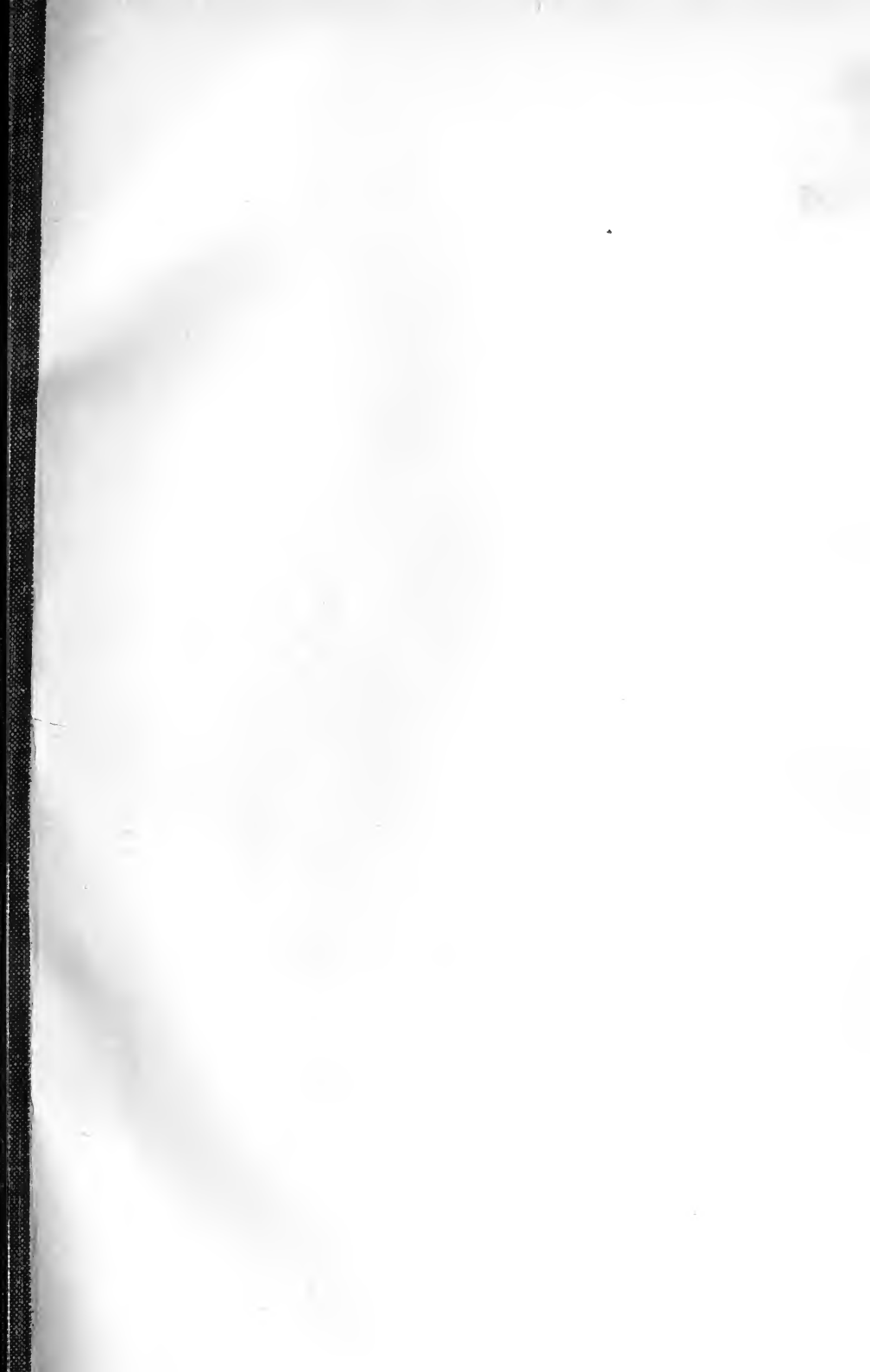
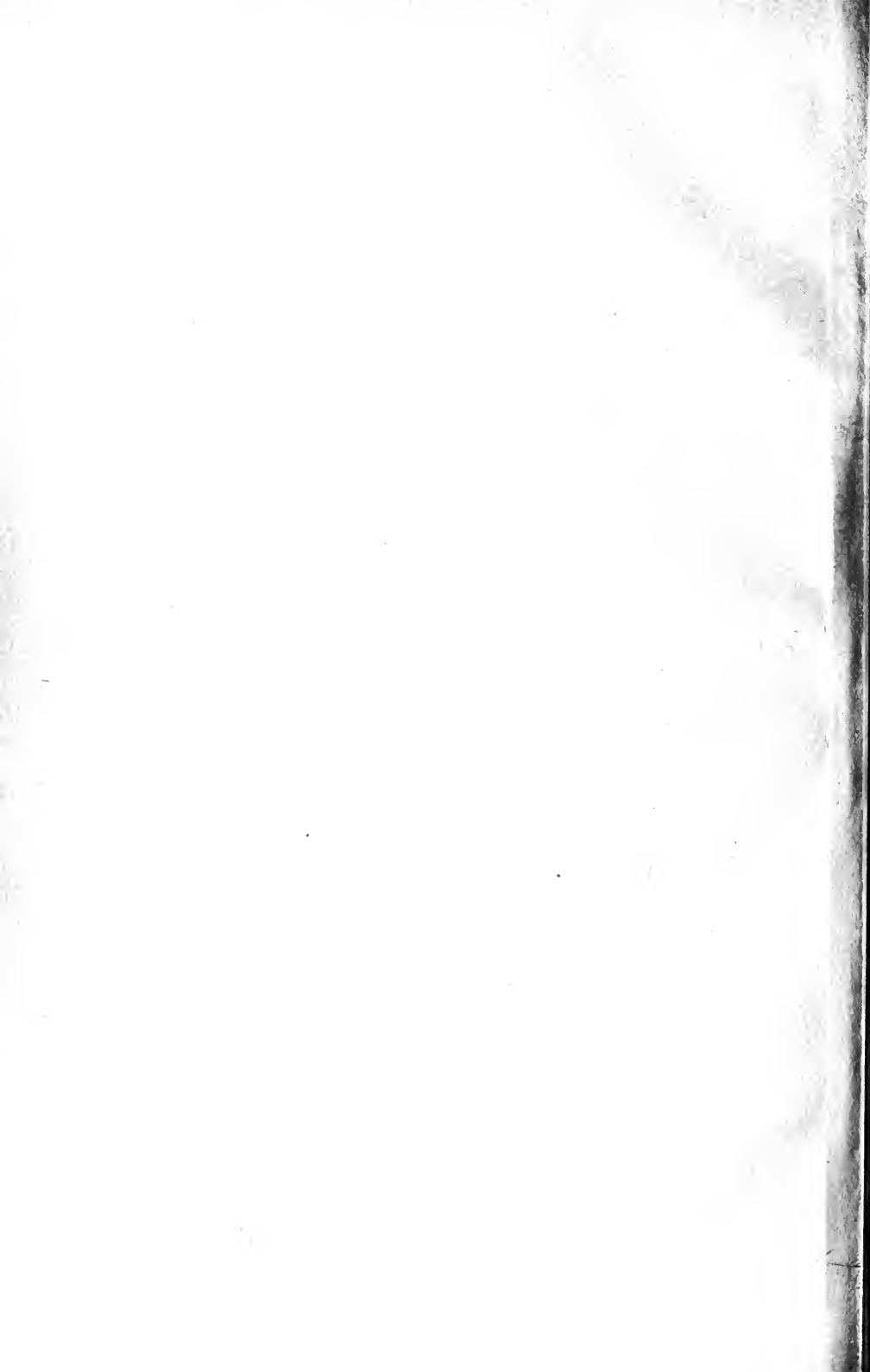


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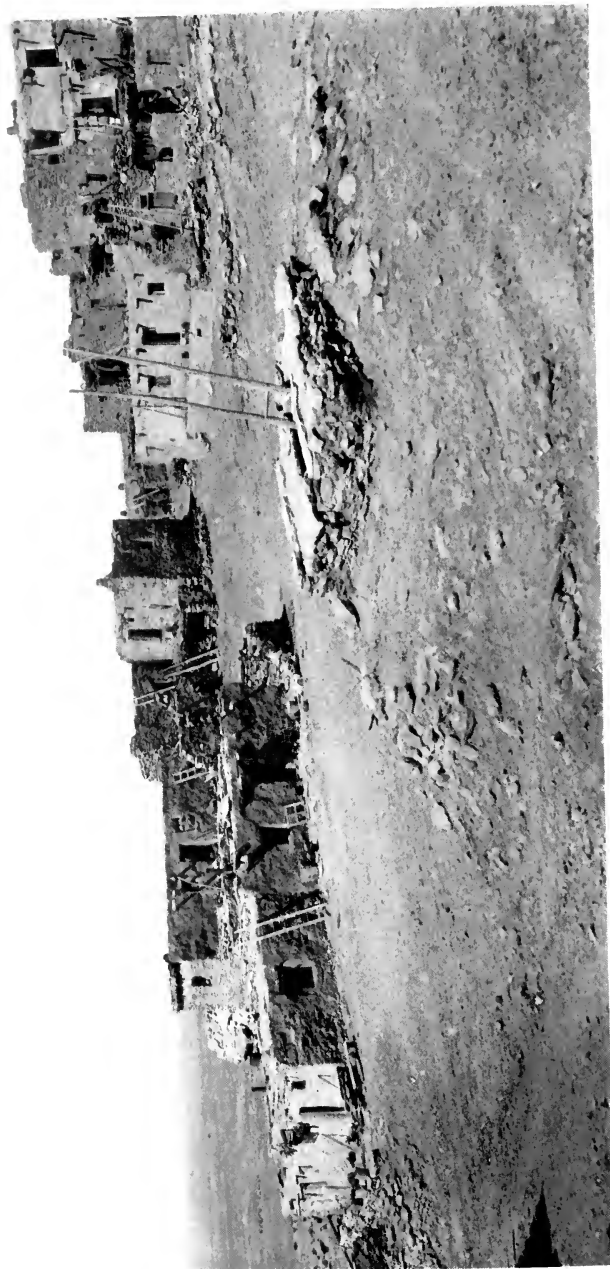
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PL. I.

The Marau kiva in the south-west corner of the village of Oraibi, showing in the centre of the plaza.

1. The first part of the report

is a general introduction to the subject.

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

PUBLICATION 156

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES

VOL. XI, No. 1

THE ORAIBI MARAU
CEREMONY

BY

H. R. VOTH

The Stanley McCormick Hopi Expedition

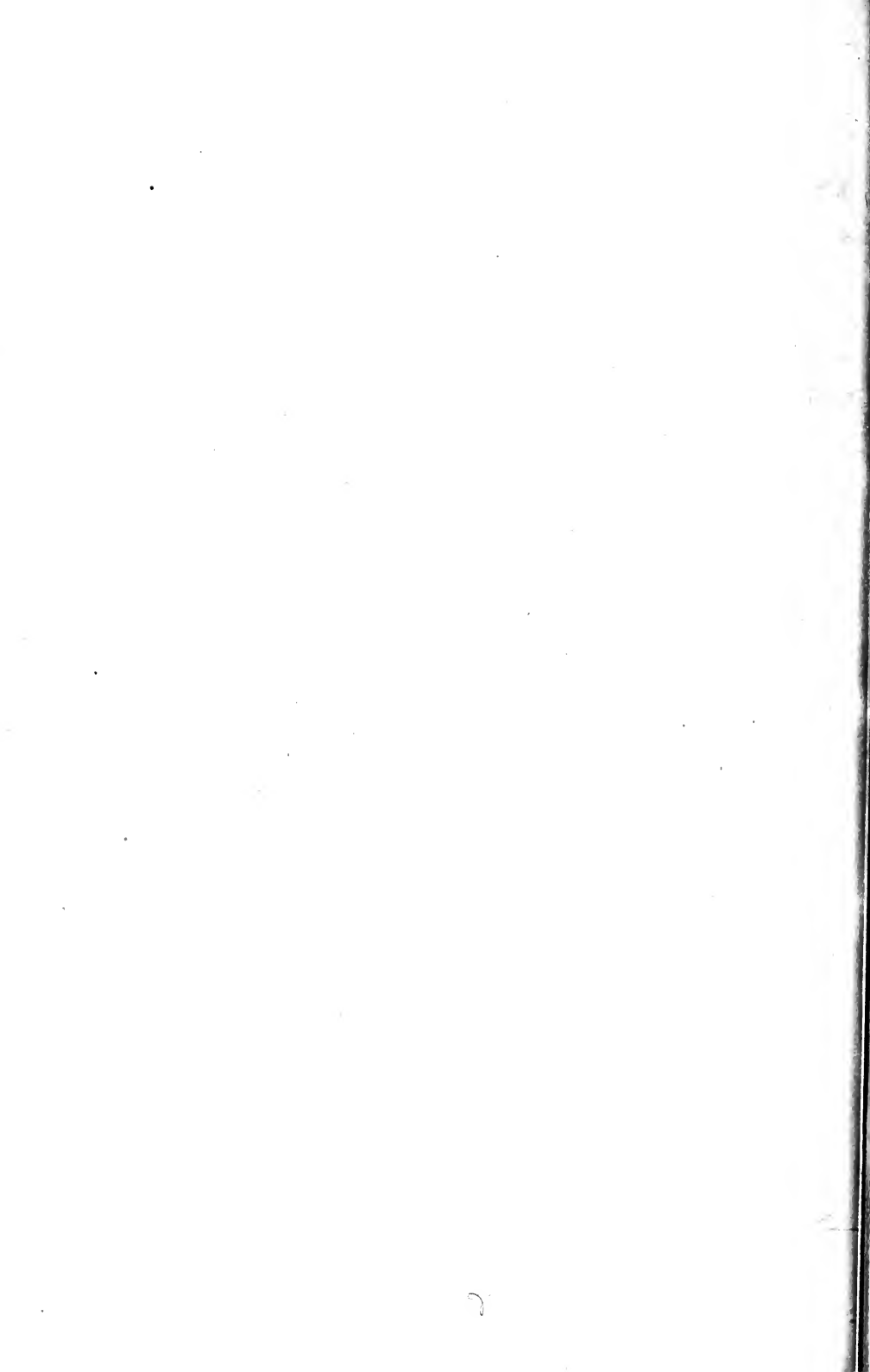
GEORGE A. DORSEY

Curator, Department of Anthropology



CHICAGO, U. S. A.

February, 1912



THE ORAIBI MARAU CEREMONY

FIRST PART

BY

H. R. VOTH

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PREFACE.

Through the renewed generosity of Mr. Stanley McCormick, the Field Museum of Natural History resumes investigations among the Hopi Indians of Arizona. The services of Mr. H. R. Voth, who has made that tribe the object of special studies, have again been secured to construct additional Hopi altars and prepare further papers on Hopi ceremonies and customs, and to add new ethnic features to the Hopi collections.

This monograph on the Oraibi Marau Ceremony describes the second of several extended ceremonies of the women of Oraibi, the first one, "The Oraibi Oaqöl Ceremony," having been published in 1901 in the series of papers on the Hopi under the Stanley McCormick expedition.

The profound thanks of the Museum and this Department to Mr. Stanley McCormick for his continued generosity are herewith cheerfully acknowledged.

GEORGE A. DORSEY,
Curator, Dept. of Anthropology.

Chicago, January 1912.

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INTRODUCTION.

The description of the Oraibi Winter and Summer Marau Ceremonies, given in this volume, is the result of several partial observations in different years. As the author had to make these investigations almost entirely alone, and the ceremonies are sometimes going on day and night, it is a physical impossibility for one man to make an exhaustive study of a nine-day (and night) ceremony at one time. But such a protracted study of the same ceremony, on different occasions, has the advantage to enable the student to make comparisons and to not only fill up gaps, but also to corroborate observations made on previous occasions. On the other hand, such interrupted studies have this disadvantage, that the participants are not the same in the various ceremonies, so that certain priests, or other participants, performing certain particular rites, cannot so easily be referred to by name. In this instance, however, the leaders and other principal participants were, with a few exceptions, the same in the different ceremonies that were observed.

The Mamzräutu, (Marau Society), is a woman's fraternity and in Oraibi has its own kiva, or underground ceremonial and working chamber (see Plate I, Frontispiece). But, as is the case with all women's societies, a number of men also belong to this order, who perform certain functions and control certain sacred objects in all the ceremonies.

As to the meaning of the term "Marau" I am not sure that I have been able to settle it, even to my own satisfaction. The chief priest Wickwaya¹ (see Plate II) and others insisted, that it was derived from a small beetle, maraubiwich-hoya. But just what the origin was of the connection between this small insect and a great Hopi ceremony, or the reason therefore, he either could not, or would not, tell. But the cordial relation, that existed between him and myself for years, and the willingness with which he gave me other information asked for, leads me to believe that he did not know himself. He once told me, with great satisfaction, that years ago, one of these

¹ The chief priest, Wickwaya, whose name is so often mentioned in these papers, has since embraced the Christian religion, and surrendered his position as chief priest in the Marau fraternity a number of years ago, his half brother Homihoiniwa succeeding him. The latter conducted the ceremony for the first time in 1903.

beetles had found its way into the kiva and had been flying around there for some time while a ceremony was in progress.

The principal leaders of this cult belong to the Kukuts (Lizard) clan, which is related to the Snake and Sand clans. The ceremonies take place every alternate years, one in January, the other in September, both of which are described separately in this paper, the first as the winter, the second as the summer ceremony. They are essentially the same, and yet the numerous variations seemed to warrant a separate description of each of them.

The ceremonies on which this description of the winter performance is based, took place in the years 1897, 1901 and 1903:— The author was then missionary among the Hopi and it was his intention to publish this paper in connection with his other papers when he was connected with the Field Museum, about nine years ago. But for various reasons this plan could not be carried out. In the meantime great changes have taken place in Oraibi. Strife and contentions between the different factions have driven a large part of the inhabitants from the village. These have started several new villages. This fact makes it highly probable, that the Marau ceremony, as well as the others, will, in the future, never be the elaborate affairs that they used to be in the past. Hence it was thought best to publish these notes even though they are not quite complete and appear somewhat late. The existing circumstances in Oraibi make them perhaps so much the more valuable.

In former publications I used the letters and the spelling I had used in my linguistic studies on the reservation. For various reasons, especially to simplify matters, Hopi proper names and certain words will be written as much as possible, according to English pronunciation in this and following publications.



PL. II.

Wickwaya, chief Marau priest.



BAHOLAWU OR INTRODUCTORY CEREMONY.

FIRST PART

THE WINTER CEREMONY

This brief preliminary performance was observed on February 3, 1894, and on January 20, 1898. The first took place in the Marau kiva, the other in the ancestral home of the Lizard clan where Wickwaya the chief priest, (see Plate II), his sister, the chief priestess, and their mother (who had formerly been the chief priestess, her daughter succeeding her), were still living and which, of course, he still considered as his home.¹ The introductory Baholawu (baho making), for other ceremonies also, frequently take place in the ancestral homes of the clan that controls the ceremonies. As these two brief ceremonies were four years apart, and one took place in a house, the other in a kiva and the details vary somewhat, they will be described separately.

I. BAHOLAWU, FEBRUARY 3, 1894.

Wickwaya, chief priest; Homihoiniwa, Assistant priest; Tangakweima, (Wickwaya's mother) Chief priestess; Paelaka, Assistant priestess were the leaders.

When I arrived in the morning Tangakweima had just put up the natsi (standard) outside, which consisted of, I believe, six sticks, about eight inches long, to which many small hawk feathers were attached, and was sprinkling some meal on it, and also some towards the sun. The three went into the kiva and built a fire while Wickwaya commenced making bahos. Several bundles of such articles as feathers, paint, etc., were lying on the floor. It was quite cold in the kiva; Wickwaya only had a blanket around his shoulders. His hair was hanging down loose.

Tangakweima now combed herself and was then sent after water and a long stone mortar to rub the paint on. Other women, who

¹ The Hopi considers his parental home as his real home, though he may be married and live somewhere else with his family. If you simply ask him where he lives, he usually points to the place where his mother lives. The author once had a Hopi who had a wife and six children, for three months in Kansas. When this man returned he first went to his parents' home, who had already retired for the night, had his mother prepare him a repast, related to her some of his experiences and then proceeded to his family, to which he was otherwise very much attached.

were to take part in the ceremony (only a small part of the Marau priestesses) now began to come into the kiva, each bringing with her and depositing near Wickwaya's paraphernalia a corn-husk leaf with a little meal, a few eagle breath feathers, and a little ball of home-made twine in it; this was afterwards used by each woman for making nakwakwosis. One or two only had feathers and one or two only feathers and twine.

Wickwaya had in meanwhile finished the baho sticks and was patiently waiting for the water and the mortar. The sticks he had placed into a small tray with corn-meal, with which he had mixed a little honey. As soon as his mother had brought a mortar and water he ground some black and green paint, and then painted the sticks green, the pointed ends black, and afterwards put a little yellow paint on the facet which he had cut out on one end of one of the sticks. The women were in the meanwhile sitting around the fireplace warming themselves.

While Wickwaya was painting the baho sticks, old Tangakweima (see Pl. III) was sitting at his side in deep silence, only now and then it seemed as if she was murmuring a short prayer.

At a word from Wickwaya all the women now seated themselves near him in the north-west corner of the kiva and each made six nakwakwosis. These they deposited into the basket, one towards each cardinal point, and north-east (above), and south-east (below). Wickwaya tied the usual turkey feather, two herbs, a packet with meal and honey and a fuzzy eagle feather with a cotton string, corn-meal (prayer-meal), etc., on the baho sticks, and then took a little honey into his mouth and drew the cotton string attached to the baho through the mouth and then through a yellow powder (corn-pollen), and then placed the baho also into the tray for a little while. Homihoiniwa, the assistant, now made six nakwakwosis and gave them to Chief Lolulomais' mother, who was sitting to the right of him. She placed them also into the tray from the six different directions. Wickwaya who had left the kiva for a little while now returned, bringing with him two old gourd rattles, and resumed his place. He took a little prayer-meal and sprinkled it on the floor from six directions, depositing a little in the centre. On this centre he then placed an old tiponi (see Plate XXX, d), after having waved it from six directions towards the centre. He next handed a little meal and a rattle to his mother who was sitting by his left side, also some to the woman to his right. He himself took up a mosilili, consisting of a bent stick, from one end of which are suspended a number of cone-shells.

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PL. III.

- A. Tangakweima, chief Marau priestess, later succeeded by her daughter.
- B. The same, returning at the head of the line of priestesses from the plaza.

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ANTHROPOLOGY, PL. III.

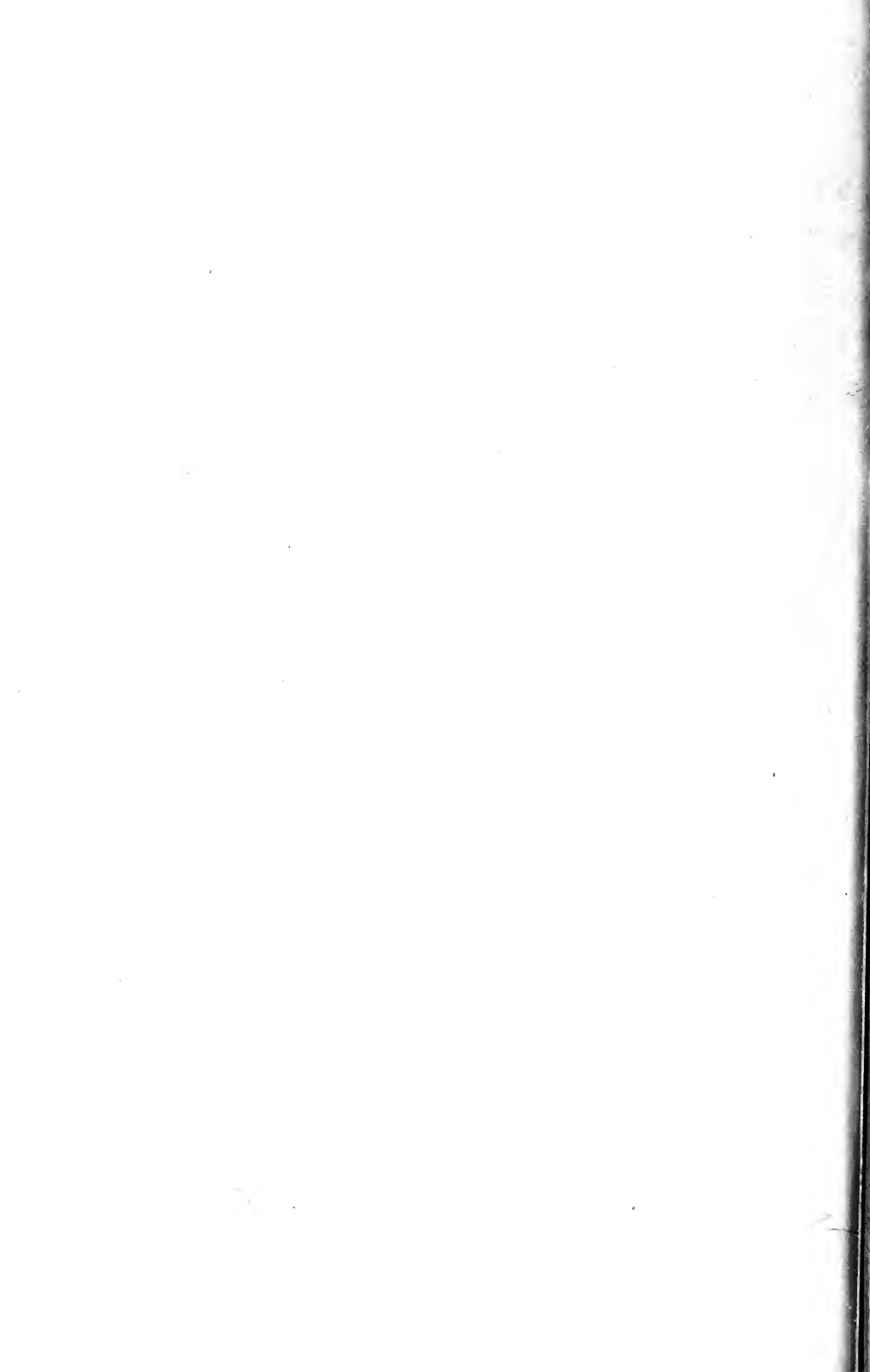


A



B

14



All now were silent for a few moments as if in silent prayer, whereupon a song was chanted in a low voice, to which the time was beaten with the mosilili and the gourd rattles. When the song was concluded Wickwaya's old mother said, "askwali" (thanks).

Two of the women next handed from a small tray a pinch of meal to each woman, which they sprinkled from the six directions into the baho tray, Wickwaya and his assistant doing the same. Wickwaya also sprinkled a pinch of corn-pollen on his baho in the tray. Then all women, except Wickwaya's mother and the woman next to her, went to the fireplace while Wickwaya and his assistant were smoking, blowing the smoke on the tray before them, first Wickwaya, then Homihoiniwa, then Wickwaya again. Wickwaya then spurted a little honey over the tray.

Hereupon Wickwaya instructed six women to carry away the nakwakwosis. They arranged themselves in line before him. The first received a little meal and the nakwakwosis from the north side in the tray and was told to take them to a small shrine northward from the village. She took a little honey into her mouth and took a position near the ladder. Then the next woman went through the same performance receiving the bahos from the west side of the tray, and was directed to carry them somewhere to the west side down the mesa. Then came south, then east, then north-east (above), then south-west (below). When all had received their share they left. The nakwakwosis were offered to the clouds with the prayer for rain. Wickwaya took his sun baho to some sun shrine, I think south-east of the mesa.

This concluded the ceremony in the kiva. In the evening, however, a Katcina dance took place in the kivas. On this occasion the Anga-Katcina appeared. On other Marau Baholawu days such Katcinas as the Eagle, Koyemsi, Dog and other Katcinas, have been known to perform dances.

2. BAHOLAWU, JANUARY 20, 1898.

Besides the chief Marau priest Wickwaya, there were present his mother, his sister (chief priestess of the order), and five other women, all of whom took part later on in all the altar performances of the nine day ceremony.

Wickwaya first prepared some green, black and yellow paint; he then made one double baho (prayerstick) to be offered to the sun and one pūhu (rod) of an eagle feather, for the same purpose (see Plate XXX, i and h). The baho he painted green, the tips black and the facet in one of the sticks (the female) yellow. To it were fastened the usual two herbs, kunya (*Guetteriza Euthamiae*) and maōvi (*Artemisia*

frigida), a turkey feather and a small packet of corn-husk, containing corn-meal and honey, a turkey feather and an eagle feather nakwakwosis. He also made five nakwakwosis (see Plate XXX, b and c).

Each of the women first made one nakwakwosi for the sun which they placed with Wickwaya's baho. They then prepared a number of other nakwakwosis, some made four, some five, some six, which they placed on a tray to which Wickwaya added those prepared by himself and the others, for the sun. The nakwakwosis were placed towards the north, west, south, east and south-west directions on the tray, the sun offerings towards the south-east, which is very unusual. The tray was now placed on the floor towards the center of the room. On the north-east side of it on the floor was standing the tiponi (emblem) of the order. All now arrayed themselves around the tray, Wickwaya on the north-east side, to his right his sister, the tiponi standing in front and between them. Then came their mother and then the rest of the women.

When all had assumed their (squatting) position, Wickwaya placed a handful of meal on the center of the tray and on each pile of nakwakwosis and some meal and a pinch of talasi (corn-pollen) on the baho and nakwakwosis, prepared for the sun. He then uttered a short prayer, took a mosilili (shell rattle), his sister and her assistant, each a gourd rattle, and then all chanted a few songs, I think, three in all, which they accompanied with their rattles. When the singing was concluded, Wickwaya smoked a while, blowing the smoke into the tray. The women waited in silence. He then took a little honey into his mouth, spurted it over the tray and then handed the contents of the tray to five women, each taking with her a little meal and in their mouths a pinch of honey. One took the sun offering to a place on the point of the mesa south of the village. The others deposited the nakwakwosis on the four sides of and a few hundred yards from the village. While they were gone Wickwaya put away the tiponi, paints, feathers, etc., and when all had returned they partook of a meal. In the evening a Kacina dance took place in the kivas.

THE PRINCIPAL CEREMONY.

FIRST DAY (Shush ka himuu, once not anything).

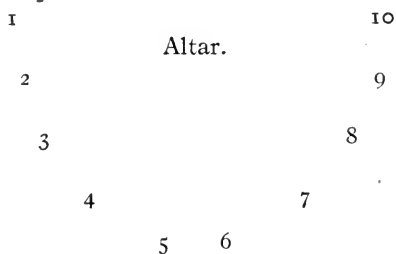
While the chief priest and, I believe, also his assistant, usually go into the kiva the previous evening already, smoking, and eating there and decorticating some sticks to be used for bahos in the ceremony, this is really the first day on which ceremonies take place, though the Hopi do not call this but the next day, Shush tala (first day). I have

never been able to obtain a fully satisfactory explanation for this fact, which also prevails in other ceremonies. The answer they usually give is that this first day really is the last day of another cycle of two times four days, which lies between the introductory ceremony (Baholawu) and the principal ceremony. In that case the designation "Once not anything" would not be intended to say that nothing is being done on this day — when in fact in certain ceremonies it is one of the principal days — but it would rather refer to the fact that this day, though ceremonies often take place on it, has nothing to do with the two times four ceremonial days proper.

The order of the days would then be as follows:

Our way of designating.	The Hopi way of designating.
First day.	Shush ka himuu — Once not anything.
Second day.	Shush tala — First day.
Third day.	Lōsh tala — Second day.
Fourth day.	Bayish tala — Third day.
Fifth day.	Nalōsh tala — Fourth day.
Sixth day.	Shush tala — First day or komok-totokya (wood preparing).
Seventh day.	Lōsh tala — Second day or pik-totokya (piki preparing).
Eighth day.	Bayish tala — Third day or totokya (general preparing).
Ninth day.	Nalōsh tala — Fourth day or tikive (dance).

During the greater part of the ceremonies only the chief priest, his assistant, the chief priestess, her assistant, and six other women, ten in all, are present. They perform the regular altar ceremonies. The assistant priest, Navini (see Plate XV) who happened to be the same in all the ceremonies observed, usually attended to the fire, often lighted the pipe, etc. As the other nine were not always altogether the same persons in the different years, they will be frequently referred to by numbers, shown in the following diagram:



Following are the names of the more prominent men and women that participated in the various ceremonies that furnished the material for this paper. The first ten are numbered in the order they occupy during the ceremonies and in case they are referred to by number in this paper this list may be consulted. They might be called the leaders, while the chief priest, chief priestess and her assistant will sometimes be referred to as the principal leaders. Where the participant, named in this list, was not present and someone else had taken her place it will be so stated. The numbers begin with the woman at the left upper corner of the altar and end with the right upper corner.

1. Pungnyánömsi.
2. Nakwáhungka. (One time another woman occupied her place.)
3. Talángösi, assistant chief priestess.
4. Qótnömsi, chief priestess, Wíckwaya's sister.
5. Navíni, assistant chief priest.
6. Wíckwaya, chief priest.
7. Qöcháwuhti (other name: Kiwánhoynöma).
8. Nasíngyaonöma.
9. Qömáhepnöma.
10. Qöyámönöma.
11. Sikánömsi. (One time acting as assistant chief priestess.)
12. Qöyáhongnöma.
13. Tangákweima, Wíckwaya's mother, formerly chief priestess.
14. Homíhoiniwa, Wíckwaya's successor.
15. Qöyáwaima, watcher or guard.
16. Qomáletstiwa.
17. Lomálehtiwa.
18. Tangákhungniwa, watcher or guard.
19. Nakwáhoyoma.
20. Tangákyeshtiwa.¹

On the fourth and last day others whose names were not recorded are present. On the morning of this day a ring of corn-meal is strewn around the kiva; the natsi or emblem of the Marau Society is first smoked upon and then put up (see Plate IV, a). This consists of several bunches of kelehoya, (sparrow hawk, *falco sparverius*) feathers which are tied by short, twisted, cotton strings to several sticks which are about eight inches long, and which is thrust with the pointed end into a roll of dry grass that lies at the south and of the hatch-way. Every priestess wears in her hair two short feathers of this same bird, which are tied together at the quill ends, and fastened to the hair on top of the head.

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

18-

PL. IV.

- A. The Marau kiva, showing the natsi (society standard) consisting of a bunch of sparrow hawk feathers.
- B. Participants in the Marau ceremony getting sand for the altar.

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A

ANTHROPOLOGY, PL. IV.



B





PL. V. THE MARAU ALTAR IN THE WINTER CEREMONY.

The large, wide slabs represent corn-stalks, the zigzag lightning, the small sticks, deceased members of the order. The figurines are the Marau-Manas, (deities of the order). Near the ridge stands the tiponi, the badge of office of the chief priest, consisting of an ear of corn, wound with cotton twine, and a bunch of different kinds of feathers in the upper end. In the foreground is the medicine bowl with six ears of corn, aspergills, etc., also two netted gourd vessels, trays with meal, rattles, bone whistles and other articles used in the ceremonies.

In front of the left side figurine stand two "mother tiponies," consisting of an old elongated basket, to the top of which are tied long, black prayer sticks which have nakwakwosis tied to one end. Behind this figurine stands a small wooden cone with a crystal inserted into the upper end. Small wooden frogs are placed along the front, and wooden cloud symbols on the rear side of the sand ridge.



The altar paraphernalia are brought into the kiva on the morning of this day and placed on the floor on the north side of the kiva, where the assistant priest also deposits some sand, which he gets in a blanket from outside of the village.

In the forenoon the chief priest makes four double bahos, the sticks of which are six inches long and one (for the sun) somewhat longer, which he paints green, except the tips, which are painted black, and two single bahos which are painted black entirely. He and each woman also make some nakwakwosis for the sun and one for each of the four world quarters, and Wickwaya also prepares some nakwakwosis to be used in the afternoon.¹ All these prayer offerings are placed on a tray, and some corn-meal and corn-pollen sprinkled on them. After the chief priest has uttered a brief prayer over them, and they have been consecrated by a few songs, in which all present participate, and which are accompanied by rattling, and the chief priest and his assistant have smoked over them, most of the nakwakwosis are deposited by four women on the north, west, south and east side of the village. The woman going to the south side of the village on one occasion also took the baho and nakwakwosi for the sun along. The three principal leaders, Nos. 3, 4 and 5, then sat down on their rolled-up blankets in the north-west corner of the kiva where they spent, in the same manner, a great part of their time during the eight days when not engaged in the performance of some ceremony. Wickwaya sits in the corner, the chief priestess next to him and by her side the latter's assistant, Sikanömsi, or on another occasion, Talangösi.

The others, who have not gone out with the prayer offerings, either sit and wait or begin to make preparations for the building of the altar. On one occasion some of the women unwrapped their mother tiponis, while Navini either carded cotton or smoked at the fireplace.

After a brief rest Wickwaya begins to put up the altar. He first places the sand, previously gotten by Navini and a woman (see Plate IV, b), on the floor, forming it into a semi-circular ridge. Into this he inserts first the larger slabs and zigzags and then the smaller sticks and eagle feathers, and finally places all the smaller objects, the medicine bowl, ears of corn, etc., into their proper places (see Plate V). When the altar is finished Wickwaya resumes his place in the corner with the two priestesses, the other participants also sitting in different parts of the kiva and waiting. At about two o'clock two of the priestesses, one of them Pungnyanömsi (No. 1), the other Qötchwuhti (No. 7), who acts as sprinkler, put on their white ceremonial robes, Wickwaya

¹ These nakwakwosis and the four green and two black bahos were taken by two priestesses to two springs in the afternoon, as will be described on a following page.

ties a nakwakwosi, of an eagle feather into their hair, and hands to each one the following objects: some nakwakwosis, some corn-meal, a long buzzard wing feather, a bone whistle, an ear of corn, one black baho, two green bahos, and a netted gourd vessel, and sends them to two different springs after water to be used in the ceremony. Following one of the priestesses to the spring Lânva (Flute Spring) I was enabled to note some details and to get some snapshot photographs. At the east side of the spring she stopped, held the prayer offerings to her lips and uttered a silent, short prayer. She then deposited the two bahos and three eagle feathers and one turkey feather nakwakwosi, with some sacred meal, I think in a small niche on the north side of the spring. Hereupon she descended to the spring proper, which is about twenty feet below the level of the ground, and there, standing at the edge of the water (see Plate VII, a), blew the whistle several times towards the water. Then she imitated the act of dipping water with the whistle four times, with the long eagle feather five times and with the ear of corn four times, whereupon she filled the gourd vessel. She then ascended the steps, taking with her all the objects except the prayer offerings (see Plate VII, b). Arriving at the upper rim of the spring she cast a pinch of meal from the spring on the trail that leads to the village and deposited a "road" and some meal on the trail east of the spring, whereupon she hurried back to the kiva (see Plate VI, b), where she arrived in about fifteen or twenty minutes after she had left it. Here she waited on the east side of the ladder (see Plate VIII, a) until the other woman returned. The chief priest had in the meantime resumed his place in the corner. When they returned he met and greeted them, sprinkled first a meal line from the place where they were sitting to the altar, returned and took from them the small vessel with the water, the long feather and the whistle, and placed these objects on the floor at the altar, while the women remained seated on the elevated portion of the kiva floor on the east side of the ladder, their feet resting on the floor of the deeper part of the kiva. The priest then stands in front of the women, holding some corn-meal in his right, a long buzzard wing feather in his left hand. He sprinkles some meal on the feather, hums a song, beating time with the feather, waving it slightly up and down (see Plate VIII, b), circles it above their heads a few minutes and dusts off the meal towards the hatch-way. This he does six times. He then takes the nakwakwosis from their hair and places them with their mungwikuru, and resumes his place. His assistant hands him a so-called cloud blower, a cone-shaped pipe, which he fills with a certain kind of small, dry pine or spruce needles and places it on the floor near the altar. At about 3:15

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PL. VI.

