the lower part of the floor between the fireplace and the rear wall, and on this the reptiles are placed and permitted to crawl about. A watchman is stationed at each side of the strip, and when any snake crawls off the sand the watchman whips it back. By and by the snakes cease to attempt to leave the sand. At bedtime they are gathered up one by one and put into earthen jars, which are provided with small ventilating holes, and early in the morning they are again placed on the sand; but before the priests go out to hunt they

considerations that prevented the consummation of the bargain. For the latter reason also the informant's name is withheld.

Subsequently to all this, unexpected confirmation was secured, or rather it came unsought at Zuñi. The Chíkyaliqe, or Water Rattlesnake people, formerly kept rattlesnakes captive in a new jar in the fraternity house during their rites, and some of the men danced with reptiles tied about their necks and at the back of their waists. The snakes were caught by the neck while the head was pressed down on the ground with a stick, and then, while the reptile was firmly held in the hand, a small stick was employed in breaking off its fangs. Even now rattle snakes are said to be caught in this fashion when found by any fraternity man in his field, and released outside the field without mutilation of the fangs. The informants, a member of the Big Ember society, affirms that he has repeatedly done this. Like the Hopi, the Zuñi never kill snakes.

replace the reptiles in the jars and carefully smooth the sand, so that if any snake escapes from its jar it will leave a trail. There are separate receptacles for the different species.

Only the Snake Chief remains in the kiva at night with the snakes, the others sleeping on the roof, or on the ground in the immediate vicinity. The snakes sometimes force the stoppers out of their jars, and crawl about the kiva, and when the Snake Chief hears the sound of a crawling reptile he builds a little fire and summons his men to help catch it.

On this tenth day the Antelope Chief makes his four pahos and the Strong Servant deposits them as usual.

País-tala, Eleventh Day

As on the preceding day the Snake priests hunt snakes, but this time to the west, depositing their offerings at the shrine Chû-ki ("rattlesnake house") at the foot of the mesa on the trail leading to Middle mesa. The hunt proceeds as usual, but after a short time they assemble at the ruin of the village which the migrating Snake clan built in the valley between the two mesas. After smoking, they scatter and return to the village about noon, and eat their meal in the kiva. Then, while the snakes lie on the sand, they sing, in an unknown foreign language, seven songs "for the amusement of the snakes, because they are the children of the Snake clan," two men wielding rattles of antelope-skin containing grains of corn.

Of frequent occurrence are the words *"Sípapûni Tsámahiya áwahiya yómahiya sinaháya." Tsámahiya* is the song form of Tsámaheya, the name of the scout whom, according to the Rattlesnake legend, the people at Tokonabi sent over the country to find people with whom they could unite; and *Sípapûni* is for Sípapuni, the place of the mythological emergence of the Snake people from the lower world. The language is Keres. A Zuñi informant avers that he has heard the same song in the Ant fraternity at Santo Domingo; and a man at Laguna, another Keres pueblo, says that he has heard old men employing all these words in supplication as if they were the names of deities.

While singing, the priests sit about the sand strip, marking the rhythm with their feather "whips" and keeping the reptiles constantly moving. By the time the singing is finished the reptiles have become lethargic, and the priests sit and smoke. At bedtime the snakes are replaced in jars.

In the Antelope kiva the chief makes the four pahos as usual, and the Strong Servant places them in the appropriate places.

Nalös-tala, Twelfth Day

The Snake priests, gathering snakes in the southern quarter, plant-their offerings at the spring Tawá-pa, then proceed to Ös-teika (south of Five Houses), where they drink and eat their noon meal. They turn back tothe spring Ís-ba, where they drink, and then go to Tála-teika ("dawn point"), a rocky promontory on the Tawá-pa trail, to rest a short time before returning to the kiva early in the afternoon. Again they sing the seven songs to the snakes, "amusing their children."

In the Antelope kiva the usual four pahos are made, and offered in the four quarters.

Sûskahimu, Thirteenth Day

This is a kind of feast day in the snake hunting, and formerly the priests prepared a goodly amount of food at "gray dawn," and at the "yellow dawn" made their start from the village toward the east. But now the start is not made before sunrise. At Wála, the Gap, the younger men give their food to a few old men, who at once go to the spring Kanél-va, where they sit smoking and waiting for the others. Some of these proceed in their hunting along the top of the mesa; others go among the rocks at the foot of the mesa up through the ruin of Sikyatki, then up through the sand hills and down on the northwest side of the mesa to the spring. Then while the novitiates watch the snakes, the younger priests gather fuel, and soon they have their noon meal. It is about midday when they meet here, though by the Hopi reckoning it is two hours before noon.

It is on this day that the most snakes are caught, because the start is earlier and the hunt more vigorous. Probably similar effort is not exerted on the three preceding days for the reason that it is not desired to have the care of too many reptiles for so long a time. Sometimes men make extra bags of cloth and rags taken from scarecrows in the cornfields, in order to hold the snakes caught on this day. An informant remembers that a certain man, after filling two bags and lacking material for a third, took several snakes into the folds of his loin-cloth.

After the smoke at Kanél-va they return to the village, proceeding this time along the west side of the cliff, and about sunset they assemble at the Gap, from which place, after the chief has counted the catch, they come into the kiva in a body. On previous days a count is

made in the kiva. There is no singing on this day.

In the Antelope kiva the usual preparation and offering of four pahos occur. Komók-totókya, Fourteenth Day

(a) In the Snake Kiva

In the Snake kiva the morning is passed in the preparation of costumes for the dance, painting, repairing, making anew. At noon the chief and an assistant begin to arrange the altar, the basis of which is a sand mosaic about thirty inches square. In the middle and facing the east is the mountain-lion, surrounded by four differently colored snakes parallel to the sides. At regular intervals along each side of the mosaic are placed eight *nölökpi* which are syringa shoots about thirty inches long, curved like a shepherd's crook at the upper end, where a down feather hangs. The lower ends are embedded in hemispheres of clay prepared by novitiates. At each corner stands an arrow embedded in a ball of clay, and at the back of the mosaic the Snake Chief stands his *típoni*.

The altar being completed, the preparation of the "man medicine" begins. Previously on this day the Snake Chief has gone to the room in which is kept the paraphernalia of the Warrior fraternity, and brought thence the various roots used by the Warriors in making their "man medicine," as well as the shells and bits of hard stone which the Warrior Chief keeps as a symbol of the hardiness of his Warriors. The Snake Chief now distributes about the four sides of the altar, and at two corners for zenith and nadir, the six species of root, each of which has its prescribed position, according to the world-region to which it figuratively belongs. The reason for using the "man medicine" of the Warriors is that the Snake ceremony is not only a prayer for rain but an exhibition of manliness and fearlessness.[72] The baldric of the Warrior Chief is then coiled up on the figure of the cougar, and the medicine-bowl of the Warriors is set on it. This "bowl" is really a piñon-gummed Apache basket.

Now the singing begins, and a Snake priest of the Cloud clan pours

72 The fact that the Rattlesnake clan, and presumably the Snake fraternity, entered the Hopi country before the Reed clan, and presumably the Warrior fraternity, indicates that at one time the Snake fraternity did not use this medicine.

water into the vessel from each of the six directions corresponding to the six world-regions, finally filling it. Another member takes an arrow from a corner of the altar, and holding the point of it in the bowl with both hands grasping the shaft, he stirs constantly and with much firmness while the Snake Chief, with ceremonious motions toward the six world-regions, puts in the various roots. The singing is continuous.

Toward sunset the Antelope priests and the Snake women come into the kiva, the reptiles having been previously replaced in the jars, which are set on the raised portion of the floor behind a curtain, in order that the snakes may not see the women and become offended. Each person swallows a sip of the medicine, ejects a second mouthful on his hands, and rubs them over the body. Then the Snake Chief, passing behind the curtain that conceals the jars of reptiles, brings out a rattlesnake, and pausing in front of each one of the Antelopes and the Snake women, who sit in a row, he holds it in both hands and moves it rapidly up and down several times, as if it were dancing. Then one of his men carries it away and releases it at one of the shrines where the snakes are to be liberated on the last day of the ceremony. This act is regarded as a form of initiation into the Snake fraternity of the Antelope novitiates and the female Snake novitiates. After its completion the Antelopes and the Snake women withdraw. The unused medicine remains in the bowl, awaiting the last day, when it will be mixed with gypsum to make the white paint with which the Snake men smear their bodies and faces. Some of this mixture of medicine-water and gypsum they also will form into small balls, which they will stick to their baldrics (*tóziki*).

(b) In the Antelope Kiva

In the Antelope kiva the chief makes the four pahos, which the Strong Servant disposes as before. After darkness has fallen, the Antelopes, one of them carrying a netted gourd, descend to Tawá-pa, where they plant pahos and then sit about the spring smoking and talking, until near dawn, when with the gourd of water they return to their kiva. This is intended to bring rain.

Soon after dark on this night the Crier Chief makes the announcement of the Antelope race: "Tomorrow, ye boys and ye young men who have not yet gone to bed, tomorrow we will run for the Antelopes from below Tawá-pa! So ye boys and ye young men must go down early in the morning!"

Totókya, Fifteenth Day

(a) In the Snake Kiva

Before dawn the Snake priests go to the other kiva and remain there, singing the Antelope songs until the end of the Antelope race. Later in the morning the Snake Chief goes to recover his *típoni*, which during the singing has been standing beside the *típoni* of the Antelope Chief, and he sets it up in his own kiva behind a sand mosaic on the lower level of the floor. The morning is spent in making *naqáqusi,* and in the afternoon the Snake men join in the Antelope dance.

After the Snake priests have had their evening meal, the chief says, "Now decide among you what you are going to do tomorrow." Then they arrange themselves in threes, by choice, and each trio discusses the question, who shall dance with the snakes *(kyátsanma* having-in-mouth), who shall be the "hugger" (*mavópumaka*), and who shall be the "catcher" (*ponímaka*). The discussion lasts far into the night, for most men are reluctant to hold the snakes in their mouths; indeed there are some priests who never have handled the reptiles in the dance. But at last some one in each group loses patience and recklessly declares that he will take the part, and when all is settled, they partake of a meal, and the chief selects four of those who are to handle the snakes and sends them to plant pahos in the four quarters. Each goes in a different direction, but each makes a complete circuit and leaves pahos in the four quarters. Three of them leave the kiva with their offerings at once, but the one who is to start eastward goes at dawn, accompanying the men who participate in the Snake race and returning to the village with them. Because of their dislike for travelling about the rocky trails in darkness, they sometimes delay the assignment of parts even beyond the time it would be expected to occupy. When the three men have gone with their pahos, the others roll themselves in their blankets and sleep; for the Snake priests do not remain up all night on Totókya as do the members of many other fraternities. From now until the end they neither eat nor drink.

On Totókya night there is a public announcement that the young men will race early in the morning for the Snake priests.