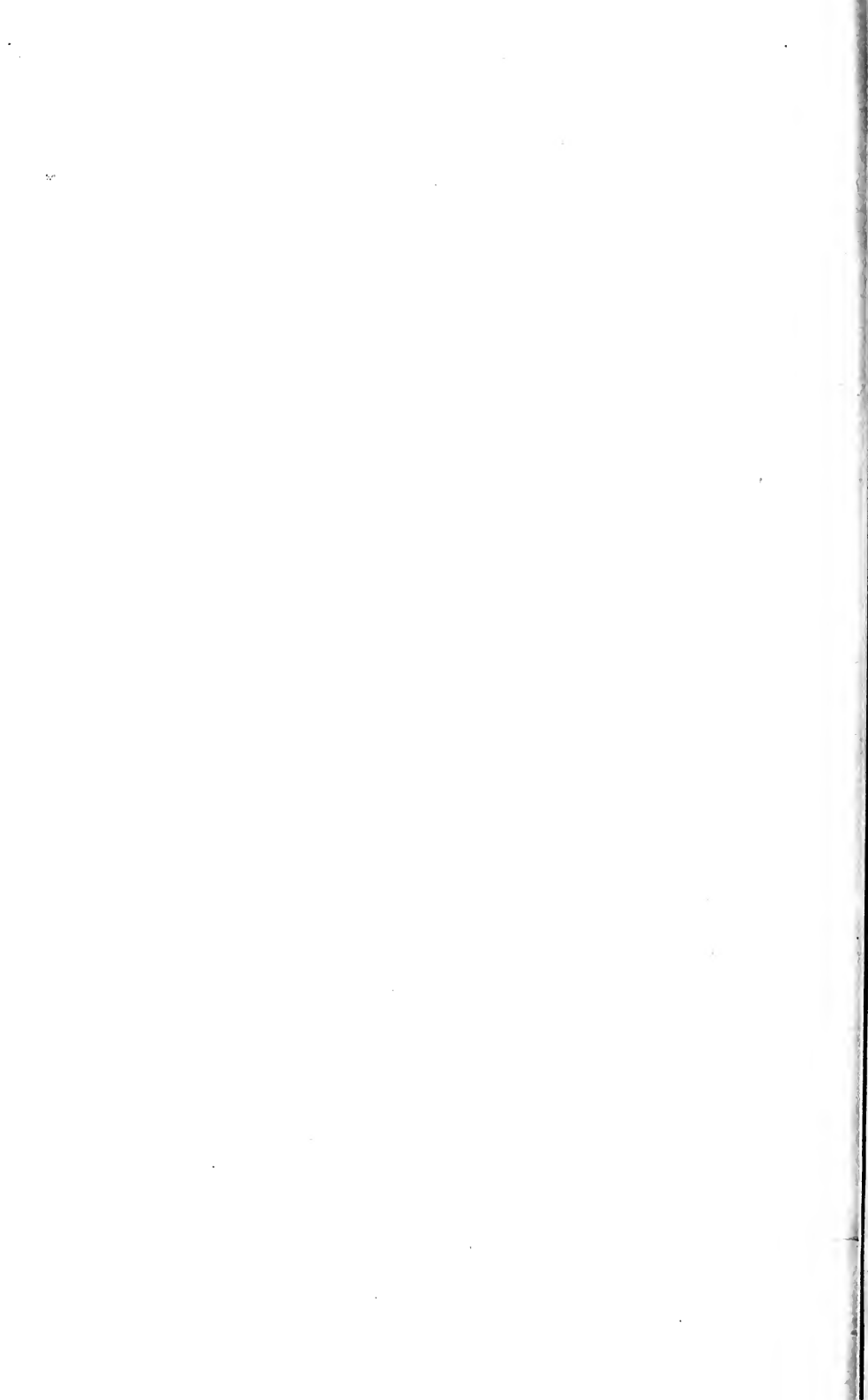
- A. Pungnyanōmsi going to the Flute spring for water to be used in the ceremony.
- B. The same, returning to the kiva.



A



B





A



B

PL. VII.

- A. The priestess Pungnyanömsi making her offerings at the spring.
- B. The same, having obtained the water and ascending from the spring.



p. m. all arrange themselves in a semicircle in front of the altar (see diagram on page 17).

The chief priest rises and goes through the same discharging performance as he did before with the two priestesses who fetched the water from the springs. The feather he circles this time in front of the altar over the heads of the participants in the ceremony. He then unties the nakwakwosis from the hair of the women, and places them on the floor in front of the altar, and then fills a smoke pipe with native tobacco which he also places on the floor, whereupon he squats down in front and about the middle of the altar, Navini and four women usually sitting on his left and four women on his right side. These ten persons are usually the ones that participate in the ceremonies around the altar, and hence are in this paper sometimes called leaders. Wickwaya then utters the following brief prayer:

“Taa, pai pi ita puu yep maksontota; owi ita yep itah mungwasi nanapangwani. Nap hakakwat unaywasyat nalö nananiwo tuikaowak put akv puma angk ichi palaye ak itamui okwatotwani.”

FREE TRANSLATION.

“Now then, we exert ourselves (we are constrained); therefore we assist each other (coöperate) here in our concerns (offerings). From somewhere the four different ones (referring to the rain deities in the four world quarters) may they bring at the right time copious rains quickly (to us) taking pity on us.”

Then the *first song* is begun (see Plate IX, a). Wickwaya beats time with a rattle, consisting of a short crook, to which a number of old cone shells are tied. His sister and her assistant beat time with gourd rattles and the rest with their ears of corn, which they call their “mothers.” Navini, I think, beats time with a buzzard feather. During this song one of the women (No. 8) takes a tray with fine corn-meal and rubs four lines on the north, west, south and east wall of the kiva respectively, then throws a small pinch of meal against a joist over the altar and presses some to the floor east of the altar. Each of these acts is performed during one of the verses of the song.

The *second song* is then sung, during which the same woman takes a pinch of powder of some kind of a berry from a corn-husk, sprinkles it along the corn-ear and old makwanpi (aspergill) which are lying on the north side of the bowl into the bowl, picks up those two objects and holds both of them, point downward, into the medicine bowl and then pours some water on them from a netted gourd vessel. After having done this she asperges with them towards the altar and then

replaces them. This she repeats with all the other ears of corn and aspergills.

The *third song* then follows. Another woman (No. 7) sprinkles a pinch of corn-pollen, I think, into the medicine bowl from the north side and then picks up an eagle bone whistle, bends over the medicine bowl and whistles into it (see Plate IX, b) asperging with the whistle when she is through. This she repeats from the other five directions.

During the *fourth song* another woman (No. 3) moves slightly forward in a kneeling position, picks up the ear of corn and makwanpi on the north side of the medicine bowl, dips them into a liquid and asperges. This she repeats with the remaining five corn-ears and makwanpis.

Fifth song. Two women (No. 2 and No. 10) each take the two old bow sticks, the one from the east, the other from the west side of the altar; another woman (No. 7) takes the two sticks with the grass wheels from the figurine on the west side, No. 9 takes those from the figurine on the east side of the altar, and all beat time with these objects on the floor. At a certain place of the song they raise them and with a sweeping, downward motion they dip them into the medicine bowl and then asperge with them towards the altar. When they dip their objects into the bowl all the others make a motion towards the bowl with the objects that they hold in their hands. All this is done six times.

Sixth song. All sprinkle meal on the altar six times at short intervals. A short interruption now occurs in the singing, during which the chief priest takes a pinch of honey into his mouth, rises and takes the large cone-shaped pipe or cloud blower and lights it at the fireplace, whereupon the

Seventh song is commenced, during a part of which the chief priest blows smoke from the cloud blower over the altar and especially into the medicine bowl. The woman sitting at his right side (No. 7) shakes his shell rattle.

A number of songs, as nearly as I have been able to make out, eight, now follow, during which nothing is done except occasional asperging by the chief priest. Before the

Ninth song starts the chief priest steps behind the altar, the woman at the north-west corner of the altar (No. 1)¹ moving forward in a kneeling position.

To her the chief priest hands a stick which he takes from the sand ridge of the altar, swinging or moving it along the cotton string road

¹ In all the ceremonies, that I observed, this was Pungnyanömsi, the sister of Chief Lolulomai she, as well as her older brother Shokhungyoma, is called Kik-mungwi (village chief) and they are said to "own the houses."

[Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]

PL. VIII.

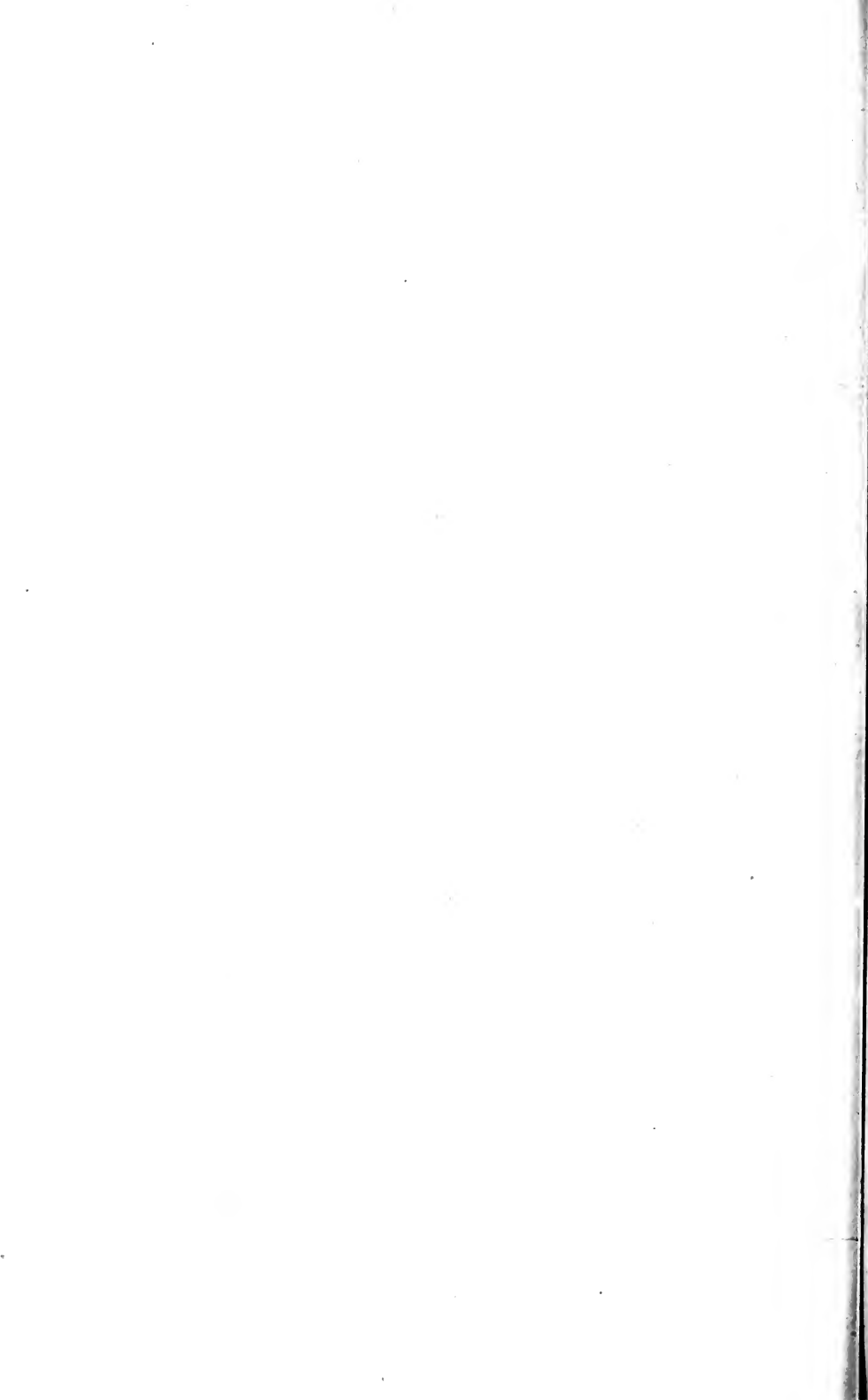
- A. Priestess waiting in the kiva for the return of her companion.
- B. The two priestesses, who got the water for altar use, being discharmed by the chief priest.



A



B



27

A



B

PL. IX.

- A. Priestesses around the altar.
- B. The same. One of the priestesses blowing the bone whistle into the medicine bowl.



on the altar and over the medicine bowl towards her, whereupon he resumes his seat. The singing is then resumed, the woman beating time with one end of the stick on the floor. This stick, as well as the others in the sand ridge, is supposed to represent one of the dead members of the order (as is also the case with similar sticks in other ceremonies), and it is believed that the striking of the floor announces to the deceased members in the nether world that a ceremony is in progress.

At a certain period of the song, when the word "wawayina"¹ occurs, she waves the stick in a horizontal circle from right to left and then continues to beat time on the floor. This she does seven times.²

When the song is over all say thanks, the woman holds the stick with one end resting on the floor, and all wait in silence. The chief priest again steps behind the altar, takes the stick from the woman, swings it backward over the medicine bowl and along the string road towards himself, and replaces it and then resumes his seat. After a short silence he speaks a brief prayer: "Pay hapi ita yep maksontota; Owi itah maksoni akvmongwastotini." "Now (or well!) we exert (or trouble, constrain) ourselves here. And now our exertions shall be consummated," to which the others respond by saying, *anchaa* (be it so). His assistant (Navini) lights a pipe and the two men smoke while the women take seats in different parts of the kiva.

The leaders fast on this day until late in the evening; the other members abstain from salty foods only. This same rule applies also to the second, third and fourth day.

SECOND DAY (Shush tala, First Day).

Early in the morning the *natsi* is put up again, the women make their offering to the dawn, which consists of a little corn-meal that they sprinkle towards the east behind a rock, south of the village, the two leaders also waving their ears of corn towards the east, whereupon all file back to the kiva. The same ceremony then takes place around the altar as on the previous evening.³ After the morning meal a number of *nakwakwosis* are made and deposited, though just how many has not been recorded. The chief priest and priestess, and the latter's

¹ Whether this is an old form for *wangwayi*, call, beckon; or whether *wawayi-na*, call (the) father, or *waway-ina*, call my father, is the correct etymology could not yet be fully determined.

² This number seems to be unusual, six times, apparently, being the normal number. Why seven times I did not ascertain. But I have observed on other occasions that certain rites were performed seven times, where six would have seemed the regular number. Where the words are the same in each stanza it may sometimes be an error.

³ From my notes it appears, that in all the altar ceremonies from this day, except on the eighth day, the making of the meal lines on the walls during the first song and the performance with the *makwanpis* and the corn-ears during the second songs were dispensed with.

assistant again fast on this day, eating only late in the evening. The others eat but discard all food containing salt or salty substances.

When no ceremonies are in progress the three principal leaders are occupying their usual seats in the north-west corner of the kiva, usually observing deep silence. The other women are scattered throughout the kiva, spin cotton for the prayer offerings, gossip and sometimes practice the songs and movements for the public performance on the last day.

THIRD DAY (Lösh tala, Second Day).

The rites and ceremonies of this day are practically the same as on the previous day. I find in my notes for the first time that the woman (No. 8) who, on the first day, made the four corn-meal lines on the four kiva walls, sprinkled a meal line from the figurine on the east side of the altar towards the east side of the ladder, also throwing a pinch of meal up the ladder towards the hatch-way. But as this was repeatedly observed later on and is usually done in connection with women's ceremonies, it can be safely assumed that it was done on the two previous days also. My notes of this day also mention the fact that not all women were barefooted, and it might be stated in general that women do not seem to be so scrupulous about this point as the men. I do not remember having ever seen a man wearing moccasins during a ceremony.

FOURTH DAY (Bayish tala, Third Day).

In the Marau Ceremony, as in all great Hopi ceremonies, the fourth and the eighth day, besides the first, are considered more important than the other days, although in the Marau Ceremony the difference between these and the second and third day is not as great as in other ceremonies while the contrast is very marked as far as the fifth, sixth and seventh days are concerned.

During the eight days, while the ceremony is in progress, the eight women who participate in the altar ceremonies sleep in the kiva. Wickwaya, the chief priest, who was then about sixty years old, also slept in the kiva. In earlier years his mother (see Plate III) and later his sister was the chief priestess. The age of all the women, participating in these regular altar ceremonies, ranges between about fifty and seventy years. All sleep in their clothes when spending their nights in the kivas. On one occasion I noticed the assistant priest, Navini, coming in at about six o'clock to build a fire. About fifteen minutes later all got up, though the women had been chatting and singing for some time already.

The following is taken from my notes of January 22, 1897:

“After the chief priestess had put up the natsi all took their corn-ear mothers and some corn-meal and slowly filed out to a small shrine south of and close to the village. At one place they stopped, held the meal to their lips, dropped a part of it on a small shrine and sprinkled a small quantity towards the rising sun; they then proceeded a few steps, lined up, held the remaining meal to their lips and cast it towards the east, whereupon they returned to the kiva, sprinkled a pinch of meal to the altar and replaced their ears of corn on the floor in front of the altar.

Wickwaya filled the cloud blower and placed it on the floor for use later on. All then arranged themselves in a semicircle south of the altar as usual. Nasingyaonōma sprinkled the meal line from the altar to the ladder and then the same ceremony was gone through as on the morning of the two preceding days. At the conclusion Wickwaya and Navini each uttered the usual brief prayer, each woman, one after the other, responding, “Paitam ōokaoyani” (we shall be strong, or firm), the rest saying each time, Owé, (yes).

Navini then lit a pipe at the fireplace, handed it to Wickwaya, who smoked at the altar. He handed the pipe back to Navini, who also smoked a few puffs from it at the fireplace. Hereupon Wickwaya and the two chief priestesses resumed their places again in the north-west corner of the kiva. One woman went and got four large, flat trays with piki (the typical thin Hopi bread), four small, flat trays with some white mush, and four small bowls with what looked like a stew containing beans. On top of the piki in each tray was also a small cake not over one and one-quarter inches in diameter. These cakes the woman, who brought this food in, placed on the floor in front of the altar, with a pinch of each of the other dishes of food.

All present now commenced to prepare many prayer offerings. The chief priest made a double baho, which was unusual from the fact that its color was light blue instead of the usual green color, and that it had a bright yellow band right above the black tips. To it he attached, besides the two usual herbs, the corn-husk packet, short turkey feather and eagle feather nakwakwosi, a long pūhu (road). He then painted crosswise two black lines on the four cakes, that the woman had placed in front of the altar, and put these, as well as the baho, on a tray.

It was utterly impossible to determine the exact number of prayer offerings each man and woman now made, of what feathers and just what disposition she made of them, as all were working at the same time, were not disposing of them at the same place, etc. But the following details were noted: Most of the women made some pūhus

and nakwakwosis, six of eagle and six of turkey feathers, the number of pūhus and nakwakwosis differing with the different individual. Each woman handed a pūhu to the assistant priestess; those who had a mother tiponi (see explanation to Plate V), tied six nakwakwosis to them, others tied some to the netted gourd vessels and, I think, all laid some across the arms of the figurines; one woman placed one on the floor, near the fireplace, and those that were, not thus specially disposed of were placed on a tray.

All now squatted down around the tray; Wickwaya handed to each woman a small quantity of sacred corn-meal, the small gourd rattle to his sister, the larger one to her assistant and he took the mosilili (cone shell rattle); the rest held corn-ears in their hands. After Wickwaya had spoken this brief prayer: "Pay ita hahlaikahkang pawasio-yani" (Now, then, we shall joyfully observe this (go through this rite)), the others responding, "Anchaa," all sang the following two songs, the first of which resembles one that I had heard in the Powamu ceremony:

First song.

1. To the north.

Haoow inguuhui!	O, my mother!
Haoow haaoo inguuhuhui!	Hao, my mother!
Takurihi kaō, inguu!	Yellow corn-ear, my mother!
Itamuhui pichanywatoyaa,	"Facedecorate" us (decorate our faces),
Itamuhui cinevelatoyate!	"Blossomless" us (bless us with blossoms)!

2. To the west.

Is exactly the same as the first, only the third line reads:
Sakwapuhu kaō, inguu! Blue corn-ear, my mother!

3. To the south.

The same, except the third line reads:
Pawalaha kaō, inguu! Red corn-ear, my mother!

4. To the east.

The same, but the third line:
Qōyawihi kaō, inguu! White corn-ear, my mother!

5. To the north-east (above).

The same, but the third line:
Kokomahaha kaō, inguu! Black corn-ear, my mother!

6. To the south-west (below).

The same, but the third line:

Tawakchihi kaō, inguu!	Sweet corn-ear, my mother!
Haooo inguuu!	Oh, my mother!
Haooo mahahaha!	(Meaning obscure.)

Second song.

1. To the north.

Hahahaii (repeated several times).

Hakamu wul inguhuhuu!	Why, where is my mother?
Takurihi, kaōō inguu!	Yellow corn-ear, my mother!
Hakaowat pichangwa!	Someone (clouds) decorate (our) faces!
Nevelaat akwaahahahai,	With blessing (rain),
Nuyui uiny hihikaaywinatoya,	On me have pity,
Hao inguu!	O, my mother!
Haho inaa!	O, my father!

2. To the west.

The same as the first stanza, but the third line is:

Sakwapuhu, inguu!	Blue corn-ear, my mother!
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3. To the south.

The same, but the third line runs:

Pawala kaōō, inguu!	Red corn-ear, my mother!
---------------------	--------------------------

4. To the east.

The same, but the third line reads:

Qōyawii kaōō, inguu!	White corn-ear, my mother!
----------------------	----------------------------

5. To the north-east (above).

The same, but the third line reads:

Kokomaha kaōō, inguu!	Black corn-ear, my mother!
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6. To the south-west (below).

The same, but the third line is as follows:

Tawakchihi kaōō, inguu!	Sweet corn-ear, my mother!
Hahahahai!	

After the singing Wickwaya again uttered the following prayer:

“Pai, pi, ita yep puu hakimimuy nalō nananiiwo itanamui, mumg-witui amongami yuyuha. Owi ita yep itah unangwasi nanapangwani

nap hakawat unangwasyag nalö nanaiwo tuikaowak;¹ put akv puma ich itamui okwatotowani yokwani.”

Free translation.

“Now, then, here we array (decorate), those four different ones, (somewhere in the four world quarters), our fathers, the chiefs (deities); therefore coöperate we here with our offerings. From somewhere, may, with their help, the four different ones (the deities of the four world quarters) have pity upon us quickly, and let it rain at the right time.”

Hereupon all got up, those of the women that had tied up some nakwakwosis in corn-husks taking them from the tray and placing them on the floor near the altar. It was now about ten-thirty o'clock in the forenoon.

Pungnyanömsi now took the tray with the nakwakwosis out, but I did not learn where she took them. The women then again made many nakwakwosis of turkey and eagle feathers. Some again tied some to their tiponi mothers. The rest of the ceremonies of this day were not observed on this occasion.

The above description of the proceedings of this day were taken from my notes of 1897. The following is taken from my notes of 1901. The two observations overlap each other from the time when the participants prepare the first lot of prayer offerings, after the altar ceremony, until the conclusion of the brief consecration over this lot of offerings, probably about two hours. But, instead of compiling this part of the notes, it was thought best to give each report separately, first, to avoid confusion; secondly, because there are some variations in the ceremonies of the two years.

Notes of January 12, 1901:

When I arrived at the kiva in the forenoon all were busily engaged in making nakwakwosis. One woman tied one to one of the ladder beams as a protection against falling from the ladder. One or two other men had come in on this day and also placed a nakwakwosi and a pinch of meal on the floor near the fireplace. A man, Qömaletstiwa, tied two roads and one nakwakwosi to a stick which he thrust behind a joist of the kiva roof as protection against accidents. Other women fastened some nakwakwosis to their mother tiponis again; many offerings were laid over the arms of the two fetishes.

The nakwakwosis that were tied to the “mothers,” were all turkey feathers, those to the fetishes, both turkey and eagle, while to the

¹ According to one informant this word implies the meaning “persuade,” “urge,” etc., instead of “at the right time,” in which case the rendering would be: May from somewhere the four deities be persuaded to have pity upon us quickly and let it rain.

netted gourds eagle feathers only were tied. Pungnyanömsi made seven nakwakwosis. Wickwaya then placed some meal on a tray, handed some to each woman, meal and rattle to his sister and to Talangösi, picked up his mosilili, said a short prayer and all then sang a number of songs. At the conclusion Wickwaya prayed, all said, "Askwali" (thanks), and placed the meal, which they had held in their hands, on a tray over which Wickwaya and Qömaletstiwa then smoked. Kiwanhoynöma and Sikangönsi tied some nakwakwosis to the mother tiponis while Nasinyanöma placed some on hers. After the usual spurting of honey by the singers Wickwaya distributed the nakwakwosis from the tray as follows:

Those from the north side to (name not recorded).

Those from the west side to Talangösi.

Those from the south and southwest to Qomahepnöma.

Those from the east side to Nasingyanonöma.

Those from the north-east side to Nakwahungka.

These women deposited those prayer offerings towards the four cardinal points around the village. Upon examining two of these places I found on the west side of the village four turkey feather and five eagle feather nakwakwosis, two cakes, and two turkey feather pühus. The places on the north and the east side I did not investigate. When I returned to the kiva all sat on the floor in an oblong circle, making many nakwakwosis, mostly of turkey feathers, for their departed parents, children and other relatives. All were very solemn. These offerings are carried out later in the day and the Hopi believe that the dead tie them to a string around their head so that they hang down before their faces.

These offerings were all placed in a large tray, which was set on the floor in front of the altar. The usual consecration singing ceremony then took place. After a short recess the women went to their houses to get food for the evening meal. Qötchnömsi and her assistant placed a large bowl on the elevated part of the floor west of the ladder and the first knelt on the north, the latter on the south side of the bowl. Each woman that brought in some food threw a little pinch of each dish into the bowl. When all had brought in their food they arranged themselves on the east side of the deeper portion of the kiva and waited in silence. Wickwaya took his mosilili and the tray with the nakwakwosis to the two women and handed a piece of a herb to his sister who threw it into the bowl. All the other women arranged themselves around their food bowls and trays, which they had placed on the floor in the deeper portion of the kiva. Wickwaya now commenced to sing and to shake his rattle. The two women added corn-meal to the

contents of the food bowl and kneaded the entire contents of the bowl into a dough, of which they formed balls that they put on the tray containing all the nakwakwosis which the women had made for the dead. The other women accompanied the rattling with singing, at the same time moving their hands upwards and downwards and sideways, and slowly stepping sideways in the same manner as on the last day in the public dance, when, however, they hold in their hands the large marau-vahos.¹ Wickwaya then distributed the balls with some meal to four women, one of whom went to the north, the second to the west, the third to the south and the fourth to the east side of the village, and from there described, in a running gate, a quarter circle around the village, throwing away the balls as food and the nakwakwosis as an offering to the dead and stopping at the place where the next woman had started. Upon their return they all ate supper in the kiva, and then spent the evening partly in the kiva, partly in their homes. While Wickwaya distributed the balls to the women the chief priestess and her assistant, who had prepared the balls, retired to the north side of the altar, where they went through the often observed purification process of vomiting. It was not noticed that they had previously taken an emetic, but very likely they had. Three more women and one man, Lomalehtiwa, had come in. The latter tended to the fire at the fireplace. Among the first was also the wife of Homihoiniwa, Wickwaya's half-brother, who was to play a conspicuous part in the public summer ceremonies of the last day, acting as the Rabbit Woman. Most of the time from the evening meal until midnight was spent in conversation, practicing of songs, etc.

FIFTH DAY (Nalōsh tala, Fourth Day).

Notes of January 13, 1901.—The men and women participating in the ceremony were up all night between the fourth and fifth day. So the description of this day's proceedings begins with twelve o'clock of this night. Soon after midnight the women arranged themselves in an oblong circle in the deeper portion of the kiva and for nearly an hour practiced singing and the proper moving and swinging of their arms to the time of the singing, for the public performances. Each one held in one hand a white ear of corn, which they call "mother." The three leaders were, during this time, sitting silently at their usual places.

At about two o'clock A. M. two more men, Qōyawaima and Tangak-

¹ When the word baho (prayer stick) is used as part of compound words, the b changes to v, as in sakwa-vaho (green baho) puts-vaho (flat or wide baho), etc.

hungniwa, both of whom, I believe, belong to the Honani clan, were called to act as guards outside of the kiva. In the kiva the usual singing ceremony at the altar took place again. Each woman beat time with an ear of corn. When they were through each one said again: "Pai itam öökáoyani" (We shall be firm, (steadfast)) and then sprinkled meal on the altar. Hereupon they all arose, and each one rolled her ear of corn into her blanket, bringing one end of the rolled-up blanket over her right, the other end under her left shoulder, tying the two ends in front.

Every woman now took some loose object from the altar and all then walked slowly around the altar. Wickwaya pulled out the short sticks from the sand ridge, one after the other, and thrust one behind the rolled-up blanket on the back of each woman when they passed him the first time. These sticks are said to represent the dead members of the Marau order.¹ While they made the second, third and fourth round he dismantled what was left of the altar.

While all this was going on the chief priestess was standing in her corner, holding in her hand the tiponi, which is probably the most sacred object among the altar paraphernalia. Her assistant had a netted gourd vessel. Pungnyanömsi took the tray with the sacred meal and her gourd vessel. When the women had made the circuit the fourth time, the last named woman went up the ladder, the other women following her, the chief priestess being the last woman in the line. Wickwaya followed his sister, closing up the file. All chanted while they filed out. Pungnyanömsi took a seat on the south end of the hatch-way, outside, and gave to each woman a pinch of meal from the tray, which the women sprinkled on a pühu feather which was lying on the south side of the kiva pointing towards the east. They then went to the north end of the hatch-way, where they waited until all were through. Pungnyanömsi then entered the kiva again and the rest followed. Here they placed the objects, which they had held in their hands, on the floor and then a general conversation took place by the women, the men sitting at the fireplace and smoking. Shortly before sunrise bowls were brought in, suds of the roots of yucca prepared; and then the usual headwashing, which forms a part of almost all ceremonies, took place. Usually one washes the head of another. Wickwaya's sister washed his head. If any have "brought in" for initiation new candidates they wash the head of their novices and give them a new name on these occasions, though my notes do not mention any initiation during these winter Marau ceremonies. Whether

¹ The same explanation was given me once with regard to the sticks on the Antelope altar in The Snake Ceremony.

there happened to be none or whether initiations are not made during the winter ceremonies I did not ascertain.

Nothing of importance occurred from now until after the noon meal, in fact no further regular ceremonies took place on this day. The women conversed, went back and forth between the kiva and their homes and some were sleeping on the floor. After breakfast Wickwaya got some firewood from the valley. Navini was not there at all. The altar was completely dismantled, the paraphernalia lying on the floor (see Plate X, a).

In the afternoon the women assembled again to arrange and practice for a public performance on the plaza at about sundown. It was soon to be noticed that the performance was to be of a comical nature. The women were attired in all kinds of ludicrous costumes. The chief priestess, for instance, had donned a man's overcoat and hat; two wore men's blankets, held in their place with men's silver belts, and had on men's hats; one was wrapped in a Navaho blanket, wearing an old soldier cap. A fifth one had a blue American blanket wrapped around herself; on her head she had an old, big, man's straw hat with two eagle feathers in it; a sixth one had put on a man's shirt, and the rest were similarly attired. Some had corn-husks tied to their hair.

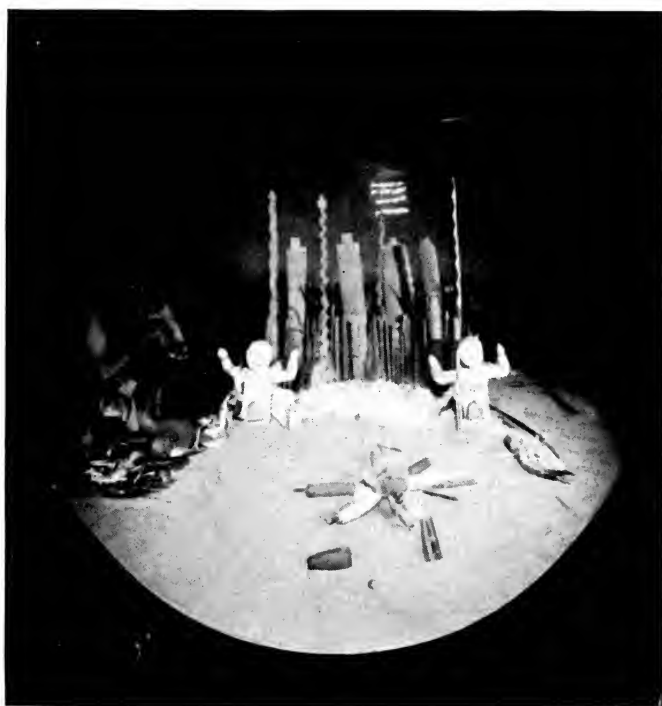
The songs were evidently composed right there; each one referred to some man of the village in a humorous way, of course. This is called *tao-somngwu*, a word difficult to translate. A literal translation would be "song-tie"; meaning to bind, compel or obligate by a song. The man about whom the song is sung on the plaza is bound in honor to make some presents to the order. It is surprising how quickly the women get a song ready, though there may be some question as to its poetical value.

Towards sundown the women emerged from the kiva. Those outside sang until all had come out. They then proceeded to the plaza, the one at the head of the line beating a small drum. Some had long sticks with feathers attached to them. At the plaza they performed various dances. Sometimes two danced, sometimes more. Their performances and singing caused a great deal of hilarity among the spectators that line the house-tops, steps and copings, especially when the names of the men are mentioned that are being "song-tied." The names are generally mentioned in a humorous way, reference being made to some real or imagined peculiarity of the man, a long nose, curly hair (though it be only slightly wavy), etc. Occasionally the reference is of a phallic or even of an obscene nature. The performance probably lasts about an hour, when the women return to the kiva commenting on and laughing over their achievements. Nothing more

PL. X.

- A. The altar dismantled.
- B. The chief priest smoking over prayer offerings.

A



B



of importance takes place on this day. There is no fasting on this and the succeeding four days.

SIXTH DAY (Shush tala, First Day).

Komok-totokya (wood preparing).

No ceremonies of any kind take place in the kiva, but in the afternoon the women again prepare and practice for a performance on the plaza in the evening. These performances vary in the different years. Sometimes they are of the nature described under the fifth day, sometimes they are to imitate, in a burlesque manner, a Kacina dance. But they are always of a humorous nature.

SEVENTH DAY (Lōsh tala, Second Day).

Pik-totokya (piki preparing).

The notes on the previous day also apply to this day. On one occasion a mock Momchito dance was performed in the evening on the plaza. The men never take part in these performances on the fifth, sixth and seventh days. They seem to be performed for entertainment and fun for the inhabitants of the village, and do not now seem to be considered an essential part of the ceremony proper, though this was undoubtedly formerly the case.

EIGHTH DAY (Bayish tala, Third Day).

Totokya (general preparing).

The early morning rites, putting up of the natsi, the offerings outside of the village, etc., are the same as on the previous days. The chief priest then makes four green double bahos of the usual kind, two single black bahos (chochokpi) and one larger baho, with two eagle nakwakwosis attached to it, one for the sun, one for the moon, all of which are deposited later (see Plate XXX). The reconstruction of the altar then takes place in the description of which I follow my notes of 1897:

At about 10:30 A. M. Navini got some fresh, moist and some dry sand, and Wickwaya divided this into three piles in a semicircle, and then formed the sand ridge. He then reconstructed the altar (see Plate V and Plate X, b). First he sprinkled some meal on the ridge at the four places where he afterwards inserted the four corn-ear slabs, first slightly west of the centre, then near the west end of the ridge, then east of the middle and lastly near the east end. He then put into the sand ridge the four big slabs in the same order, waving each one first from the direction of the six world quarters, north, west, south, east, north-east (above) and south-west (below). Next he sprinkled meal

all over the ridge and fine dry sand in front of it. On this he sprinkled a cloud symbol with powdered black shale (tohu). Next he sprinkled six short meal lines from the six ceremonial points, all terminating in a common centre, at the east end of the sand ridge. On these he poured a small pile of dry sand into which he inserted one of the Marau-Manas (figurines). He then did the same at the west end of the ridge where he placed the other figurine. He then replaced the nakwakwosis that were on the arms of the figurines before the altar was dismantled. Next he put the five cone-shaped, flat cloud blocks behind the altar ridge and the two blossom blocks and the three frogs in front of it. This he followed by placing the crystal tiponi (tukwi) into a small sand pile. Hereupon he again sprinkled six short meal lines on the floor from the six directions in front of the altar, and placed upon these the medicine bowl, six corn-ears, makwanpis, etc. He then laid the double sticks with the grass wheels into the arms of the figurines,¹ and then thrust the crooks into the sand ridge near the baho slab on the west side. From this he sprinkled a line of corn-pollen across the sand field towards the south-east, then thrust the double green baho with the long string (road) into the ridge near the crook, laying the string along the line of corn-pollen. Hereupon he sprinkled the usual six radiating meal lines on the floor again near the baho and placed his tiponi in the centre and then sprinkled meal along the string road. Finally he laid two, slightly bent, sticks, called bows and a weeding instrument on the floor on the west and two similar bow sticks and an old wooden weeding implement on the east side of the altar. Hereupon he and Navini smoked a while.

Wickwaya then prepared for the two women, that were to get the water from the spring for the ceremony, the following objects: One nakwakwosi of a small eagle feather that was to be worn in the hair and is called nakwa (wish, prayer); four nakwakwosis and one road, also of eagle feathers, to be deposited as an offering at the spring; also two single black and two double green bahos.

When the altar is completed, the men smoke, the women practice singing for some time,² and soon get the food for the noon meal. On this day, usually some more women come in. The noon meal is eaten in the kiva as usual. Wickwaya explained to me that the objects on the altar were owned and controlled by the following participants:

¹ These sticks are called noyawopkoho, the meaning of which my notes do not give. The grass is called mumura. Wickwaya says, in every summer ceremony, one of these wheels is deposited and a new one made. Two are plaited, one wound with cotton twine. All have a duck feather nakwakwosi tied to them.

² There is an interval here of a few hours that has never been observed. Whether the women again made prayer offerings I do not know, but believe that such was not the case.



PL. XI.

A line of Anga-Katcinas before their departure from the plaza. To the right several priests who are handing them prayer offerings.



The medicine bowl, the liquid and the herbs (tuvipsi and tukamsi) by No. 8; the corn-ears, the little stones by the side of the corn-ears, and one tiponi mother by No. 3; one gourd vessel by his mother; one mother tiponi by No. 9; a mother tiponi and one gourd vessel by No. 7; the six old makwanpis and the crystal tiponis by Wickwaya; a gourd vessel by No. 1; the tiponi by No. 4 (chief priestess). The old wedding implement and the bow on the east side of the altar by No. 10; the implement and bow on the west side by No. 2, the sand by Wickwaya and his sister.

Soon after the noon meal two women get water again in their netted gourd vessels, taking with them the prayer offerings prepared by Wickwaya, and are discharmed by the chief priest all in the same manner as on the first day, (see notes of that day.) After they have returned, the ten participants in the ceremonies squat down around the altar again, the other women who have come in on this day, taking seats on the floor behind them; then the same ceremony is gone through as on the afternoon of the first day. A full description of the ceremony is given under that day.

After the ceremony food is brought into the kiva, and a number of members, who have been in the kiva on this day only, join the others in the evening meal. After the meal most of the women usually go home; the men smoke. Just when the altar is dismantled, my notes do not state, but my recollection is that it is done after the men are through smoking.

In the evening various dances take place by many different Katsinas¹ in several kivas until late.

I noticed, among other Katsinas, the following: Tasap, Owak, Marau, Koyemsi, Soyohim, Shaalako, Tcakwaina, Kohonino, and others. On another occasion I noticed on this evening the following: Balhikv-Mana, Anga, Tasap, Hehea Tahaamu and Tuvik, Anga-Katsinas. But the kind of Katsinas that appear on this day vary in the different years so that with every ceremony at least most of the Katsinas, that perform on this night, are different from those that appeared in the preceding ceremony.

NINTH DAY (Nalösh tala, Fourth Day).