(b) In the Antelope Kiva

When the Antelope priests return from their vigil at Tawá-pa it is almost daylight, and in a very short time, still before dawn, the Snake men join them. One of the Snakes, a boy in full costume, carries a

reptile, and with him is a Snake girl bearing an earthen bowl in which are two bunches of cornstalks. Both the boy and the girl have the chin painted black. In the Antelope kiva the boy takes his place on the south and the girl on the north side of the altar, and while the two fraternities sing the Antelope songs, the boy and the girl rhythmically move the snake and the cornstalks up and down. This continues until the first of the racers reaches the mesa, when one of the Snake priests takes the reptile down into the valley and there releases it.

(c) The Antelope Race

Tsövi-yûtû ("antelope running") occurs on this Totókya day. A man of the Horn clan, selected by the Antelope priests (or, if there is no Horn man willing or available, a man who has married into the clan), comes to the Antelope kiva shortly before dawn.

He is called Pûsukna-taka ("bursting man"). He brings a netted gourd, and receives from the Antelope Chief a bundle of five pahos and a *pötavi*. At Tawá-pa spring he ties a paho to a stick, which he thrusts into the mud at the edge of the water, sprinkling meal about it and praying that there may be rain that day. Then he dips up ooze and water in his gourd and runs to a point about three miles east of the mesa, where he plants the other four pahos in a north-and-south row, extending the line by drawing a furrow in the sand at each end of the row. As a rule pahos are placed with the "face" toward the rising sun, but in this case they face the village, for the reason that they typify the spirit of the rain which is desired. The *pötavi* he stretches in front of the pahos, the feather end being toward the village, and along the outstretched string he sprinkles meal, which with the *pötavi* symbolizes a road for the rain. While doing this he prays: "Sun, our father, grant that all may go well this day. May the rain come. May the young men who are to run have good hearts. May nothing untoward happen today."

Just before sunrise come the racers. Participation in this ceremonial contest is a matter of choice, and does not depend on membership in any clan, fraternity, or kiva. Formerly many young men took part in it, but now there are sometimes only two, although others waiting in an arroyo near the mesa or among the rocks at the foot of the cliff join at the finish in order to give the end of the race a semblance of reality.

Bursting Man smears his ooze on the sole of each runner's left foot, so that as they run they will leave traces of mud on the ground, which symbolizes the muddy feet of one walking after a heavy rain. The rac-

ers take their stand on the lines at the end of the row of pahos, and Bursting Man stands in front of them, facing the east. Just as the sun appears, he raises his gourd successively to the north, west, south, east, and zenith, and finally, with a downward swing for the nadir, he lets it crash to the ground. The instant it breaks, the racers dash forward, leaping toward the feathered end of the *pötavi* and running across it; for they represent the rain gods and the rain which is desired to follow the path of the *pötavi* toward the village. The course leads up the trail past the ruin of Kisakobi (Old Walpi) to the top of the mesa. Each runner goes to his home without ceremony.

Bursting Man runs after the racers, and, arriving in the village, goes to the house of a clanswoman who is custodian of the string of deer-hoof rattles which he wears about his waist. He removes the string and hands it to the woman, who thanks him.

(*d*) The Antelope Dance

About midday the Snake priests go into the valley for leafy cottonwood boughs, with which they build in *kísonvi* (the plaza) a circular booth called *kísi* ("shade"). The doorway is covered with a cloth, and the top is open to the sky. Meanwhile the Antelope priests have prepared two bundles of green shoots from all kinds of plants used for food, and these one of their number carries into the *kísi*. As the sun sinks, the Antelopes come out of their kiva, single-file, and march into the plaza, where with martial step they pass four times about the space, singing and shaking their antelope-skin rattles. Each time, as they pass the *kísi,* they drop a sprinkling of meal on a bit of board that covers a hollow in the ground, and stamp vigorously on it with the right foot. This simulation of thunder is designed to bring thunder-clouds and rain. After their four circuits, the Antelopes form in a long line, shoulder to shoulder with their backs toward the *kísi*. They are still singing and shaking their rattles, when the Snake priests appear and march in the same manner about the plaza, sprinkling meal on the board, stamping, and singing. The difference in the bearing of the Antelope and the Snake priests is marked, the Snakes moving with determined masterfulness as if they were the very lords of creation. Their four circuits completed, the Snake men stand in a row facing the Antelopes, and both fraternities begin to sing in low tones, shaking their rattles gently; but gradually the volume of sound increases, in simulation of the approach of distant thunder. Now another song is begun,

and an Antelope priest of the Corn clan, followed by a Snake priest of the Cloud clan, goes into the *kísi,* from which he emerges with a bunch of green stalks and vines. He dances around the open space four times, holding it in his hands and mouth just as the Snake men handle snakes; and the Snake priest dances behind him with his left arm about the Antelope's neck, like the "hugger" in the dance with reptiles. At the conclusion of the fourth circuit the Antelope brings out the second bunch and dances with it, finally replacing it in the *kísi,* after which the fraternities return to their respective kivas, and women bring food to the Antelopes. After the meal the Strong Servant of the Antelope Chief carries the two bunches of green stalks from the *kísi* into the valley, and leaves them in the cornfields as an offering and a supplication for the maturing of all plants.

The Antelopes are required to pass this night in the kiva. At dawn they will sing for the Snake race, and at sunset they will assist in the Snake dance; but, the rigor of ceremonial rules being now considerably abated, the intervening time may be spent at work in the fields. They must not, however, approach a woman.

Tíhuni, or Píkamnovi, Sixteenth Day

(a) The Snake Race

Chû-yûtu ("rattlesnake running") occurs on the last day of the ceremony. Before dawn a Horn clansman, permissibly the one that acted in the Antelope race, but preferably a different one, brings to the Antelope kiva a netted gourd, and receives seven pahos and a *pötavi,* which the Snake priests have made and given to the Antelopes. He then goes along the western side of the mesa and plants a paho in Anwús-pa ("crow spring"), another in Kanél-va, a third in Wípho; and from each spring he takes ooze and water in his gourd. Then he returns to a place about half a mile south of Wípho and five miles from Walpi, where he plants the remaining four pahos and lays out the *pötavi* as in the Antelope race. The procedure is now exactly the same as in the Antelope race, with this one difference: At the foot of the mesa below the Gap is the shrine where, according to the Rattlesnake legend, some old men were turned into stones. Here an old man of the Rattlesnake clan stands with a short stick, on the bent end of which a paho is tied. This represents an old hunchback. When the runners approach, he urges them on, crying, "Run! Run!" As they pass him, each touches the crooked stick, and when the last runner has gone he hurries after

them. Meanwhile the Antelopes have appointed four Horn clansmen, who separately go in the four cardinal directions to place in the dry water-courses pahos and round balls of mud, such as are found after heavy rains. They gather the debris washed down by the last freshet and scatter it over the ground as they run toward the course of the racers, to join them and enter the village with them.

On their way to the starting place some of the runners visit the gardens about Wípho and there gather bunches of cornstalks, bean-vines, and pepper-plants, and as they come running into the village, women pursue them with shouts and laughter, and take the green stalks from them. The little boys on this morning are naked and painted white, and they have their hands full of cornstalks, melons, and other plants and fruits. As soon as the racers come in sight, the boys run about the mesa, while little girls pursue them and take away their plants and fruits. Thus is expressed the desire and the prayer that crops may grow rapidly.

On the four days following, the men go about with various articles in their hands, such as melons, corn, baskets, or even objects bought in the stores, and these the women are privileged to take. Sometimes they confiscate things not intended to be taken, such as an entire load of melons being brought from the fields. This is a survival of a former custom, when young men brought from the valley garlands of squash flowers, which they would fling about their heads as they ran hither and thither with the women in pursuit.

(b) The Snake Washing

Early in the morning the men who are to handle snakes in the dance go into the valley to deposit *naqáqusi* that were made on the previous day, returning about the time the racers arrive. At the same time the Snake Chief goes for his medicine-roots, which are not of the same species as those used for the "man medicine." Nobody but the Snake Chief and the man whom he trains for his successor knows their identity. Sitting apart from the others, and working in the concealment of a blanket drooping from his shoulders, the Snake Chief pounds up the roots; and while it is still morning he takes the pulverized substance to the principal house of the Rattlesnake clan, there to place it in vessels of boiling water, which the Snake women have provided and which they watch as the water boils during the rest of the day.

Early in the afternoon occurs the washing of the reptiles. A man

of the Cloud clan pours water, with ceremonious gestures toward the six world regions, into a very large earthen bowl, or sometimes into two or three bowls, thus supposedly influencing the rains. Then the Cloud clan Snake priests gather round the vessel and beat up a lather of yucca-root, while the snakes crawl on the sand. The singing of the Snake songs is begun when water is poured into the vessel, and is continued with great vigor during the act of washing.

Two of the Shipaulovi snake-washing songs run as follows. The few significant words are in the Keres language and mean nothing to the Snake men. The second song is the one used during the actual washing of the reptiles. Though chanted in low tones, it is very spiritedly rendered with double tempo beginning with the second line.

Haíiye haíiye haíiye, haiyí!
Haíiye haíiye haíiye, haiyí!
Hóshke hóshke pináwi másaiwa[73] *toní!*
Yéhe eye ye, á u haíiye, á u haíiye, haíi, haíi, ye á u haíiye!
Yéhe eye ye, á u haíiye, á u haíiye, haíi, haíi, ye á u haíiye!
Yéhe eye ye! Síyapatû síyapatû yóyo![74]
Ná u haíiye, ná u haíiye, á u haíiye, haiye!

While the lather is being made, the other priests begin to gather up the reptiles, catching them carefully by the necks and holding them just as carefully, two, three, or four in one hand and all together, not between the fingers as the catchers and the Antelopes hold them in the dance. When the lather is ready, each man passes his handful of snakes to one of the Cloud clansmen, who grasps them carefully, with both hands as close to the heads as possible, and dips them into the suds, moving them about in the water and still holding fast to their necks. Then he lays them away on the altar, where the novitiates with their feather "whips" keep them moving about over the sand until the mosaic is obliterated and the snakes are dry. Each Cloud clansman takes his turn in washing a handful of snakes. At the conclusion of the snake washing, the Cloud clansmen say, "Now may our clansmen [the clouds] soon wash us!"

The purpose of the washing is said to be threefold: first, "be-

73 *Másaíwa* is probably for Másewi, a Keres mythological personage.

74 *Yóyo* is probably for Oyóyai, one of the Keres hero-brothers.

cause the snakes are our children;" secondly, "because we think that by washing the snakes, who are very powerful, we may be repaid by them in the form of rains, which they will send to wash us in return;" thirdly, "because we wish the bodies of the snakes to be clean when we put them in our mouths."

(c) The Snake Dance

Now the members begin to prepare for the dance. Pink clay is smeared over moccasins, kilts, and other parts of the paraphernalia to be worn, and cornsmut mixed with some of the "man medicine" made on Komók-totókya day is rubbed over the body. Then pink clay mixed with "man medicine" is smeared on the forearms, the calves, and the upper right side of the head. The chin is whitened, the rest of the face blackened.