On this day no ceremonies of any kind take place, the altar being taken out and put away in the ancestral home of the Lizard clan during the night before, while the people are still sleeping, so that no uninitiated

¹Masked Hopi, wearing various costumes and masks, and representing semi-deities, according to Hopi belief, probably ancestors of the Hopi, who are supposed to act as intermediaries between the Hopi and their various deities. The meaning of Katsina (from katci, life and naa father (?)) may be: the immortals, living fathers or ancestors. The Hopi have hundreds of different Katsinas.

eye should behold it. This day is a day for public performances and really belongs to the people. The connection between the Marau ceremony and the performances of this day seems to be somewhat obscure, as far as I have been able to learn. It may be, that certain prayer offerings, made on the eighth day, are deposited by the participants in the ceremony early this morning or handed to the Katcinas that appear on this day. This point, however, needs further investigations. In the Summer Marau ceremony this connection between the ninth and the preceding days is much more apparent, as will be described in the second part of this paper. On this day of the winter ceremony a series of Katcina dances takes place on the public plaza, viewed by the inhabitants of the village and visitors from other villages. But while on the previous evening many different Katcinas appeared, only one kind dances on this day, performing about eight dances during the day. On one occasion it was the Hopi Anga-Katcina, one of the different kinds of the Anga-(Loose-Hair) Katcina (see Plate XI). The name is derived from the fact that the Katcinas wear their hair loose, hanging down the back. The mask, a face mask only, is painted green with a border below, the decoration of which varies in the different kinds of this Katcina. To the border is attached a long, black beard. The body decoration, the objects held in the hands, etc., also vary in the different kinds of Anga-Katcinas. In the case of the Hopi Anga-Katcina the border is divided into small squares painted in different colors. The body is also decorated in different colors, and unlike other Anga-Katcinas, this one wears moccasins. In the ceremony of 1901 the Balhikv-Mana danced on this day. This personage was introduced in Oraibi from Mishongnovi where the women occasionally appear as Balhikv-Manas in a dance, but without masks (see Plate XII). The name is derived from bahu-(water) hikwani (drink), and mana (maiden), because the dancers drink a certain liquid on these occasions. The typical feature is a large head tablet similar to those worn by the Shaalakos. They also wear the atöe, white ceremonial blanket. In the other villages, however, these Manas appear as Katcinas, i. e., as men, wearing masks and Katcina costume. And it was these Katcinas that appeared and performed dances on this day.

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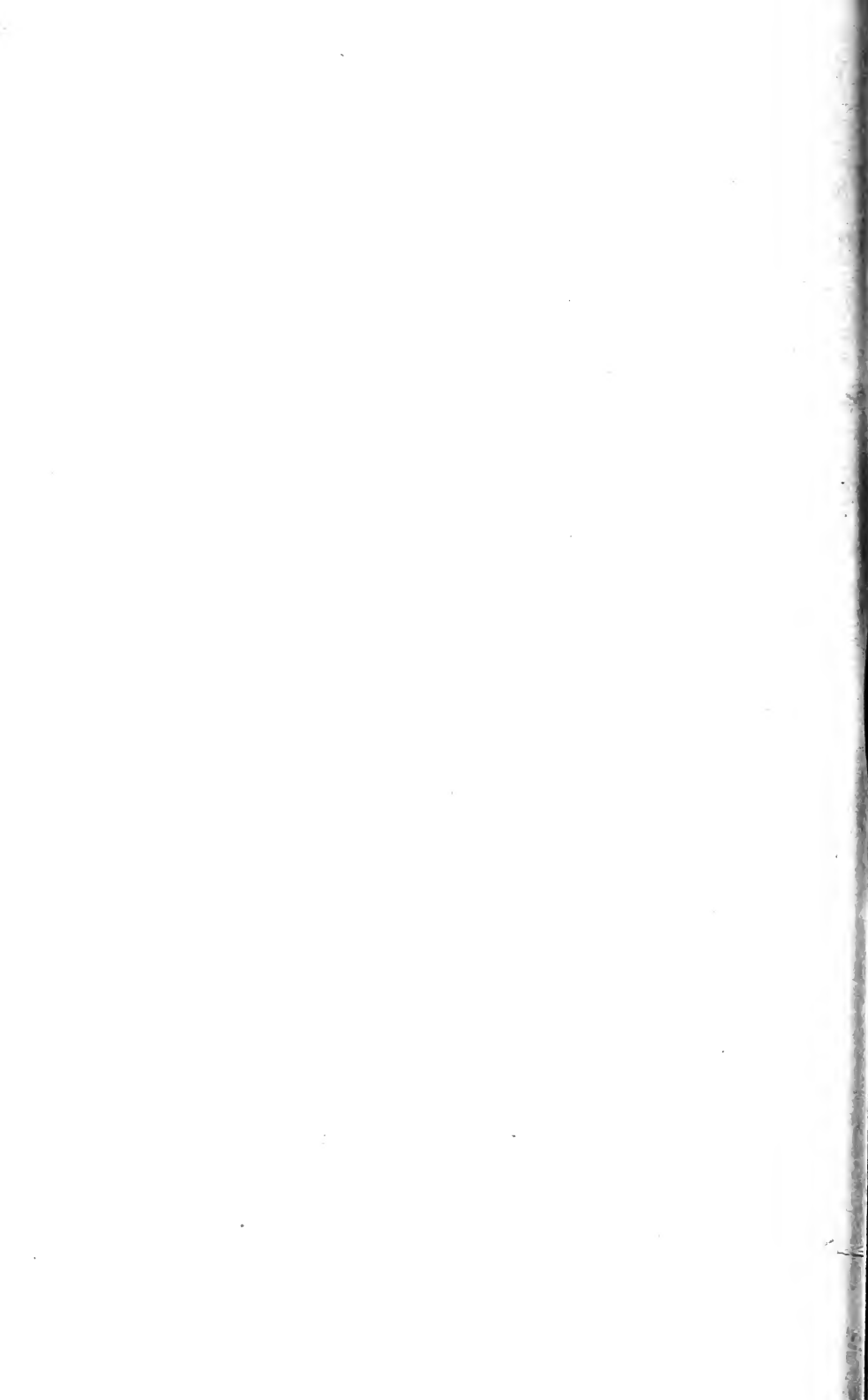
PL. XII.

- A. Balhikv-Manas on the plaza and their leader.
- B. The same, showing the sun symbols worn on their backs.

A



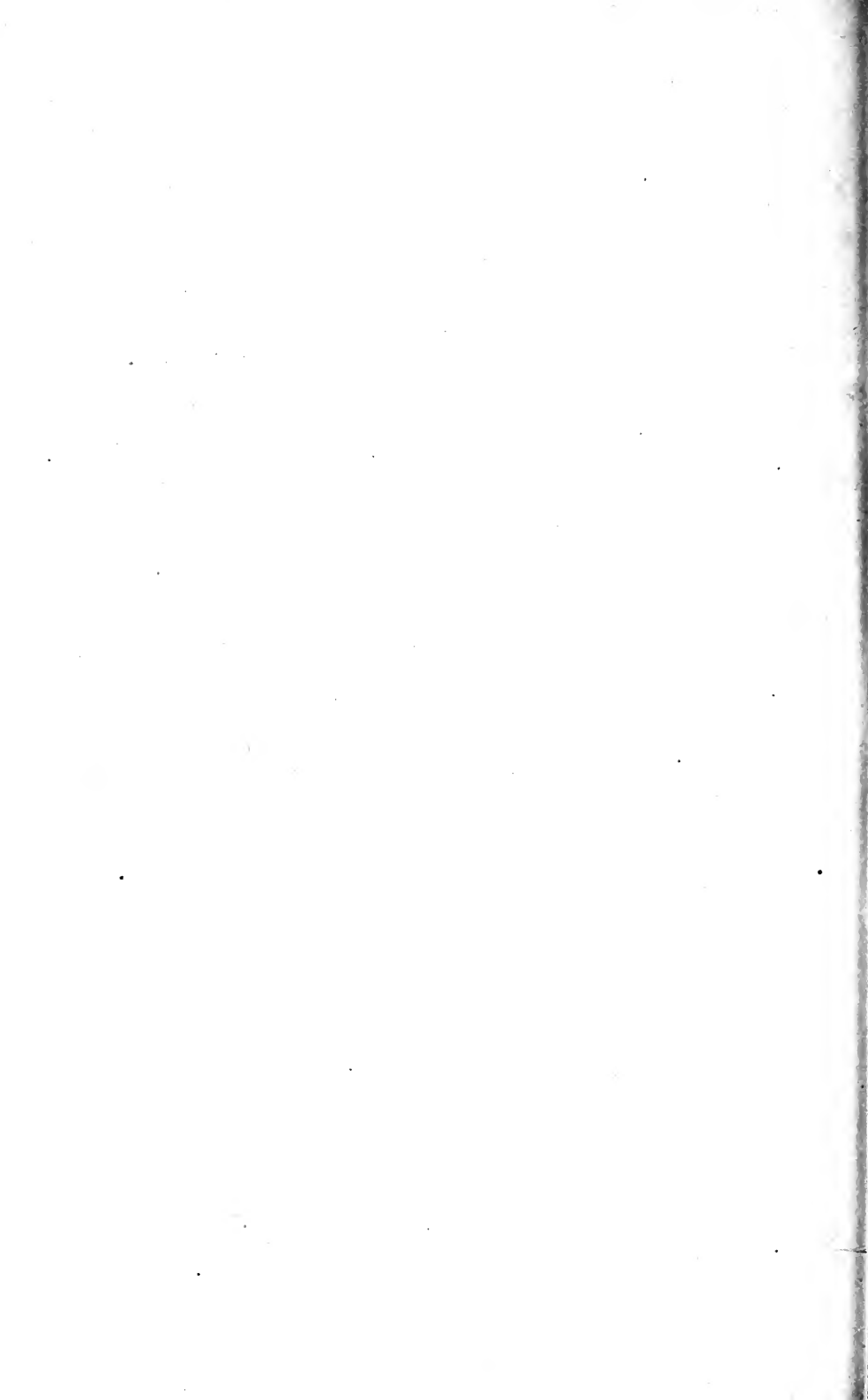
B



THE ORAIBI MARAU CEREMONY

SECOND PART

THE SUMMER CEREMONY



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SECOND PART.

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6



PL. XIII. THE MARU ALTAR OF THE WINTER CEREMONY.

The larger figurines are usually called Marau-Taka (Marau-Man), the smaller Marau-Mana (Marau-Maiden). The first are put up in the winter ceremony only. The two pyramid-shaped objects on each side of the altar are prepared on the eighth day and worn by the two Archers and two Lancers in the public performance on the last day. The cone, in front of the right side figurines, is the kaō-tukwi described in the text. (Compare also explanation to Pl. X.)

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INTRODUCTION.

The Summer Marau Ceremony is, in its essential features, the same as the winter ceremony, which is described in the first part of this paper. It takes place in the same kiva, is performed by the same order, the same personnel and in the same general manner as the winter ceremony. But although it is essentially the same ceremony there are some marked variations. On the altar of the winter performance there are only two small figurines; on that of the summer ceremony two more, larger ones (see Plate XIII). Initiations of new members usually take place in the summer ceremony. On the last day of the latter the participants have elaborate public performances on the plaza which is not the case in the winter observance. It might be mentioned here, that with other societies, such as the Snake, Flute, Lagon, etc., the summer or fall ceremonies are also more elaborate than their winter performances.

The investigations of this ceremony are not quite complete, and, as intimated in the Introduction to the First Part of this paper, it was for this reason that their publication was deferred. It was hoped that another opportunity would offer itself to fill up small gaps and corroborate certain observations. This has not been the case. And as the chief features of the ceremony have all been observed, a number of them several times, and owing to the turn events have taken in Oraibi lately, which makes the possibility of more complete studies of these ceremonies in the future highly improbable, it has been thought best to publish what we have.

The observations on which this description is based were made in the years 1893, 1895, 1897, 1901 and 1903. They always took place in the month of September; in 1893 from the 4th to the 12th, in 1895 from the 15th to the 23d, in 1897 from the 10th to the 18th and in 1901 from the 20th to the 28th. In 1893 the public performances on the ninth day only were observed, as I had then only been there about six months. In that and the 1895 ceremony Wickwaya's aged mother acted as chief priestess; in the others her daughter. The observations in 1903 were also only confined almost exclusively to the last two days. In this year Wickwaya's half brother Homihoiniwa acted for the first time as chief priest (see Plate XIV, a), the former chief Wickwaya also being present occasionally and assisting him.



THE ORAIBI MARAU CEREMONY

SECOND PART

THE SUMMER CEREMONY

I. BAHOLAWU, OR INTRODUCTORY CEREMONY.

This brief ceremony was observed only once in September, 1901, and only brief notes were made. It took place in the forenoon. The chief priest, Wickwaya, his sister and a few other women assembled in the Marau kiva. Wickwaya made six double green and six single black prayer sticks (bahos), and six nakwakwosis. These were made, as far as I could ascertain, for the deities of the six world quarters, north, west, south, east, above and below. He furthermore prepared one baho for the sun and two for Sotukvngwuu (Deity of Thunder), the latter being deposited in the same shrine with the sun baho.

The women, as far as I could learn, prepared a nakwakwosi for each world quarter and one, each, for the sun and the moon. These prayer offerings were placed on a tray, some prayer-meal sprinkled on them and then two songs were chanted over the tray. After this Wickwaya solemnly smoked by the side of the tray, blowing the smoke on the prayer offerings which were, hereupon, deposited at different places around the village.

2. THE CEREMONIES IN THE KIVA.

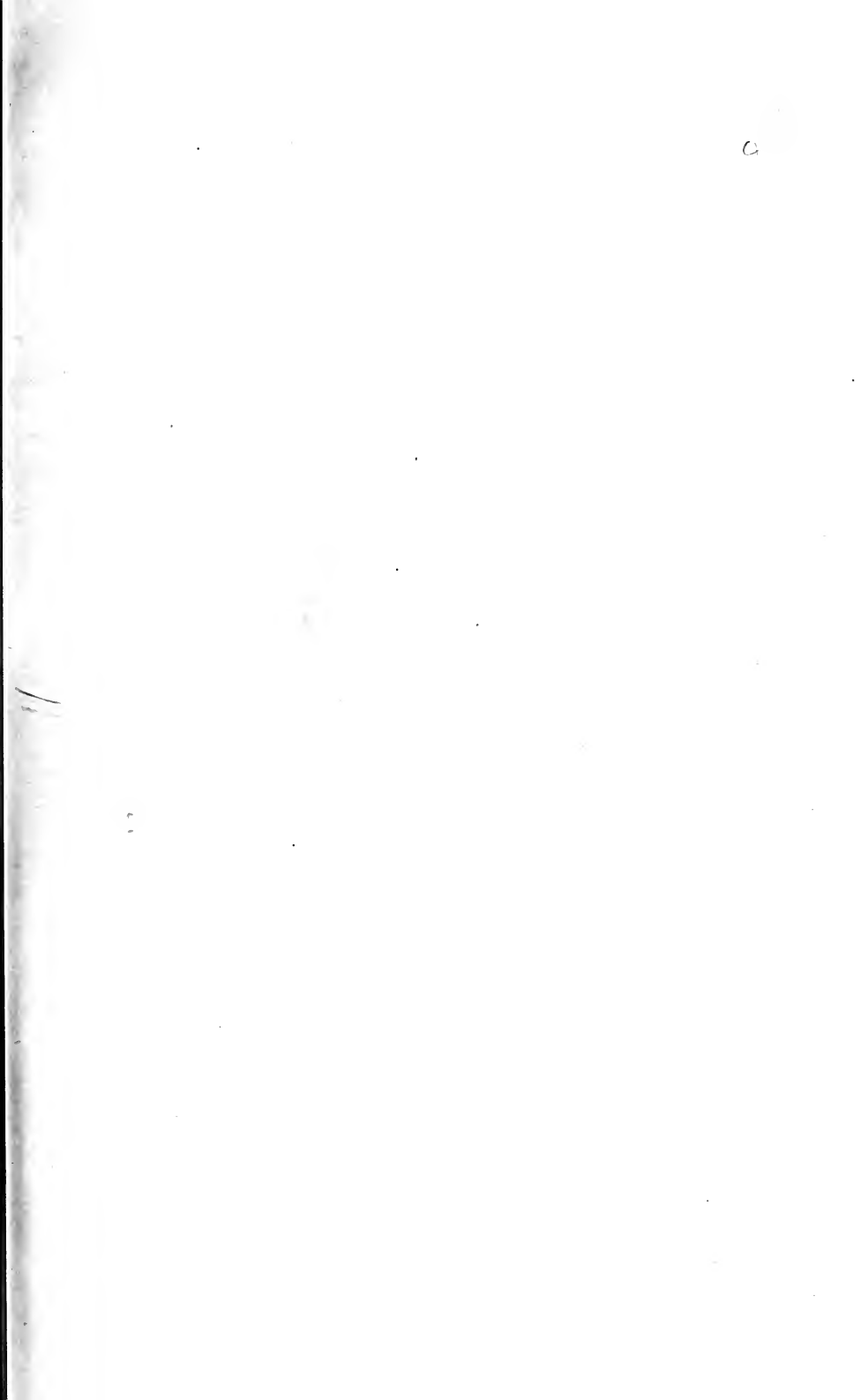
FIRST DAY (Shush ka himuu, once not anything).

Early in the morning of this day the natsi or standard of the society is placed at the south end of the kiva entrance (see Plate IV, a). The altar paraphernalia are brought into the kiva from the house in which they are kept, some time after sunrise and a pinch of meal sprinkled on them. The assistant chief, Navini, gets the necessary sand for the altar ridge and places it on the floor in the north end of the kiva. Soon the eight women, who are to participate in the altar ceremonies as leaders from day to day, begin to come into the kiva, bringing with them a white ear of corn which they call their "mother." The chief priestess and her assistant have tied to their hair, on top of the head,

a nakwa, consisting of two small sparrow hawk feathers tied together at the quill end, which I think is made by the chief priest Wickwaya. All make some prayer offerings which are placed into a tray, some sacred meal put on them, a small quantity of corn-pollen sprinkled into the centre of the tray by Wickwaya and some meal by his sister, the chief priestess. Wickwaya takes a shell rattle, hands to his sister and her assistant a gourd rattle and some meal and, after a brief silence, utters a short prayer. All then sing two songs over the tray, whereupon he again says a prayer and all sprinkle meal on the tray. Navini, the assistant, hands him a lighted pipe from which he smokes over the tray, whereupon he spurts some honey on the tray, handing the pipe to Navini. The latter then also smokes, but near the fireplace; when he is through he takes a pinch of honey into his mouth and also spurts it on the prayer offerings. The chief priest then hands the nakwakwosis to four women who deposit them, with a little meal, on the north, west, south and east sides of a quarter to a half mile from the village. Upon their return to the kiva they are greeted with thanks by all present. On one occasion I noticed at this juncture, that the women, who return last from this errand, and one other, who has in the meantime come into the kiva, stroked and massaged the back and limbs of Wickwaya, his sister and her assistant. This is done several times during the nine ceremonial days.

The chief priestess and her assistant now sit down on folded blankets in the north-west corner of the kiva where they, as well as the chief priest, usually sit silently throughout the nine days, when not engaged in ceremonial duties.

While other women are coming in and the assistant priest occupies his time with such work as carding and spinning cotton for prayer offerings, smoking, etc., the chief priest puts up the altar. On one occasion he observed the following order in putting up the different parts: 1, the sand-ridge; 2, a pinch of meal on the ridge at the five places where the five slabs are to be inserted; 3, inserting of a slab near the centre, then the one on the west end of the ridge, then the one on the east end and finally the one between the last named and the centre slab; 4, inserting of the zigzag and last of the small sticks; 5, the two crooks; 6, meal all over the ridge; 7, a thin layer of fine sand in front of the ridge; and the black cloud symbol on it; 8, the two large idols, then the two smaller ones; 9, the small cloud and frog and blossom symbols on each side of the ridge; 10, the medicine bowl corn-ears, etc., around it. A few other details, for instance the inserting of the green bahos in the sand-ridge, were not noted down. The baho with the long string, (road), he made and placed on the altar after the



A



B

PL. XIV.

- A. Homihoiniwa, chief priest, succeeding Wickwaya.
- B. Wickwaya repainting the idols.

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latter was completed. On one occasion the chief priest repainted the figurines (see Plate XIV, b), as the old paint was very much worn. I was surprised, when he painted the four semicircular cloud symbols on the bodies different from what they were before. They had before the colors of the four cardinal points, yellow for the north, green for the west, red for the south, and white for the east. When I drew his attention to it he said, it was "good" anyway and gave, if I remember rightly, as his reason, that he did not happen to have all the paints there, which, I believe, was true. Fortunately, I had previously carefully noted down the colors, so that I was able when I reproduced this altar in the Field Museum to paint the figurines as they originally were. Wickwaya did not seem to feel quite easy about this innovation and did not seem to like it that I had noticed it.¹

The altar is usually finished at about noon.² Wickwaya, after having smoked awhile, resumes his seat in the corner with his sister. Occasionally a child is brought into the kiva and initiated, which is done in the following manner: A ring or circle of meal, about three feet in diameter, is sprinkled on the floor in the south-east corner of the deeper portion of the kiva. The child is placed into the centre of it. If it is small a woman holds it. Two older women kneel on opposite sides of the circle, holding in their hands a ring made of strands or strips of yucca leaves. This ring is placed on the floor corresponding to the meal circle. The two women then raise and lower this ring four times about two feet, expressing a wish or prayer for the prosperity and happiness of the child, after which the latter is sent or taken to the altar and instructed to sprinkle some meal towards it, that has been previously placed into its hands.

At about three o'clock in the afternoon two of the women, who participate in the daily altar performances, are sent after water to two different springs, one being the Flute Spring west, the other Talaova (Dawn Spring), south-east of the village. The chief priest first ties an eagle nakwakwosi to their hair on the top of the head, and then hands to each one a long, black feather, a bone whistle, a white corn-ear, a netted gourd vessel, some nakwakwosis, two green and one black bahos, and some sacred meal. The prayer offerings they deposit at the spring before they dip the water.³ While they are gone the rest

¹ I have noticed such inaccuracies and deviations in other ceremonies, particularly in changing the position of slabs, sticks, etc., on complicated altars, especially when the chief priest or his assistants are new men.

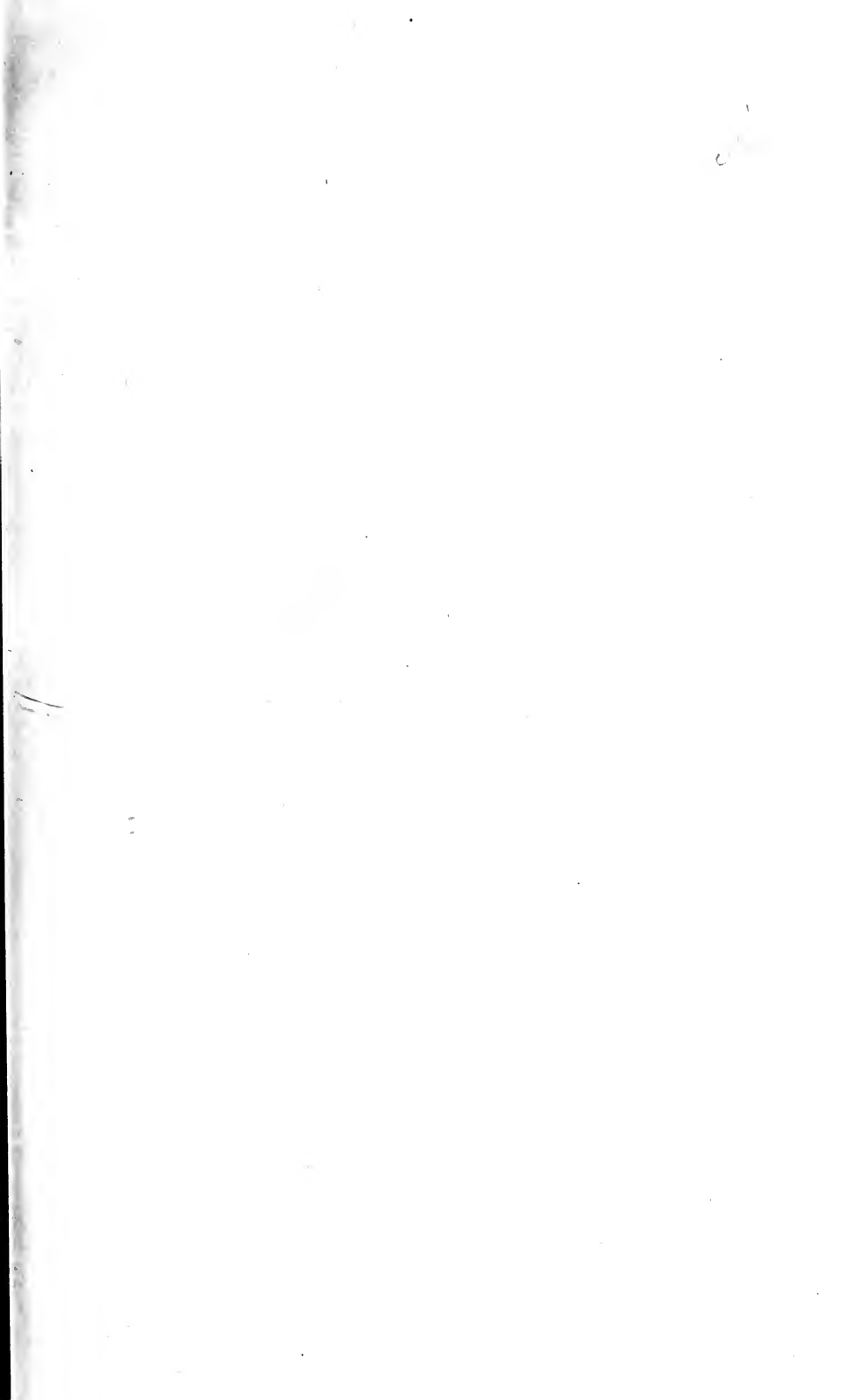
² This altar has been reproduced—with others—by the author in the Field Museum of Natural History (see Plate XXXIII).

³ The Spring of Talaova is dry most, if not all, the time. But as it is one of the old sacred springs the offering is made there and then the water gotten from the nearest spring or pool. Similar instances have been observed in connection with other ceremonies.

wait in silence. With regard to the returning of these two priestesses the following is taken from my notes of 1897: Pungnyanömsi returned first. Wickwaya met her at the east side of the ladder, in the kiva, where she stopped. He first strewed a line of sacred meal from where she stood to the figurines on the east side of the altar and threw a pinch of meal on the elevated portion of the floor east of the ladder. He then received from her all the objects that she had taken with her, except the prayer offerings, and placed them in front of the altar. The vessel, of course, now contained water. She then sat down on the elevated portion of the floor close to the ladder where Wickwaya had sprinkled the pinch of meal (see Plate VIII, a), Wickwaya resuming his place by the side of his sister. All again waited in silence until the second woman returned. Wickwaya went through the same performance as before, only varying the meal line slightly towards the west and placing the objects a little towards the east from the others, the second woman sitting down by the side of the first. He then took a long buzzard feather (*wishoko*) and a little meal, stood in front of the two women, sprinkled a pinch of meal along the concave side of the feather and, holding it over the women, hummed a short discharming song, waving or beating time up and down with the feather over the heads of the women from right to left two times, and then brushed off the meal with the back of his fingers towards the hatch-way. This performance he repeated four times (see Plates VI, VII and VIII). He then took the *nakwakwosis* from their hair and said, "Taa! (Now then!). They took off their white robes, and one of them left the kiva temporarily while the other sat down at another place. The *nakwakwosis* Wickwaya placed with the two water gourds. Hereupon he lighted a pipe and smoked for a while, the others silently waiting. Some more women came in.

At about five o'clock all arrange themselves around the altar (see Plate XVI, a), the chief priest, his assistant, the chief priestess, her assistant and six other women. The chief priest hands to each one a pinch of sacred meal; he takes a *mosilili*, (cone shell rattle), the two priestesses each a gourd rattle, all the rest white ears of corn and then the first altar ceremony begins. The participants are arranged in the same manner as in the winter ceremony and the individual members will be referred to mostly by number when mentioned in connection with any particular performance. This will be less confusing, as the participants in the different years were not always the same, but the positions, that those occupied, who performed that particular rite, remained unchanged.¹ It might be mentioned, that the position

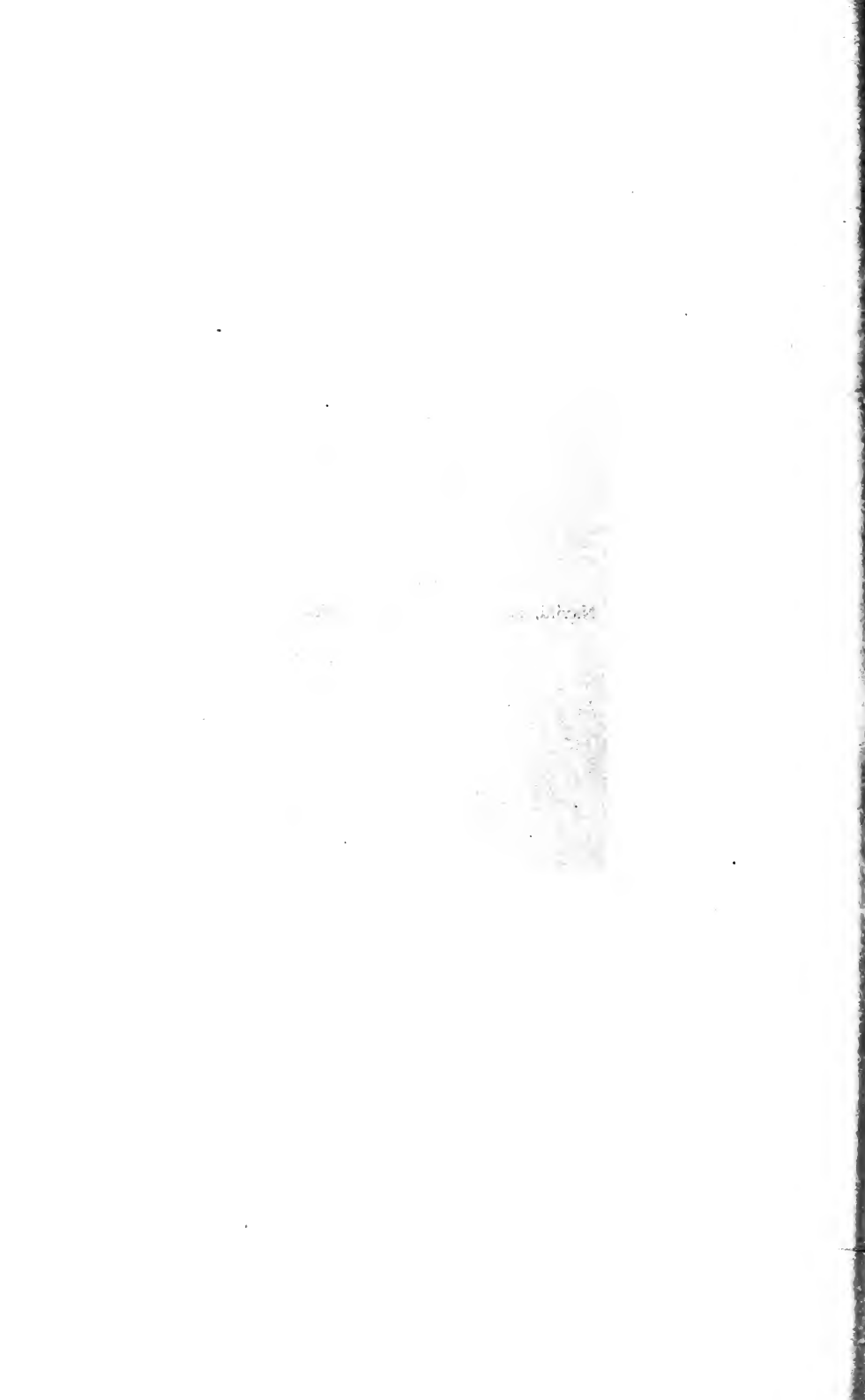
¹ See diagram on page 17.





PL. XV.

Navini, assistant chief Marau priest.



No. 3 is that of the assistant priestess, No. 4 of the chief priestess, No. 5 of the assistant priest, and No. 6 of the chief priest.¹

After the chief priest has handed a pinch of sacred meal to each priestess, No. 8 strews a line of meal from the altar to the ladder, throwing a pinch towards the hatch-way. Wickwaya then takes an eagle wing feather in his left, some meal in his right hand, stands up, sprinkles some meal along the feather, hums a short song waving the feather slightly up and down to the time of the singing, circles the feather over the altar two times, and then quickly brushes the meal off towards the hatch-way. This he does, in all, five times. He then utters a brief prayer, assumes his seat in the circle and then the

First song is commenced. No. 8 gets up, and, standing on the banquette of the kiva and holding a small tray with fine meal in her left hand, rubs four lines against the north wall of the kiva. At the second stanza of the song she does the same on the west wall, etc. At the fifth stanza she throws four times a small pinch against a joist over the altar, and at the sixth an equal number of times on the floor near the medicine bowl.

Second song: No. 8 takes from a corn-husk some crushed berries, passes them along the ear of corn on the north side of the medicine bowl, drops them into the bowl, picks up the corn-ear, the old aspergill (which is called the husband of the corn-ear) and the small stone lying by its side, holds these objects over the bowl, and pours some water on them from one of the netted gourd vessels, whereupon she replaces them. This she repeats with the other five groups of objects.

Third song: No. 7 sprinkles a pinch of corn-pollen along the north side corn-ear into the bowl, then also throws the small stone from the north side into the bowl, and then, bending over the medicine bowl (see Plate IX, b) whistles into it several times. This she repeats with regard to the other five directions during the following five stanzas of the song.

Fourth song: No. 3 moves slightly forward in a kneeling position, picks up the ear of corn and its husband from the north side of the bowl, dips these objects into the liquid and then asperges with them. At the second stanza she does the same with the objects from the west side, etc., until all six have been used. While this is going on No. 8 asperges occasionally.

Fifth song: No. 2 moves forward in a kneeling position and takes the two small bow sticks from the west side of the altar; No. 10 those from the east side; No. 7 the two sticks with the grass wheels from the

¹ As Wickwaya was the chief priest, and Navini the assistant in nearly all the ceremonies observed, their names will be used in this memoir.

small figurine on the west side and No. 9 those from the small figurine on the east side. All beat time on the floor with the ends of these sticks. At a certain word of the song they raise them and then dip them with a sweeping downward motion into the charm liquid, and then asperge with them. All the other singers also move the objects they hold in their hands towards (but not into) the bowl. All this is done six times — one time for each ceremonial direction.

Sixth song: All throw a pinch of meal towards the altar six times.

Seventh song: Wickwaya places a little honey on his tongue, lights the cloud-blower at the fireplace and then, taking the large end between his lips, forces from it large clouds of smoke over the altar. After spurning the honey also onto the altar he scrapes the ashes from the pipe into the fireplace, whereupon he resumes his place; the singing has in the meantime been continued by the others.

Nine songs are then chanted, during which no special rites occur, except asperging by No. 8 at the conclusion of each song.

Seventeenth song: No. 1 shuffles slightly forward on her knees first; the chief priest steps behind the altar, pulls out one of the smaller sticks from the ridge and hands it to No. 1, waving it from left to right over the medicine bowl. As soon as he has resumed his place the singing is taken up again. The woman beats time by striking the end of the stick on the floor. At a certain word¹ in each stanza she swings the stick in front of herself from right to left and then continues to beat time with it as before. She repeats this six times. All then say, thanks; Wickwaya replaces the stick, circling it back over the bowl, and resumes his seat. A brief, solemn silence follows. Then Wickwaya and his sister utter a brief prayer; the others, one after another say: "Pai itam öokaoyani (We shall be very strong (or steadfast), whereupon all throw a pinch of meal towards the altar and then scatter throughout the kiva. The chief priest and his assistant smoke from a pipe which the latter has lighted and after the smoking, spurt some honey about them. The women make nakwakwosis which they tie to their hair.² The three principal leaders eat on this day only in the evening; all others abstain from all foods containing salt.

SECOND DAY (Shush tala, First Day).

In the morning the same ceremony takes place around the altar by the ten leaders as the one that occurred on the previous afternoon, with the exception, however, that the discharming ceremony by Wick-

¹ See page 46.

² This probably refers to the Marau nakwakwosis of two small sparrow hawk feathers already mentioned and which the chief priestess and her assistant had on in the morning.

waya is omitted, the four meal lines on the four kiva walls are not made, and the ceremony of dipping the ears of corn, etc., into the charm liquid is dispensed with, No. 8 only asperging occasionally while the first two songs are chanted. After the singing No. 8 throws a pinch of meal through the hatch-way and Wickwaya and Navini smoke, the first at his usual place in the circle, the latter at the fireplace. Both spurt a little pinch of honey about them after the smoking.

On one occasion I noticed that a few other women had come in on this morning. They sat back of the circle but also received some sacred meal and at the close of the ceremony sprinkled it towards the altar.

At about seven o'clock food is brought to the kiva for the morning meal. Those who bring it announce their arrival at the outside and are greeted by askwali! (thanks), by the women in the kiva, the latter going up the ladder and taking down the vessels. When the food is all standing on the floor a small pinch of the various dishes and of the piki is placed on the floor in front of the altar. Before eating all stand around the food and sing quietly for about fifteen minutes, whereupon they squat down on the floor around the board and eat, except Wickwaya, his sister and her assistant who occupy their places in the north-west corner of the kiva. They fast this day again the same as the day before, i. e., they eat in the evening only. The others eat, but no foods seasoned with salt.

In one ceremony were noticed at this time in front of the altar twelve small food bowls; also four piki trays on top of each other and in the uppermost tray four small trays. The bowls contained some kind of a stew, the trays piki (the typical Hopi wafer bread) and the small trays a white mush. On top of the latter lay a small quantity of some other kind of food which was also offered with the food from the other bowls, as already stated. Of the food in these containers the three chief leaders eat in the evening.

After breakfast the leaders deseed, card and spin cotton, and some prayer offerings are made; a baho for the sun and nakwakwosis for the world quarters, by Wickwaya. Just what kind by the women was not recorded. Besides this, nothing of importance is going on. The chief leaders spend most of their time at their usual place; some sleep, others gossip.

At one time I noticed on this forenoon Navini occupy the place in the north-west corner that the assistant priestess usually occupies. Whether the seat was not to be left vacant while she was out or whether it was for some other reason I did not learn.

In the afternoon the women practiced mostly singing, moving

slowly around sideways in a circle in the kiva holding a white ear of corn in their hands and waving their arms upwards, sideways and downward, in fact going through the same pantomime as in the public performance on the plaza on the ninth day, for which they are evidently practicing. The evening meal was, of course, eaten in the kiva.

THIRD DAY (Lōsh tala, Second Day).

Concerning the rites performed before dawn on this day the following is taken from my notes of 1895:

I arrived at the kiva at five o'clock A. M. The ten leaders had been sleeping in the kiva and just began to stir and some were singing even before they were up.

About fifteen minutes later Wickwaya made his morning offering (kuiwato) a few hundred feet south of the kiva by sprinkling a little sacred meal on the ground and towards the dawn, after he had held it to his lips and whispered a prayer on it. A few minutes later his sister put up the natsi¹ at the south end of the hatch-way (see Plate IV, a) and then all the women took their white ears of corn and some meal and went to a rock, south of the village, where they drew up in a line facing the east. Each held the meal to the lips and then threw a pinch of it on a stone in front of them and the rest towards the rising dawn.²

As soon as all have returned the ten leaders arrange themselves around the altar in the usual manner and the same ceremony is gone through as on the second day. In fact this day is spent in the kiva in practically the same manner as the previous day, i. e., with carding and spinning of cotton, the preparing of the usual prayer offerings, smoking (by the men), sleeping and, in the afternoon, practicing for the public performance on the last day. On one occasion Wickwaya, Navini and their mother, the chief priestess, squatted down in front of the altar and sang several songs, but it seemed to be done only for practicing or rehearsing. I also noticed again that Navini, for a short time, occupied the seat of the assistant priestess in the corner, as he did once for a brief period on the previous day.

The regulations with regard to fasting and eating are the same as on the previous day.

FOURTH DAY (Bayish tala, Third Day).

This is one of the most important of the nine ceremonial days. As the early ceremonies of this day were observed in 1895 only, I give my notes from that year as nearly as possible verbatim: I was at the

¹ On some days Wickwaya attended to that.