By the time the painting is done, the snakes are dry, and they are put into two bags (one for rattlesnakes and one for other species), which are carried to the plaza and placed in the *kísi*. Very small snakes are not put into the bags with the others, any such being kept by the dancers, who sometimes carry them into the plaza in their mouths, with the head protruding. Any very large snakes that are to be reserved for certain men, at their request, are placed in separate bags. A message is sent to the Antelopes, who come out of their kiva and, as in the Antelope dance of the preceding day, dance four times around the plaza, stamping on the board and throwing meal on it. The Snake men follow in the same manner, and there occurs a period of singing, during which the two fraternities stand in lines facing each other. One of the songs runs as follows:

Áyamo távanee ómô-kívee Sipapûni-násavee ómô-vonya.

yonder west-in cloud house-at Sipapuni center-at cloud altar

Áyam-omii yóy-hölööma. A-péo yóy-nánaqûsa, nalönanû síwatu níkyanwû tûqûnan-mánatu.

yonder up rain rise from there rain goes four younger sisters those rain-god maids

Pavá-toho kömá-am yóy-ûtsi[75] *mákyano*

75 *Ûtsi*, shut or locked. *Yóy-útsi* refers to a black band of clouds presaging rain.

water cougar something- on face there rain shut there.

Pá-tala-vonya, mûi-tala-va, ni-paípû-namûsa. Haía haía yo

water light altar moon light water ? that-way will be

Sílili, tímani, yóy-ûmûmû-tímani! Hiwaí! Lólomi![76] *Hiwaí! Lólo, lólomi!*

lightning thunder rain rumbling thunder

Áhai áhai áyahi ya! Haíiye haíiye héahaí! ||

Hápime! Hápime! [77] *Takûzi, Saqá-pû, í-nûû, ítamûí taláhoi-naní kíki-nawita.*

Yellow corn blue corn my mother us waken will houses among

(Repeat ||-||)

"Yonder in the west, at the house of the clouds, at Sípapuni, center of the world, is a cloud-altar. Yonder, up there, rain is rising. Thence goes the rain, those four younger sisters, the Rain-god Maids. Water-cougar is there with something on his face, a streak of rain-clouds. Water-light altar, moon-light water, that way it will be. Lightning, thunder, rain-rumbling-thunder! *Hiwaí!* Running water! *Hiwaí!* Running, running water! Yellow Corn, Blue Corn, my Mother, will awaken us among the houses."

Soon the Snake men begin to move about without any particular order. The chief looks about in the crowd of spectators, and if he discovers a Snake priest who is not participating in the ceremony, he summons that man to enter the *kísi* and hand out the reptiles to the dancers.

While the Antelopes sing and shake their rattles, the Snake men in trios begin an extremely thrilling dance around the plaza. As each group arrives at the *kísi,* the dancer receives a snake, which he holds in his two hands and from time to time places about his neck or between his lips. The "hugger" dances close behind him with his left arm about the dancer's neck, and with his eagle-feather "whip" he constantly makes stroking motions over the reptile as if to pacify it. After being carried four times around the plaza, each snake is tossed aside, and the "catcher," who, not dancing, walks a few steps behind his two fellows,

76 *Lólomi*, an onomatope much used in songs, the sound of running water.

77 *Hápime,* a vocable commonly used as a prelude to the second stanza.

takes it up and grasps its neck between two fingers of the left hand. If there are so many reptiles that the catchers cannot hold them all, and usually this is the case, handfuls of the harmless species are given to the Antelopes, some of whom are noticeably distressed by this duty.

All the snakes having been handled in this way, an Antelope of the Horn clan draws a circle of meal on the ground and casts meal to the six world-regions, and the Snake Chief in like manner makes a superimposed circle. Then the reptiles are cast carelessly into the circle, and the Snake men rush wildly forward to seize handfuls of them at random, and dash away down various trails into the valley, arranging the snakes in a more orderly manner as they run. Very old men, after going down over the edge of the cliff, often relinquish their snakes to younger men. Before the dance it is decided in what quarter and at which of various shrines near the mesa each priest shall deposit his snakes. In the northern quarter the place is at the foot of the mesa among the rocks near the peach orchards; in the western quarter, near the shrine Chû-ki ("rattlesnake house"); in the southern, a little below the shrine of Tála-tûmsi ("dawn clans-woman"); in the eastern, on the mesa north of the Gap. Each of the four men who on the preceding night deposited pahos at the four cardinal points carries his snakes to one of those places where the prayer-sticks were left.

Meanwhile, the elderly men, and the boys who take no part in this distribution of snakes, form in line and,, as at first, march four times around the plaza and then to their kiva. The Antelopes do likewise. The others, returning from the valley, go to the edge of the mesa west of Món-kiva, and there, the Snake men from the kiva having joined them, all bathe with the snake medicine, which has been boiling all day, and drink from another vessel. The medicine is an emetic and a purgative, and its purpose is to rid them of any evil influence of the snakes. After thus purifying themselves, they retire to the kiva and sprinkle snake medicine over every object that has been used in the rites. The Snake women bring, food, and, taking the clothing the men have worn in the kiva, they carry it into the back street, dip it into bowls of medicine, wring it out, and bring it back. Each woman takes home from the kiva a cup of medicine, of which each member of her household takes a sip; and other women are permitted, but not required, to do likewise.

The priests as usual sleep outside the kiva, and the chief remains

inside.

(d) In the Antelope Kiva

The Antelopes no longer fast. On the preceding day, after the completion of their dance, they began to take their meals at home, though they spent the night in the kiva. Even on Tíhuni day they eat at home, and only their chief spends the night in the kiva. They do not participate in the ceremonial washing and vomiting, but after this has been observed by the Snakes the Antelopes go to the Snake kiva and obtain some of the medicine, of which they drink a little.

(e) Four Days of Purification

On the day after the dance, the Snake Chief takes up his *típoni* from the obliterated altar, and the members spew snake medicine over every article used in the ceremony. During four days and four nights the chief of each fraternity remains in his kiva as the completion of the long prayer for rain. It is expected that rain will fall within these four days; if it does not, the Hopi believe that there was some mistake in the performance of the rites. As the ceremony takes place in the midst of the rainy season, they are rarely forced to this explanation.

The connection between serpents and rain is easily seen in the fact that among primitive peoples, including the Hopi and many other American Indians, the symbol of lightning is a zigzag line, the conventionalized picture of a serpent.[78] From the similarity between the sinuous gliding of a snake and the broken course of a lightning flash came naturally the concept of serpents as messengers of the rain deities.

There are vestiges of a Snake ceremony at many other pueblos, including Acoma, Laguna, Sia, Cochiti, and other Rio Grande villages, as well as Zuñi. Mythology also gives a hint here and there of the former existence of the Snake dance at these places, and even history occasionally speaks. Thus, Espejo at Acoma in 1583 saw the Indians perform "many juggling feats, some of them very clever, with live snakes,"[79] and an illustration in Sahagun's *Historia* indicates that the Snake cult

78 See Volume X, where the personification of lightning in the monster, double-headed serpent Sísiutl is plainly indicated.

79 *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest,* Bolton ed., New York, 1916, page 186.

was practised in Mexico.

The Flute Ceremony

The Flute ceremony as performed at East mesa is in minor part an historical play dealing with the legendary encounter between the newly arrived Horn-Flute clan and the chiefs of the Bear and Snake clans, when the latter stopped the newcomers and demanded to know what they could do for the common good, if admitted to Walpi. In larger part however it is simply the rain-making rites which the new clan brought as its contribution to the ceremonial life of the community.

The fraternity comprises all members, male and female, of the Horn-Flute clan, as well as children of Horn-Flute men, and those whose houses or possessions have been struck by lightning. The principal officials are four: the Crier Chief, the Rattlesnake clan chief, Yóy-asi-taka, and the Flute Chief, who is always the head of the Horn-Flute people and, as such, the Houses Chief. The duties of Yóy-asi-taka consist in purifying any place that has been struck by lightning. When this phenomenon occurs, the people retire within their houses and there remain until he has finished his work. He at once goes to the place and sings, and on the following day some of the Horn-Flute people accompany him to the spot, when again there is singing of the Flute songs. This finished, the place is regarded as purified. The office is hereditary in the Cloud clan, the incumbent selecting a younger man whom he instructs in the duties of the position. At the winter solstice ceremony the five village officers appoint the successor of a deceased Yóy-asi-taka, but they always name the one whom the Cloud clan have agreed upon and whom the deceased official has himself originally selected and instructed. The Yóy-asi-taka owns a *típoni*, which, so far as can be ascertained, is used only in the Flute ceremony. The etymology of the word Yóy-asi-taka is said to be: *yóyanu,* rain; *ási,* to wash the head; *táka,* the one having; hence, " the one whose head is washed by rain." The four *típoni* of the officials of the Flute ceremony are used in making the altar.

The rites occur at the same time of the year as the Snake ceremony, but in the alternate years; that is, the smoke takes place on the fifth day after the appearance of Pá-mûya, the July-August moon, in the even-numbered years at Walpi and Mishongnovi, and in the odd-

numbered years at Shipaulovi, Shongopavi, and Oraibi.[80] The Flute Chief is charged with the duty of observing the moon and summoning the others to the smoke.

The smoke is held in the house of the Flute Chief, who, after consulting formally with his three fellow officials, declares that the dance shall be announced for "the sixteenth day from the day after tomorrow." The usual announcement by the Crier Chief is made on the next morning, and then follow seven days without ceremonial activities.

Yûnya, Eighth Day

In the morning the Flute Chief, his Servant, and the three who were present at the smoke, assemble in the upper story of Kíkyamu, the house of the family of the Houses Chief, who is also the Flute Chief. This building, on the west street at the edge of the cliff, is the one in which the front wall of the upper story is lacking. The upper story is vacant in winter, but is occupied in summer by the family of the Flute Chief. He himself of course lives with his wife's family. In this room where the officials assemble are kept the *típoni* of the Flute Chief, the rattles used in the dance, and certain stone slabs on which are painted cloud designs. It is used just like a kiva. Those who enter spend the day and the night there, going out only for necessary purposes, such as obtaining food, which they bring to the house and eat there.

When the chiefs have seated themselves, the Flute Chief makes four pahos, which, when they have been consecrated by four songs, his Servant carries out and deposits in the four cardinal directions. The típoni of the Crier Chief, and those of the Rattlesnake chief, Yóy-asitaka, and the Flute Chief, are set up in the order named. Later in the day a few men of the Flute society straggle into the room, and day by day, as the ceremony advances, more and more members assemble. During the night they practise their songs.

Sûs-tala, Lös-tala, País-tala, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh Days

On each of these three days four pahos are made and consecrated in the usual manner, and deposited at shrines by the Servant.