² While these early rites were not noted every morning it is believed that they took place every day except on the first and perhaps ninth day.

kiva at four o'clock, as I wished to observe all the rites and ceremonies of this important day. Everything was quiet in the kiva yet. But when they heard me outside they got up. Wickwaya had also spent the night in the kiva, as usual. Soon one of the women took a prayer feather and some sacred meal to a shrine at Apohoniwe — I was told.¹ At about 4:30 the aged chief priestess, Tangakweima, took out the *nac̄i* very reverently, waved it from the six ceremonial world quarters towards the point where it was to be inserted into the matting at the south end of the hatch-way, then sprinkled meal in the same manner and then inserted it, saying to me: It is now going to rain; I asked the rain to come.

At about five o'clock every woman took her corn-ear and some prayer-meal and all went slowly, as usual, to a rock, south of the village, for the usual morning rite of *kuiwato*. As they passed the Kwan kiva they all cast a little meal toward it. Arriving at the rock they threw a pinch of meal on the ground, where, I believe, a small shrine is located; then all faced towards the east where it just began to dawn, waved the corn-ears towards the east and threw the rest of the meal also in that direction, whereupon they slowly filed back to the kiva. Here I met Homihoiniwa, Wickwaya's half brother, who in the meantime had come into the kiva. He succeeded Wickwaya a few years later as chief priest. He just left the kiva to make his morning offering, which Wickwaya probably had done while the women had been out for that same purpose.

In the kiva Wickwaya had just built a fire and Navini had come in. When all were in, some sat down in front of the altar, others on the banquettes along the walls and soon they began to sing, evidently for practice.

Then the same ceremony took place as on the two preceding days after No. 8 had, as usual, strewn a meal line from the effigies on the east side of the altar to the ladder which is supposed to close the ceremonial chamber, and is not supposed to be crossed by any one.²

When the ceremony was over, Homihoiniwa, instead of Navini, lighted the pipe at the fireplace and handed it to Wickwaya, who smoked awhile, blowing the smoke towards the altar. Navini then did the same, handing the pipe to Homihoiniwa, who also smoked a few puffs

¹ Apohoniwe is several miles from Oraibi, but as in other cases, a shrine closer by probably represents that place. Thus the San Francisco Mountains, Kishiwuu and other distant places, sacred to the Hopi, have a substitute place closer by that bears the same name and where the offerings are deposited, that are intended for those distant shrines.

² This applies to all ceremonies where this line is made. They usually objected to any one going up or down the ladder while the ceremony was in progress, but more particularly to the use of the right or east side of the ladder.

at the fireplace, while Wickwaya and Navini spurted honey over the altar and around themselves and up the ladder.

After a brief period of rest all began to make bahos and nakwakwohis, while some women had to spin some cotton string first for that purpose. On one occasion it was noticed here that the old priestess gave to each woman a roll of white piki, which, however, they did not eat as they were supposed to fast on this day. The exact number and kind of bahos and nakwakwohis could not be accurately recorded. On one occasion I noticed that Pungnyanömsi (No. 1) prepared a double green baho, about fourteen inches long and another one about six inches long; to the first she fastened a small crook which she also painted green. She also prepared a number of eagle nakwakwohis and a long pühu (road), i. e., a long twisted cotton string to one end of which a bunch of different kinds of small feathers are fastened. My notes — which had to be written rapidly — do not state to which of the two bahos this road was attached, but in all probability to the long one. She then constructed on a flat tray a square baho stand of clay eight or ten inches long, about five inches wide and about two inches high, the four sides sloping so that it was larger at the bottom than at the top. This she sprinkled liberally with meal and then thrust the two bahos into it, one near each end. The long road was folded up and placed on top of the stand, the nakwakwohis beside it on the tray.

Usually initiations of new members take place on this day. A moho-ngöla (yucca ring) is prepared for this purpose, consisting of one, or sometimes a number of strands (usually four) of split yucca leaves which are tied together by the ends at four places so that the ring consists of four lengths, or sections. As soon as a candidate for initiation enters or is brought in, (for they are mostly small children), a circle of meal is strewn in the south-east corner of the deeper portion of the kiva with a pinch of meal in the centre. The yucca ring is put on the meal ring. The candidate steps, or is placed, into this circle, holding a little meal in the right hand. Two priestesses then raise and lower the yucca ring four times, expressing a wish or prayer that the novice may grow old and be happy. The novice then goes, or if too young, is taken to the altar where they sprinkle the meal towards the altar. They are then given a white ear of corn and the typical Marau nakwa, of two small sparrow hawk feathers, is tied to their hair. When not in use the moho-ngöla hangs on the wall east of the ladder.

Another peculiar object is made on this day only. It consists of a cone of clay, about ten inches high and six inches in diameter at the base. Usually two women make this cone. One of them takes two ears of corn from a tray, rasps one over the other four times and then

stops about a minute. She then shells the corn, whereupon the kernels are pressed into the soft cone, first in four stripes, an inch to an inch and a half wide, one yellow (north), one dark blue (west), one red (south), and one white (east). These stripes run from the base to the apex of the cone. The spaces between these four lines are then filled up with kernels of the four different kinds of color. Into the apex a bunch of feathers¹ is inserted and the cone then placed on the floor at the east side of the altar (see Plate XIII).

One time I noticed again on this day that soon after the morning ceremony two women stroked and massaged the back and limbs of Wickwaya and the two leading priestesses again.

At about half past ten in the forenoon the work of making the bahos and nakwakwosis is finished. They are disposed of in various ways; some nakwakwosis are laid over the arms of the figurines, one time one woman tied one to a beam of the ladder; two were placed on the floor near the fireplace, as a prayer that the Hopi should never suffer for want of fire. Most of them were placed on a tray with some meal. The chief priest and the women sitting around the tray sing a few songs, accompanying this by shaking their rattles. After the singing the priest utters a short prayer. He then smokes over them from a cloud blower which his assistant has lighted and from which he had first blown some smoke over the altar. Both always spurt some honey after having smoked. Some more nakwakwosis are then disposed of. On one occasion I observed that some were tied to the netted gourd vessels; one woman took a pinch of prayer-meal, mumbled a prayer over it, and threw the meal and feathers on the embers of the fireplace. The nakwakwosis that are still on the tray are handed with some meal to six women, each one also having a pinch of honey placed on her tongue, who deposit them at six different places near the village. Each woman also takes her white ear of corn along. As one after the other returns, in about ten minutes, she takes a pinch of meal from a tray, holds it to her lips and casts it toward the altar, all the others saying, thanks! More women usually are present on this day than before. Each one brings with her a white ear of corn and throws some meal to the altar when she comes into the kiva. After the prayer offerings have been disposed of, the women soon squat down in an oblong circle in front of the altar and make nakwakwosis for their departed loved ones. "This is for my mother," said one to me; "This for my sister," another one, etc. These nakwakwosis are put on a tray, which is placed near the altar. Then nothing of importance takes place for several hours.

¹My notes do not state what kind of feathers.

In the middle of the afternoon¹ the ten leaders again arrange themselves around the altar in the usual manner. No. 8 strews the meal line from the altar to the ladder and then the usual singing ceremony takes place in the same way as on previous occasions. But during the fifteenth song an entirely new scene is presented. As there were some variations in the different years I give my notes of 1895 and 1897 separately:

1895: This over, all stood up; No. 10 put on a white dress (owa) and a fine blanket (toihi), whitened her face with meal, tied a pota (tray from the Second Mesa) that had nakwakwosis fastened to its rim, to each wrist, and then danced very gracefully around the altar four times, stopping at each cardinal point and waving the potas towards it. All sang and those having rattles shook them as usual, while this was going on. When this was over, all said, thanks, and resumed their places.

1897: A woman, dressed in a toihi, big knotted belt, moccasins with leggings, her face daubed white, jumped up behind the altar. She had two old trays with corn-meal and danced around the altar six times, rather vigorously, swinging the trays (from side to side) and then stopped behind the altar, where one of the women assisted her in taking off the costume, etc. All cried, thanks!

In each of these two cases the ceremony then went on and terminated in the usual way. Most of the women then go after food for the evening meal. The chief priestess takes a large bowl, containing some piki and cooked beans, and places it on the elevated portion of the kiva west of the ladder; at the east side of this bowl she places a tray with meal and the tray with the nakwakwosis prepared by the women in the forenoon for their departed friends and relatives. She then assumes a kneeling position south of the bowl, her assistant north and Wickwaya south-west of it. The latter has a mosilili in his hand. The other women now begin to return to the kiva with the various dishes of food for the evening meal. Every woman steps to the priestesses who take a small quantity of every kind of food, even of the liquids, and put it into the large bowl, whereupon the woman places her vessel with the food on the floor in the deeper portion of the kiva. Here the different bowls and trays are arranged in two rows, around which the women seat themselves as they come in. When all have made their contribution of food, they all rise and standing around the food board begin to sing, waving their arms, and Wickwaya shaking the mosilili to the time of the singing. Some have their corn-ear in their hand, others have not. During the singing the two priestesses kneel

¹ The time has varied in the different years between 3:30 and 5 o'clock.



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PL. XVI.

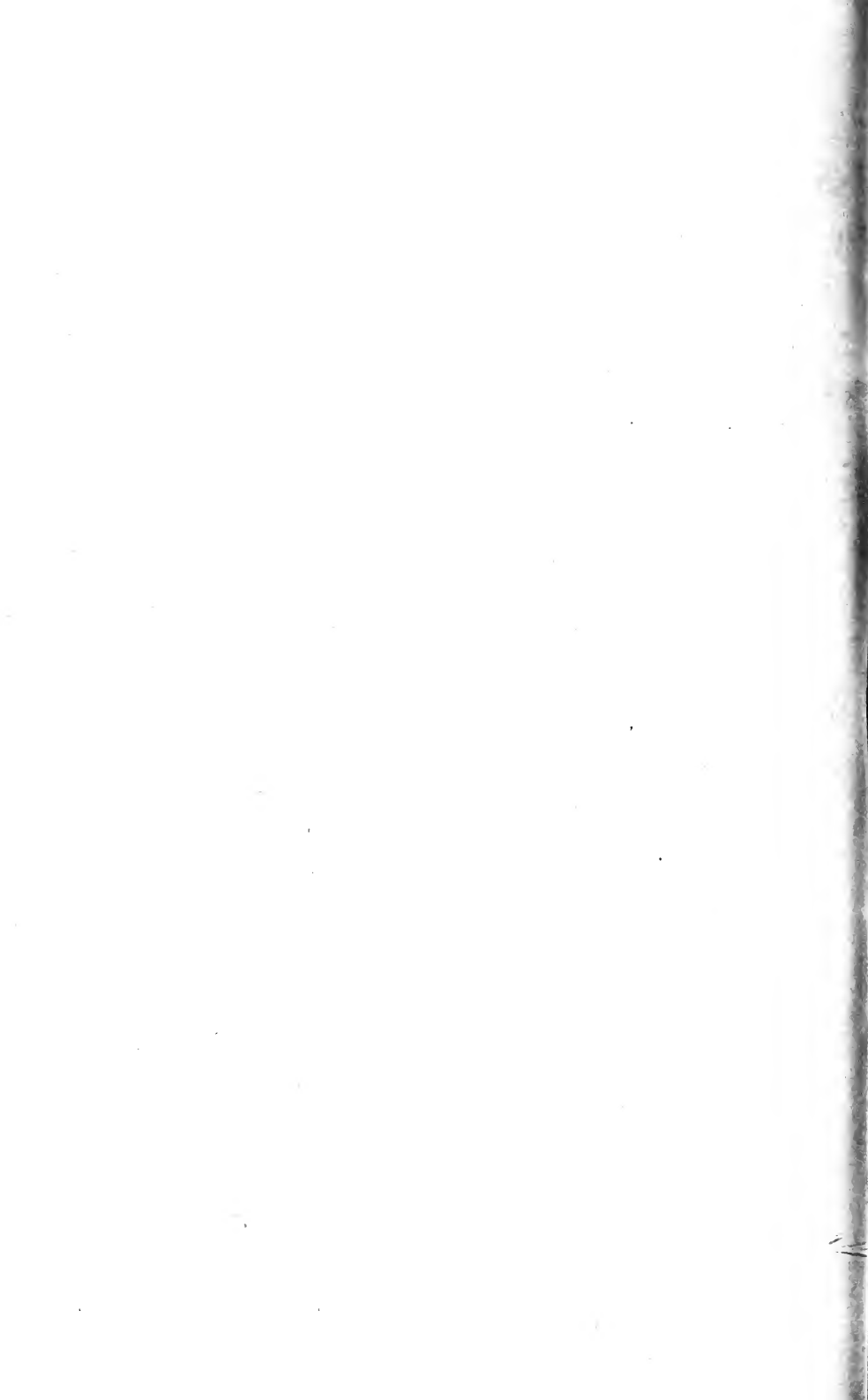
A. Leading priestesses singing around the altar. Through the gap in the circle the meal line is strewn from the idols to the ladder.

B. Priestesses consecrating ceremonial objects, to be used in the public performances on the last day.

A



B



on opposite sides of the bowl holding it with both hands. All at once they dump the meal from the tray into the bowl, make a dough of this mixture and then form about sixteen balls of it, which they place on the tray with the nakwakwosis. After that they rub off the dough, that adheres to their hands, with meal and then again hold the (now empty) bowl until the singing stops. Four women of the ten leaders then step forward, the chief priestess gives to each one a portion of the balls and nakwakwosis, placing them into a corner of the blanket or cloak that they wear over their dress. One then runs to the north, the other to the west, the third to the south, and the fourth to the east side of the village. Each one then runs from her point to the next one, i. e., the one from the north side to the place where the one on the west side started and so on, each one describing a fourth part of a circle. While they run they throw away food balls and nakwakwosis as an offering to the dead. It is the supposition that the spirits of the departed come and get the food and the prayer feathers, or rather the hikvsi (breath, essence, soul) of those objects.¹

While these four women are gone the others begin to eat, the four joining them when they return. On one occasion (in the ceremony of 1897) there were about twenty women around the one and about twelve around the other "table." The aged Tangakweima, who had acted as chief priestess for the last time in 1895, then having been succeeded by her daughter, had a seat at the head (north end) of one of the boards; Wickwaya had a place at her right, then came Navini, while the seat at her left was occupied by Qöyamönöma (No. 10), at whose left sat Oötchnömsi, Wickwaya's sister who, for the first time, acted as chief priestess.

After supper nothing of importance takes place until after twelve o'clock at night. The time is spent in singing, talking, joking, smoking (by the men), etc. A few more men and a number of new women usually come in this evening. On one occasion I counted about forty persons in the kiva.

FIFTH DAY (Nalösh tala, Fourth Day).

As the participants in the ceremony had been up all night and various performances took place during the night, the description of this day's doings begins where that of the previous day ended, at twelve o'clock at night. The time from midnight until one o'clock is spent in practically the same way as that from supper until midnight: in singing, talking, eating, joking, etc. Now and then one will go to

¹ The custom of not only informing the ancestors and friends in the other world that a ceremony is in progress here, but also of providing the means to have them share in its benefits has also been observed in other ceremonies.

sleep, but as sleeping is prohibited the sleeper is soon disturbed and aroused again. At about one o'clock the ten leaders take their usual places around the altar again and, as far as I could determine, the same ceremony, that has taken place every day, is again enacted. All the others present sit scattered on the floor south of the leaders and join in the singing as much as they can. At the conclusion of the performance they all cast a pinch of meal towards the altar.

Pungnyanömsi and her sister-in-law now leave the kiva, the rest fold up their blankets or upper garments diagonally, lay them over one shoulder, tying the two ends together over their chest. All then move in slow procession sideways around the altar and ladder four times. As they pass Wickwaya, who stands at the north side of the altar, he thrusts one of the sticks from the altar ridge behind the rolled up garment on the back of each woman. As the kiva is only dimly lighted it was not possible to get all the details of these, more or less rapidly, developing performances. A number of the women — all the leaders I think — take an object from the altar. On one occasion one had a netted gourd vessel; Wickwaya's mother had the tiponi. Wickwaya, Navini and Homihoiniwa, each, had one of the wide corn-slabs from the altar. After completing the fourth circuit they all filed out, the men last.

As the night was very dark I could not record the exercises outside very well, but believe that they were the same as took place during this night in the winter ceremony (see page 31). Outside two men were guarding the kiva. The whole procession went around the kiva several times, occasionally sprinkling meal at the south end of the kiva. All then came in again and sat down. Navini and Homihoiniwa burned the nakwakwosi that had been lying at the fireplace during the day. Wickwaya lighted a pipe, whereupon the three men smoked. The altar remained in its dismantled condition.

Nothing of importance takes place during the remaining part of the night, in fact, no regular ceremony takes place all day. In the forenoon most of the participants rest and sleep in their homes. On one occasion I noticed Wickwaya and Navini in their fields.

In the afternoon, however, a number of the women assemble in the kiva and practice songs which they usually compose right then and there. The women are attired in all manner of ludicrous ways, partly in men's, partly in white man's dress, partly in that of other tribes, etc. The songs usually refer to some real or imaginary peculiarity of some man in the village, and are chanted at the public dance, which is performed by these women on the plaza in the evening. This is called tao-somngwu ("song-tie" or "song-bind"), because the man

whose name is mentioned in the song is bound, or considered to be under obligation, to give some presents to the women, which, I believe, usually consist of one or the other kind of food. (Compare the description of this day's proceedings in the First Part of this paper.) The chief object of these performances seems to be the entertaining of the people and the women usually reach that object as their performances cause a great deal of hilarity and laughter on the part of the spectators. No fasting takes place on this or any subsequent day.

SIXTH DAY (Shush tala, First Day).

This day is spent in practically the same manner as the fifth day, except that there is no early night ceremony. The leaders sleep in the kiva, the natsi is put up, and though my notes do not distinctly say so, I have reason to believe that the morning offerings (kuiwato) are made the same as on previous days.

One time I observed that in another kiva, the Blue Flute, a lot of sweet-corn was shelled by about twenty-two members of the Marau order and that one of the leaders (No. 10) then divided it among these members to be ground to meal in their homes.

This day is also called komok-totokya, from komokto to get wood, because the necessary firewood for the preparing of food on the next day for the public ceremony is gotten on this day.

SEVENTH DAY (Lösh tala, Second Day).

The conditions are practically the same as on the previous day. I noticed that Wickwaya and Navini attended to their fields. One or two women and sometimes a few children are usually in the kiva to watch that no one, not initiated, enters. Now and then other women come in, but soon leave. The altar is still in its dismantled condition. Most of the members, as well as the other women of the village, bake piki for the public feast on the ninth day. From this fact this day is sometimes called pík-totokya (piki-day or piki-providing).

In the afternoon another tao-somngwu "song-tie" performance is prepared and in the evening carried out on the plaza, as described before.

EIGHTH DAY (Bayish tala, Third Day).

This is again one of the more important days of the ceremony.¹ The participants rise at about five o'clock in the morning. The natsi is put up almost immediately. In 1897 Wickwaya put it up on this

¹ Also called totokya, which really means sleeps. But why it is called that way no one seems to know. The day preceding any important ceremony is designated by that name, which seems to have a meaning similar to "Christmas Eve," or the German "Heilige Abend," a general preparation day.

day. My notes of that year say that at about six o'clock Wickwaya commenced to make bahos. First, a light blue double baho for the sun, with two eagle feather nakwakwosis attached to it (see Plate XXX, h). The Marau ceremony is the only ceremony where I have seen a baho of this light blue color. It is deposited, I believe, towards evening somewhere south-east and close to the mesa. He also makes four double green (see Plate XXX, f) and two single black bahos (see Plate XXX, g) which are taken to the springs in the afternoon by the two women who get the water for the ceremony.

At about seven o'clock a woman (No. 10) came in and after she had rested a little while swept up the chips and shavings left on the floor from the baho making and put them into a blanket, threw a pinch of meal on them and carried them out, casting them on the ground close to the kiva. A little later another woman brought some young, green corn-stalks, a few green sprigs of squash and beans, a peach twig with some green peaches on it, and some watermelon and musk melon runners, etc., which she placed on the floor near the altar.

Several other men come in on this day to prepare special objects. One of these is supposed to belong to the Bow clan. On one occasion it was an old man by the name of Nakwahoyoma. He prepared two sets of four arrows each, (see Plate XXX, a) and also got two wrist protectors. The arrows are made of reed, with points of hard wood which he painted red, pressing on the wet paint a little powder of specular iron. The wrist protectors are made of old elk, buffalo or heavy deer-skin and are about four inches wide. To these are sewn bone plates about two inches wide, their length being the same as the width of the leather part of the protector. These bones are supposed to be cut out of the scapulæ of slain enemies or of bears. He handed these objects to two women who said, askwali, (thanks), and placed them on the floor and the man smoked over them. Some one had also brought in two old bows and two long sticks and two wheels or rings, about seven inches in diameter. The arrows were placed with these objects. One of the men formed a part of the green corn-stalks and vines, mentioned before, into a compact bundle about sixteen inches long and about six inches in diameter, by tying four strands of yucca leaves around them. To each string he had tied a nakwakwosi; to those at each end one of a "red eagle" (hawk) feather, to one of the others one of an eagle, and to the last one, one of a turkey feather. This bundle is also placed on the floor with the bows, arrows, etc. In the meantime Navini had prepared a shaft or wand about three feet long, to the point end of which he fastened two black-tipped eagle tail feathers and some other feathers of various colors. Along the

22

PL. XVII.

A. Chief priestess with the shield on her back.

B. The same in the dance circle. Also showing two Marau-Takas preparing food balls.

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.

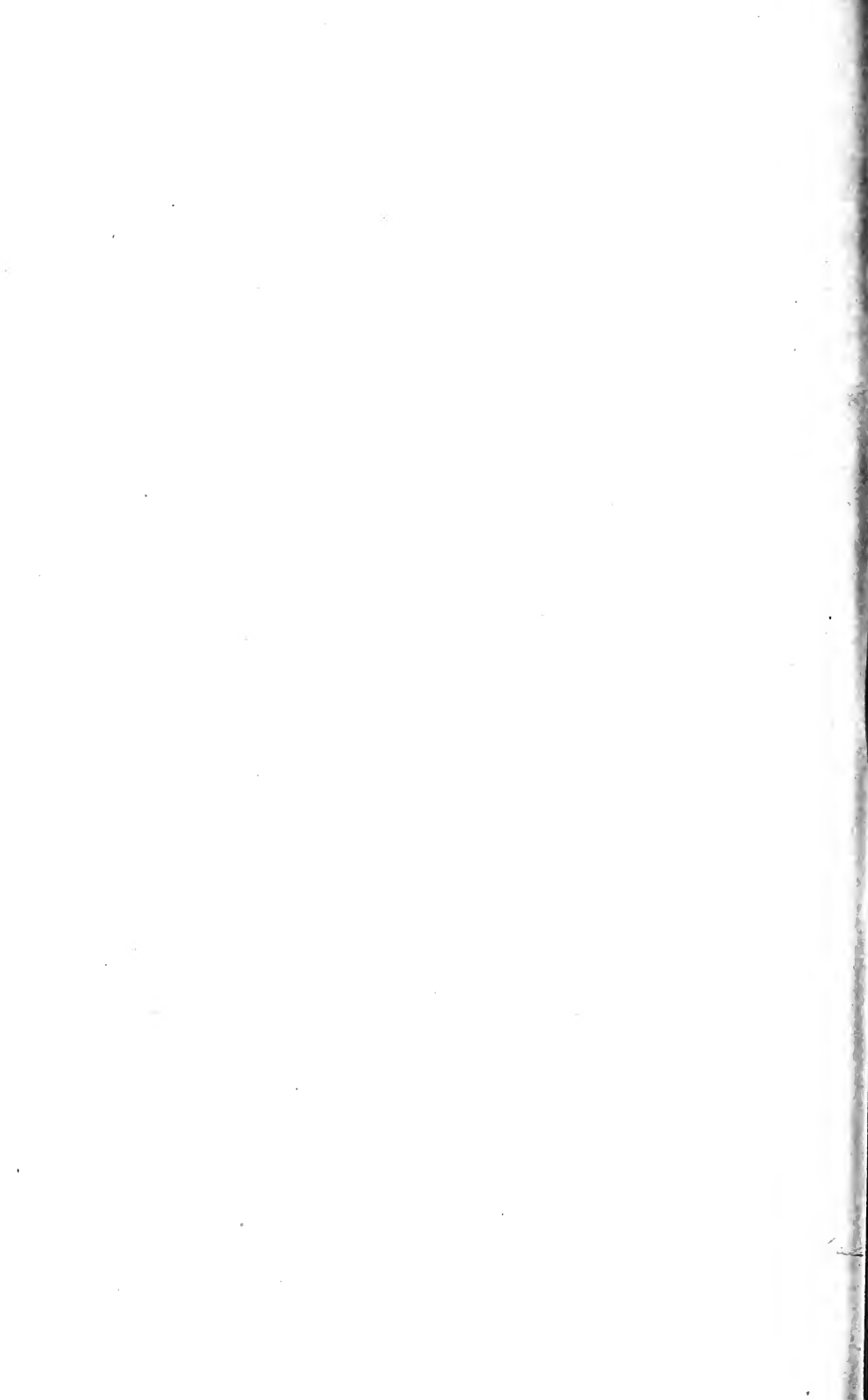


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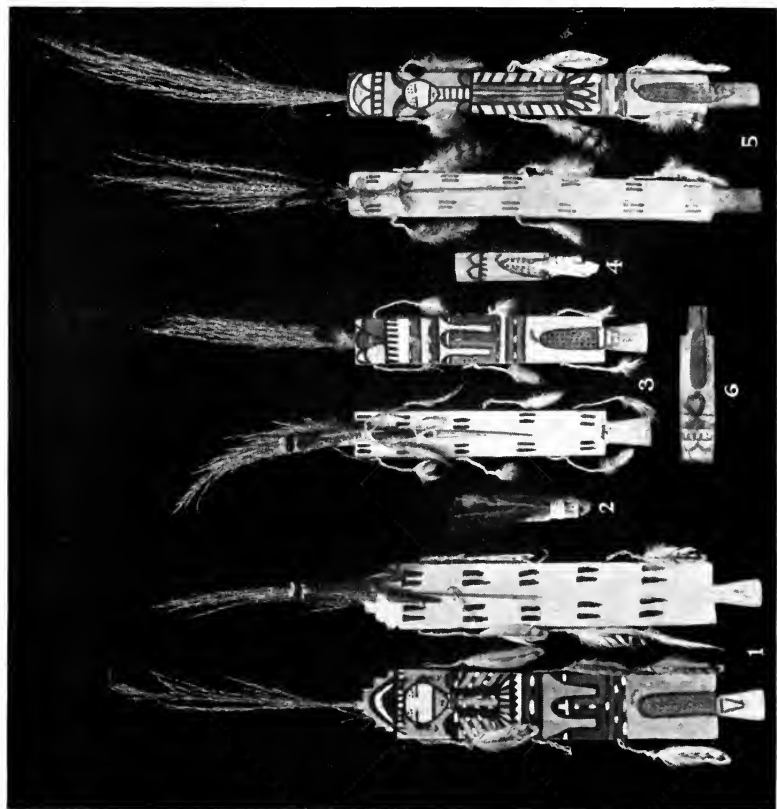
ANTHROPOLOGY, PL. XVII.



B



2
1/2



PL. XVIII. MARAU-VAHOS.

1. The terraced upper end represents a cloud with a drawing of a cloud and falling rain on it. Below this is a picture of Musingwu, the Deity of Growth, perched on a rainbow. Under this are three towering clouds also on a rainbow. At the lower end is an ear of corn.

2. Reverse side of a children's baho, showing the usual turkey feather, and kunya and maövi sprig.

3. Cloud symbol above, three towering clouds in the middle and above and below the latter the rainbow symbol. At the lower end an ear of corn.

4. Children's baho with a cloud and corn-ear symbol.

5. The symbolism is the same as No. 1 with the exception of the cloud symbol.

6. Children's baho with a picture of a cloud and a carved ear of corn.

The lines on the reverse side of 1, 3 and 5 denote tracks, according to some of deities; according to others, of birds.

With rare exceptions, these symbols are the only ones used in Oraibi, while in the other villages many others may be seen, some of which are probably late innovations.

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shaft runs a string of red fringes, made of a horse's mane, the string being fastened to each end of the shaft. This wand is used by a priestess in the public performance the next day (see Plates XIX and XX). The men also fixed up an old square shield (see Plate XVII), which is about 16 inches long and about 12 inches wide at the top, and about 10 inches at the bottom. This shield is called *bawáyoykashi*. The name refers to copious rains or rain water. (A similar shield, worn by Flute-priests, is called the same.) It is made of a framework of sticks over which old native cloth is stretched. The two flat side pieces are slightly bent at the top, forming crooks as it were. Along the upper edge are fastened small red feathers and in the centre a bunch of larger white fuzzy eagle feathers. Along the lower edge is fastened a string of red horsehair, two eagle tail feathers being suspended at the middle of the lower rim. The upper half of the shield is painted green, the lower half red, the bent portion of the side pieces of the frame, yellow. On the lower end of each of these slabs is painted an ear of corn. In the middle of the shield is depicted a figure with a human face, but otherwise resembling an eagle. This picture evidently represents *Múyingwu*, the God of Germination, who plays such a conspicuous part in the Hopi ceremoniology under different names.¹ When this shield is finished it is placed west of the altar.

Furthermore, the four peculiar headdresses which are worn on the next day by four priestesses, as will be described later, are prepared on this day. They consist of a ring of tightly twisted strands of black and green yarn. Into this ring are inserted at three different places sticks about 18 inches long, the upper ends of which are tied together so that a pyramid-shaped frame is formed. To the apex is fastened a bunch of long, red horsehair, a parrot feather and two eagle tail feathers. On each side of the ring is fastened horizontally another eagle tail feather, the tips pointing backward. To the quill ends are also attached small bunches of eagle feathers. To the front of the ring is fastened a roll of corn-husks which is tightly wound with black and white yarn so that long black and white squares are formed. Around each end of this roll is wound a small amount of loose red wool and into each end are thrust two large and a number of small hawk feathers (see Plates XXI and XXII).

In the ceremony of 1903 a peculiar ceremonial costume was prepared in addition to the above named objects. This consisted, first, of a cap, made of a band of rawhide, to fit around the head, to which

¹ The personage which is usually called *Alósaka* in some of the other villages is, in my opinion, identical with this deity. The figurine *Chowilawuu* on the Oraibi Powamu altar seems to represent the same deity and at the *Katcina* initiation, during the Powamu ceremony, *Múyingwu* is represented by the chief Powamu priest (see "The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony" by H. R. Voth, Pl. LVII).

were tied one band running from ear to ear over the head and another running from the forehead to the back of the head. To each side was fastened a flap, about ten inches long and about four inches wide, rounded at the upper end. These consisted of a simple frame made of sticks over which was stretched a piece of white cloth. The rim or border of the flaps was black and had a sprig of herb or grass attached to it. The second part of the costume consisted of four squares, each made of four sticks of reed, about 18 inches long, the ends of two pieces being tied together at each corner of the square. To each corner was fastened an oblong piece of gourd shell with rounded corners which were painted as follows:

First Square: First piece, concave side white, with a black line in the middle from which short black lines ran upwards like branches on a tree; black spots on the convex side. Second piece, concave side black, with two yellow parallel lines running from end to end and yellow spots on the convex side. Third piece, white on concave side and the lines as well as the spots being black. Fourth piece, concave side yellow with two black (?) lines; spots on concave side yellow.

Second Square: First piece, concave side white, two black lines; the spots on the convex side also black. Second piece, right half green, left half white, with a black line between the two, and yellow spots on the convex side. Third piece, concave side, marked the same as the first piece in the first square. Fourth piece, concave side, right half yellow, left half green, with green spots on the obverse side.

Third Square: First piece, white with two black parallel lines, the spots on the obverse side also being black. Second piece, the same as the first. Third piece, concave side green with a black cloud symbol in the centre and black spots on the convex side. Fourth piece, white on concave side, with the same marks on both sides as the first piece in the first square.

Fourth Square: First piece, concave side white with a small, black cloud symbol in centre and black spots on the convex side. Second piece white with two yellow parallel lines on concave and yellow spots on the convex side. Third piece, concave side white with two black parallel lines on concave side and black spots on convex. Fourth piece the same as the second, only with black spots instead of yellow.

The convex side of all pieces was alike except the spots, but my notes fail to state whether all were white or left in the natural color. I have reasons to believe that the first was the case. To each corner of the squares were tied small bunches of grasses and herbs.

It will be noticed, that all of the five ceremonial colors (yellow, green, red, white and black) were used except red, the color of the

PLATE XIX

THE GREAT TEMPLE OF KARNAK
THE GREAT TEMPLE OF KARNAK
THE GREAT TEMPLE OF KARNAK

PL. "XIX.

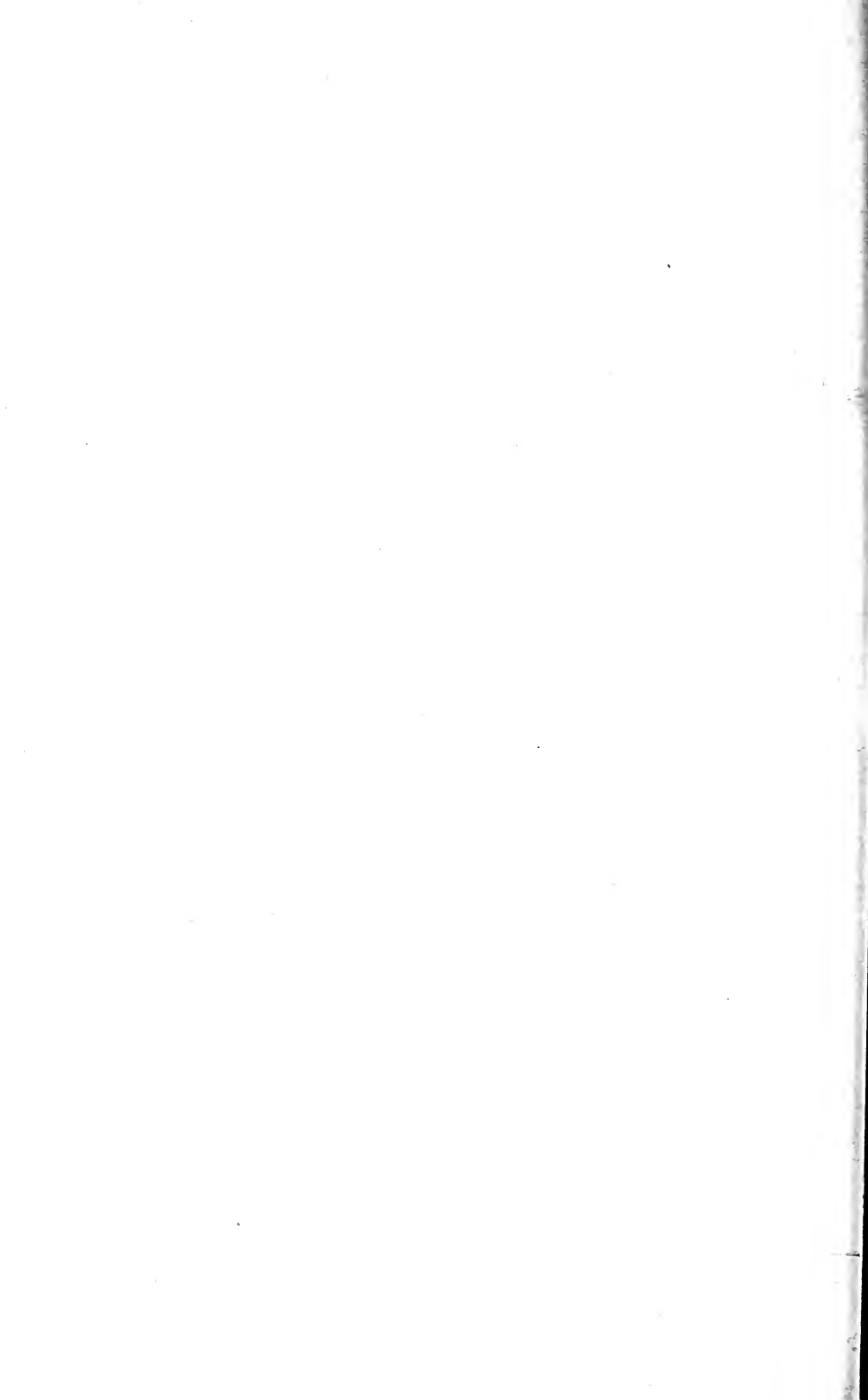
- A. The chief priestess with the wand emerging from the kiva.
- B. The same returning from the plaza, where the public performances take place.



A



B



03

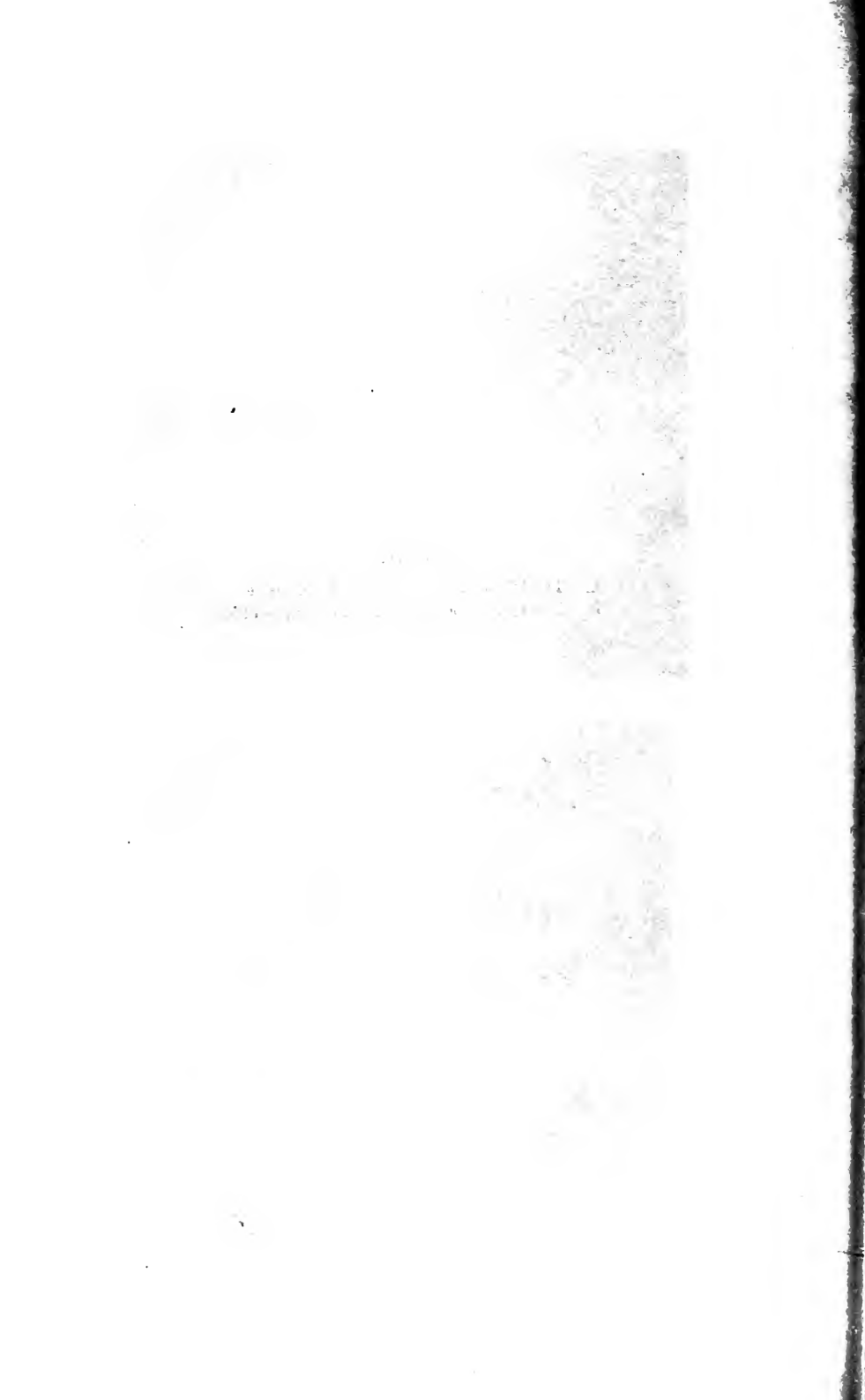
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PL. XX.

- A. The Wand priestess in the dance circle.
- B. The early morning dance with corn-stalks.



south, but I do not believe that this was omitted intentionally. The men probably did not happen to have that color. It will also be noticed that apparently no regularity as to the arrangement of the colors was observed. The fact that this costume had not been made and used for many years, and that the men who made it were inexperienced, probably accounts for some of the irregularities.¹

The men furthermore tied many twigs of green cotton, fresh melon and squash vines, small corn-stalks, etc., to cotton strings and many nakwakwosis to the vines, to be used the next day by the so-called "Rabbit Mother" for her costume.

At about noon four, sometimes five, women place the following objects on the floor east of the fireplace: The four pyramid-shaped headdresses, the two bows with the eight arrows, the two long sticks, the two wheels, the bunch of vines and the two wrist protectors. Between these is placed a medicine bowl, the usual six meal lines, north, west, south; east, north-east (above) and south-west (below), which run to a common centre, first being made. The women squat around these objects, one of them takes the two short bow sticks that had been lying on the east side of the altar, another the two that had been lying on the west side, and also an ear of corn. A third and fourth woman, each take one of the sticks with the little wheels that are leaning against the arms of the figurines during the ceremonies. If more women participate they hold an ear of corn in their hand. These women now sing rather quietly several songs, beating time on the kiva floor with the end of the sticks, and occasionally dipping them into the medicine bowl and then asperging with them. The object of the singing is evidently to consecrate these articles (see Plate XVI, b). When the singing is over the objects are all placed near the altar which the chief priest has in the meantime reconstructed (see Plate XIII). Several other special objects had been prepared in the meantime; among others a small ring into which were thrust four artificial flowers and a number of fuzzy eagle feathers;² and also a blue shirt, both to be worn by one of the priestesses the next day. Wickwaya has also made the usual bahos and nakwakwosis (see Plate XXX), for the offering at the spring in the afternoon. He probably makes the usual offerings for the sun too, but that was not specially noted as the preparations of special paraphernalia kept the observer fully occupied during the forenoon hours. When all these special objects are completed the remaining vines are taken out; any ears that may be on the

¹ See also the first footnote on page 45.

² Similar head ornaments are worn by the flute players in the Flute ceremony and others.

green stalks are given to the older priestesses, and the refuse on the floor is swept up and carried out.

Soon after the noon meal the priestess, occupying the place No. 8 in the ceremonies, places the medicine bowl in front of the altar, first making the six direction lines with meal and then putting the six ears of corn, their companions, small stones, etc., around it and a little quantity of powdered herb into a corn-husk.

While all this is going on in the kiva friends and relatives of the participants are repainting and generally repairing the old marau-vahos¹ that are to be used the next day (see Plate XVIII). Or when it is necessary new ones are made. On one occasion I noticed that the chief priest made some small black bahos in the kiva, that are attached to the upper end of the wide slabs. Later in the day the women bring these Marau-vahos or slabs into the kiva, where they are placed against the wall on the banquettes in the north end of the kiva.

At about four o'clock in the afternoon the chief priest hands to two priestesses the usual prayer offerings and other objects again and sends them to two different springs after water to be used in the ceremony and discharms them when they return, all in the same manner as has already been described under the notes of the fourth day.

At about five o'clock p. m. the ceremony commences. It is essentially the same as that on the afternoon of the first day, only there are now more men and women present than on any previous day. On one occasion I counted thirty-two, including the ten leaders and a few small children. At about five o'clock the altar ceremony commences. No. 8 first sprinkles the meal line from the east side of the altar to the east side of the ladder, casting also a pinch towards the hatch-way. The chief priest then stands up and discharms the freshly put up altar by humming a song and sprinkling meal on a buzzard feather and brushing it off six times. After he has spoken a brief prayer the singing commences. During the *first* song No. 8 rubs the four meal lines to the four kiva walls and throws a pinch of meal against one of the joists and another pinch on the floor. During the *second* song No. 8 sprinkles some powder of crushed berries along the ears of corn and then put the corn-ears and their "husbands" (the old aspergills, that lie by their side) into the medicine bowl on end, and pours the water, that was gotten in the netted gourd vessels from two springs by the two priestesses, over these objects into the bowl and then replaces them. While the *third* song is chanted No. 7 sprinkles a pinch of corn-pollen along the corn-ear on the north side and into the bowl

¹ In compound words the b in baho is changed to v.

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PL. XXI.

- A. The Archers emerging from the kiva to go to the dance plaza.
- B. The same returning to the kiva.

A



B



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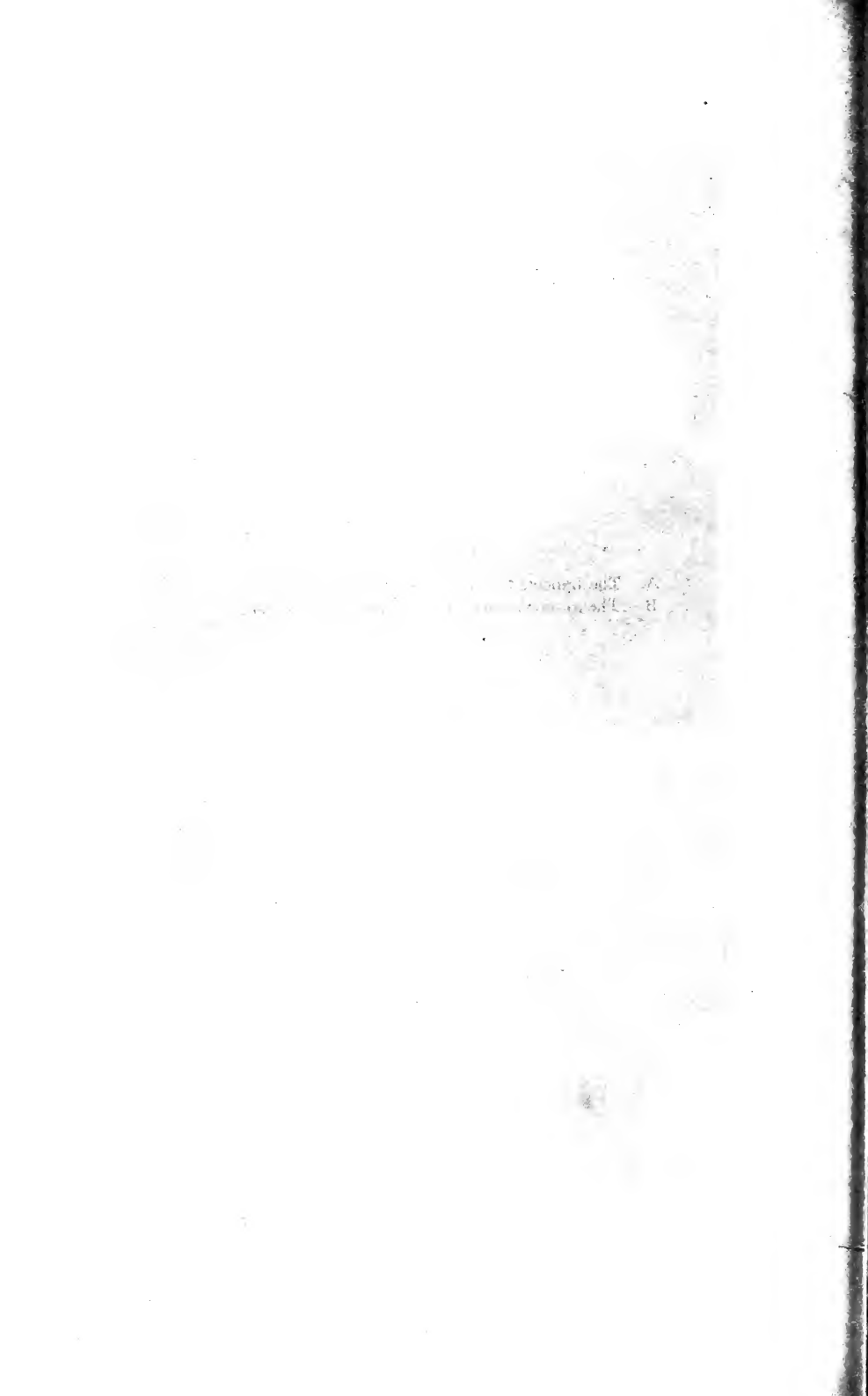
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B

PL. XXII.

- A. The Lancers leaving the kiva for the plaza.
- B. The same at work with the lances and wheels.



and then bends forward in a kneeling position and whistles through a bone whistle into the medicine bowl (see Plate IX, b). This she repeats for all the other directions. During the *fourth song* No. 3 dips the north corn-ear and its husband into the liquid in the medicine bowl and asperges towards the altar. She also repeats this with the remaining five directions. While the *fifth song* is being sung No. 2 takes the two small bow sticks from the west side of the altar, No. 10 those from the east side, No. 7 the two sticks with the grass wheel from the figurines on the west side, and No. 9 those from the east side figurine, and all beat time with these objects by striking them endwise on the floor. At the *sixth song* all throw a pinch of meal towards the altar six times. While the women chant the *seventh song* the chief priest takes a pinch of honey into his mouth and then blows smoke from his cloud blower over the altar.

Nine songs then follow during which no special rites take place, except sprinkling of the liquid from the medicine bowl with an aspergill, by No. 8, at the end of each song. During the *seventeenth song* the waving of a stick from the altar by No. 1 is gone through again as on the first day. In fact, the entire altar ceremony of this day is an exact repetition of that of the first day. On other days only sixteen songs are chanted, the one during which the meal lines on the walls are made at the beginning of the ceremony being omitted. After these altar rites are concluded in the usual way by a brief prayer by the chief priest, responses and sprinkling of meal by all the rest, there is a recess, during which the men smoke, the women rest or go to their houses.

At about six o'clock the chief priestess takes one of the bunches of feathers that forms the natsi in her right hand, an ear of corn in her left. Her assistant takes a tray with sacred meal and, being followed by most of the other women, each of whom have an ear of corn, they proceed to the plaza where the public performances are to take place the following day. Here some prayer-meal is sprinkled towards the small shrine by the assistant priestess and all then go through the same kind of a dance as they perform the next day, waving the arms and the ears of corn in the same manner as they wave the large Marau slabs on the succeeding day.

When they return to the kiva the evening meal is eaten in the kiva by all participants.

The proceedings from the evening meal until about two-thirty o'clock in the night have not been observed, but from information, which I believe to be reliable, I infer, that the same ceremonies inside and outside of the kiva took place as during the night between the fourth and fifth day of this and the winter ceremony (see pages 31 and 56).

NINTH DAY (Nalösh tala, Fourth Day).¹

This day's proceedings have been observed as, already stated, from about 2:30 in the morning only. The altar ceremonies having been concluded, the altar paraphernalia are wrapped up in bundles at about that time and taken out by the chief priest to the ancestral home of the Lizard clan where they are put away in one of the inner rooms which is almost entirely dark. On one occasion I noticed No. 1 taking out her netted gourd vessel at about this time, but she probably only took it to her house. Suds of crushed yucca roots are now prepared in different bowls by the women, and a general washing of the corn-ear mothers and of the heads of all present takes place. Some wash their own heads. Those who have brought in novices for initiation during the ceremony wash the heads of the latter, and the chief priestess then sprinkles with the old aspergill a little water from the medicine bowl on the head of every novice.² Some of the women wave their corn-ear mothers towards them and express a good wish or benediction.

Soon some women take the four pyramid-shaped headdresses that were prepared on the previous day to the Blue Flute kiva where the four women, who are to act as the so-called Marau-Takas (Marau-Men), are putting on their paint and getting their costumes ready. The two long sticks and the two wheels which two of the women use later in the day, the bows and arrows, and the bundle of vines tied up the day before, are placed near the fire-place. I was told that the old buckskin which is wrapped around those wheels, was cut from the clothing of slain enemies long ago.³ The men who have attended to the fire during the ceremony, clean out the fire-place. First, however, one of them takes out a burning stick, places it on a trail about twelve yards south-east of the kiva and sprinkles a pinch of corn-meal on it. Returning into the kiva he throws a little sweet-corn-meal on the fire-place. He then takes out the embers and ashes and deposits them a short distance west of the kiva and with it a nakwakwosi. One of the men then builds a new fire.

Meantime about twenty young men have gone to the corn-fields in the valley and shortly before sunrise bring to the kiva bunches of

¹ Also called Tikivee (Dance) because the public dance takes place on this day.

² This "baptizing" of novices I have also noticed at the initiation into the Powamu fraternity (See my paper on "The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony," page 102). Whether this is an original Hopi rite or perhaps adopted from early Spanish missionaries, might be a question. The Hopi priests, of course, disavow the latter, and in my opinion it is highly improbable that they would have adopted religious rites of this nature from a people whom they considered and treated as enemies.

³ I have been told the same concerning the rolls on some old bandoliers. (See also "The Oraibi Soyol Ceremony," pages 22, footnote, and 23 by Dorsey and Voth).

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PL. XXIII.

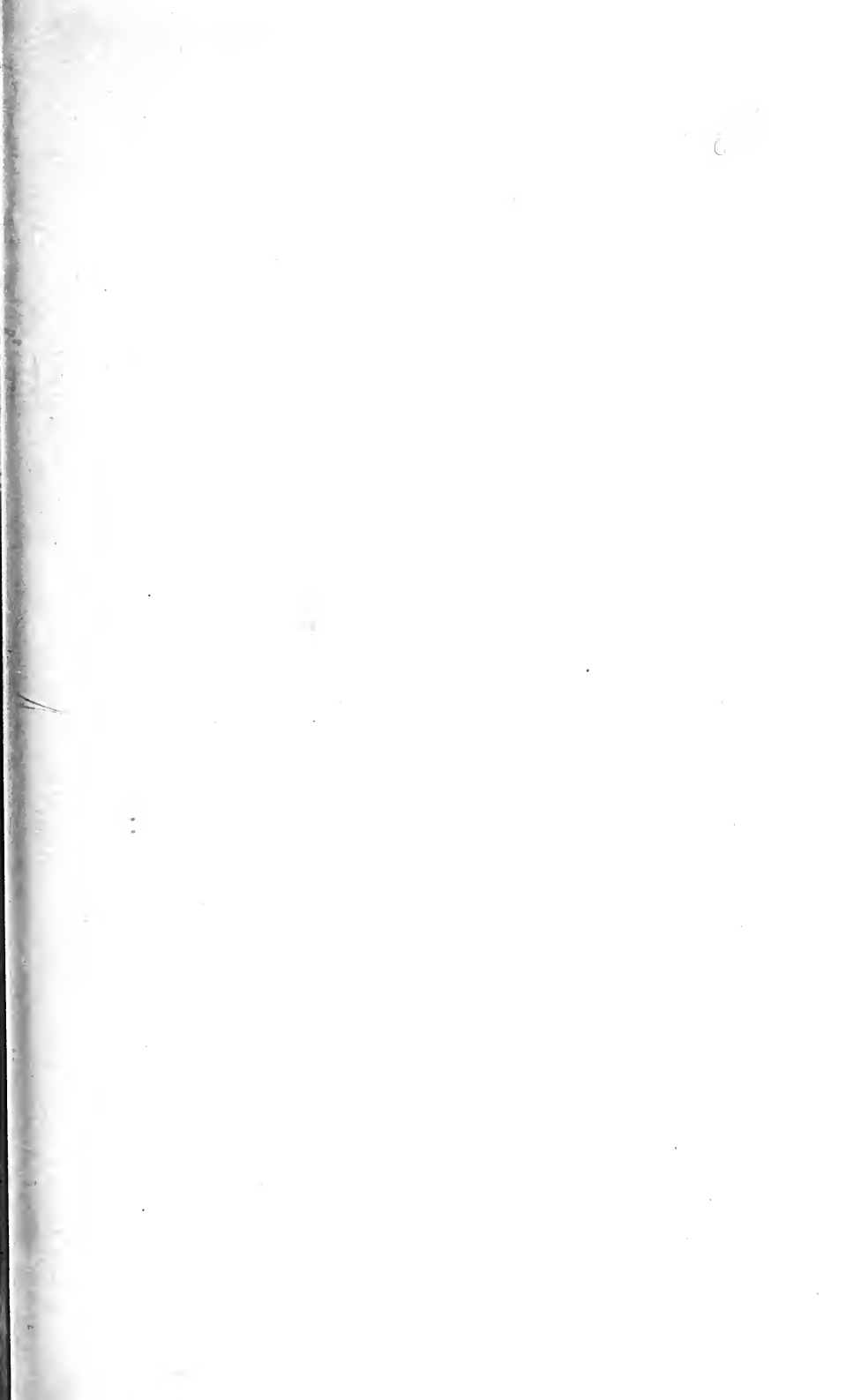
- A. The two Archers carrying meal to the plaza.
- B. The same, forming food balls.

A



B



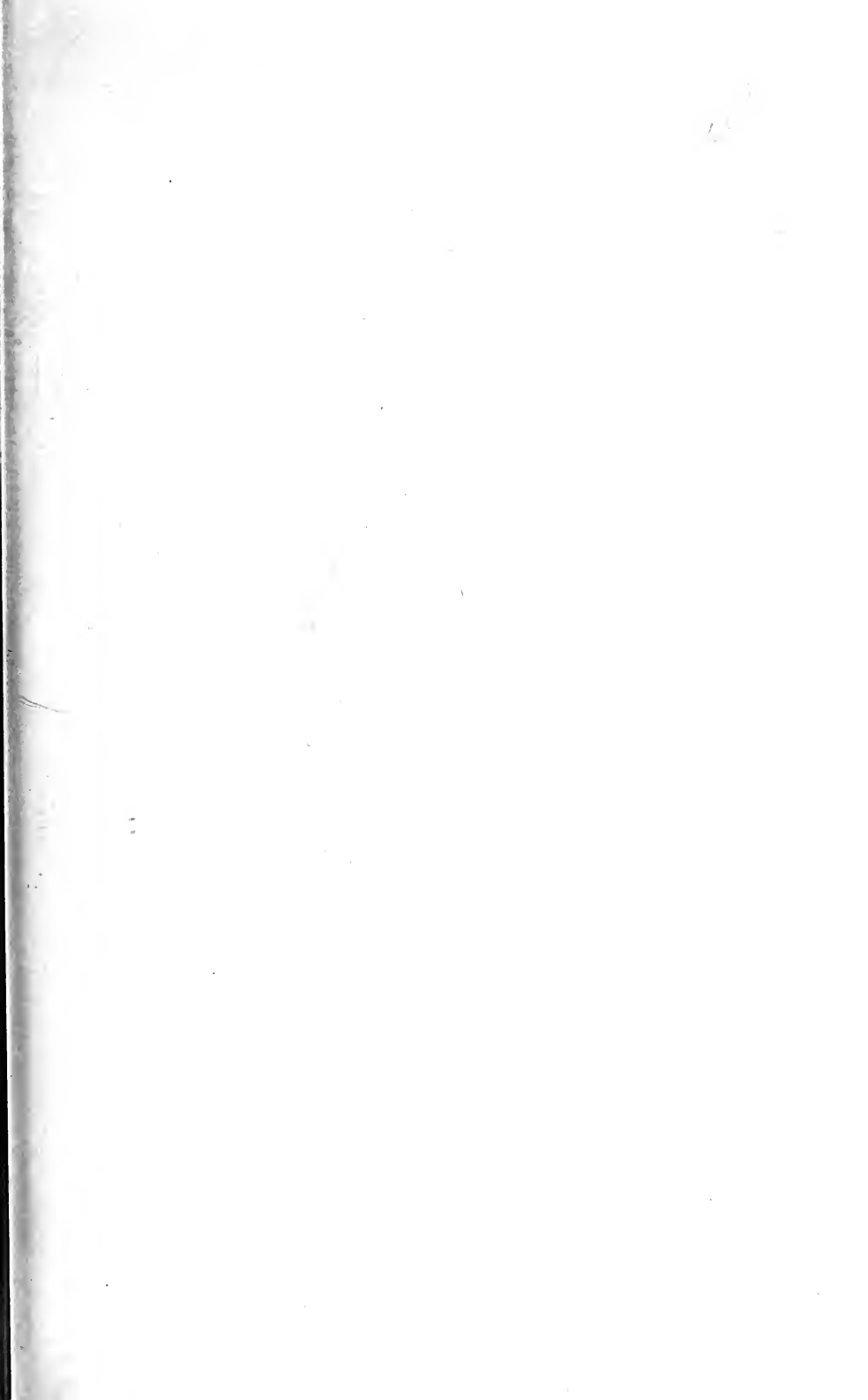




PL. XXIV.

The two Lancers returning from the plaza to the kiva.







PL. XXV.

The Wand priestess leaving the dance circle to return to the kiva.



corn-stalks with the young ears on them. Several women receive them at the kiva and place the stalks, with many askawalis (thanks), against the kiva.

At about six o'clock the chief priest takes down the natsi and on one occasion one of the women brought into the kiva a bowl with water and a dark powder (called *muit sikwiata*) for use, I think, in the final discharming rite.

While all this is going on, more women have been coming into the kiva wearing their white ceremonial blankets (with red and dark blue borders on two sides), their faces daubed with sacred meal.

The chief priest now places the medicine bowl and the six ears of corn near the sticks, bows, etc., north of the fire-place, and he and the other men squat down around the fire-place. Usually there are about six men in the kiva by this time. They wait until the women have all come in. The latter then arrange themselves in an oblong circle, the chief priestess standing east of the ladder, and then the corn-stalks are handed in; two women are outside, two on the ladder and one hands a bunch to each woman, who holds it with the stub end resting on the floor. The women have in the meantime commenced to sing and the men smoke. The chief priest gives to each woman a pinch of meal and sprinkles them with water from the medicine bowl. When the corn has been distributed, the five Marau-Takas come over from the Flute kiva and take a position west of the fire-place within the circle, formed by the other women. Each wear a man's blue woolen shirt, such as now are worn usually in ceremonies only. The first in the line wears on her back the *ikwilna* or green shield described on a previous page. On her head she wears the *lân-kopachoki* described in the notes of the eighth day. She also wears a man's ceremonial kilt and sash, from which is suspended behind a fox skin; man's ankle bands, a woman's belt, many beads, etc. In her left hand she carries the wand with the horse-mane fringes, nothing in her right hand, but from the wrist is also suspended a fox skin.

Next in the line are the two archers to whom are handed the bows and arrows and the bundle of vines, the wrist protectors having been put on their wrists before. Then follow the two lancers to whom the two long sticks, which in all probability represent lances, and the two rings are handed by the man who prepared the bows, arrows, etc., and who also thrusts an ear of corn behind the belt on the back of each woman. These four women also wear a blue shirt, sash, kilt, woman's belt, fox skin, beads, etc., but on the head they wear the pyramid-shaped headdresses (*Marau-vitanaksi*). All five have a black line painted around the legs right above the knee, another one around the

thigh, the two circles being connected by four black lines. The lower part of the legs and the fore-arms and the face are painted bright yellow.

The chief priest and one of the other men now asperge all the women from the medicine bowl and then the women file out of the kiva to the public plaza, the chief priestess heading the line; Pungnyanömsi, who is No. 1 in the altar ceremonies, being the second. In a few minutes the five Marau-Takas follow the priestess with the wand (see Plate XIX), who heads the dancers on the plaza, holding the lower end of the wand in her left hand and leaning it backward in her bent arm (see Plate XX, a), which she moves to the time of the singing. The dancers have in the meantime thrown a part of the corn-stalks on the ground within the dance circle, keeping a few stalks in their hands and waving them to the time of the singing (see Plate XX, b). The two Archers have by this time arrived from the kiva (see Plate XXI), throwing the bundle of vines, of which mention has already been made several times, a short distance before them on the ground and shooting their arrows at it. In this manner they make their way towards, around, and finally into the circle. The two Lancers follow them (see Plate XXII, a) to the plaza where they are going through the same performance as the two Archers, throwing the two wheels before them, and when they have come to within a few yards of the wheels they cast the sticks towards them, pick the objects up (see Plate XXII) and keep repeating this; when they have also worked their way to the circle, they throw the sticks and wheels over the heads of the dancers into the circle and leave them there on the ground. They then proceed to a house near by.¹ Here a woman hands to one a bowl with sweet-corn-meal and to the other a bowl of water which they carry inside the dance circle (see Plate XXIII, a). There they kneel on opposite sides of the bowls, pour the water on the meal and make a dough (see Plate XXIII, b). Of this dough they form balls, about the size of a duck egg. When all the dough has been formed into balls the two women go around inside of the circle and throw the balls over the heads of the dancers among the spectators, who run, scramble, and wrangle for them from all sides. In the throwing of the balls the two archers participate, whereupon they leave through a street east of the plaza (see Plate XXIV), while the Lancers leave through another one, west of the plaza. The man who prepared the bows and arrows on the previous days gathers up the arrows, and, I think, hands them to the archers. When these leave, the woman with the wand also leaves (see Plate XXV). She, as well as the four other Marau-Takas, disrobe in the Flute kiva and then proceed in their usual garments to the Marau kiva. A

¹ On the occasions when I observed this ceremony this was the house of Lololumai, the village chief.

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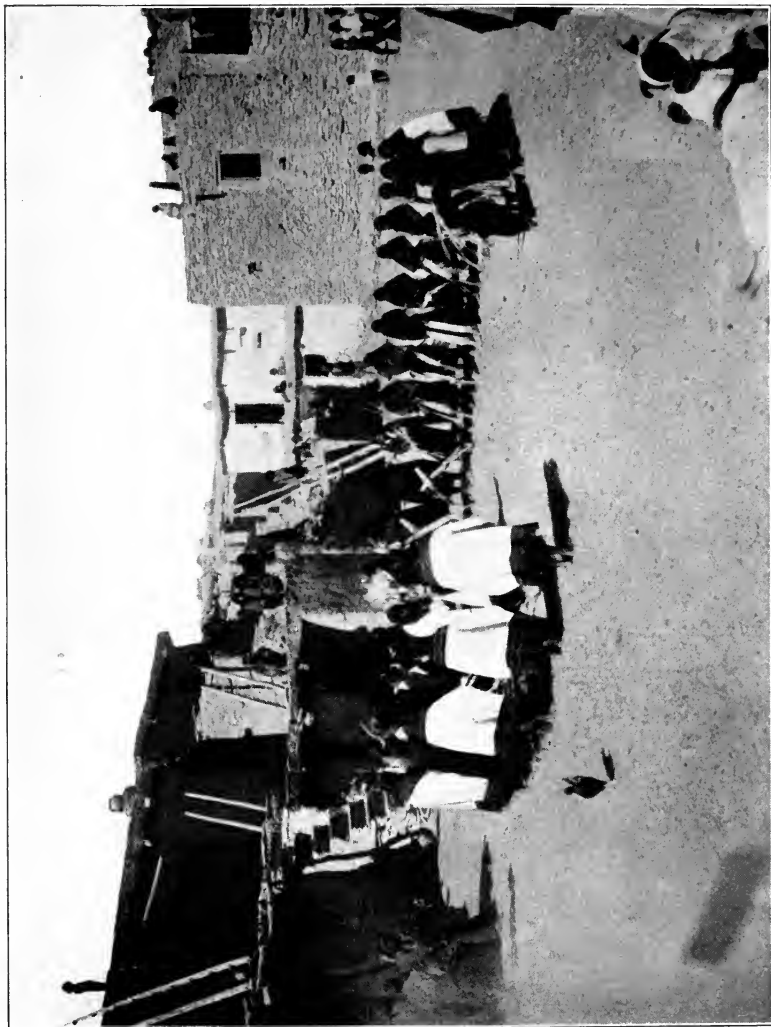
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PL. XXVI.

The performance on the plaza.



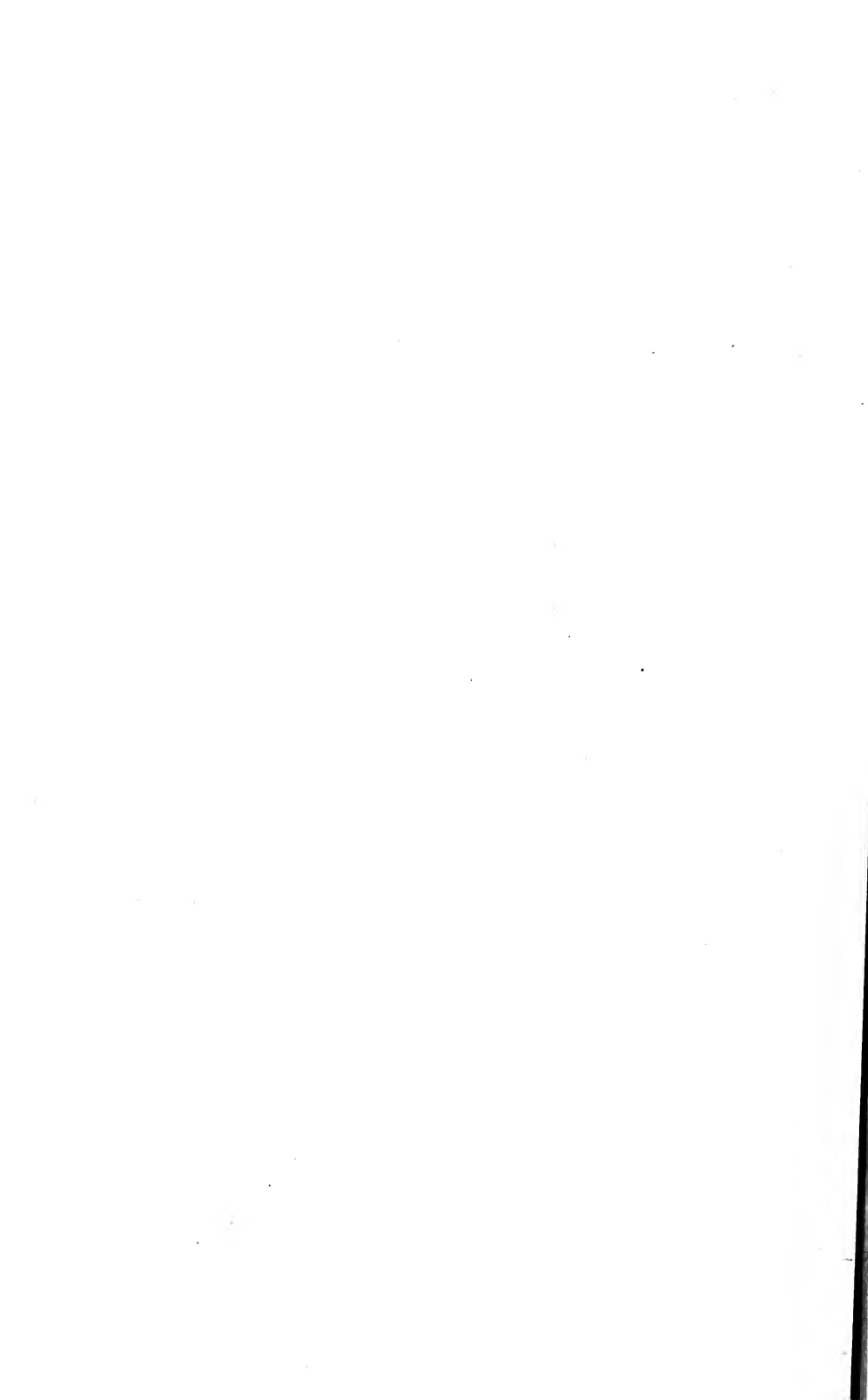


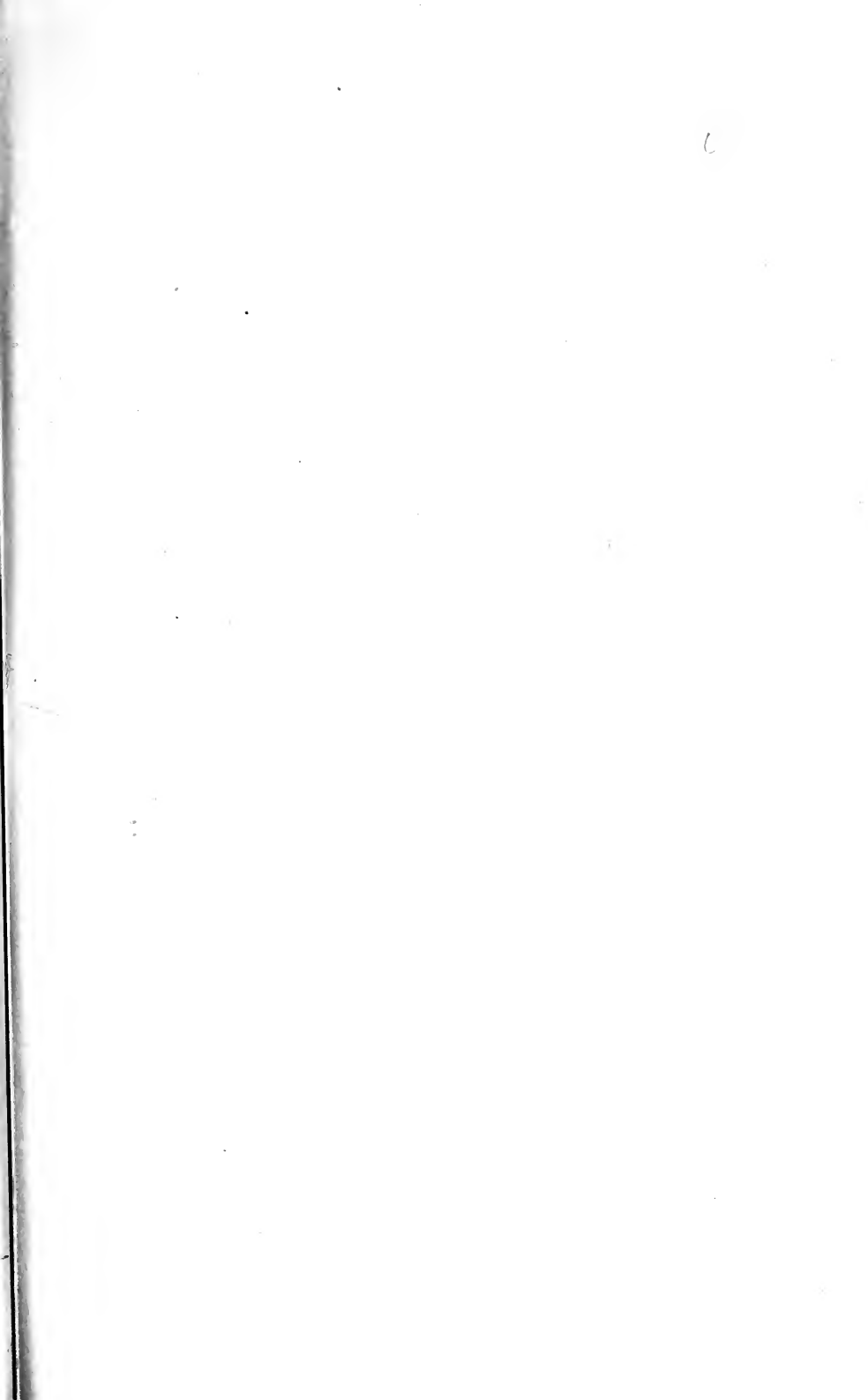
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PL. XXVII.

The Rabbit Mother in full costume.







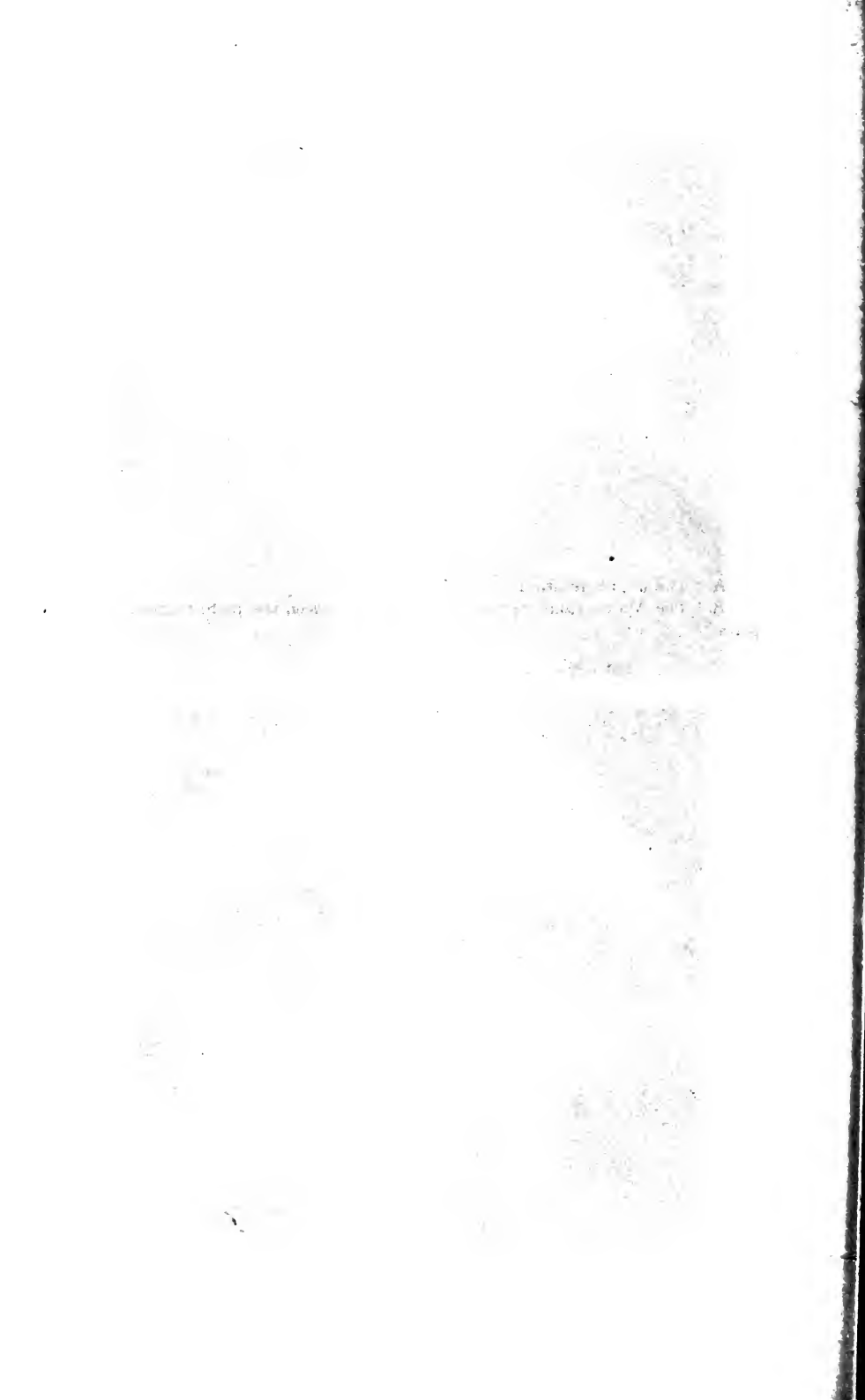
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B

PL. XXVIII.

- A. The women returning to the kiva.
- B. The Marau-vahos outside of the kiva between the performances on the plaza.



few minutes after these have left, the dancers throw their corn-stalks on the ground and also repair to the kiva, the chief priestess walking at the head of the line. The stalks are eagerly picked up by the crowd of spectators.

While the dance is in progress one of the men in the kiva takes out the medicine bowl and empties the contents on the pile of sand that had formed the altar ridge. One takes the tray with sweet-corn-meal out. Another man has brought in a dry juniper twig to be used later in a purification ceremony.

When all the women have returned to the kiva, each one takes a pinch of ashes from the fire-place. The chief priest, chief priestess and her assistant hold the ashes between the thumb and index finger of the right hand and then hum a song, waving the left hand up and down to the time of the singing. At the end of each of the four stanzas of the song all circle the hand with the ashes in front of them, throw it toward the hatch-way, and then spurt in different directions. One of the men then throws the dry juniper (or cedar?) twig on the fire; the smoke is supposed to purify the kiva and everything in it. All dip their fingers into a liquid which is standing in a bowl on the floor, suck the fingers and then crowd towards the fire-place so that the smoke goes over their bodies as much as possible. This they also do with the blankets, sheepskins, etc., that have been used as bedding during the ceremony. Finally all rub their bodies and limbs, spurling into their hands first and with that the purification ceremony is concluded. All then go to their houses for the morning meal. The chief priest and priestess take out what may be left yet of the objects used in the ceremony. Only the corn-cone (see Plate XIII), prepared by the women on the fourth day, remains.