Nalös-tala, Twelfth Day

80 It is said that at the villages other than Walpi, the rising of the moon at a certain landmark on the horizon determines the date; and the date is not the same at Walpi as at the other pueblos.

Before sunrise, singing as they go, the three chiefs and all members who have thus far come to the ceremonial room carry to the housetop a gray fox-skin and the four sandstone slabs with painted cloud designs. These are about twelve inches square, and are respectively yellow, blue, red, and white. They are deposited around a central point, about three feet apart, yellow stone at the north, blue at the west, red at the south, and white at the east, according to the Hopi orientation. In the centre, pendent from a stick held upright by a small heap of stones about its base, is the fox-skin, which represents the gray dawn. Then all return to the room below, where the usual pahos are made and consecrated with singing. The cloud stones and the fox-skin remain on the roof in position until the end of the ceremony.

Sûskahimu, Thirteenth Day

Ceremonial activities are confined to the usual work with pahos.

Komók-totókya, Fourteenth Day

The Flute Chief prepares four very short pahos, which the Servant disposes at the outskirts of the village. During the morning all men of the Horn-Flute clan go to Wípho spring to eat the midday meal, and then proceed in a body to a place near the spring Qásta-pa, where they pass the night in singing.

Totókya, Fifteenth Day

Early in the morning they move on to Qásta-pa and plant their pahos in the water, after which they start homeward, and at Tevzéskya, a traditional resting place of their clan in its migration, they stop to rest and smoke.

From earliest morning an Álosaka personator has been on watch in the village. He goes to the mesa north of the Gap to look for the people who are expected, but soon comes back to the Gap and stands, like the mountain-sheep he personates, on the point South of it, and then returns to the village. His next observation is made from the cliff at the edge of Sichomovi, and his fourth from the north end of Walpi. In his observation at Sichomovi he finds the people making their stop at Tevéskya, and in his last he sees them starting up an obscure trail said to have been followed by the Horn-Flute people in their original ascent of' the mesa.

When the procession reaches the mesa it is met at the narrow trail into Walpi by the Rattlesnake Chief and the bear Chief, the former of whom draws a line of meal across the trail, signifying that the new-

comers are prohibited from entering the village. The Rattlesnake Chief speaks: "*Taaí!* What have you to help the people along?"

"Nothing," answers the Flute Chief. "We have just come. We have come from an humble life."

The other objects, "Now we are having our Flute ceremony, and this is our Totókya.[81] We cannot let you in."

"But we want to come in. We will do nothing to cause your people trouble."

"Well, if that is so, and if you are willing to be the chief of this Flute ceremony, I will admit you. You must be my Houses Chief."

"Anchaaí! I will do this," the Flute Chief promises.

Then the same conversation ensues between the Bear Chief and the Flute Chief, after which the Álosaka sentry brushes aside the line of meal, and the Horn-Flute men pass on to the ceremonial room, accompanied by the Snake Chief and the Bear Chief. Songs are sung, and the chief of the newcomers, having now become the chief of this ceremony, places his *típoni* in front of those of the other three officials.

It is now the middle of the morning, and the Flute men eat their breakfast and then turn to making numerous pahos, which are to be deposited in every little gully and watercourse in the valley. The day is spent in this way, the night in singing to the pahos. During the night each goes to some man or boy and requests that on the following day he deposit the pahos at a certain place, and in payment for this service the Flute priest makes a paho for him.

Tíhuni, Sixteenth Day

The men and boys who have been requested to carry out the pahos for the Flute priests come in the morning to Kíkyamu house, and receive the prayer-sticks, which the men deposit in arroyos far from the mesa, and the boys in the small dry watercourses near by.

The Flute race occurring on this morning is conducted almost exactly as the Snake race, which has been described.

At midday all the Flute priests dress in their ceremonial robes and march down to Tawá-pa spring. At the other villages a flute-player, or several, if there be more than one capable of playing the instrument,

81 Note the discrepancy between this statement and the assertion of Horn traditionists that their clan brought the Flute ceremony with them.

accompanies the procession, but at Walpi there is no longer any one able to play the flute. The Flute Chief leads, and behind him, in single file, are two girls in white ceremonial blankets, with a small boy between them. The others, including the Crier Chief, Rattlesnake Chief, Bear Chief, and Yóyasi-taka, follow in a throng, and behind all comes a man playing Warrior and whirling a bullroarer, in simulation of thunder. At the spring the pahos are planted[82] and songs are sung. Then a man is sent to a neighboring cornfield for stalks of corn and sunflowers, and soon, with wreaths of sunflowers about their heads and with cornstalks in their hands, they all start toward the mesa. Four times the Flute Chief stops to make cloud symbols of meal on the ground, and each of the two virgins and the boy throws a ball of cornhusks beyond the clouds. These represent the mud balls that are found in the arroyos after a freshet, and thus the act expresses the desire for heavy rains, which will form these mud balls. The Flute Chief arranges the three cornhusk balls in a row, pointing to the village, and with the little corn-husk handles directed upward. Then he marches on and the girls and the boy follow, each one picking up his ball by thrusting a black stick through the handle. After entering Walpi they repeat this act four times before reaching the plaza. As they march through the street, women snatch the cornstalks from their hands and the sun-flowers from their heads.

At the plaza the Flute Chief enters a *kísi* (booth), and the others crowd together before it, with the girls and the boy in front, and sing all their songs, while the chief remains inside.[83] After the singing he leads the girls and the boy, and is followed by the others, to Kíkyamu house, where the costumes are removed.

The ordinary members of the society now go to their homes, but the four officials pass the next four nights in the ceremonial room. They are permitted to go about during the day, and to work if they wish. The fox-skin and the four stone slabs remain in position on the

82 At Mishongnovi the pahos are deposited by a man who walks down the stone steps that wall the spring until he is at the very bottom, where he thrusts the sticks into the mud.

83 What he does in the *kísi* is not known. It is believed that he sprinkles his pahos with medicine.

housetop during these four days.

Ceremony of the Magicians

The Yayá-wimi was a fraternity of workers in legerdemain. At the last ceremony of the society, about the year 1860, there was an unfavorable ending in one of their tricks, and the people in anger decreed that there should never be another public performance of the Yáya magic. The fraternity continued to exist, however, and initiates were received, meetings being held at intervals of two or three years. In 1907 Náka, an old man of the Kachina clan, died, and the *típoni* of the Yayá-wimi was buried with him. He was not a member of the fraternity, yet, being the oldest man of the Kachina clan, he had constantly been urged by the Yáya priests to become their chief. But he had always refused, probably fearing that there might be an attempt to perform magic feats that would fail and cause the anger of the people to fall on him. Tsáza, the last member who understood how the tricks were accomplished, died about 1908.

The Yayá-wimi chief was of the Kachina clan, the second chief of the Reed, the third of the Badger; and the chief possessed a *típoni,* the second chief a *náchi,* and the third had charge of the medicine-bowl and the roots used in connection with it. The ceremony was a sixteen-day rite, occurring about the beginning of September at irregular intervals. Thus, at the conclusion of a performance the chief would say: "In two years [or three, or four, as the case might be] we shall meet again. In the meantime we will think only of rains and of good crops. Then after the rains and the harvests have come, we will assemble."

The Yáya priests fasted four days, beginning with Assembly day (Yûnya), and the public exhibition of magic occupied the last day. In the kiva they sat in four groups, those who understood sorcery occupying three corners, and the others the fourth corner; and each group decided what feat it would exhibit to the people.

In the evening of the last day, after the conclusion of their public performance, the Yáya chief addressed his men thus: "Now, my boys, you must all go out and endeavor to secure a woman. If you fail, you will have to forego sexual enjoyment the rest of your life." So departed all except the chief.

Although the sixteen-day ceremony for the exhibition of tricksoc-

curred at irregular intervals, the fraternity met annually in the moon Ösömûya, about the first of September, to generate fire by friction and to build four fires at the foot of the mesa as a supplication for warm weather. This rite was last observed about 1905. In 1910 the surviving members met to make pahos, but there was no one to direct them in the fire-making ceremony.

The following myth purports to account for the origin of the society.

A long time ago little boys from the village used to go to the waterhole about a mile and a half northeast of Walpi, and there build mud houses on the banks, and sometimes roll one another down the sides of the arroyo. As they tumbled down they would shout, "*Yáhu!*" [This is the cry uttered by the Yaya priests.] One day Spider Woman appeared on the bank in the form of a spider and said, "Oh, my little children, are you playing here?"

"Yes, we are playing here."

"I will play with you," she said, and sat down with them.

A little later Mockingbird came up and addressed them, "Oh, my children, are you playing here?"

"Yes," they said, "we are playing here."

"Then I will give you some medicine, and you will have more spirit in your play." She gave them something, which they ate; and thereafter they played with greater abandon, scarcely knowing what they did. They rolled one another more recklessly down the banks of the arroyo, and nobody was hurt. They continued to visit that place each day, and though they ate no more of the Mockingbird's medicine, the effect remained.

One day came Mouse with the greeting, "Are you playing here, my children?"

"Yes, we are playing here," they answered.

"Well, try my way," said Mouse, and gave them medicine, which they swallowed. Then he proposed that they cut off one of his legs and one of his arms. They did so, and then replaced the members, but interchanged them; and they found that they could remove and replace them at will. Mouse advised them to try it on one another, and they were no less successful, even cutting off heads and placing them on backwards, and then adjusting the Mouse finally told them to organize a fraternity, and with Mockingbird and Spider Woman he led them

into a cave which the boys had dug out in the side of the arroyo and covered with brush. There Mockingbird taught them songs, and the others imparted the secrets of healing wounds inflicted in performing their magic feats. Spider Woman healed by spreading her web over the wound, and Mouse used herbs and roots. After the boys had practised for a time, they decided to exhibit their magic in the village. The three supernatural persons accompanied them and assisted in the first performance of the fraternity Yayá-wimi.

Surviving members of the fraternity give the following description of the Yáya magic, as they heard it from men who actually performed the tricks.

On the south side of the now-ruined kiva next to Ál-kiva was prepared a hole about thirty inches in diameter and three feet deep, and a Yáya priest, coming to the top of the ladder, held toward the sun a bunch of fibrous juniper-bark, which soon smoked and burst into flame. Then he ignited some wood in the excavation, and when stones had been laid on the fire, the members of one of the four groups appeared and ran hither and thither, casting down movable objects and pursuing one another, until at length all united in catching one of their number. They wore only a small patch of cloth in front, supported by a string about the waist. Another man having in the meantime lifted out the hot stones, the prisoner was thrust into the hole, the stones were piled in after him, and the remaining space was filled with earth. Then the relatives of the man gave chase to the Yáya priests and beat them with clubs, but the magicians were indifferent. To those who wept and upbraided them, they only made grimaces, or stooped with the buttocks toward them and making insulting gestures. After a time they unearthed the captive, whose fingers were found shrivelled and his feather ornaments consumed. On a white cotton robe they carried him to the kiva, tossed him down precipitately, and threw one another down into the kiva. There they sang over the body for a long time, finally bringing it to life, and, washed and dressed, he was exhibited to the people.