After breakfast the performances on the plaza are resumed (see Plate XXVI). About eight performances usually take place during the day. They are essentially the same as the one in the morning, only the women use their Marau-vahos, or slabs, instead of corn-stalks (see Plates XVIII and XXVIII, b). Every woman has one slab in each hand. These she holds by the short handle at the lower end, the decorated side forward, and waves them up and down and from side to side to the time of the singing. The performance is not so much a dance as a procession, the women moving slowly sideways from right to left. A small gap is usually left in the circle at the place where the priestess with the wand has her position for the Marau-Takas to pass through (see Plate XXVI).

The women, acting as Marau-Takas, usually change for each performance; now and then some will act in several performances. I

noticed that it was sometimes not easy to get volunteers for this part of the ceremony on account of them being obliged to expose their limbs more or less. While the men are almost entirely nude in all ceremonies, I have never known a woman to expose her body or limbs more than the Marau-Takas do on this occasion, nor have I heard of any rite or ceremony where the Hopi women or priestesses are obliged to sacrifice their sense of modesty and propriety.

On the ninth day of the ceremony of 1901 I noticed a marked deviation from the usage in the ceremonies of other years. The Wand priestess received a different costume soon after the morning meal. Instead of the blossom headdress mentioned under the notes of the eighth day she put on the one with the two flaps or ears that was also prepared on the eighth day, as previously described. The four reed squares, also described there, she wore in the form of bandoleers, two over each shoulder. Then she was almost literally covered with the vines and young corn-stalks that had been fastened to strings on the previous afternoon. Her face, forearms and the lower part of her legs were daubed grayish white. The blue shirt, kilt, sash, woman's belt, anklets, moccasins, etc., she wore as usual. In addition to the wand she carried a corn-stalk with a green ear of corn on it (see Plates XXVII and XXIX, b).¹ Whether the two Archers appeared in any other performance except the one before the morning meal I am unable to say. My notes only mention them in connection with that one performance while they do mention the two Lancers repeatedly.

Between the different dances the women returned to the kiva (see Plate XXVIII, a) leaving the marau-slabs outside (see Plate XXVIII, b). On one occasion I noticed that the meal-balls were not made on the plaza but were brought there already prepared by a woman. Occasionally the Rabbit Mother joins the dances in the circle (see Plate XXIX), in the same manner as the Wand-Woman.

In the afternoon the public performances are sometimes not as elaborate as in the first part of the day. Not all the members participate, some being detained by household duties, other by their small children, etc. I have even noticed the Wand-Woman and the Marau-Takas remain away from some of these dances, later in the day. They seem to be of a less serious nature than the earlier ones. The songs sometimes seem to be of a humorous kind and frequently cause hilarity and laughter among the spectators. In the last performance, however, generally all participate, although that, too, seems to be more for the entertainment of the crowd.

The burdensome costume of the "Rabbit Mother" was taken off

¹ This personage was said to be called "Rabbit Mother" or "Rabbit Woman."

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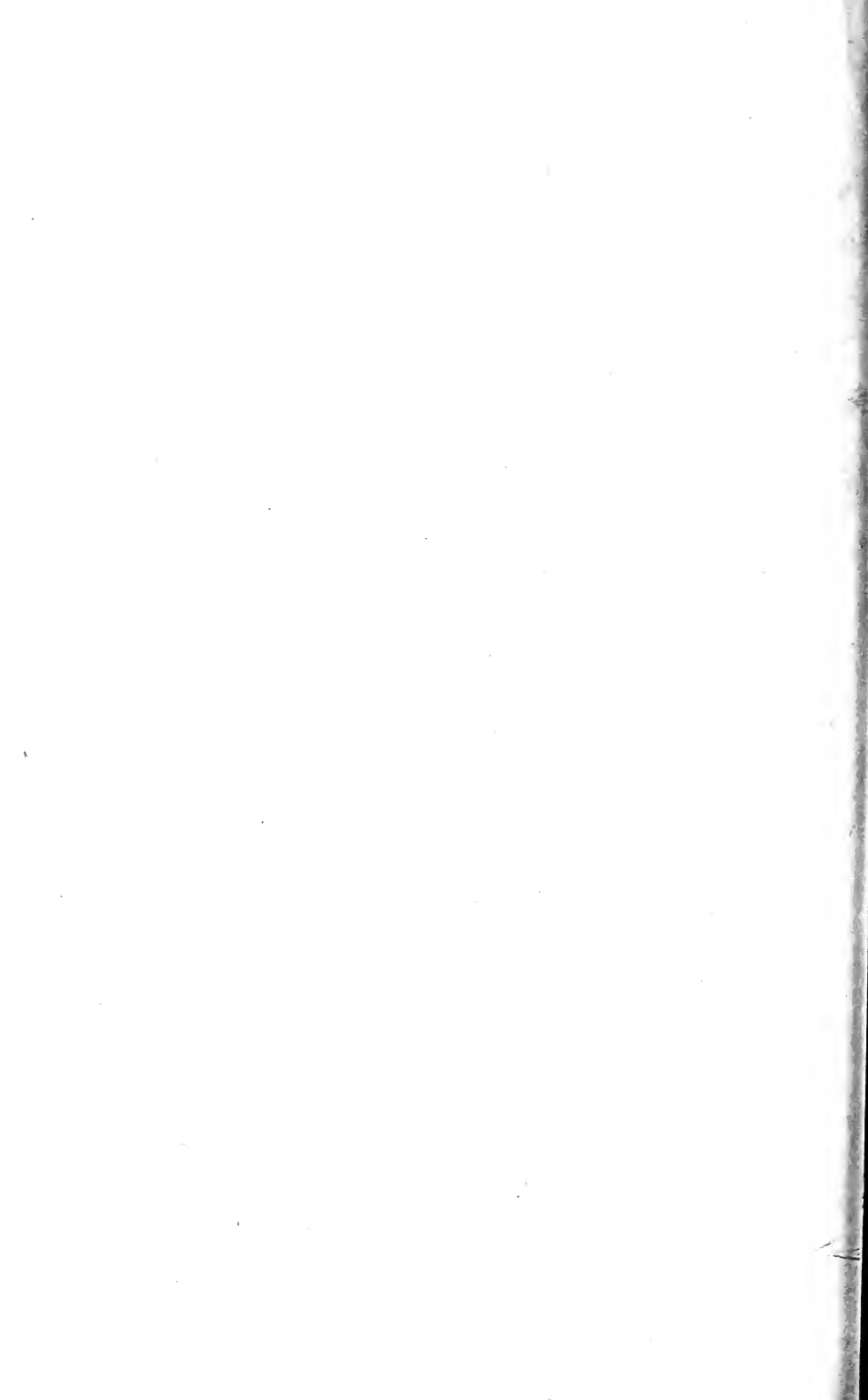
PL. XXIX.

- A. The Rabbit Woman in the circle.
- B. The same, showing the corn-stalk.

A



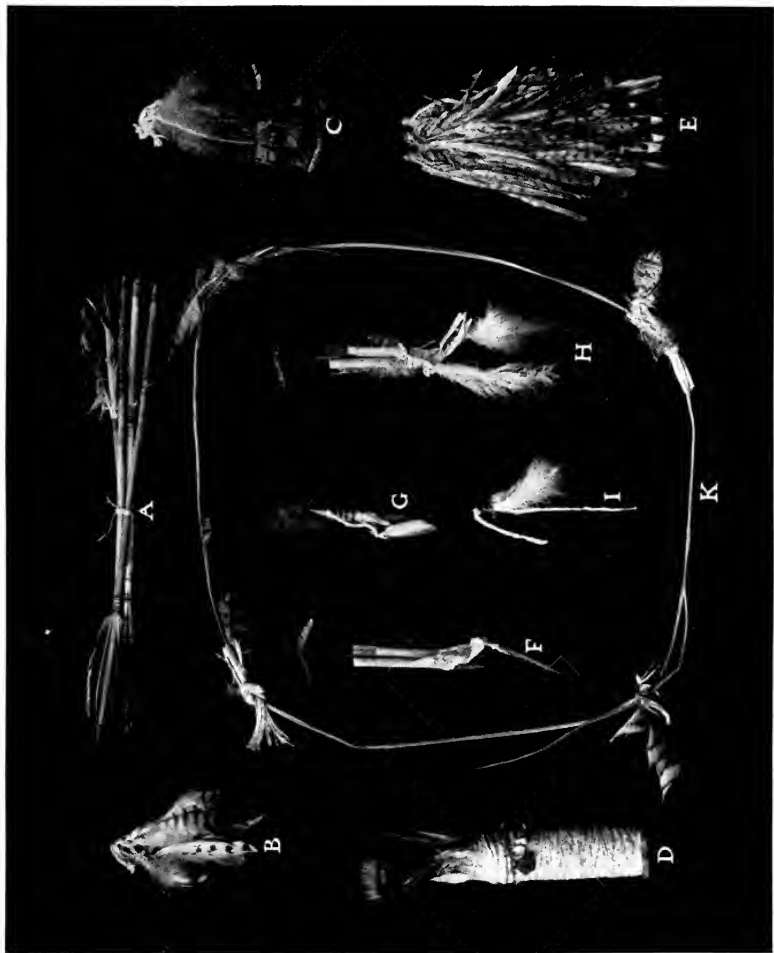
B

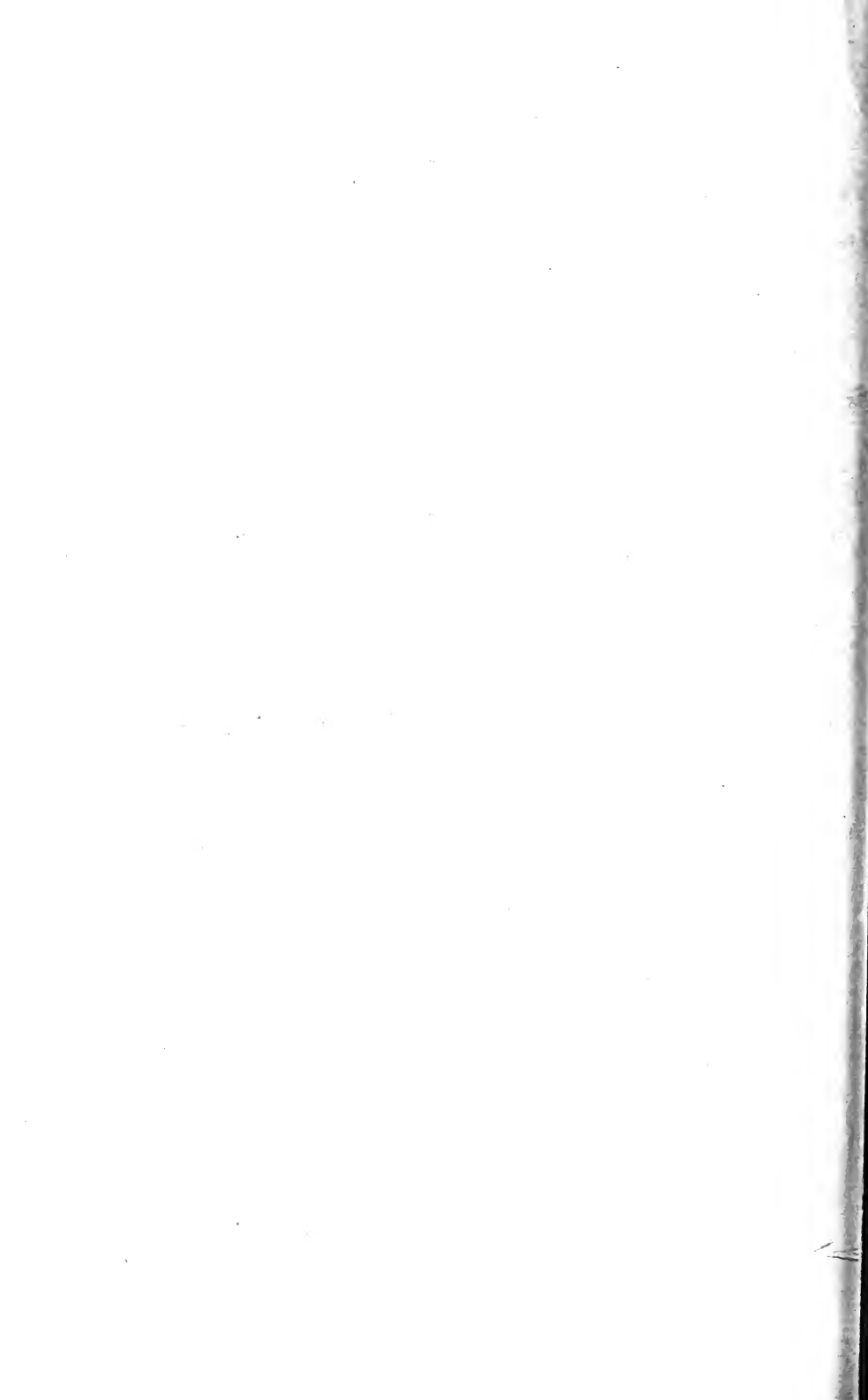


6

PL. XXX. VARIOUS CEREMONIAL OBJECTS.

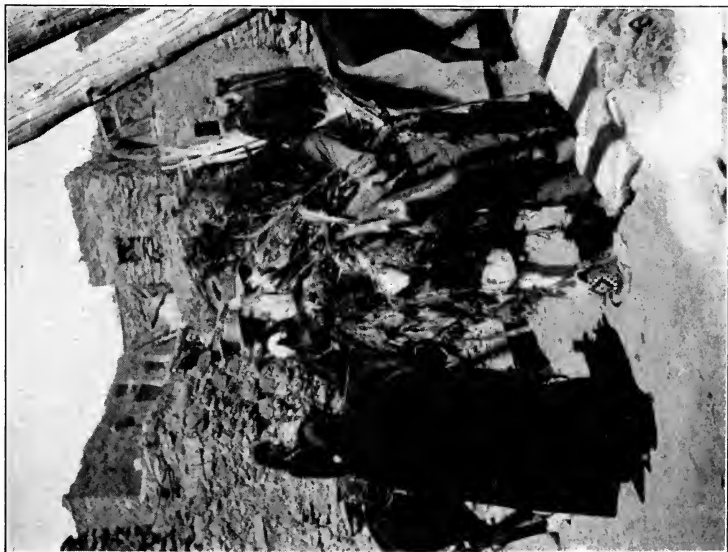
- A. Arrows used by the Archers.
- B. Hawk feather nakwakwosis.
- C. Turkey feather nakwakwosis.
- D. Tiponi, the palladium of the chief priest and chief priestess.
- E. Sparrow hawk feathers tied to sticks; were used in the Marau natsi.
- F. A common baho.
- G. A single black baho (chochokpi).
- H. A sun baho.
- I. A road (pūhu, or pūhtawi).
- K. Yucca leaf wheel, used in initiations.





PL. XXXI. DISMANTLING THE RABBIT WOMAN.

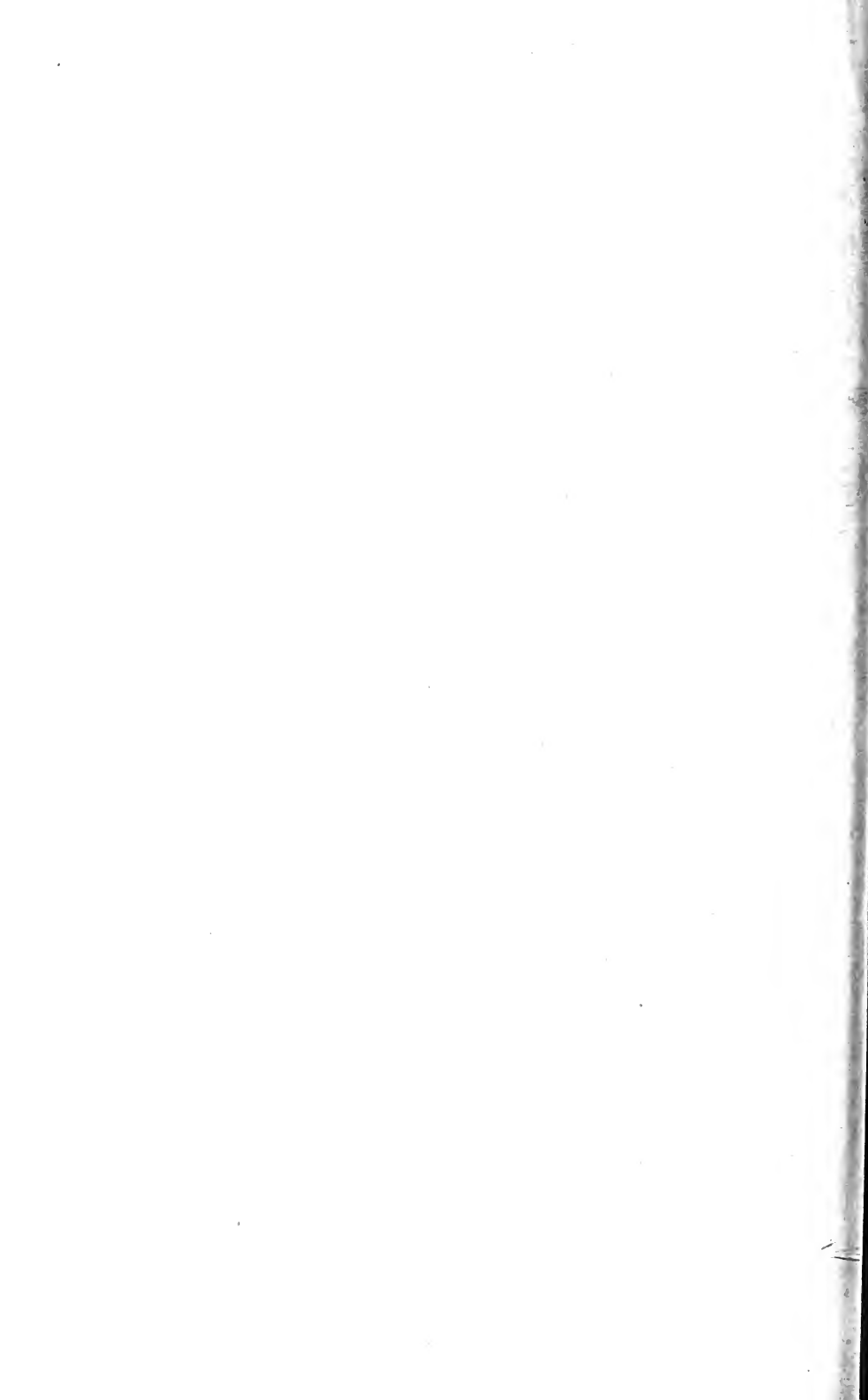
- A. Taking off the costume.
- B. Removing the headdress.

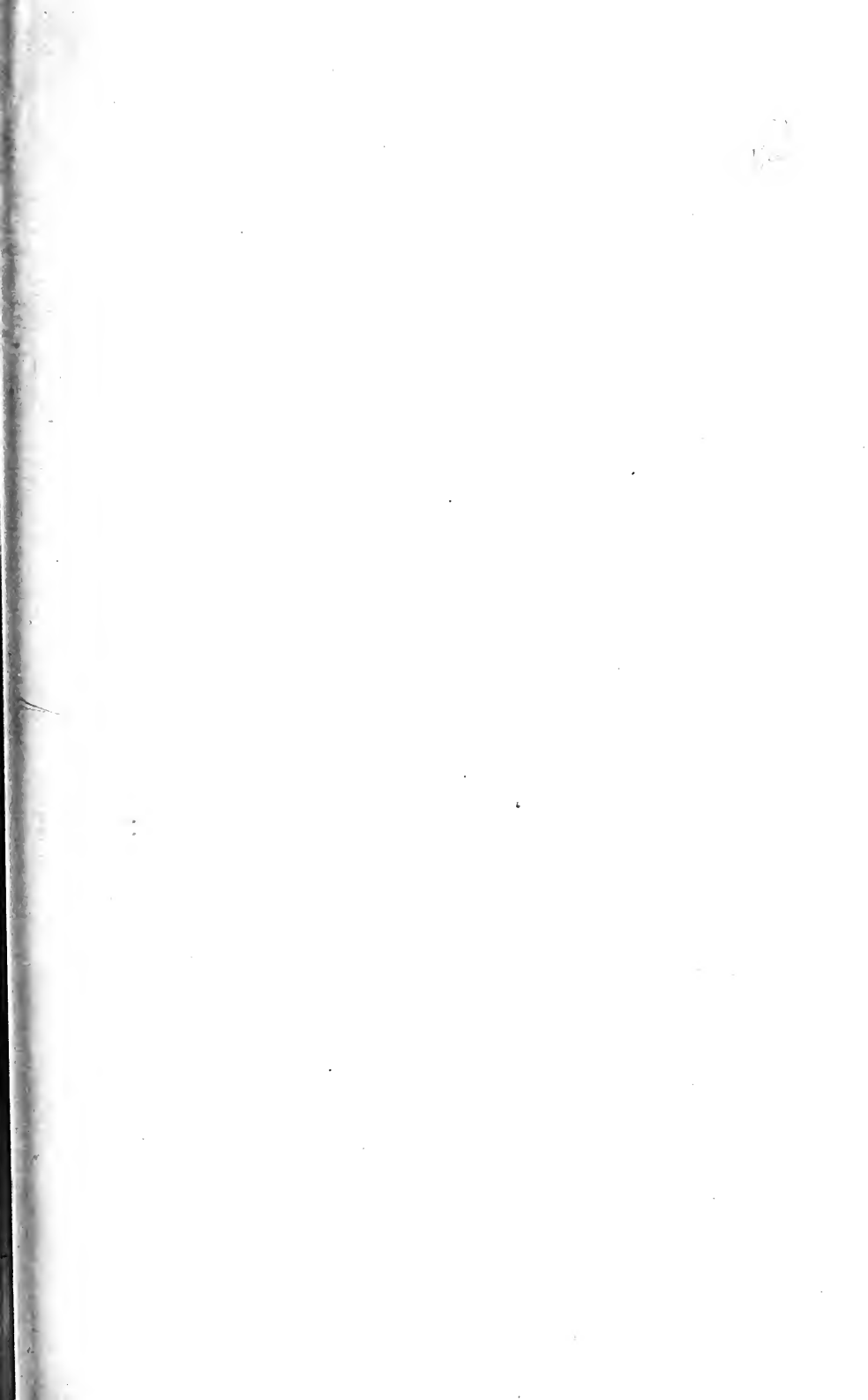


A



B







A



B

PL. XXXII. THE PÖÖKONG SHRINE.

A. Exterior view. (The figurines were taken out for the purpose of photographing. Otherwise they are never taken out.)

B. Interior view, showing the Poökongs (war deities) in their regular position and also many reed arrows with wooden points, that were used in preceding ceremonies.

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outside of the kiva, late in the afternoon (see Plate XXXI). After the last performance all take their marau-vahos (slabs) into the kiva and then rest on the banquettes.

The eight arrows are taken to the Pöokong kihu (shrine of the War God), north of Oraibi (see Plate XXXII).

One of the last acts of the entire ceremony, as far as I could ascertain, is the breaking up of the corn-cone, that is prepared by several women on the fourth day. Every woman receives a small piece of the cone with a few grains of corn in it. This they hold in one hand, covering it with the other hand for a few minutes in deep silence, perhaps uttering a silent prayer. They take this with them to their homes.

In conclusion I might state that, in going through my notes again, I realize more than ever how many details about the Hopi ceremonies remain to be studied yet. And I hope that some one may be able to secure what is lacking in our knowledge of the complicated, rich Hopi ceremoniology, though the opportunities for this are far less favorable now than they were some years ago.

SONGS CHANTED IN THE ALTAR CEREMONIES.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The following songs do not constitute the entire number that are sung, the third and the last four not having been obtained. When Wickwaya alone dictated and sang these for me towards the end of my stay in Oraibi we did not get through, and my hope to get the rest of the songs was never realized. Like very many of the songs of the regular Hopi ceremonies a number of the Marau songs either contain words and forms that are no longer in every-day use or they are entirely in another language than the Hopi, probably having been borrowed from the Pueblo of New Mexico. Hence the translation of these songs is not claimed to be perfect and in some cases is fragmentary. Hopi songs usually contain only a few words at the best, a large part of the lines being filled out by repeating and dragging out certain syllables or ejaculations ad libitum. Where this is the case these parts of the different stanzas of a song have not been fully written out every time, reference being made to the first verse. It will be noticed that these repetitions are not exactly alike in the different verses of a song. Everything being a matter of oral tradition and memory, it may easily be understood that small variations would occur, a fact which I have noticed very frequently in the different ceremonies.

The numbers in the songs refer to corresponding numbers in the explanation at the end of the song.

I.

KI-TAWI (HOUSE SONG).

This song is sung at the beginning of the ceremony when the four meal lines, which are called kihu (house), are rubbed against the four kiva walls.

Prelude.

Inahanahainahai!	My father!
Inahanahainahai!	My father!
Inahaaanahi nahahahai!	My father!
Inahaaanahai nahahahai!	My father!

1. To the north.

Shuhkwiniqö nayawunaa. ¹	Just north, nayawuna.
Nayawunayee ki.	House of nayawuna.
Ikihi tohokinahainahai. ²	My house is marked (?).
Inahaaa nahainahaihai!	My father!
Inahaaanaa inahahaihai!	My father!

2. To the west.

Shuhtawangqö choromum-oo. ³	Just west turquoise.
Choromumayee ki.	House of turquoise.
Ikihi tohokinahainahai.	My house is marked (?).
Inahaaa nahahahai!	My father!
Inahaaa nahainahahahai!	My father!

3. To the south.

Shuhtatyaqö aiwana. ⁴	Just south aiwunga.
Shaatinayee ki. ⁵	House of shaatcina.
Ikihi tohokinahainahai.	My house is marked (?).
Inahaaa nahainahahahai!	My father!
Inahaaa nahainahahahai!	My father!

4. To the east.

Shuhopaqö talanak-oo. ⁶	Just east clear stone.
Wawunayee ki. ⁷	House of wawuna.
Ikihi toho kinahainahai.	My house is marked.
Inahaaa nahainahahai!	My father!
Inahaaa nahainahahahai!	My father!

5. To the north-east (above).

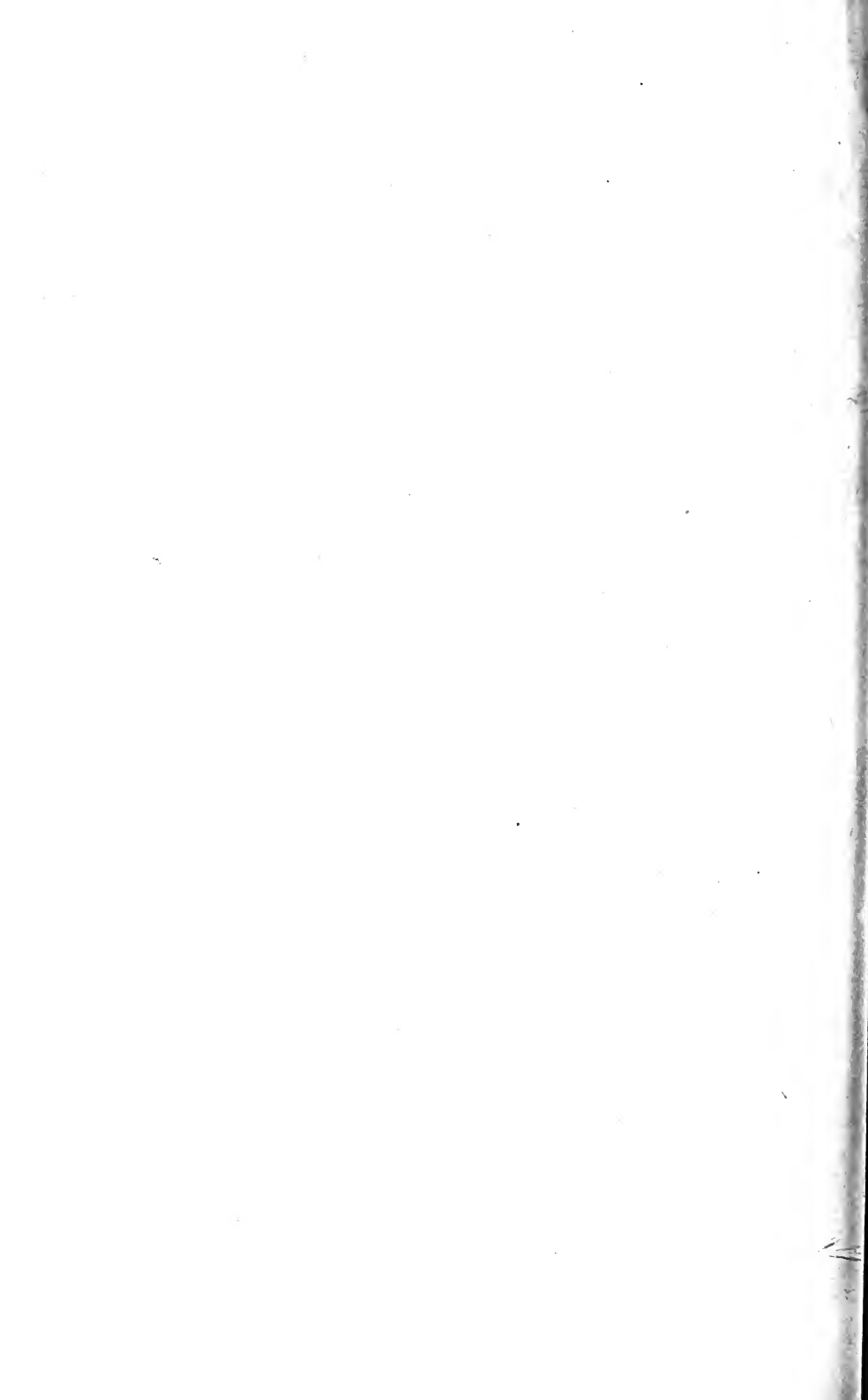
Shuonqaqö tokila-oo. ⁸	Just above dark rock.
Waawunayee ki.	House of wawuna.
Ikihi tohokinahainahai.	My house is marked.
Inahaaa nahainahaihai!	My father!
Inaaa nahainahahahai!	My father!

7⁰

PL. XXXIII.

The Marau altar in the Field Museum of Natural History.





6. To the south-west (below).

Shuatyaqō pavōn-ōa. ⁹	Just below pavōno rock.
Waawunayee ki.	House of wawanua. ¹⁰
Ikihi tohokinahainahai.	My house is marked (?).
Inahaaa nahainahaihai!	My father!
Inahaaa nahainahahahai!	My father!

EXPLANATION.

¹ Old name of a stone found somewhere north of Oraibi, which is said to be of a whitish-yellow color, the color of the north. ² I am not certain about the meaning of this word. ³ Undoubtedly an archaic form for choshposhi (turquoise); green is the ceremonial color for the west. ⁴ Claimed to be archaic name for abalone shell. This is usually mentioned in Hopi songs in the fifth stanza (above), the color for which is black. Why it is mentioned here in the third stanza I cannot say. ⁵ Claimed to be an archaic name for pink shells and beads. This name is also mentioned in connection with the east in other songs, for instance in one of the Powamu songs (see Oraibi Powamu Ceremony, page 133). ⁶ The word talanak, evidently from palangkpu, red, (the color of the south) is used in this stanza for the east. It is possible that I misunderstood Wickwaya and that this should be palanak. In that case, however, it would seem that he made a mistake in using the red color for the stanza to the east. Talanak, if translated "clear," would give the proper color for the east, namely white; tala, (clear, light, bright) sometimes representing white in the Hopi. ⁷ Archaic name for a pinkish stone (or shell) of which sometimes beads are said to be made. It would seem that this term should have been used in the third stanza instead of aiwanga. Others claim that shaatcina is the name (archaic) for the pink beads (see note 5, above). The fact that wawuna is used in the fifth and sixth stanzas also, is evidently an error on the part of my informant. It seems that in the process of oral transmission, at least the designation of the different stones (or shells) for the proper directions has been hopelessly mixed up (compare also the third song and notes on pages 133 and 135 of my "Oraibi Powamu Ceremony"). ⁸ Tokila, meaning night, stands here for dark. ⁹ I am not sure about the meaning of pavōn-ōa, but believe, that the literal meaning is beautiful, especially in various colors. ¹⁰ Meaning not known.

II.

KUY-TAWI (WATER-SONG) OR MAKWAN-TAWI (ASPERGING SONG).

During this, the second, song the ears of corn and their companions are held into the medicine bowl, the water from the gourd vessels poured over them and then the priestess asperges with them.

Prelude.

Yahaspolaina, ¹	Yaspolaina,
Yaaspohoooholaiaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaspoholahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaaspoholahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaaspoholahainahahahai.	Yaspolaina.

1. To the north.

Koowiyaiihisha,	Kowiyaisha,
Haaahataihaya,	Haataiya,
Yooohotohomi,	Yootomi,
Yaspoohahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaaspoholahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaaspoholahainaha.	Yaspolaina.

2. To the west.

Wunniyaiihisha,	Wuniyaisha,
Shayahashtohosha,	Shayashtosha,
Taaahaichohaya,	Taichoya.
Yaspoholahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaaspoholahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaaspoholahainahahahai.	Yaspolaina.

3. To the south.

Before this stanza the prelude is chanted again.²

Nunkiiyaisha,	Nukiyaisha,
Kaahahaowihili,	Kaowili,
Maaahapehevochi,	Maapewochi,
Yaspoholahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaaspoholahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaaspoholahainahahahai.	Yaspolaina.

4. To the east.

Haaniyahisha,	Haniyaisha,
Shoowahakahiya,	Showakaiya,
Shoowahatihiya,	Showaliya,
Yaspoholahaina,	Yaspolania,
Yaaspoholahaina,	Yaspolania,
Yaaspoholahainahahai.	Yaspolania.

5. To the north-east (above).

Here the prelude is repeated.

Tounihiyihaisha,	Toniyaisha,
Haaaatahaya,	Haataya,
Yooohotohomi,	Yootomi,
Yaspoholahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaaspoholahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaaspoholahainaahahai.	Yaspolaina.

6. To the south-west (below).

Wayahaahanu,	Wayanu,
Shoohohotihiki,	Shotiki,
Taaaaichohoya,	Taichoya,
Yaspoholahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaspoholahainaahaha,	Yaspolaina,
Yaspolaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaspohoooholahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaspohoolahaina,	Yaspolaina,
Yaspohoolahana,	Yaspolaina,
Yaspohoolahainahahai,	Yaspolaina.

EXPLANATION.

¹ All the words in this entire song are either archaic or, what is more likely, in a foreign language, the song having been introduced from the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. The words in the first lines of the six verses, I infer from analogy, indicate the usual six ceremonial directions as follows:

- First stanza: kowiya, north.
- Second stanza: wuniya, west.
- Third stanza: nukiya, south.
- Fourth stanza: haniya, east.
- Fifth stanza: toniya, above.
- Sixth stanza: wayana, below.

Another old Hopi from another village gave me the following names:

Totiya, north.

Wuniya, west.

Kowiya, south.

Haniya, east.

Toniya, above.

Nukiya, below.

² Where a song has a prelude this is sometimes repeated before some but seldom before all verses.

IV.

MAKWAN-TAWI (ASPERGING SONG).

During this song one of the priestesses dips the ears of corn and their companions, that lie around the medicine bowl, into the bowl and asperges with them.

Prelude.

Hanapana wâomi,
Shiwâshi,
Kawâwaa nahahai;
Hanapana wâomi,
Shiwâshi,
Kawâwaa nahahakai.

1. To the north.

Hanapana wâomi,
Kochuni² naahai,
Kooi ahaahai.

2. To the west.

Hanapana wâomi,
Mâliya naahai,
Kooi ahahahai.

3. To the south.

Hanapana wâomi,
Shiwâshi,
Kawâwaa nahahahai;
Hanapana wâomi,
Shiwâshi,
Kawâwaa nahahahai.

} Repetition of prelude.³

Hanapana wâomi,
Kukana naahai,
Kooi ahahahai.

4. To the east.

Hanapana wâomi,
Kochuni naahai,
Kooi ahahahai.

5. To the north-east (above).

<p>Hanapana wâomi, Shiwâshi, Kawâwaa nahahahai; Hanapana wâomi, Kawâwaa nahahahai.</p>	}	Repetition of prelude.
--	---	------------------------

Hanapana wâomi,
Komaa naahai,
Kooi ahahahai.

6. To the south-west (below).

Hanapana wâomi,
Pinaa naahai,
Kooi ahahahai.

Postlude.

Hanapana wawaishi,
Kawâwaa nahahahahai,
Hanapana wawaishi,
Kawâwaa nahahahai.

EXPLANATION.

¹ The words of the song are archaic and no explanation of their meaning could thus far be obtained. ² This word also occurs in the fourth stanza in the same line. One is probably an error. While such errors would perhaps occur seldom in the regular ceremony, where more than one sing, I had to call Wickwaya's attention a number of times to mistakes of this kind, when he sang for me alone, and often had to repeat again and again certain lines or verses by which he, not infrequently, became confused. ³ It has already been noted in connection with another song that where a song has a prelude this is sometimes repeated, usually before the third and fifth stanza.

V.

WAY TAWI (CALLING SONG).

Four priestesses wave various objects towards and into the bowl and asperge with them.

1. To the north.

Hayahahaya hayahahaya,	}	Archaic or foreign. Meaning not known.
Hayahaayahahahai,		
Omunakaito shiyano,		
Yowakaito shanihiyahahahahai.		

This stanza is repeated for the west, south, east, north-east and south-west.

VI.

PÜHTAP-TAWI (ROAD MARKING SONG).

Sixth song in the altar ceremony where all cast meal towards the altar.

Prelude.

Shiyaiahaoaaga,
Shohoshchoyaina,
Ahaohaayahahahai;
Shiyaiahaohaaya,
Shohoshchoyaina,
Ahaohaayahahahai,
Shiyainawashchoyainaawo.

1. To the north.

Shohoschoyaina,
Ahaohaayahahahai,
Shiyaiahaohaaya;
Shohoshchoyaina,
Ahaohaayahahahai,
Shiyainawashchoyainaawo.

This stanza is repeated five times, namely for the west, south, east, north-east (above) and south-west (below), and then follows the following postlude:

Shohoshchoyaina,
Ahaohaayahahahai;
Shiyaiahaohaaya,
Shohoshchoyainaa,
Ahaohaayahahahai.

EXPLANATION.

The words are archaic or foreign and no longer understood.

VII.

OMAW TAWI (CLOUD SONG).

The chief priest blows smoke from the cloud-blower.

Prelude.

Hayahaya haheyayahi! ¹	Haya (a call to the clouds)!
Angqōhi kuiwa!	Come, loom up!
Angqōhi kuiwa!	Come, loom up!
Tokwunahaangw mungwitu,	Towering cloud deities,
Tokwunahaangw manatu,	Towering cloud maidens,
Haya!	

1. To the north.

Hââââshiihiotoo!	Yes, that's it!
Hââââshiihiotoo!	That's it!
Pâwi umahana!	Come you here!
Vihichangwaya ōmato,	Beautifully decorated, get them, ²
Haya!	Haya! (an exclamation)!

This stanza is repeated for the west, south, east, above and below with the prelude before the third and fifth verses and also as a postlude.

EXPLANATION.

¹ A call to the cloud deities. ² Probably the prayer offerings.

VIII.

HAO INGUU (MY MOTHER).

During this song only charm liquid is asperged.

1. To the north.

Haowhaow, inguuu,	Hao, my mother,
Towanashabee, ¹	At Towanashabe,
Takuri-kaō, inguu!	Yellow corn-ear, my mother!
Utumu namaa,	Let us go together,
Akwiniwii asika iola. ²	North (the) yellow iola.
Hatimuyu, huwawayiihi,	The children, call them,
Hapi yeyepe umungem-pasiohti.	Now here for you (this is) performed.
Nyawun ³ hoputa, ⁴	Yellowish mineral hoputa,
Pasiohti. ⁵	(This is) performed.

2. To the west.

Haowhaow, inguuu,	Hao, my mother,
Towanashabee,	At Towanashabe,
Sakwapu-kaō, inguu!	Green corn-ear, my mother!
Utumu namaa,	Let us go together,
Hatâwânge sakwa iola.	West (the) blue iola.
Hatimuyu, huwayayiihi,	The children, call them,
Hapi yeyepe umungem pasiohti,	Now here for you (it is celebrated),
Choromum ⁶ hoputa,	Green ear pendants hoputa,
Pasiohti.	This is performed.

3. To the south.

Haowhaow, inguuu,	Hao, my mother,
Towanashabee,	At Towanashabe,
Pawala-kaō, inguu!	Red corn-ear, my mother!
Utumu namaa,	Let us go together,
Atatatōō pala iola.	South South (the) read iola.
Hatimuyu, huwayayiihi,	The children, call them,
Hapi yeyepe umungem pasiohti.	Now here for you this is performed.
Talanak ⁷ hoputa,	Red mineral hoputa,
Pasiohti.	This is performed.

4. To the east.

Haowhaow, inguuu,	Hao, my mother,
Towanashabee,	At Towanashabe,
Qōyawi-kaō, inguu!	White corn-ear, my mother!
Uutumu namaa,	Let us go together,
Ahopoo qōtca iola.	East (the) white iola.
Hatimuyu, huwayayiihi,	The children, call them,
Hapi yeyepe umungem pasiohti.	Now here for you (this is performed).
Shaatein ⁸ hoputa,	White mineral hoputa,
Pasiohti.	This is performed.

5. To the north-east (above).

Haowhaow, inguuu,	Hao, my mother,
Towanashabee,	At Towanashabe,
Kokoma-kaō, inguu!	Black corn-ear, my mother!
Ututumu namaa,	Let us go together,
Haomii hakoma iola.	Above (the) dark iola.
Hatimuyu, huwayayiihi,	The children, call them,

Hapi yeyepe umungem pasiohti.	Now here for you (this is performed).
Tokil ⁹ hoputa,	The black hoputa,
Pasiohti.	This is performed.

6. To the south-west (below).

Haowhaw inguuuu,	Hao, my mother,
Towanashabee,	At Towanashabe,
Tawakchi-kaō, inguu!	Sweet corn-ear, my mother!
Utumu namaa,	Let us go together,
Atyami imasi iola.	Below (the) mixed colors iola.
Hatimuyu, huwayayiiihi,	The children, call them,
Hapi yeyepi umungem pasiohti.	Now here for you (this is performed).
Maasi hoputa, ¹⁰	The mixed (gray) hoputa,
Pasiohti.	(This is) performed.

Postlude.

Hawhowinguuuuu.

EXPLANATION.

¹ A place a few miles south of Oraibi where some of the Hopi clans, chiefly the Honani (Badger), is said to have lived. The Hopi also speak of a Towanashabe somewhere atyaka, (below).

² Iola is an archaic word. Corn and mother has been suggested by old priests as the probable meaning of it. I am inclined to believe that the first is correct.

³ Nayawuna, archaic name for yellowish white mineral that is used in songs for the north.

⁴ The archaic word hoputa occurs also in other songs, but thus far its meaning could not be determined. As it is used in connection with the minerals, referred to in songs, it may mean stone or mineral.

⁵ The fundamental meaning of pasiohti is "concluded," "consummated," etc., but it also is used where it would convey the idea of "worship," "performance," "celebrate." In the translation of this song it is used in the latter sense, though it might also be correct to translate it: "finished," "concluded," etc., in the sense of "Amen."

⁶ In all probability refers to choshposhi (turquoise).

⁷ See note 6, song I.

⁸ See note 5, song I.

⁹ "Tokili," "night," "dark" has here the meaning of black, the color of above.

¹⁰ "Masi." For this and the previous direction (above) the words are used that are still in use, instead of archaic. While "masi" is frequently used for gray it has in ceremonies and songs the meaning of a mixture of all colors, not referred to in regard to the other five directions. Where corn is referred to, sweet-corn is mentioned for this direction (below).

IX.

WIYOTYANI.

Only asperging takes place during this song.

Prelude.

Wiyo wiyo wiyo,
Wiyo wiyo wiyo,
Wihihihihyo.

} Archaic or foreign; meaning not known.

1. To the north.

Wiyo wiyo wiyo,
Wiyo wiyo wiyo,
Wihihihihyo.

} See above.

Hapi ayamo,
Towanashabee,¹
Takush-kaō.
Tomasi² inguu,
Siko-anitu,³
Tawi-kwaa,⁴
Lâni-kwaa,⁵
Nguman-ita.⁶

Now then over yonder,
At Towanashabe,
Yellow corn-ear.
Clan sister, my mother,
Blossom-stick-anitu,
Song-kwaa,
Flute-kwaa,
Meal-ita.

2. To the west.

Wiyo wiyo wiyo,
Wiyo wiyo wiyo,
Wihihihihyo.

} See above.

Hapi ayamo,
Towanashabee,
Sakwap-kaō.
Tomasi inguu,
Siko-anitu,
Tawi-kwaa,
Lâni-kwaa,
Nguman-ita.

Now then over yonder,
At Towanashabe,
Blue corn-ear.
Clan sister, my mother,
Blossom-stick anitu,
Song-kwaa,
Flute-kwaa,
Meal-ita.

3. To the south.

Wiyo wiyo wiyo, Wiyo wiyo wiyo, Wihihihihyo.	} See above.
Hapi ayamo, Towanashabee, Pawal-kaō.	Now then, over yonder, At Towanashabee, Red corn-ear.
Tomasi inguu, Siko-anitu, Tawi-kwaa, Lani-kwaa, Ngumam-ita.	Clan sister, my mother, Blossom-stick anitu, Song-kwaa, Flute-kwaa, Meal-ita.

4. To the east.

Wiyo wiyo wiyo, Wiyo wiyo wiyo, Wihihihihyo.	} See above.
Hapi ayamo, Tawanashabee, Qōyap-kaō.	Now then, over yonder, At Towanashabee, White corn-ear.
Tomasi inguu, Siko-anitu, Tawi-kwaa, Lani-kwaa, Nguman-ita.	Clan sister, my mother, Blossom-stick anitu, Song-kwaa, Flute-kwaa, Meal-ita.

5. To the north-east (above).

Wiyo wiyo wiyo, Wiyo wiyo wiyo, Wihihihihyo.	} See above.
Hapi ayamo, Towanashabee, Kokom-kaō.	Now then, over yonder, At Towanashabee, Black corn-ear.
Tomasi inguu, Siko-anitu, Tawi-kwaa, Lani-kwaa, Nguman-ita.	Clan sister, my mother, Blossom-stick anitu, Song-kwaa, Flute-kwaa, Meal-ita.

6. To the south-west (below).

Wiyo, wiyo, wiyo,	} See above.
Wiyo, wiyo, wiyo,	
Wihihihihyo.	
Hapi ayamo,	Now then, over yonder,
Towanashabee,	At Towanashabee,
Tawakchi-kaö.	Sweet-corn-ear.
Tomasi inguu,	Clan sister, my mother,
Siko-anitu,	Blossom-stick anitu,
Tawi-kwaa,	Song-kwaa,
Lâni-kwaa,	Flute-kwaa,
Nguman-ita.	Meal-ita.

Postlude.

Wiyo, wiyo, wiyo,
 Wiyo, wiyo, wiyo,
 Wihihihihyo.

EXPLANATION.

¹ See first song, explanation 1.

² From tomsi. A Hopi calls any female member of his clan itomsi, my clan sister or clan fellow.

³ The last part of this word as well as that of the following lines is archaic and its meaning could not yet be determined.

⁴ The last part of the word archaic and meaning not known.

⁵ The same.

⁶ The same.

X.

One of the priestesses asperges charm liquid.

1. To the north.

Yao ¹ yao yaayo yaayoho,
 Yao yao yaayo yaayoho,
 Yao yao yaayoho,
 Yao yao yaayoho.
 Hapi ² china ³ yaao yaayoho,
 Hapi china yaao yaayoho,
 Yao yao yaayoho,
 Yao yao yaayoho.

This stanza is repeated for the west, south, east, above and below, literally. Then this postlude follows:

Yaa yaayayo yayoho,
 Yao yao yaayo yaayoho,
 Yao yao yaayoho,
 Yao yao yaayoho.

EXPLANATION.

¹ Archaic, but Wickwaya thought it was identical with “yaoi” or “Yoni,” which are used when one is told something he has already heard, especially if it is a piece of new or interesting information. They are identical with such expressions as: “So, I hear;” “So I understand,” “So they say,” etc. This meaning of the word would hardly seem applicable here though.

² Hapi. An ejaculation, like “Now, then!” “Well, then!”

³ Wickwaya claimed that “chināyu” was an old form for “chin-akni,” (to) “spread out,” “increase,” etc.

XI.

IWIWINI.

Asperging by one of the priestesses from the bowl.

Prelude.

Iwiwi iwiwii iwiwi,
 Iwiwika iwiwi,
 Iwiwi iwiwii iwiwika,
 Iwiwi wiwika wiwi,
 Iwiwika iwiwihihihi.

} Archaic or foreign. Meaning not known.

1. To the north.

Hahapi uhura,¹ Towanashabee,²
 Takuri-kaaō, tomasi³ inguu.

Why, now, at Towanashabe,
 Yellow corn-ear, my clan fellow
 mother.

Kwiniwii, tawamana-nakway⁴ akwa. North, with oriole prayer feather.
 Timuyu wawayi, wawayi.⁵ The children call, call.

Iwiwika iwiwi,
 Iwiwika iwiwihihihi.

} Archaic or foreign.

2. To the west.

Hahapi uhura, Towanashabee, Sakwapu-kaaō, tomasi inguu.	Why, now, at Towanashabe, Blue corn-ear, my clan fellow mother.
Tāwāngââ, choroyoy-nakway ahakwaa.	West, with blue bird prayer feather.
Trimuyu wawayi, wawayi.	Children call, call.
Iwiwika iwiwi, Iwiwika iwiwihihihhi.	} Archaic.

3. To the south.

The prelude is here chanted and then as follows:⁶

Hahapi uhura, Towanashabee, Pawalaa-kaaō, tomasi inguu,	Why, now, at Towanashabe. Red corn-ear, my clan fellow mother.
Tatōō, karo-nakway akwa.	South, with parrot prayer feather.
Timuyu wawayi, wawayi.	Children call, call.
Iwiwika iwiwi, Iwiwika iwiwihihihhi.	} Archaic.

4. To the east.

Here the prelude is chanted and then as follows:

Hahapi uhura, Towanashabee, Qōyawi-kaaō tomasi inguu.	Why, now at Towanashabe, White corn-ear, my clan fellow mother.
Hohopo, posiw-nakway ahakwaa.	East, with magpie prayer feather.
Timuyu wawayi, wawayi.	Children call, call.
Iwiwika iwiwi, Iwiwika iwiwihihihhi.	} Archaic.

5. To the north-east (above).

First the prelude again, and then

Hahapi uhura, Towanashabee, Kokoma-kaaō, tomasi inguu. Ohomii, asi ⁷ -nakway ahakwaa.	Why, now, at Towanashabe, Block corn-ear, my mother. Above, with sparrow prayer feather.
Timuyu wawayi, wawayi.	Children call, call.
Iwiwika iwiwi, Iwiwika iwiwihihihhi.	} Archaic.

6. To the south-west (below).

Hahapi uhura, Towanashabee, Towokchi-kaaō, tomasi inguu.	Why, now, at Towanashabe, Sweet-corn-ear, my clan fel- low mother.
Ahatyami, toposhkwa-nakway akwa.	Below, with warbler prayer feather.
Timuyu wawayi, wawayi.	Children call, call.
Iwiwika iwiwi, Iwiwika wiwiihihihi.	} Archaic.

Postlude.

Iwiwi iwiwiiwi iwiwi, Iwiwika iwiwi, Iwiwi iwiwi iwiwika, Iwiwi iwiwika iwiwi, Iwiwika iwiwiihihi.	} Archaic.
--	------------

EXPLANATION.

¹ Hapi and ura are particles or exclamations which could not be literally translated. They somewhat correspond to the English "Why," "Why, now," "Well, now," or the German "etc." „Wohlan," „so," „jetzt," etc.

² See song VIII, explanation 1.

³ See song IX, explanation 2.

⁴ From nakwa, meaning wish, prayer, but used almost exclusively for the prayer feathers tied to the hair on top of the head by participants in ceremonies, or thrust into the top of ceremonial slabs, sticks, etc.

⁵ An archaic form of wangwaiyi (to) call. Hence it cannot be determined what form of the verb this is which leaves the translation somewhat obscure.

⁶ See Explanation 2, Song II.

⁷ This should undoubtedly be asya (the sparrow), which is always used for above where birds are mentioned in songs.

XII.

PAYATAMUNI.

No other rite, except asperging, takes place during this song.

1. To the north.

Payataamu ¹ payataamu payataamu,	} Archaic or foreign.
Payataamu shaano.	
Payataamu payataamu payatamu,	
Payataamu Shaano.	
Ahakomishi Tawakomishi, Hahoshtayashta shaano.	

This verse is repeated in exactly the same way for the other five directions, and then the following:

Postlude.

Payatamu payatamu,
Payatamu payatamu shaano.

¹ Payatamu appears to be the name of a deity of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. He is frequently represented by the Hopi as one of the Tcotskutu (Jesters or clowns) in connection with Katsina dancers.

XIII.

PAYATAMU HALAIVINI, (*fast*).

Asperging from the medicine bowl only takes place during this song.

Prelude.

Pagataamu,¹
Shalololo kaanaa,
Shimâolo shimâolo,
Shimâolo mâolo.
Payatama,
Shalololo kaanaa,
Shimâolo shimâolo,
Mâoloshii mâolo.

1. To the north.

Kowiyaihisha,²
Koomanishkoyana,
Kaaowkayana,
Shalololo kaanaa,
Shimâolo shimâolo,
Shimâolo.

2. To the west.

Wuniyaihisha,
 Koomanishkoyana,
 Kaaowkoyana,
 Shalololo kaanaa,
 Shimâolo,
 Shimâolo,
 Mâoloshii mâolo.

3. To the south.

Payatamu,
 Shalololo kaanao,
 Shimâolo shimâolo,
 Shimâolo Shiimâolo.
 Nuukiyaisha,
 Koomanishkoyana,
 Kaaowkoyana,
 Shalololo kaanaa,
 Shimâolo Shimâolo.

} Repetition of a part of the prelude.
 (See explanation for song.)

4. To the east.

Haaniyaiisha,
 Koomanishkoyana,
 Shalololo kaanaa,
 Shimâolo Shimâolo,
 Mâoloshii mâolo.

5. To the north-east (above).

Touniyaihisha,
 Koomanishkoyana,
 Kaaowkoyana,
 Shalololo kaanaa,
 Shimâolo shimâolo.

6. To the south-west (below).

Waayaahaani,
 Koomanishkoyana,
 Kaaowkoyana,
 Shimâolo shimâolo,
 Mâolo Shiimâolo.

EXPLANATION.

¹ For the meaning of Payatamu see Explanation 1, previous song.

² It will be noticed that the first words in each stanza are the only ones in which the six verses differ. They are kowiya, wuniya, nuukiya, haniya, touniya and waaya. They, as well as the other words in the song, are archaic and no reliable information about their meaning could be obtained beyond the fact that they refer to the six ceremonial cardinal points, north, west, south, east, above and below (see note 1 under the second song). In my opinion the words in this and the other songs and the entire songs that are not understood by the Hopi, are generally not archaic Hopi words or songs, but have been introduced from the Pueblo Indians on the Rio Grande.

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BRIEF MISCELLANEOUS
HOPI PAPERS

BY

H. R. VOTH

The Stanley McCormick Hopi Expedition

GEORGE A. DORSEY

Curator, Department of Anthropology



CHICAGO, U. S. A.

February, 1912

9.

BRIEF MISCELLANEOUS HOPI PAPERS

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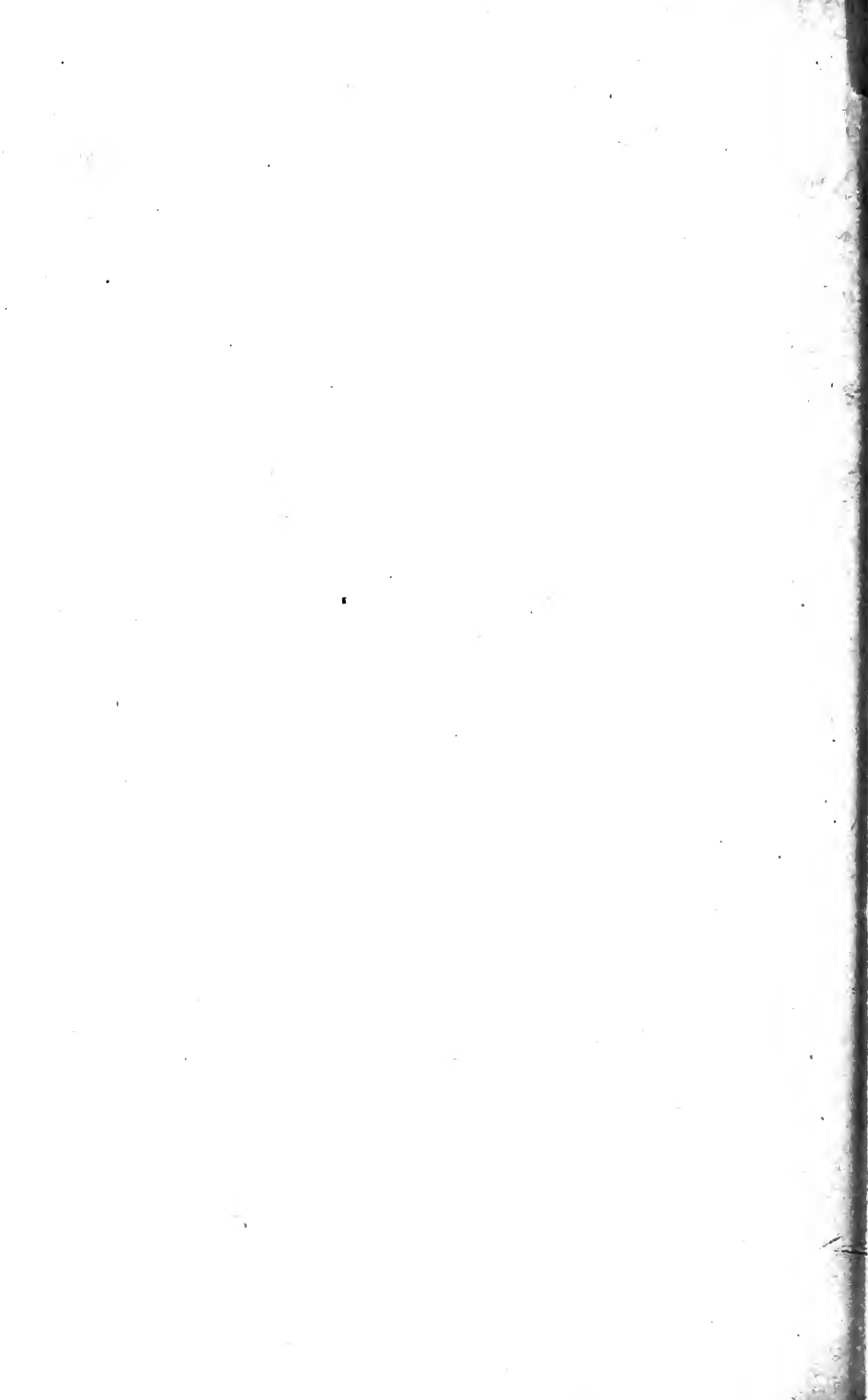
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I. NOTES ON MODERN BURIAL CUSTOMS

BY

H. R. VOTH.



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

PL. XXXIV.

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

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.

NOTES ON MODERN BURIAL CUSTOMS OF THE HOPI¹ OF ARIZONA

I. INTRODUCTION.

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

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

2. THE DEATH CHAMBER.

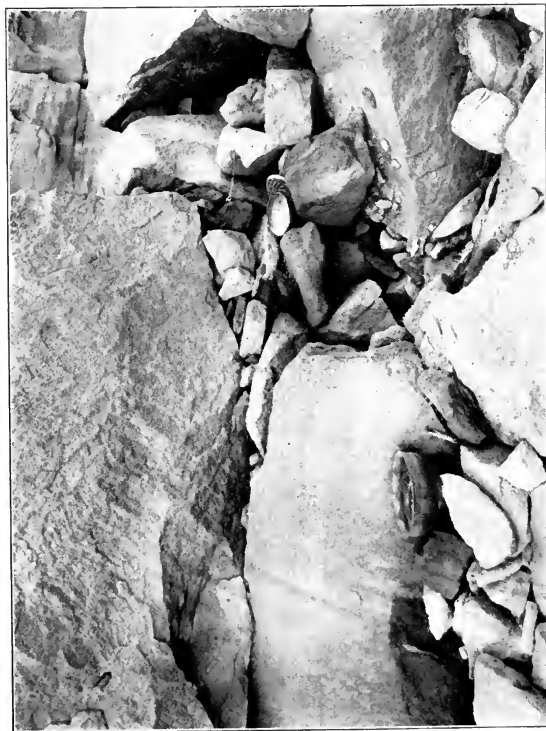
While with civilized nations illness and impending death usually draws sympathy and helping hands to the place of affliction it is, as a rule, not so with the Hopi. To be sure, families visited by severe sickness or death will usually not be left entirely to themselves, but it is, generally, only either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

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

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

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

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

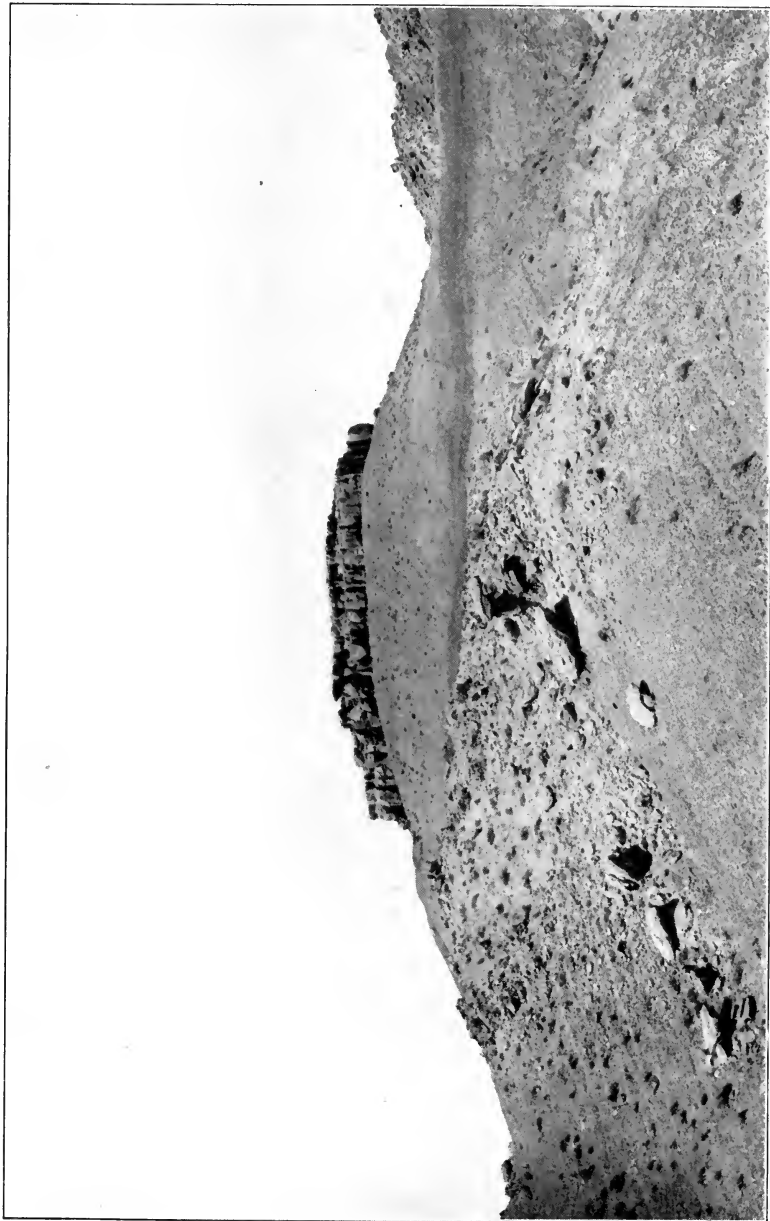




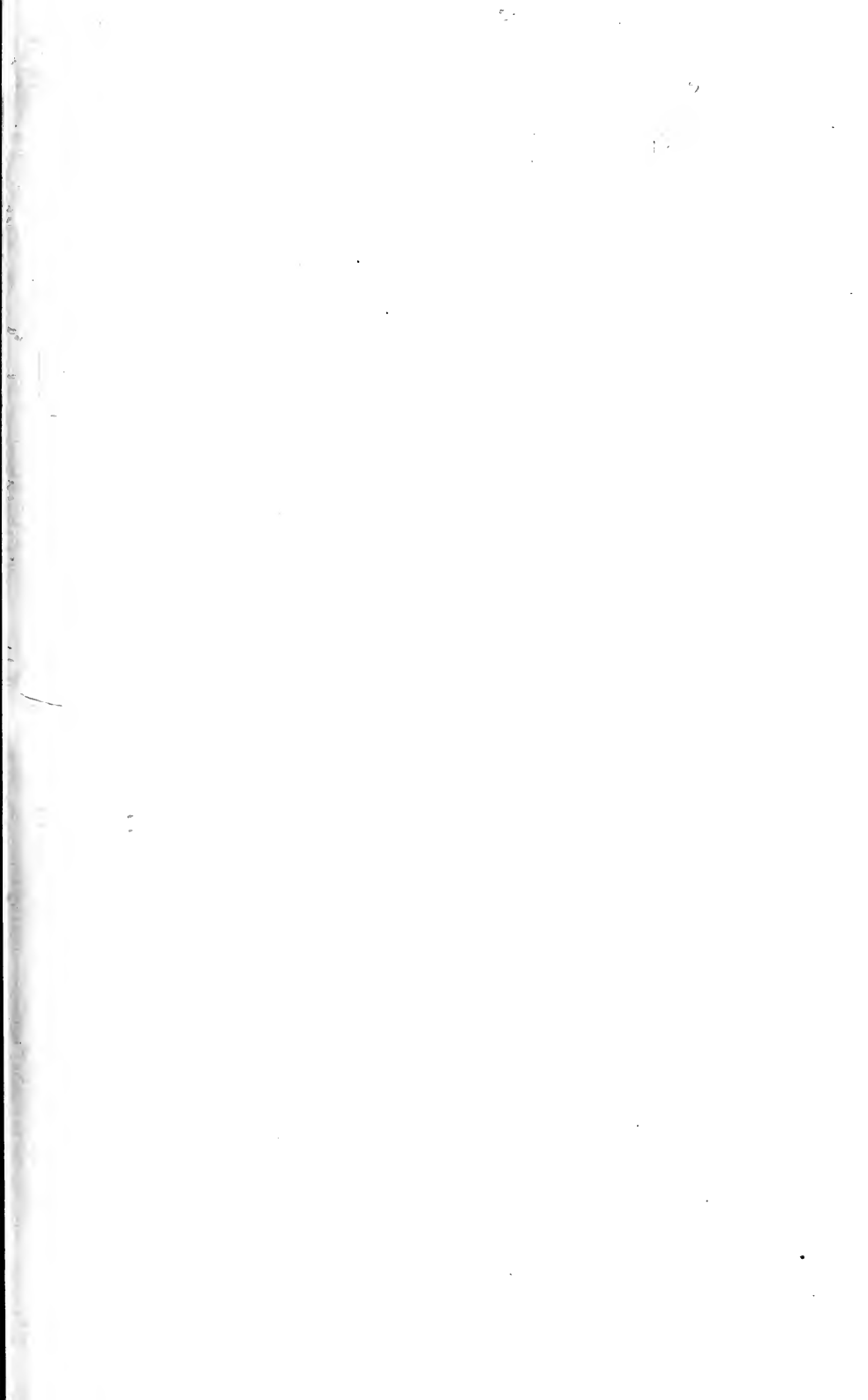
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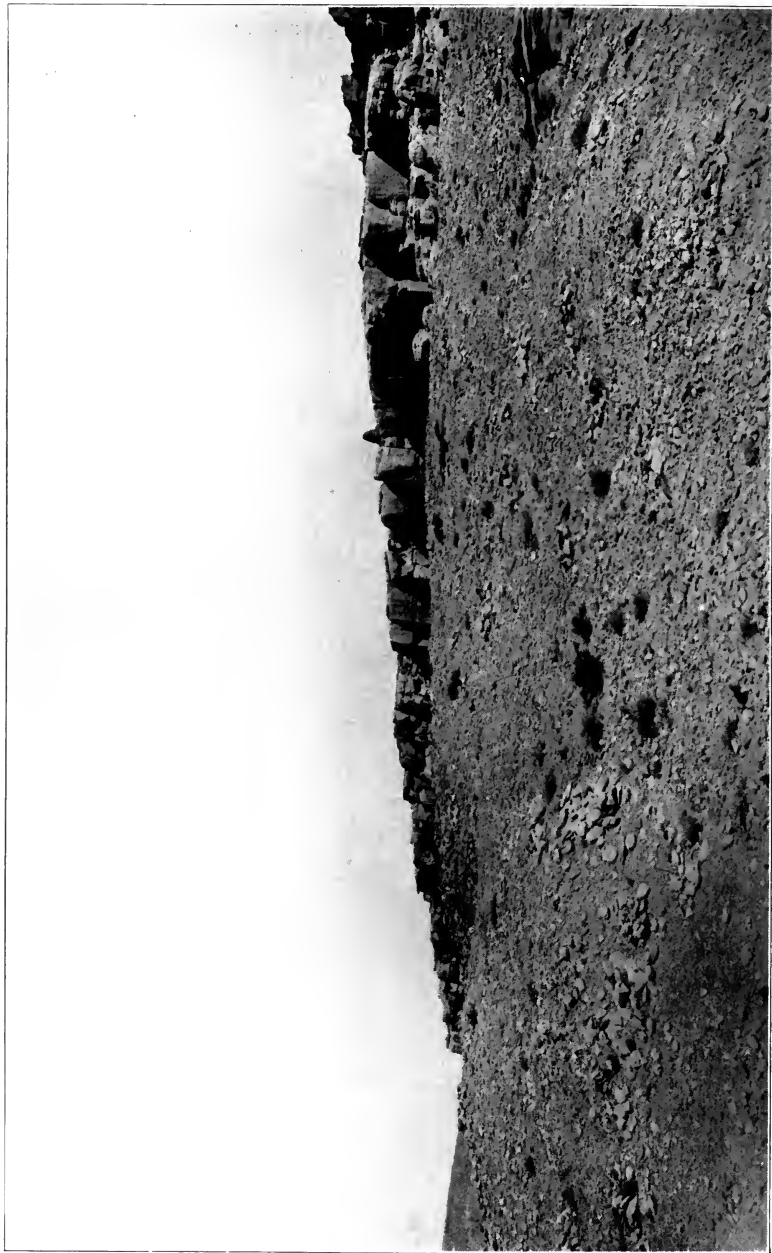
PL. XXXVI.

General graveyard near Second Mesa.

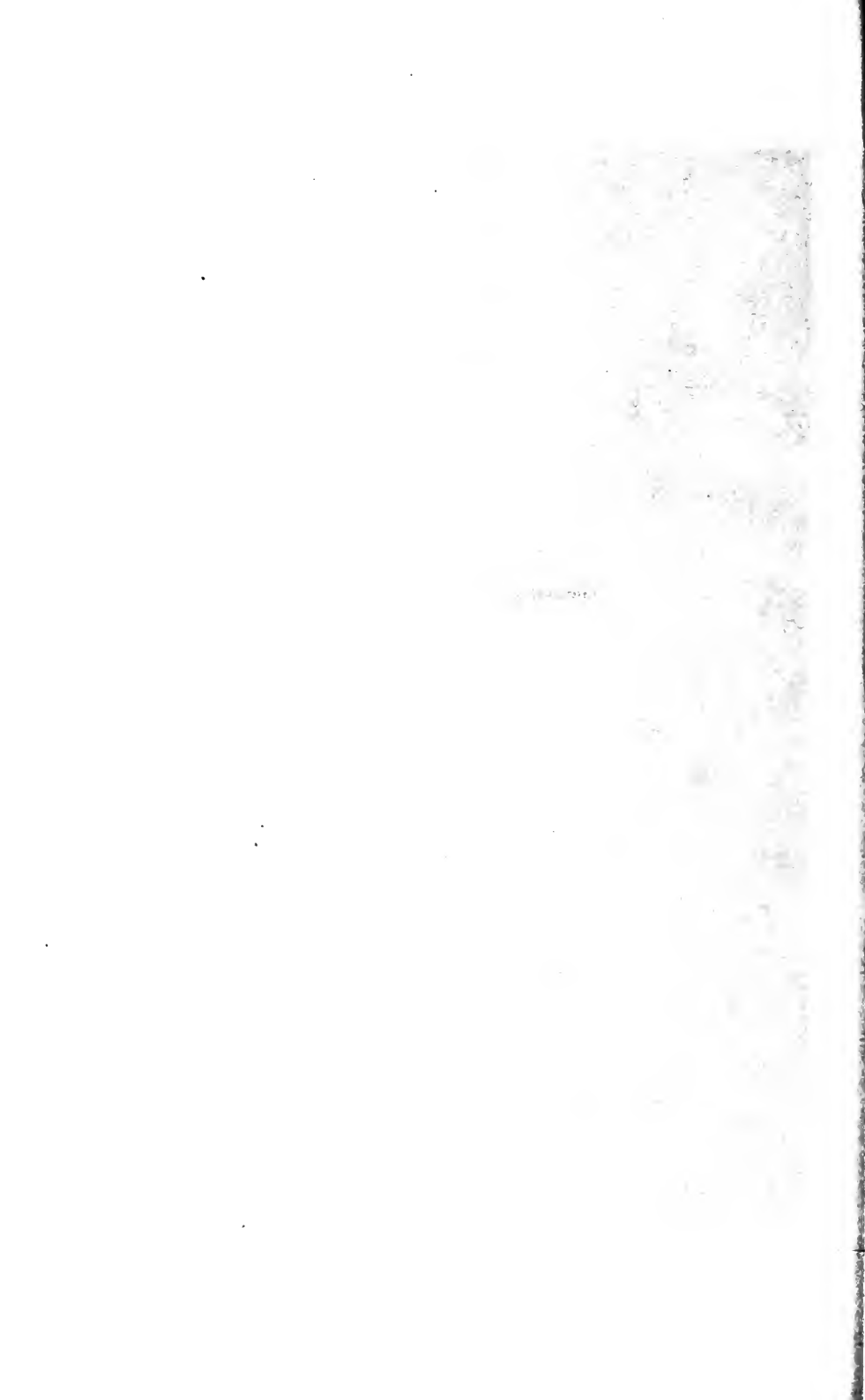








PL. XXXVII.
General graveyard near Oraibi.



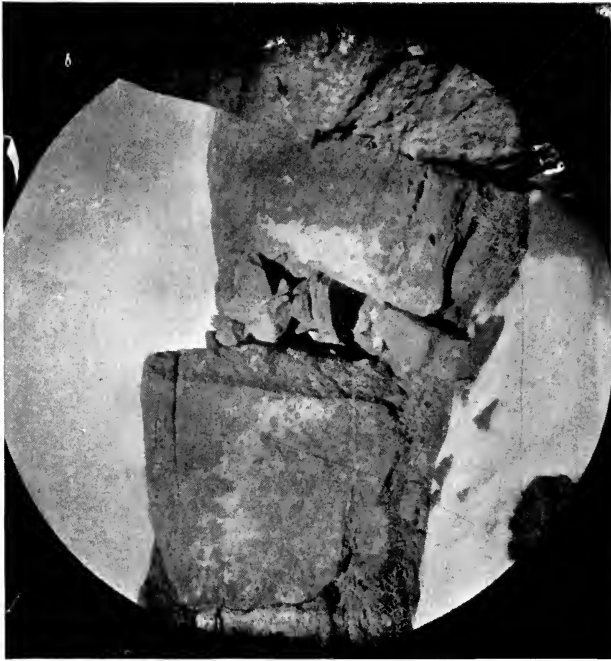
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A

ANTHROPOLOGY, PL. XXXVIII.



B

PL. XXXVIII. CHILDREN'S GRAVES.

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



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

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

3. THE BURIAL PLACES.

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

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

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

² Turkey or eagle feathers are used.

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

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

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

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

4. POST-MORTEM RITES.

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

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

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PL. XXXIX.

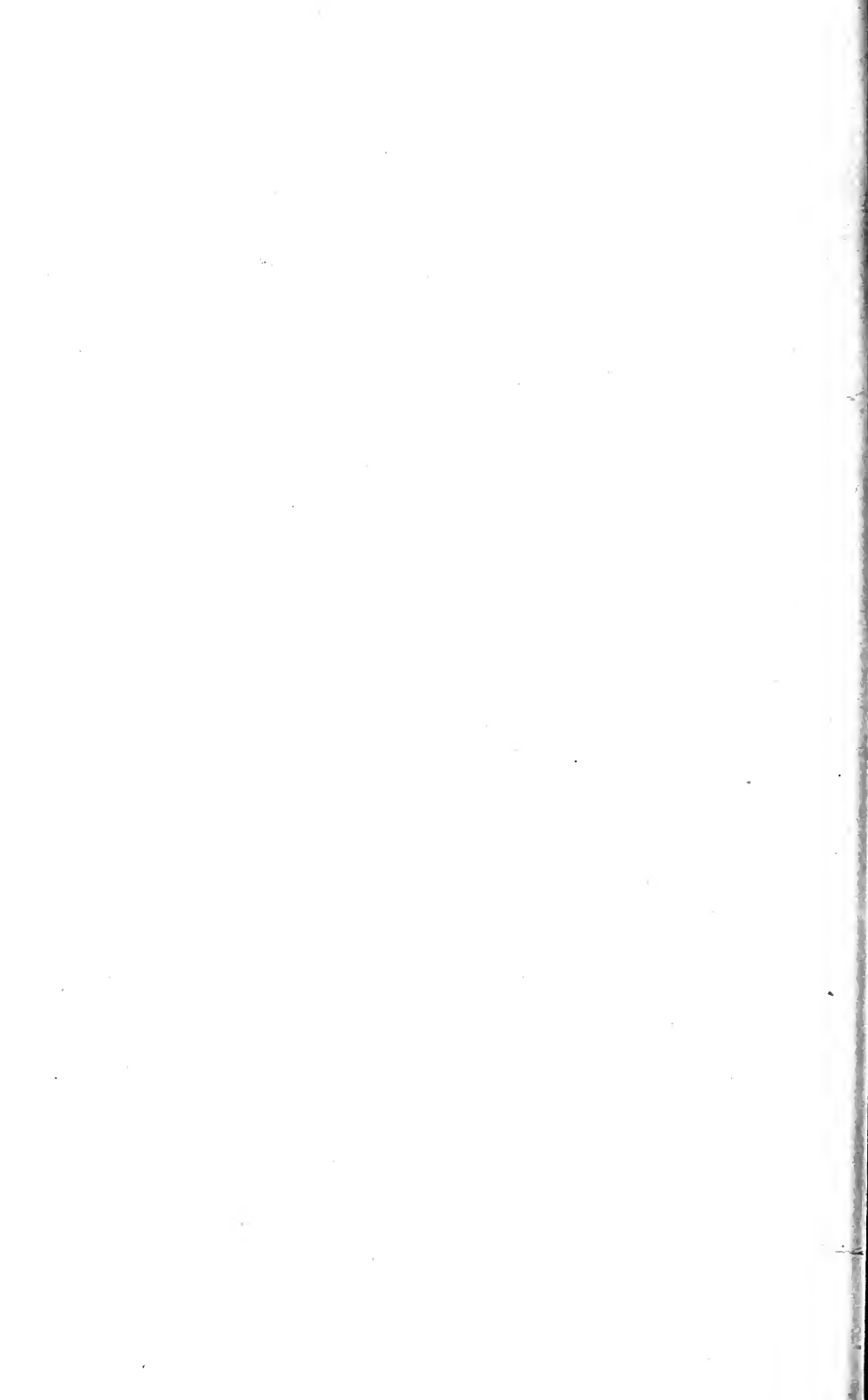
- A. Man taking prayer offerings to the grave.
- B. Man arranging prayer offerings at the grave.