Then another group came out and played for a time. Suddenly they stopped, and gazed down into the valley at a scarecrow made of deerskin clothing and a sheepskin face. They began to call to it, and soon the scarecrow was seen to start toward the mesa, and in a short time, the magicians all the while urging it on, it ran up the trail and

into the village. When it reached Ál-kiva, the Yáya priests met it and tried to talk to it, but it would not answer. Then they asked the man from whose field it had come if he had ever given it water or food. He of course answered that he had never thought of doing so. Then the women brought water and piki, and the scarecrow, after eating, asked, "What do you want with me?"

"Yes," the Yáya chief replied, "we want to talk to you."

"Yes, I have been down there all summer, and my master has been very hard on me. He has never given me food nor drink. You people who have scarecrows in your fields must give them water, for we stay in the fields all summer in order that no harm may be done to your crops. Now I am going back." So the scarecrow went back to its place in the cornfield, and the Yáya priests threw one another down into the kiva.

When the third group appeared, one went up to the highest housetop and began to call the Kachinas from Kisíu-va; and soon four Kachinas appeared at Tûkínovi, the knoll on the mesa north of the Gap. They brought to the plaza all kinds of seeds for the people to plant during the coming season, and little gourds containing water, and after receiving *naqáqusi* from the priests, they withdrew.

Now the last group left the kiva, and near the place where the man had been roasted in the pit they made a fire, first kindling a bit of bark by the rays of the sun. They boiled a pot of water, and from a little basket tray poured meal into it. One of the priests stirred the mush. He drew out his stick, and on the end of it was what appeared to be a ball of meal. He drew it upward, and hanging from the point of the stick was seen a cotton string, which, as he walked toward the plaza, constantly lengthened out behind him. Through the plaza and back to the fire he went, and the string continued to grow longer and longer behind him. Then the empty pot was exhibited. All the mush had become a cotton string.

The first performers, reappearing, went to the west street, and from a house about midway down the street they brought away a stew of hominy and rabbit meat. They wrapped the bowl in a white robe, and sang over it, shaking their rattles. From time to time they looked under the robe, and the fourth time a man put his hand under it and brought out a live rabbit, and then two more rabbits and three hares. They exhibited the empty pot, and a man carried the animals to the

valley and released them.

The second group also went to the west street, and returned with a skull, which they placed just outside the kiva. They asked it to talk, and the skull said, "What do you want of me?"

"Yes," they answered, "we want you to sing."

The skull sang, and then said: "This is my song. That is the way I sing. You people must be good. You must not be cross, nor have bad feeling toward one another. That is the way you will live long. I have been cross, and have had bad feeling, and so I am living below in the valley." They tied some *naqáqusi* to the skull, and one carried it down to the valley, whence it had been brought on the preceding day.

The third set of magicians then took two belts from the women, and from some visiting men two of the small bands that men wrap about their calves and tie on the outside. These they placed between two white robes, and after singing, they lifted the cover. There lay two bullsnakes and two sidewinder rattlesnakes. The men attempted to distribute them among the owners of the belts and bands, but of course the snakes were not accepted. So they replaced the reptiles between the robes, and sang, and soon the belts and bands were uncovered. But the owners refused to touch them, so they were again transformed into snakes, which were liberated in the valley.

The last group, coming out for the second time, ran about in the usual way and then began to call Salt Woman from the Zuñi Salt lake. In a little while a figure was seen in the distance. It came up the trail, a very old, short woman wrapped in a white robe. While she approached, the Yáya priests dug a small hole on the north side of Tsiváto, and encountered water about two feet below the surface. Salt Woman had a little tray containing salt, and all kinds of seeds, and when the priests asked her to do something to the spring so that they could obtain salt from it, she threw a handful of salt into the water. The priests thereupon removed from the hole a large quantity of salt, which they put into bags and distributed among their female relations, just as is done by salt gatherers returning from the Salt lake. By the time they had finished distributing the salt, there was no water left in the hole. They then gave pahos to Salt Woman, who went down the Dawn Point trail to Tawa-pa spring and there disappeared.

Other feats said to have been performed by the magicians were these: dancing barefoot on burning embers; leaping over the brink of

the cliff and returning uninjured; calling a deer from the mountains to the foot of the mesa, where they attached prayer-feathers to its legs; transforming a long line of meal, which led across the housetops, into a cotton string, the string having been secretly laid out and covered with meal paste; removing their limbs, and fastening legs to shoulders and arms to hips; sailing through the air on a circular shield, which, pushed from the edge of the cliff, landed gently in the valley; causing the face of the most westerly of the Hopi buttes to become dazzling white, by extending toward it a rabbit-skin dipped in gypsum wash, and then, by a gesture, removing the paint from the mountain; washing the hands and arms in fire that streamed upward from a pot, and pouring it back from the hands to the vessel as if it were liquid.

With the exception of the last three, all these feats of the Yáya priests are readily explainable. Substitution and the use of lay figures and various pieces of apparatus were the commonest tools of deception. And if more circumstantial accounts of the feats of sailing through the air, painting the mountain, and washing in liquid fire could be secured, they would doubtless be found quite as simple as the others.[84]

The Powámu Ceremony of Purification

The purpose of the Powámu ceremony becomes apparent when it is stated that the name is derived from *powáta,* to purify ceremonially. Only a brief outline can be given here. This ceremony is the first, in point of time and elaborateness, of the performances in which Kachinas participate. The rites are presided over by the Powámu-monwi ("Powámu chief"), who always is a member of the Kachina clan. When the winter moon Powámûya becomes visible, he proceeds the next day to make pahos in Mónkiva, with the assistance of the other members of the Powámu fraternity,[85] in which Kachina clansmen pre-

84 Since this was written, Létayu, an old man, says that the last of the magicians informed him the mountain was "Painted" by confederates who at a prearranged smoke signal spread a large number of white blankets on its face.

85 In this ceremony the Powámu fraternity meets as such only on this first day, at other times participating merely as members of Món-kiva. The other-ceremony of this fraternity is Nímaniw'û, which occurs in August. Thus the

dominate. At noon one of the men takes the bundle of pahos and goes out, first to the north and then around the usual circuit, depositing them in various shrines as a supplication for snow and rain; and on his return a herald notifies the women in a loud voice that the Powámu fraternity has finished its work, and food is brought to Món-kiva. In the evening all the people assemble in their respective kivas, and later a party of Kachina personators makes the rounds of the kivas until midnight, dancing in each.

Then, the women, children, and those men who are not members of the fraternity, having left the kiva, the fraternity dress one of their number as Ahöhl Katsína (sometimes called Wû-taka, old man), who with a tray of meal passes from one side of the kiva to another, smearing on each wall a perpendicular streak. After this invocation to the Four Chiefs, he removes his costume and the members sleep.

At the earliest dawn on the following day the personator of Ahöhl Katsína, accompanied by Powámu-monwi, goes to Wála (the Gap) and there dons his costume. The two carry some of the stalks of beans and corn which have been growing in Món-kiva.[86] From Wála he starts up the trail just as the sun appears, the Chief preceding him. They go first to the two Hano kivas, and at each place a man comes up the ladder to sprinkle meal on the Kachina and give him a paho. The Kachina in turn presents from a bag at his side a small, wrapped bunch containing two or three bean and corn stalks, and proceeds to each house inhabited by a civil or religious official, from whom he receives a paho, and to whom he gives not a packet of plants, but one of the loose stalks held in his hand. After visiting the houses of Hano, the Powámu Chief returns to his kiva, leaving Ahöhl Katsína to finish his rounds

Powámu fraternity opens and closes the long season of Kachina dances.

86 The seeds are planted at the full of the Pá-mûya moon, which in 1911 was on December 28, and the plants are protected by occasional fires of brushwood. A few such fires during the day and night keep the underground room comfortably warm. During the Pá-mûya moon there is much frequenting of the kivas, especially of Món-kiva, which for the reason just cited is warmer than the others. The cup game, *sosótûkpi,* is played, much weaving and beadwork are done, and many men and boys sleep there. Not only the members of Món-kiva are to be found there, but others as well, for one may go freely from one kiva to another so long as no ceremonial rites are in progress.

among the kivas and the houses of Sichomovi and Walpi, which he completes not long before noon.[87] In the evening of this second day, or at any time within the next four days, each adult male in the three villages brings up from the valley a quantity of sand, in which, placed in a small box in his own kiva, he plants a few beans. If a man fails to do this, it is taken as a sign that his crop in the coming season will fail to mature. During the first eight days the men are free to watch their boxes or pots of seeds in any way they please, but beginning with Yûnya day one must not lounge in the kiva nor have any appearance of idleness; for during the time of maturing crops and harvest one must be very industrious. Yet it is not necessary to remain all day in the kiva: one may come in only to look after his plants, but while inside one must appear to be busily engaged in work. In the evening, however, each male member of the kiva is expected to be present, and if any is absent, young men or boys dressed as Kachinas search him out. Then when all are assembled there is Kachina dancing in each kiva without masks and costumes, each personating whatever Kachina pleases him; and sometimes parties of dancers go from one kiva to another. This is the procedure on each night following Yûnya.

On Komók-totókya night all the members of one of the kivas, dressed in Kachina costumes without masks, visit all the other kivas in the three villages and dance, and after they have finished, the members of another kiva do likewise, until each kiva has sent its members to visit those of every other. Thus most of the night is spent. This rule is now not always observed.

Very early in the morning of Totókya, after but little sleep, the men "gather their crops," either cutting off the stalks or pulling them up by the roots. The crops are regarded as ripe on the night of Komók-totókya, previous to which time nobody may break a stalk; and if by

87 In recent years the young people have usually held a Buffalo dance (recently acquired from Pueblos of the upper Rio Grande) or some other pastime dance on this day, but formerly such was not the custom, as Pá-mûya, the Pastime moon, is on this day really past. In 1912 a young man educated at various non-reservation schools and then entering earnestly into Hopi ritual, persuaded his elders that this modern way was wrong, and therefore a Kachina dance was held. It is at this time that the cup game, *sosótûkpi,* must cease to be played until Pá-mûya moon of the next year.

accident this occurs, word is at once sent to Món-kiva, and two men personating Tûnwûp Katsína ("whipping Kachina") and Tûmas Katsína ("female Kachina") come thence with yucca-leaves and whip the offender. The crops having been gathered, the sand is carried out of thekiva, members of Tsiváto and of Ál-kiva burying theirs north of Tsiváto in a hole dug in alternate years by members of the two kivas. The others throw their sand over the cliff. It is said that Tsiváto and Ál-kiva bury theirs only because they have no convenient place to dispose of it otherwise.

During the days preceding Totókya the men are busy making *tíhû* (dolls representing Kachinas) for their girls, various toys such as rattles and shinnyballs for their boys, and moccasins for all. After the crops have been harvested and the sand buried, each man binds his plants in small sheaves, making one for each of his young children, and to each sheaf attaches the gifts made for the particular child to whom it will be given. Then from each kiva one or two men in Kachina costumes come out, laden with these bunches of plants and presents, which they distribute among the children, returning to the kiva as many times as may be necessary to complete their work. This is a considerable task on the memory, and sometimes a capable man cannot be found in the membership of a kiva, so that they must carry their sheaves to some other kiva and ask the Kachinas there to distribute them. Usually, but not always, the gifts are distributed only to children who have not been initiated into the Kachina order.

On the following morning at dawn the personator of Súyuk-wûhti ("ogress woman") takes his place below the mesa on the terrace near the sheepfolds east of the village, and kindles a small fire. After the distribution of gifts, the little children who have never been initiated into the Katsínamu, are told to look over the cliff at the ogress, and they are warned that if they are not good she will carry them away and roast them in her fire. As the sun rises, Súyuk-wûhti starts up the trail Tálateika, and approaching the top begins to mumble vague phrases, how the children are to be caught and roasted. In one hand is a large knife and in the other a curved stick with which the ogress of the myths is said to have caught children by the neck. The children flee in terror. Súyuk-wûhti goes to each kiva, last to that of which her personator is a member.

About nine o'clock all those in this kiva who have been appointed

to personate Kachinas go from house to house through the village, and in the other villages to houses where Walpi men live, at each dwelling announcing that they have come for their children. If the inmates have no uninitiated children, they give the Kachinas food, such as piki and sweetened meal, and the maskers pass on; but uninitiated children must themselves give the visitors sweetened meal and meat. Then the Kachinas visit each kiva, and the chief of the kiva comes up the ladder to inquire, "What do you want?" They announce that they wish children to roast, but the chief, protesting that the children are good and should not be killed, offers them a small piece of meat, which they refuse, saying, "You have eaten all around it." So the chief gradually increases the amount, until at length they accept the meat and go on. They retire into their own kiva with the food. Later in the day there is a dance in the plaza, at the conclusion of which Súyuk-wûhti declares that they are going to depart by way of the under world. So they go down into the kiva where they plant their pahos in the *sípapuni*[88] and remove their masks, and all the members of the kiva feast on the food that has been collected.

From sunset to about midnight the men in the kiva are engaged in preparing their costumes for the dance, in which half are to personate male Kachinas and half female, the latter wearing on their heads*sínqa,* which are large, artificial squash-blossoms made of cornhusks. A messenger from the directors of this part of the Powámu ceremony, that is, the kiva which is to give Nímaniw'û in the coming summer, now passes from kiva to kiva through the three villages, bidding the men prepare. Four times the word is taken, and then about midnight the members of the various kivas begin to come up the ladders and go to Hötsi-wa ("entrance gap"), the narrow place in the trail leading into Walpi from the north, where each kiva chief stretches along the trail a *pötavi* with the feathered end toward the village. The five *pötavi* are placed together, and then each chief and after the chiefs each member, sprinkles meal along them, uttering a prayer that the Kachinas may come along this trail.[89] Then they walk along the *pötavi* and stop at

88 The covered hole that represents the opening through which the first people emerged from the underworld.

89 The men of the kivas in Sichomovi and Hano perform the same rites

the beginning of the east street in Walpi, where, standing in groups according to their kiva membership, they practise their songs for a time, and then each group enters another kiva than its own and there sings and dances. Thus they go from one to another, until each group finally dances in its own kiva. This continues until dawn, at which time the women begin to come out into the streets and take their bowls of *píkami* out of the ovens. On the stoves in the houses are pots of meat, which have been cooking during the night, and the men now come home to their breakfast.

Initiation into the Katsínamu

In the winter following an initiation into the four fraternities that participate in the new fire ceremony, Sûskahimu day of the Powámu ceremony is devoted to the initiation of children of both sexes into the order of the Katsínamu. Every child must undergo this ordeal, which is in effect an initiation into the tribe. The parents of each child of appropriate age, that is, about seven to eleven years, selects a ceremonial father or mother for the little novice. Occasionally a ceremonial father, and not a mother, is selected for a girl, but this is not usual. In many cases the identity of this godparent has long been settled. Thus, the parents of a very sick boy may say to a certain man: "We will give this child to you. If he recovers, he shall be your child." In any case a boy is bound to join his godfather's fraternity in the new fire ceremony; but he becomes a member of his clansmen's or other relatives' kiva, not necessarily of his godfather's.

Not all women belong to a ceremonial society, but when the member of a woman's organization becomes godmother to a girl, her protégée is thus pledged to join that society when she arrives at a suitable age. While this is true at Middle mesa and Oraibi, a Walpi girl is conducted through the initiation by a paternal aunt, and she is not pledged to the aunt's ceremonial society.

Toward evening of Sûskahimu these godparents lead their protégées to Món-kiva, where are assembled all the members of this kiva as well as the other male and female relatives of the novitiates. Shortly

near their own villages.

before sunset three costumed and masked Kachinas – Tûmas Katsína ("female Kachina") and two Tûnwûp Katsínamu ("whipping Kachinas") go from Katsín-ki ("Kachina house"), where they have been dressing, to Kíkyamu house.[90] As they stand in the street, the woman of the house comes out to inquire why they have come. Tûmas Katsína answers, "We have come to whip the children that are bad."

"No," she replies, "I do not want my children to be whipped."

"Yes, but they are bad, and we have to do it."

"Well, if you have to do it, whip me first."

Then they beat her on the back vigorously with bunches of yucca leaves, and go thence to Món-kiva, which they encircle four times, and Tûmas Katsína leads the way down the ladder. Here the Powámu Chief asks, "Why have you come?"

"We have come to whip the children."

"No," says the chief, "we do not want our children whipped."

"Yes, but they are bad, and we must whip them," the Kachinas insist.

"Then, if you must whip them, whip us first."

But, refusing to whip him, because he is the father of the Kachinas (that is, he is the chief of the Kachina clan), they nevertheless go about and make the motions of whipping the principal men of Món-kiva.

The godparents, with their children, are sitting in a row at one side of the kiva, and now one by one each takes his charge out before the two Whipping Kachinas, one of whom stands at each side of the altar, while Tûmas Katsína is stationed behind it as if to prevent the frightened children from escaping. The ceremonial parent gives a pinch of meal to the Kachina whom he wishes to whip his child, who then stands before the altar and, slightly stooping, receives on the back four vigorous strokes with the bunch of yucca-leaves. Boys are stripped of all clothing, but girls retain their dresses. The screams of the novices are probably no less of pain than of fright. After the scourging of the children, all the men come forward one by one and are whipped.

The Powámu Chief now gives *naqáqusi* to the three Kachinas, who go up the ladder, march about the roof four times, and then proceed to Hötsi-wa, the narrow place in the trail from Sichomovi, after

90 The house in the west street, in which the Flute fraternity meets.

which they start to encircle the village four times. In the course of their progress, any one who wishes to be purified steps before them, gives a pinch of prayer-meal to either of the Whipping Kachinas, and stoops to receive four lashes. The passage around the village is designed to give the people an opportunity to avail themselves of this rite of purification, which is regarded as effective not only to drive off sickness but to induce spiritual and moral cleanness. At the conclusion of this lustration, the Kachinas go down to Katsín-ki[91] and remove their costumes.

In Món-kiva after their departure a man personating Kûwán Katsína ("many-colored Kachina") appears from behind a curtain and distributes boiled corn among the novices, who are then led from the kiva. During the next two days they have liberty of movement, but are not permitted to eat meat nor salt.

On Totókya night in the kivas the novices for the first time see the Kachinas unmasked, and learn that these are only men, not supernaturals. After the women have gone it is explained that formerly the Kachinas lived among the people, but since they have disappeared, it has been the custom to represent them in dances; and the novices are sternly warned not to reveal this to the younger children.

On the following day the godparents take the children home with them and have their women relatives wash the heads of the novices and give them new names, which completes the initiation into the Katsínamu. The initiates are now regarded as members of the tribe, and the boys have the freedom of the kivas and may participate in the Kachina dances, just like their elders. When a boy puts on his first Kachina mask he is again held by his ceremonial father, while a Kachina whips him four times.

Kachina Dances

The activities of the masked personators of the Kachina gods begin actually at the winter solstice ceremony, in which Soyál Katsína,

91 Walpi and Sichomovi dancers use for Katsín-ki a ledge between the mesa top and the terrace on the eastern side of the cliff, and Hano dancers use Wála (the Gap).

whose cult was brought from the south by the Cloud clan, makes his appearance. Theoretically, however, the Powámu ceremony in February is the time when the Kachinas return to the village; and from that time until the July ceremony Nímaniw'û (*níman*, to go home), the so-called Níman Kachina, or Farewell Kachina dance, the only ceremonies are the dances by the personators of these deities.

There are no prescribed dates for these performances, nor any prescribed number of them. Any man may inaugurate a Kachina dance, a favorite time for the announcement of such an intention being the winter solstice ceremony. If a man wishes to hold a Kachina dance during the coming summer, he addresses the men of his kiva on the subject, saying, "At about such and such a time I wish to hold a Kachina dance." He name the kinds of Kachina he wishes to have personated, and designates the men whom he has chosen for assistant, for song leader (*kûkûinaaiya,* starter), and for two assistant song leaders (one of whom will take the leader's place if he is unable to act); and, if a girl is required in the performance, he names his choice for the position. All of these are selected from the membership of the kiva, and when they have consented to act, it is settled that the dance will be held.

On Totókya night of the winter solstice ceremony, when all the men are assembled in their respective kivas, these five or six leaders come out of their kiva (the man who is to hold the dance being last), and proceed to Món-kiva, where they inform the assembly that at about a certain time, for example, the time of mature melons, they will give a certain kind of Kachina dance. *"Anchaaí!"* cry the men in a chorus of approbation, and the visitors file out and proceed to all the other kivas in Walpi, Sichomovi, and Hano.

If on the other hand the announcement is not made during the winter solstice ceremony, it may be done at any later time. In such case the one intending to hold the dance tells his desire to his kiva chief, who summons the members of the kiva for consultation. There is then no formal announcement to the public, who learn about the proposed dance by asking the kiva members the reason for their summons.

In most of these dances only one kind of Kachina is represented, and any one who has been initiated into the Kachina order may perform. Thus, if the giver of the dance decides that he will give the Hehéa Katsína dance, then all men who participate must personate the Hehéamu. But there is one dance in which all kinds of Kachinas

are represented, or at least as many as there are available performers, namely, Soyóhim Katsína ("allkinds Kachina") dance.

At least two weeks, and sometimes a full month, before the appointed time, the leaders and the dancers assemble daily in their kiva to practise songs and dancing; and from that time until the dance the leaders spend their nights in the kiva, although they are permitted to eat at their homes. It is said that ancient custom required all members of the kiva thus to pass their nights. Toward the end of this period of preparation it is announced in the kiva that the dance will be held on a certain day, which may be either four or seven days later. There is no public announcement. If the interval is seven days, these are named Sûs-tala, Lös-tala, País-tala, Nalös-tala, Komók-totókya, Totókya, and Tíhuni. If the interval is four days, they are Sûs-tala, Komók-totókya, Totókya, and Tíhuni.

On Sûs-tala the chief and his assistants go from house to house and collect the masks that will be required in the dance. These are individual property, and are borrowed by the dancers. Anybody has the right to make Kachina masks of any kind. The painting is renewed each time they are used. The days are spent in the kiva in practice of the songs and dancing. On Komók-totókya or Totókya two men are sent to the timbered hills, and on Totókya they bring back a large spruce bough or a small spruce tree, which is laid beside the fireplace along with the baskets of pahos. The chief and his assistants and two men called *namátu* ("fathers"), who, unmasked, lead the dancers from and to the kiva without themselves dancing, make pahos and *naqáqusi* on Totókya day, and pile them in trays. When the spruce is brought in, they tie the *naqáqusi* to its twigs. There is no sleeping on the night of Totókya.

About midnight the singing ceases and the chief, still sitting, says: "Tomorrow our friends, the Kachinas, will come from Kisíu-va, and they will come with all kinds of seeds and will bring good rains and lightning and thunder, so that the ground will be moistened; and at the time of planting we will plant our seeds and they will grow, and the Four Chiefs will again bring rain on them, so that they will grow and in time produce fruits, which will mature; and our children will eat the fruits, and when they have had their fill we all will eat; and what is left will mature and we will gather it and have it for food, and will come to this time of the year again. Everybody must live a long life with his

children." Then each of the other leaders repeats a similar prayer, and the other men respond with such words as: "Yes, so let it be. We all will have this mind and work together, that we may have good fortune." Then after smoking they go into the plaza, to cast meal toward the home of the Kachinas and address a silent prayer to them. They dance once, but as they are not masked, the people are not expected to observe them. It is now almost daybreak, and they return to the kiva and begin to paint their dance kilts. If the weather is not too cold they go to Katsín-ki ("Kachina house") to dress; and if dawn is at hand they must go there regardless of the temperature, for if the people should see the Kachinas coming out of the kiva, the pretense of supernatural beings coming from the home of the Kachinas would be destroyed. After painting themselves and donning their masks and other paraphernalia, the performers dance on the ledge of rock at Katsín-ki and then start up Dawn Point trail. Entering Walpi from the north, they dance in single file before the first houses in the east street and then walk on to *kísonvi* (the plaza), where they dance. Then passing on they dance around Món-kiva, proceed around the kiva roof, and return to the plaza, where they dance agian. Then the two "fathers," one after the other, repeat: "Now, last night we found you here, and the people here see you and are glad. We do not want you to go home yet. We want you to come and dance all day and amuse the people." They lead the dancers back to Katsín-ki.

Now the women carry food down to Katsín-ki, and after the dancers have eaten, the two "fathers" are invited to eat. The performers then smoke and come again to dance in the plaza, going through various evolutions, and return to Katsín-ki. Thus they enter the village and retire to Katsín-ki several times before noon, at which time they go to the narrow part of the trail at the north end of the village, where, by recent custom, they rest and eat the food brought by female relatives of the chief of this dance.

During the preliminary preparations for the ceremony the chief appoints a certain man to be the principal clown, and four or five others to be his fellows, and these meet in their own kiva to plan their conduct during the dance. The clowns go unmasked, and appear in every Kachina dance except the first and the last of the year, that is, Powámu and Nímaniw'û. On Totókya they make pahos for each Kachina that is to be personated, and in the night bring these offer-

ings to the kiva where the Kachina performers are assembled. They spend the rest of the night there. When the dancers leave the kiva just before dawn, as described above, to go down to Katsín-ki, the clowns suddenly appear beside them at the plaza and utter a great shout, as if to frighten them. The dancers go on, and the clowns retire to their own kiva, not to reappear until noon. Then while the dancers rest in the trail north of the village, along come the clowns chattering and gesticulating, and apparently not seeing the Kachinas. Suddenly they become aware of their presence and run up to them, gathering round, pointing, and talking excitedly. Their actions indicate that they have found some very valuable thing, and they urge the Kachinas not to depart, reiterating many times their opinion that these new friends will give them abundant food.

The afternoon the Kachinas spend in dancing, returning to Katsín-ki after each dance, and in the intervals the clowns go about playing their pranks and amusing the people. It is late afternoon when the dancing ends. The two "fathers" then ask the Kachinas to stand a while, and they pass among them, giving a *naqáqusi to* each, the clowns following and doing like wise. Each of the "fathers" and then each of the clowns takes his turn in addressing the Kachinas, somewhat as follows: "Now, we have had the dance all day, and we are tired. I want you to go back to your home and ask your fathers and mothers to send us rain. We think we have earned it. May all live, and may you go home happily, taking care of one another as you go along. That is all." The Kachinas then file away, the "fathers" and the clowns sprinkling them with meal as they pass, and at Katsín-ki they remove their masks and bathe before returning to the village. The clowns resume their clothing in the kiva, and divide the food which their paternal aunts have given them in the plaza.

On the following day the Kachinas go to the kiva, and all the food left from yesterday is distributed among them, and on the fourth day the chiefs of the dance gather in the kiva to smoke and talk about the ceremony, congratulating one another if rain has fallen, or mourning if it has not. In the latter contingency the man who gave the dance is regarded as an unlucky man.

This is the general procedure in any Kachina dance except Powámu, but of course each kind of Kachina has its own songs and its own style of dancing. All songs, however, refer to rain, seeds, and crops.

Some have Zuñi words, others Keres; and Tasáp Katsína ("Navaho Kachina") has some songs with Navaho, others with Zuñi or Hopi words. Zuñi is the predominating foreign language in Kachina songs, a fact which points to that pueblo as the source from which the Hopi derived the cult.

Ceremony of the Departure of the Kachinas

The announcement of Nímaniw'û, the ceremony that marks the close of the season of Kachina dancing, is made when the sun, after the summer solstice, has reached a certain point north of a gap in a mesa to the eastward. The Powámu Chief, noting this position of the sun, summons the members of his society, and they smoke formally. They instruct the Crier Chief to make the usual announcement on the following morning, that on the sixteenth day from the day after tomorrow they will dance; the intention being that on the last day, the day of public dancing, the rising sun shall appear exactly in the middle of the gap above mentioned. Sometimes the calculation is slightly at fault.

On Yûnya the members of the fraternity, who include women as well as men, assemble in Món-kiva. What they do there during the next eight days besides making *saqá-vaho* is said to be unknown outside the fraternity. Male members sleep in the kiva, but the women do not, and though all take their meals there, none is compelled to remain inside all day.

Each of the kivas takes its annual turn in charge of the dancing in this ceremony. It was given in 1911 by the membership of Món-kiva, andin the following years by Wiqálvi, Násavi, Ál-kiva, and Tsiváto successively, and in 1916 the duty fell again to Món-kiva, beginning once more the progress from the south to the north end of Walpi.

On Sûskahimu day the one who has been chosen for chief of the Kachinas goes about collecting the Kachina masks from various houses, and the dancers begin to paint them afresh and to renew the feathers and other appendages, an occupation that continues up to the end of Totókya, as the labor involved is considerable and comparatively few of the men are competent to paint. The others make Kachina dolls for the girls, and bows and arrows for the little boys.

The members of the presiding kiva spend Totókya night awake, part of the time practising singing, and before dawn they go uncos-

tumed to the plaza and dance, and then return to the kiva. Then if daylight is not too near at hand, they don their costumes in the kiva and go down to Katsín-ki, but if there is danger that they might be observed they carry their costumes down and dress there. They return to the village, and the day passes with various public dances by the masked characters.

Ceremonial Planting and Harvesting

Swelling of the neck is believed to be caused by the god Másôu, and when such a case arises, one of the men who personate this deity is summoned. He opens the affected part and sucks out the pus, and the person thus cured becomes empowered to personate Másôu. The manner in which one may get this disease from Másôu is illustrated by the following incident:

Mómi, a priest of Másôu, in the course of his ceremonial duties had to make a circuit of the mesa on four successive nights, and as he was a very old man, partially blind, and the nights were very dark, his task was a difficult one. Héya, meditating on the old man's blindness, thought that he would like to take the place of Mómi and relieve him of his task. Of course he was not able to do this, but the mere thought was immediately known to Másôu, who therefore sent the swelling of the neck as a sign that Héya was to be one of his priests; and it then became necessary for Héya to personate the god four times in a ceremonial planting of corn for men of good standing.

Such an occasion is announced by the Crier Chief during the winter solstice ceremony, when many other ceremonies also are announced. Four days before the planting, the personator of Másôu goes into retirement in his kiva, and usually another Másôu man retires into his own kiva at the same time. During the next four days he remains there, eating only once a day, and even then partaking only of gruel; and each night he passes around the village, starting at the shrine of Másôu and coming up to the mesa by the trail from Tawá-pa, and deposits pahos to the god at various places. When there are two priests acting, one follows the other at a distance of about four hundred yards. The first night they travel in the valley, the second along the foothills, the third along the first terrace, and the fourth on the mesa itself just outside the village.

The man who is to personate Másôu may, if he choose, request the members of any kiva to assist him, and he then passes his four days of partial fast in that kiva, regardless of his own kiva membership. Then when he makes his nightly rounds, the members of the chosen kiva must perform a Kachina dance, first on the terrace near the ruin Kisakobi, then on the level next above the ruin, on the third night at a still higher level, and finally on the mesa itself. Each night after making his round the Másôu silently creeps up on the dancers and utters a shout, as if to frighten them, thus imitating the fabled acts of the god who lived there when the first clans came. The shout terminates the dance. On the day before the ceremonial planting a rabbit hunt is held, and the meat is eaten by the men of the kiva to which the Másôu belongs, while the skins are used to make his mask.

On the morning following the fourth nightly circuit the man whose corn is to be ceremonially planted goes to his field, and many accompany him. Spectators from the other Hopi pueblos are usually present, and occasionally they assist in the planting. About noon the Másôu priests, having again partaken of their daily gruel, descend the trail to the ruin Kisakobi and there don the rabbit-skin Másôu masks and old native dresses. Each has a basket, a deerskin bag filled with seeds, and a club about ten inches long and two inches in thickness, which is hollow and filled with seeds of all kinds known to the Hopi farmer. They proceed to the field, arriving there in the early afternoon, and at sight of them the people scatter and run away, simulating great alarm. The Másôu men plant a few hills of each kind of seed, and now and then they seize hold of those who approach out of curiosity. When it is time to start homeward, the people are pursued by the Másôu men, and sometimes they fire a gun, at the sound of which the Másôu men fall as if killed by the shock. In the village men variously costumed run through the plaza, and the two give chase, striking at them with their seed-filled clubs, and any man who is struck falls as if dead, and they strip him of his costume. About sunset a gun is fired, and they fall. Four men lift each personator of the god, carry him to the western edge of the mesa, and pretend to throw him over the cliff toward the shrine of Másôu; but actually they lay him on the edge, and then withdraw. The Másôu men then rise and go down the trail to remove their costumes and to wash, and then return to the kiva, where the female relatives of their fathers have provided food. In the meantime the man whose

field was thus planted is giving a great feast to the people, beginning immediately after the return from the field. On a recent occasion this feast required fifteen to twenty sheep and a thousand pounds of flour.

The same rite is occasionally observed when the people are harvesting their crops, or are merely gathering edible wild herbs. In such a case the ceremony must be publicly announced, and must be preceded by four days of partial fast and four nights of encircling the village by the personator of Másôu, and when the people go to the harvest, he pursues them with shouts, and they flee. Thus is represented the ancient genius of the place defending his crops from the newly arrived Hopi clans.

Those who have personated Másôu compose Más-wimi ("Másôu fraternity"); but it seems that this society never held meetings nor performed a ceremony. On account of the arduous duties of this office in travelling among the rocks and along the edge of the cliffs in darkness, men are usually loathe to fill it. The people are very careful, when the personators of Másôu are dressing, not to approach them, for if any one were to observe them at such a time, he would be seized and required to act in the character of the god. The Crier Chief issues a warning to pass on the other side of that locality while the Másôu men are dressing.

Origin of the Owákûl-wimi

At Hómlewiwiuta, not far from Awatobi, lived two little orphan girls whom everybody disliked. One day, wandering about on the mesa in their daily search for fuel, they saw a beautiful butterfly, and as it was not yet the season for butterflies they followed it as it fluttered away, alighting here and there and apparently waiting for them. All forgetful of their fuel, they at last came to Samó-tsomo ["giant-yucca knoll," about four miles up Jeditoh cañon], where among the giant yuccas the butterfly disappeared. They searched diligently, and discovered a hole in the ground, whence came a voice inviting them to enter. Inside they were kindly greeted by the people who sat there, and after they had eaten, the chief said: "We have known about you. We know that you are not liked by the others, and that you have been longing to enjoy pleasures like theirs."

"It is true," said the girls.

The chief continued: "That is why the butterfly came for you. For we are Butterfly people, When you go home you will make four *naqáqusi* and a *pötavi*. Take them to the Crier Chief and tell him to announce a dance in eight days. This will be Owákûl-ti ['Owákûl dance']." He told them how to name the days of the new ceremony, and said that on Yûnya day others should be given the privilege of joining. Finally the Butterfly people dismissed the orphans with melons, watermelons, and pahos.

That night the two girls made four *naqáqusi* and a *pötavi,* securing the feathers and the string by stealth from their grandfather, with whom they lived, and took them to the Crier Chief. His wife, displeased at their presumption, grunted and said nothing, but the Chief himself invited them to sit down, and reproved the woman, saying: "These girls are not without some reason in coming to the house of the Crier Chief. Give them food." So she unwillingly placed food before them, and after they had eaten, the Crier Chief said: *" Taaí!* What is it?"

They gave him the *pötavi, the naqáqusi,* and some meal, and answered: "O*wé*! The Owákûltu will finish their *wímí* [ceremonial rites] in eight days. So we would like you to tell our children about it."

"Anchaaí!" exclaimed the Crier Chief. Then the two little girls went home.

At an early hour, when the boys and young men were lounging on the housetops and on the edge of the cliff in the manner of the ancient people, the Crier Chief appeared, and they said to one another: "Now our father has something for us. What will it be? See the *pötavi!"* Then, just as the sun appeared, he made the announcement, but when the name Owákûltu was mentioned, the people were perplexed, for none understood the word.

On Yûnya the two little orphans went into the kiva, and when the people learned of this they laughed and scoffed, thinking that this could be nothing more than children's play. As the day progressed, a little girl of the Tobacco clan leaned over the coping and looked down into the kiva. The two orphans said, "Come in." And the Tobacco girl joined them. Her parents laughed and teased her about it, not displeased, but amused. All night these three remained in the kiva, and on the following night an old man who lived close to the kiva took up his pipe and tobacco-bag, announcing his intention of joining them, and to

his wife's reproaches he replied: "Well, I am going! They can do nothing without a man." So he took his pipe and his blanket to the kiva.

In the morning they went to their homes to procure food, and the old man brought meal balls, the girl a stewed rabbit, and the orphans the melons and pahos of the Butterfly people. When the old man saw the melons he smiled broadly, and said to himself, "I thought there was something in this!" After they had eaten, he gathered up the remnants and carried them in a bowl to his wife, who in great surprise exclaimed, "They must be little witches!" But he said: "Witches do not like melons. They want things that are bad, but these two little girls are wonderful. That is why I have told you not to offend them." So the old woman and all her household entered the kiva that night. The orphans said there was nothing to do but remain awake all night.

On the next day, which was Sûskahimu, they sent the old man for some greasewood sticks and yucca-leaves. When he had sharpened the sticks, the girls drove them into the kiva walls for pegs.

The following day they sent him for two long juniper shoots. In the evening an old woman peeped down into the kiva, saw them eating melons, and immediately went home, got some food, and came down the ladder to join them. Still the people in the kiva were wondering what they were to do, and outside the villagers were still joking and scoffing. On the evening of Totókya the Crier Chief came and was received kindly. He remained and smoked. All this time the Butterfly women had been preparing for the dance, making many trays and dance costumes, as well as the *típoni* and the other sacred things for the society, and now, shortly before midnight, they started from their home and soon reached the kiva. Young men sleeping outside saw many strange women entering the kiva, and wondered. The Butterfly women brought with them a bundle, and when all were seated their chief asked, "Are any Tobacco people here?" They told her that the little girl and the old man were of that clan, and he at once filled a pipe for the Butterfly chief, while the girl filled one for the two orphan chiefs of the society.

Then, the smoke finished, the Butterfly women opened their bundle and revealed the painted sticks and other objects which now make up the altar of the Owákûl-wimi, and after hanging on the pegs in the wall the ceremonial clothing and trays, they mixed medicine in a bowl and erected the parts of the altar, singing as they worked. The

remainder of the night they passed in giving instruction in the songs and dances for the following day.

Early on the morning of Tíhuni each person in the kiva, Butterflies as well as others, washed her own head, then all went out to scatter meal, offering the usual morning prayer, after which they began to dress for the dance. The people of the village were in a state of wonderment about the strange newcomers in the kiva, but still they doubted that this society of the two orphans could have any serious import. At sunrise the dancers went to the plaza, and there danced in a circle. Behind them went two girls called Owákûl-mana ("Owákûl girl"), who rolled basketry trays along the ground and threw feathered corncobs after them. After the dance, all returned to the kiva, and the Crier Chief told the old man to command the people to bring food and cease to utter reproaches against the two girls. Throughout the day the dance was repeated at intervals, and soon after nightfall the Butterfly women departed, leaving the objects that compose the altar of the society.

While the Owákûl society is known as a "child's society" (*tsakówimi*), this term refers only to its mythical institution through the medium of children. For the same reason the term is applied to Yayáwimi, a fraternity of elderly men.

A female may join this society at any time of life, either before or after marriage. Men also may join, but they take no part in the public dancing. There are several male members in each women's lodge, their presence being regarded as necessary because the women are not used to being in a kiva and the men have certain duties to perform, such as smoking, gathering wood, caring for the fire.

The purpose of the ceremony is to bring rain and good crops. At East mesa it is not performed annually, nor even at regular intervals, being given only at the request of some male member, who thus obligates himself to have the dance performed four times in all, and each time he will officiate as chief. His appearance in public is limited to leading the procession of women into the plaza and to asperging the medicine-water toward the six world-regions. At Oraibi the ceremony is said to be biennial.

The society, as the myth indicates, originated at Awatobi, and was introduced into the present Hopi villages after the destruction of that pueblo.

The Mazô-wimi

The founding of the Mazô-wimi in Walpi occurred in the following manner:

Among the survivors of the destruction of Awatobi was a *hóva* (berdache). The *típoni* of the Mazó-wimi was in the possession of this youth's family. After the destruction of the pueblo he went back to search among the ruins, and in the house he found the *típoni,* which he decided to take to some village, believing that because of this sacred object he would be protected. He took it to Walpi and gave it to the Rattlesnake clan, because they were the chiefs at that place; and he said that the Rattlesnake women should be the chiefs of the society. "So long as the Rattlesnake people will care for this, the Mazô-wimi will continue," he said. "But when they do not care for it, the society will pass away."

The purpose of the ceremony of this women's society is the bringing of rain. It is very difficult to secure information about it, because of the belief that revealing its secrets will cause one's body to break out in a rash, the immediate cause of which, it is thought, is a small worm.

At the Smoke that precedes the sixteen-day rites three persons are present: Wíki, an old Rattlesnake clansman, and two women, Sáha of the Firewood clan and Kánya of the Reed.[92] It occurs four days after the conclusion of the ceremony of the Lakón-wimi.

The Smoke is followed on the next morning by the public announcement, and then after the customary interval of inactive days, which bear the usual names, comes the Assembly (Yûnya). The members, men and women, do not have to spend the entire day in the kiva, but they take their meals there. The women attend to their usual housework. In the evening all assemble in the kiva and practise the songs which they will sing in their public dances, interpolating jokes at the expense of the several Wûwûtsimtu. For that fraternity and the

92 In 1912 Wíki and Sáha had died since the last. performance, and as Kánya was the only old member of the society it was somewhat doubtful if the rites would ever be repeated.

Mazô-wimi regard each other as brother and sister societies,[93] and just as the former in their public dances make sport of these women, so the latter now jeer at the Wûwûtsimtu. The night is passed in the kiva by both men and women. The altar is erected on Yûnya. There are, it is said, no images representing supernatural beings, nor any painted slabs such as are used in the altar of the Owákûl-wimi. The principal object in this altar is the *típoni*. The next four days are spent in the same manner as is Yûnya.

In the public dances occurring on Píkamnovi the women dress like male personators of the Kachinas, the lower legs being bare and painted.They go from Ál-kiva in the morning, and dance in the plaza somewhat like the dancers of the Owákûl-wimi. They carry cornstalks, which at the end of the dance they throw to the spectators. In the other dances later in the day each woman carries in each hand a *mazô-paho*, which is a slab of wood about two feet long and four inches wide, painted with symbolical figures.

On Sûskahimu, Komók-totókya, and Totókya, the women come out of their kiva several times daily, dressed in various fantastic costumes, and go through the village making sport of the Wûwûtsimtu.

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93 The only explanation offered for the statement that the Wûwûtsimwimi and the Mazô-wimi are brother and sister societies is that they came from the same place, that is, Awatobi. This is hardly a satisfactory explanation, inasmuch as the Ál-wimi and the Tô-wimi also originated there, yet they are not called brothers by the Ma zô-wimi.