A



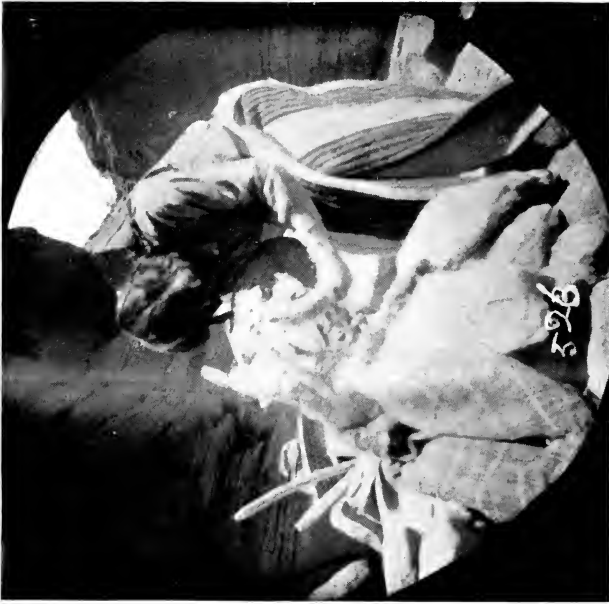
B







A



B

PL. XL.

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



13. 1950

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

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

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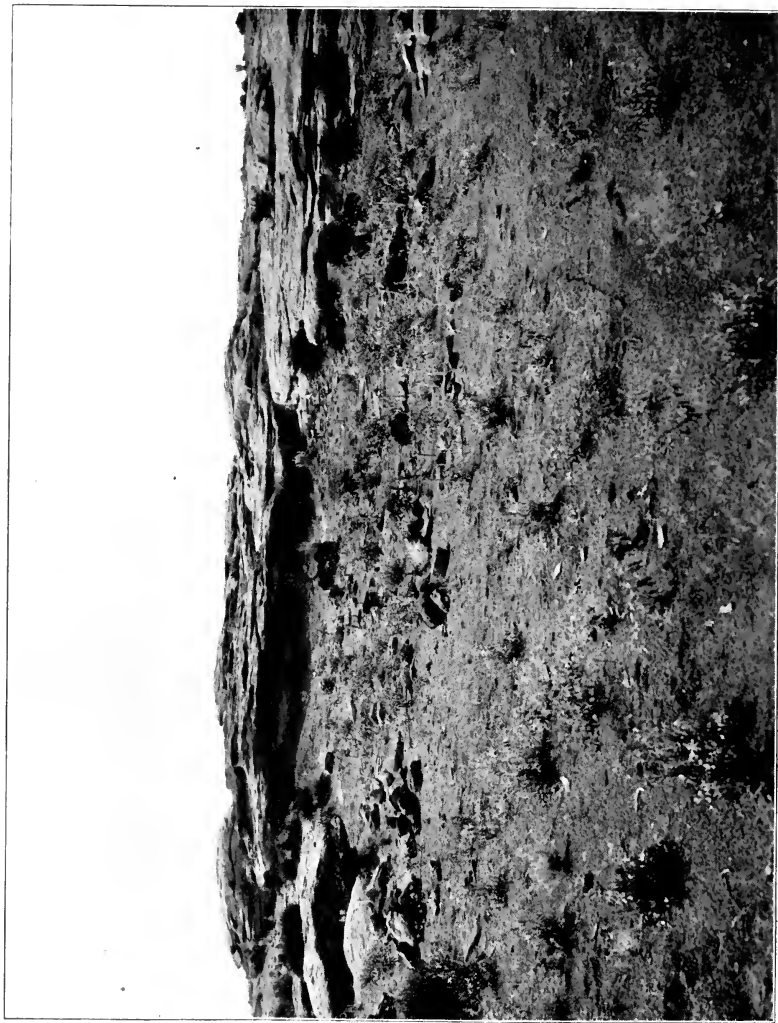
II. NOTES ON THE EAGLE CULT OF THE HOPI

BY

H. R. VOTH.

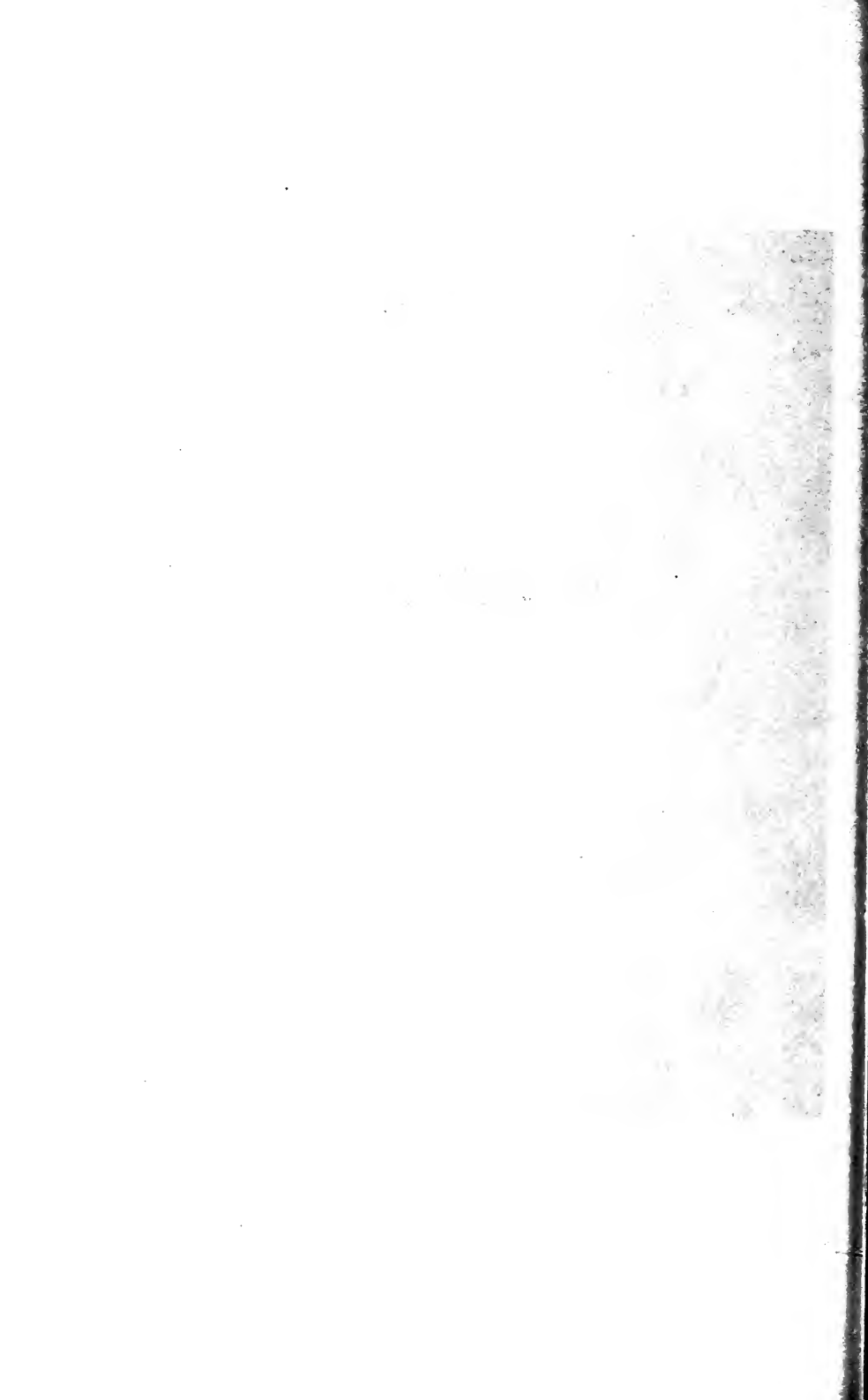
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PL. XLI.
Eagle burial ground.



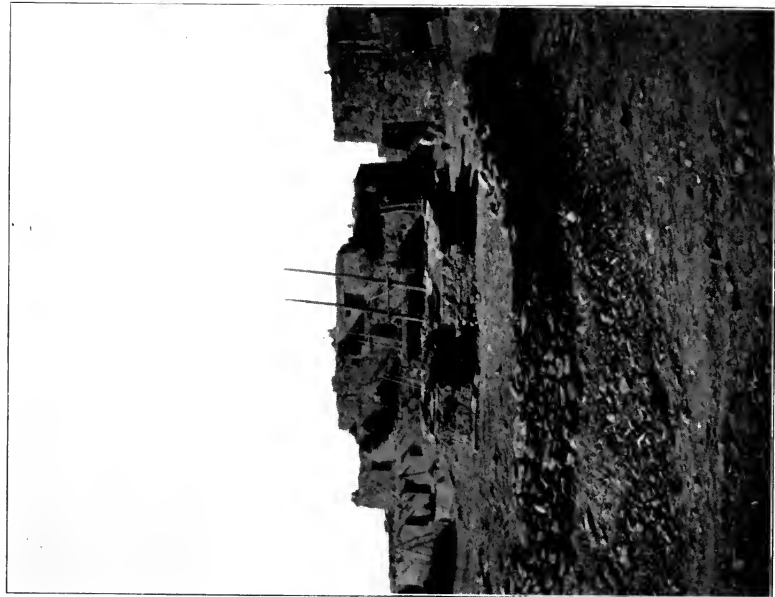
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A

ANTHROPOLOGY, PL. XLII.



B

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PL. XLII.

- A. An eagle in captivity on the roof of a house.
- B. One of the kivas, or ceremonial chambers, in which most of the eagle feathers are used for ceremonial purposes.

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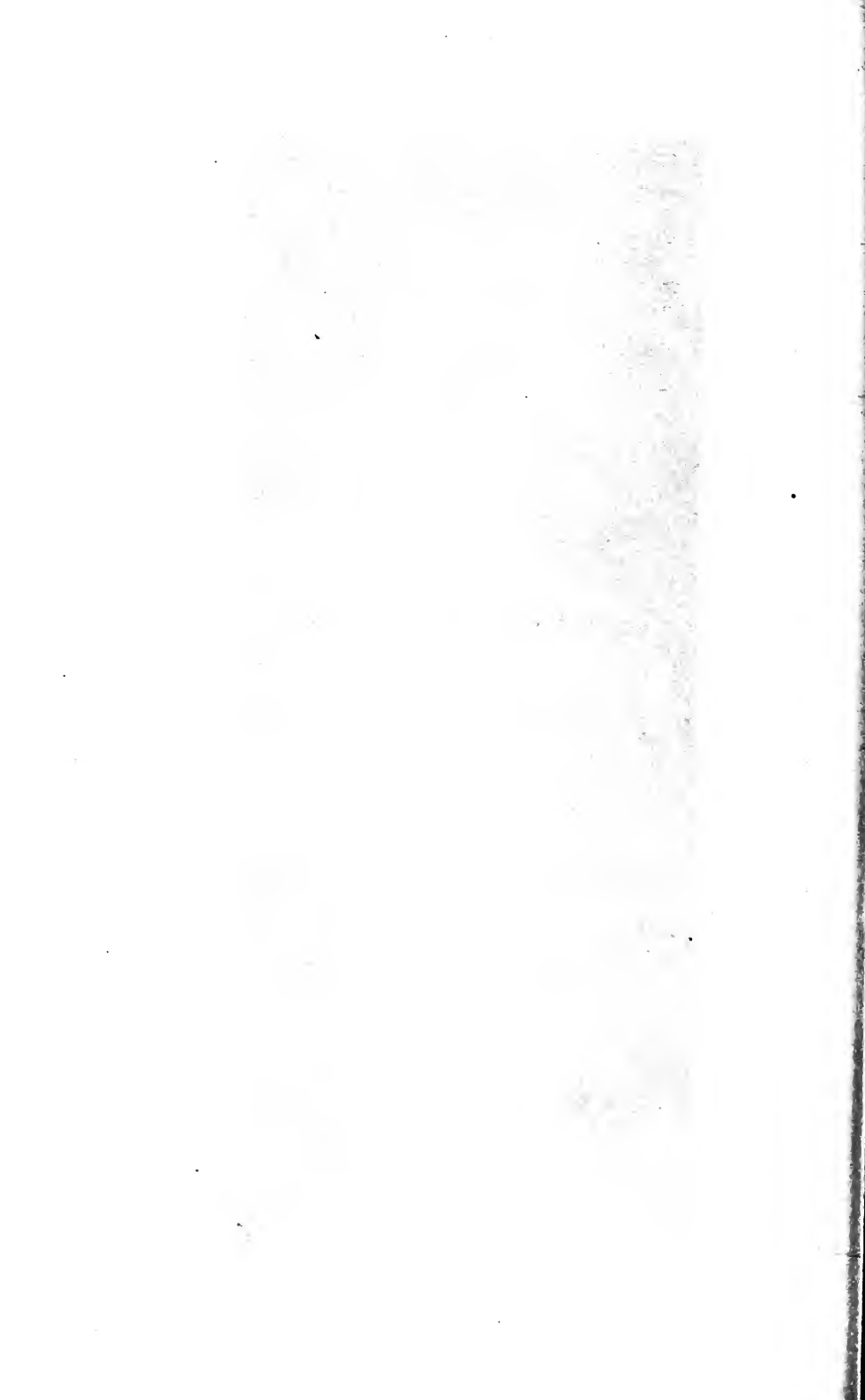
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PL. XLIII.

Dolls, representing the Eagle Katcina.



NOTES ON THE EAGLE CULT AMONG THE HOPI INDIANS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

108.



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PL. XLIV. CATCHING AND KILLING THE EAGLE.

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

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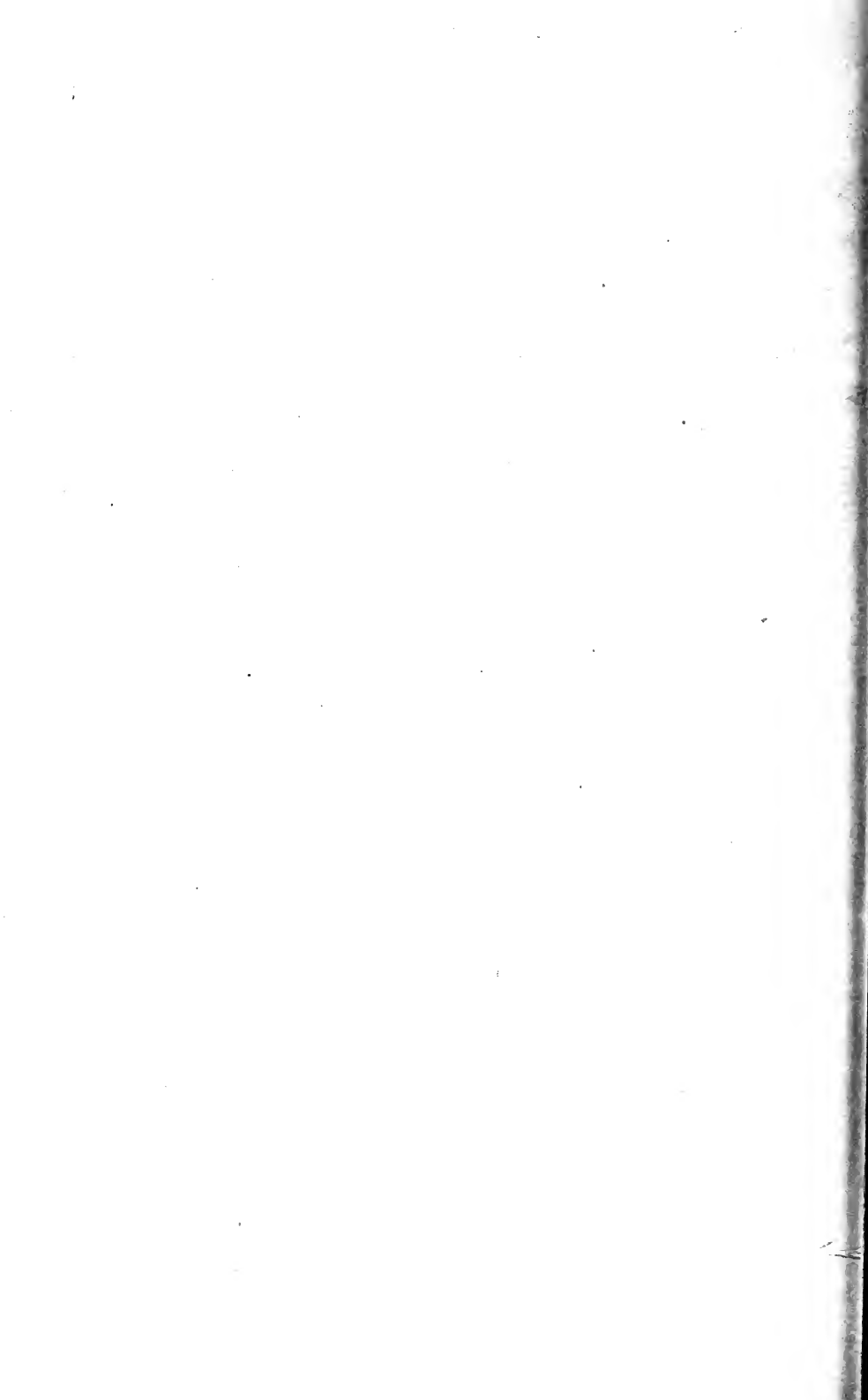


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PL. XLV.

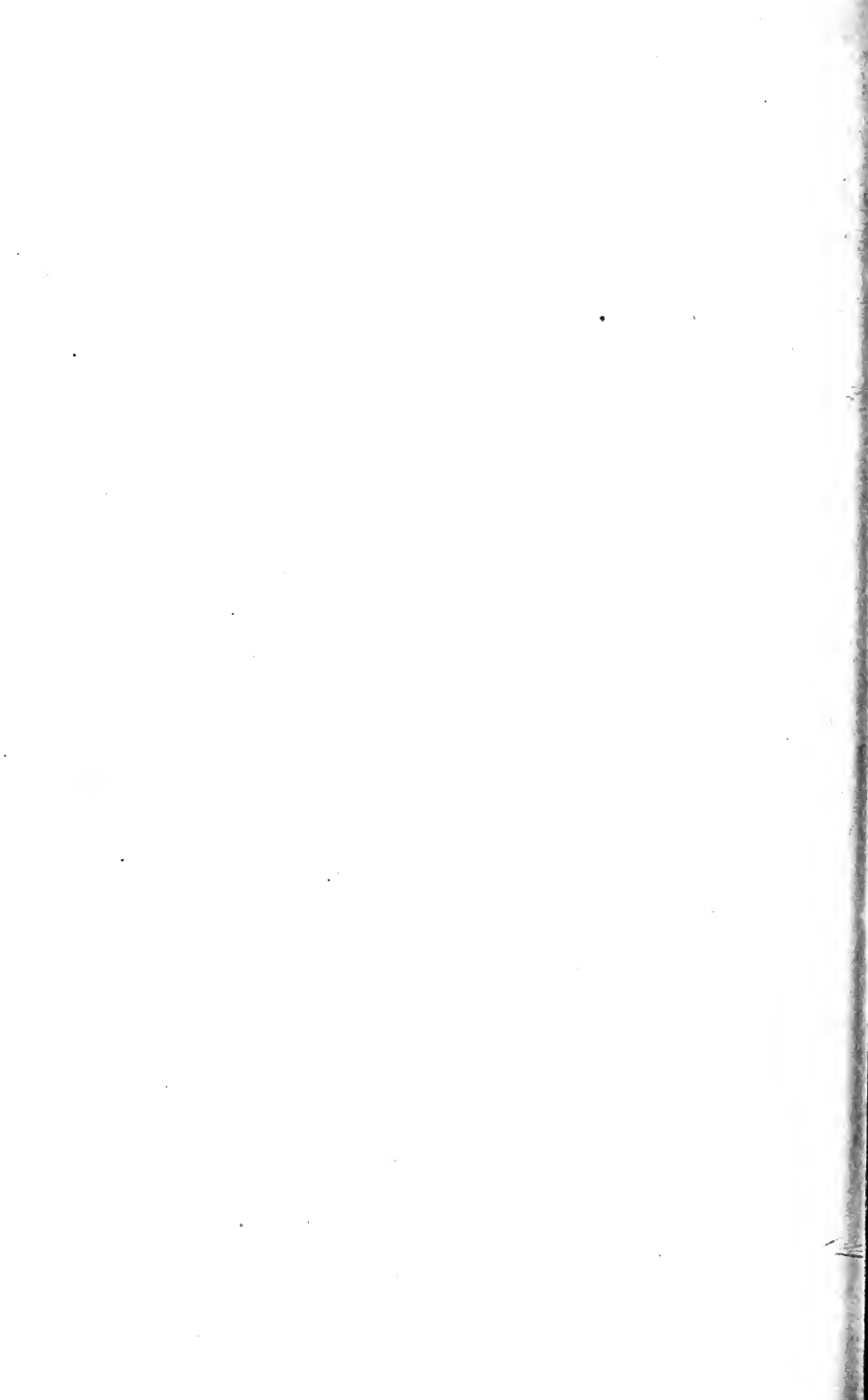
- A. Plucking the eagle.
- B. Assorting the feathers.

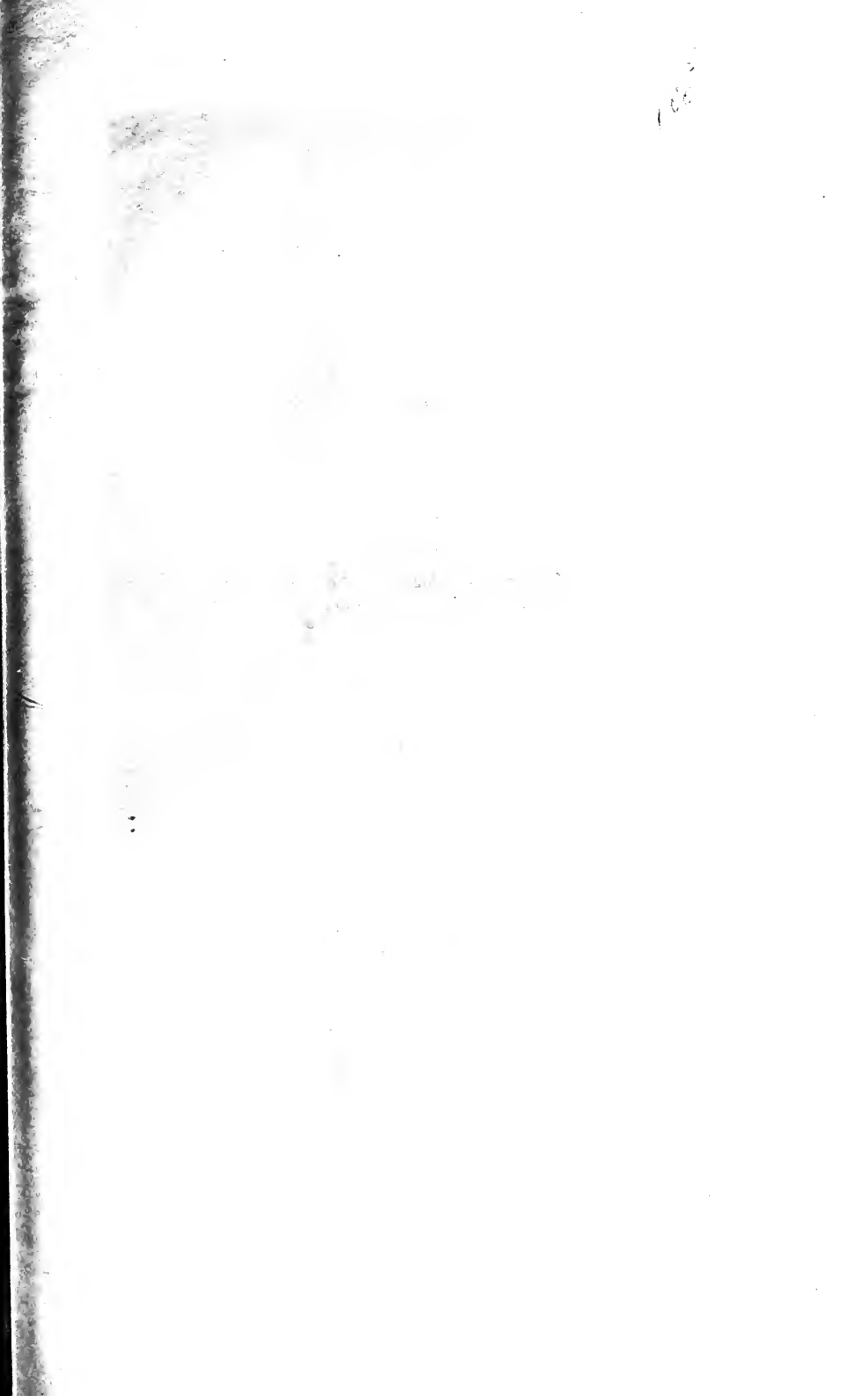


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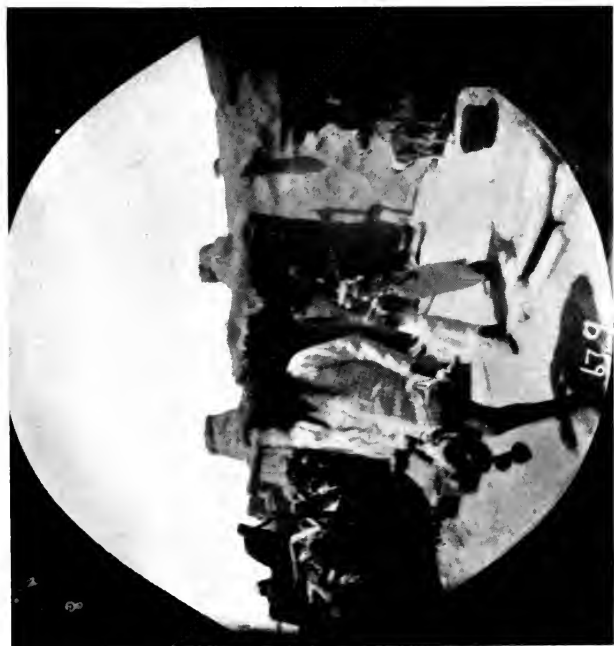
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PL. LXVI.

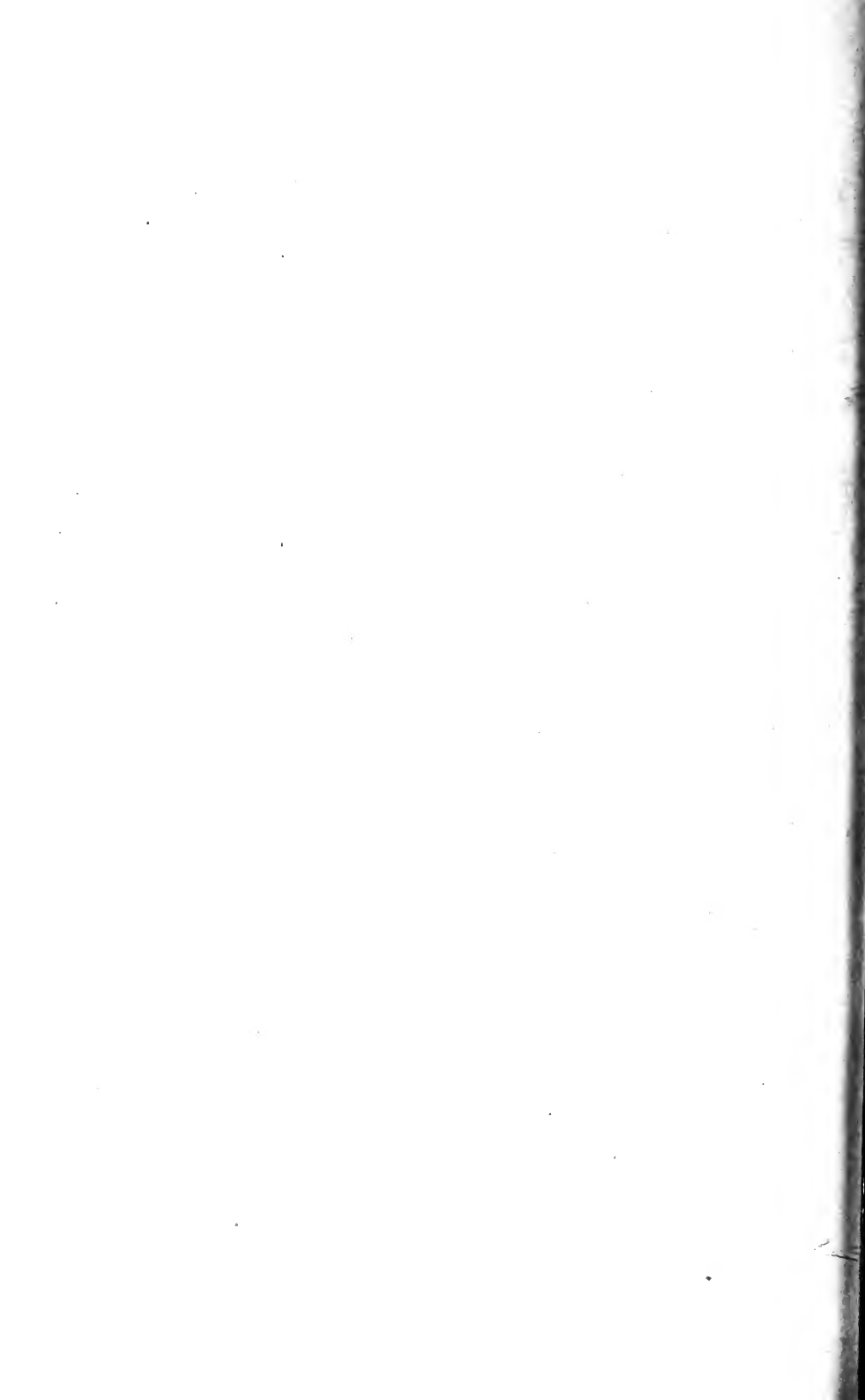
- A. Leaving the village with the eagle bodies.
- B. Arriving at the burial ground.



A



B

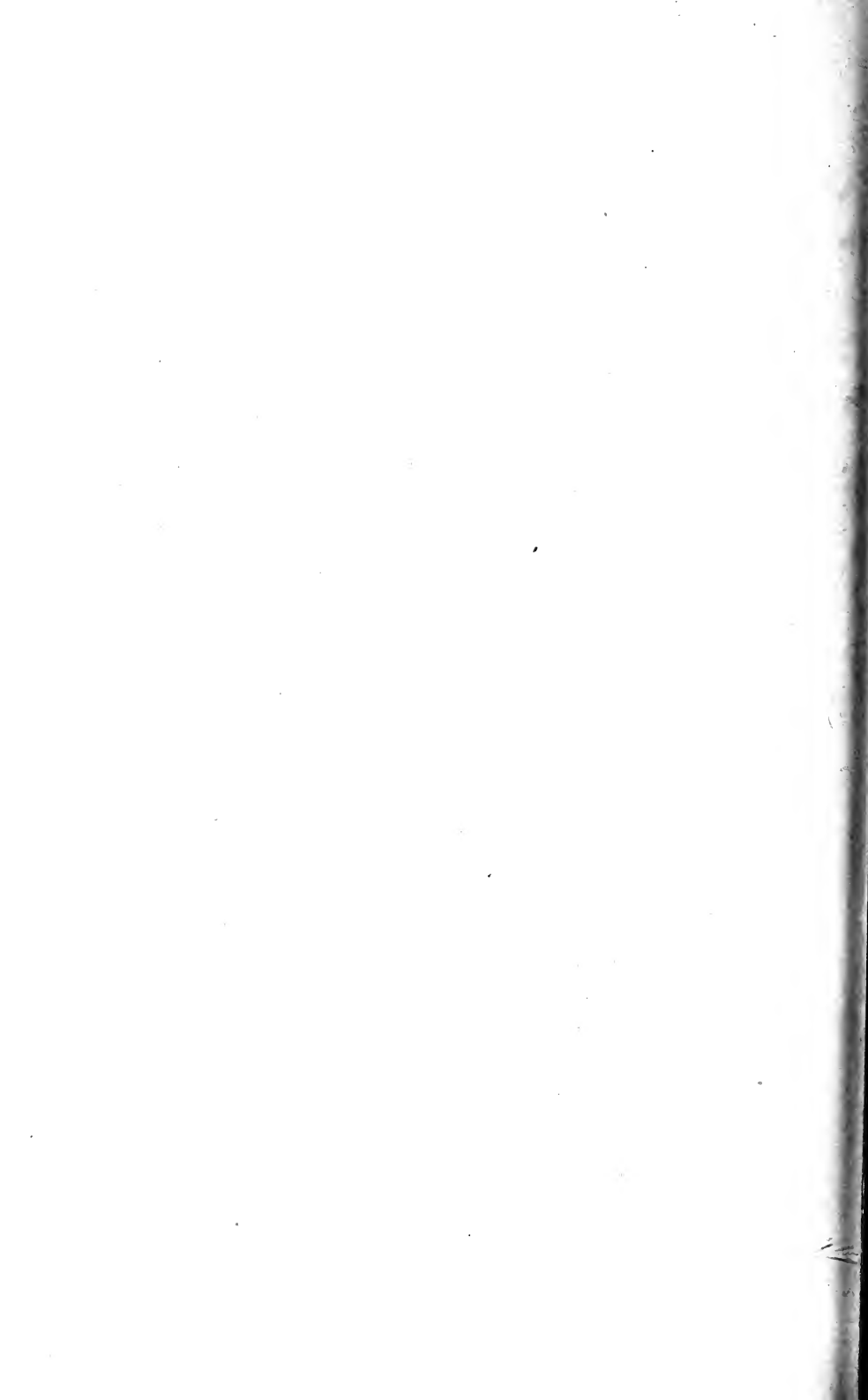


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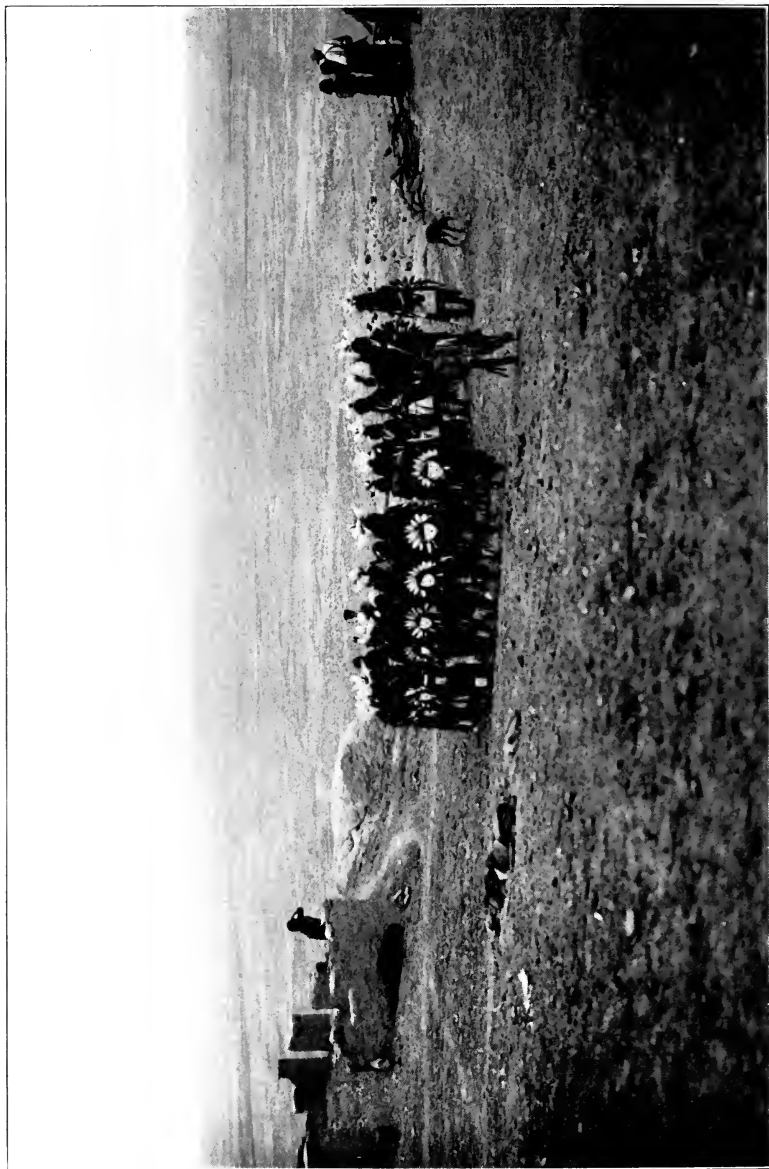
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PL. LXVII.
Burying the eagles.





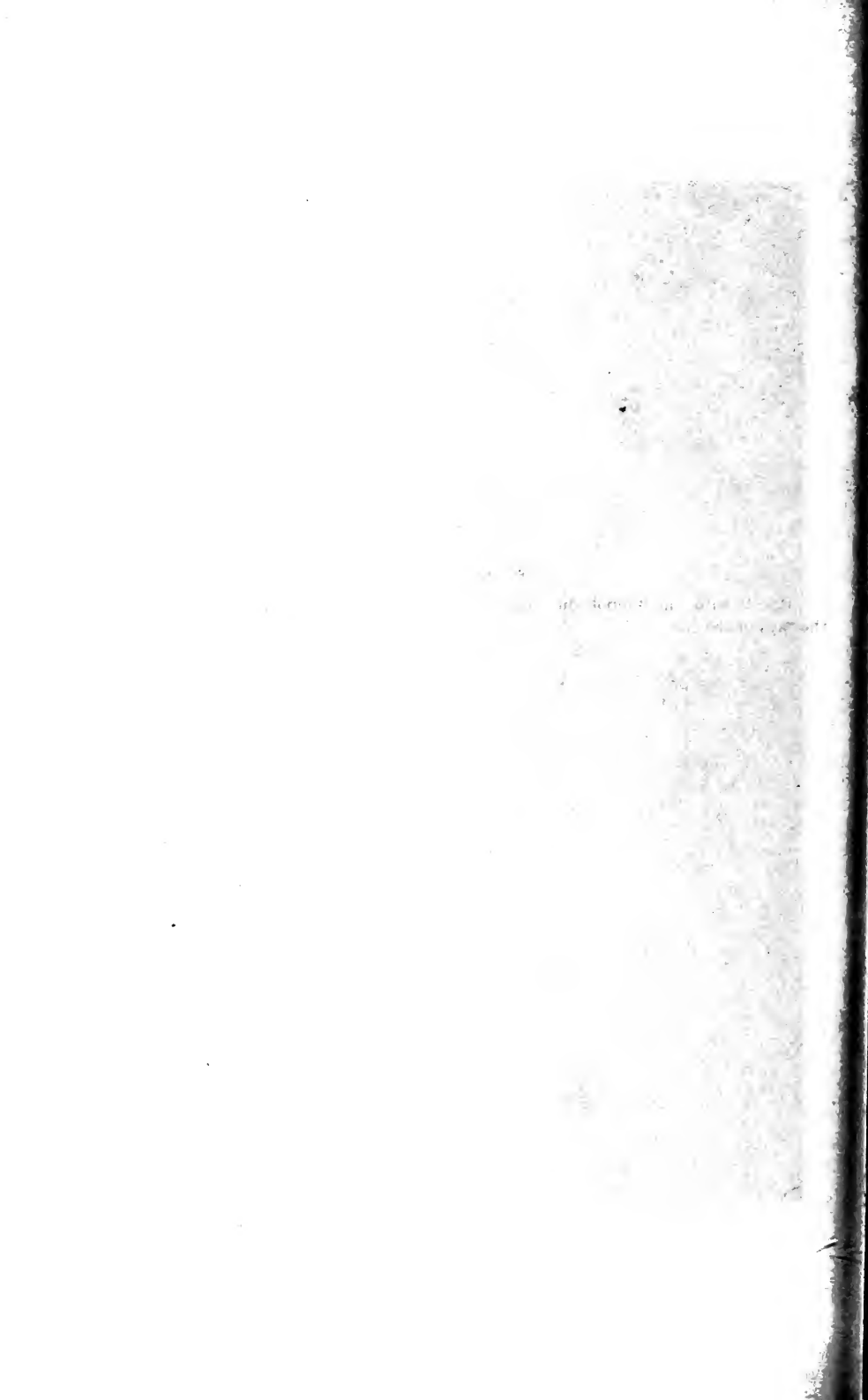
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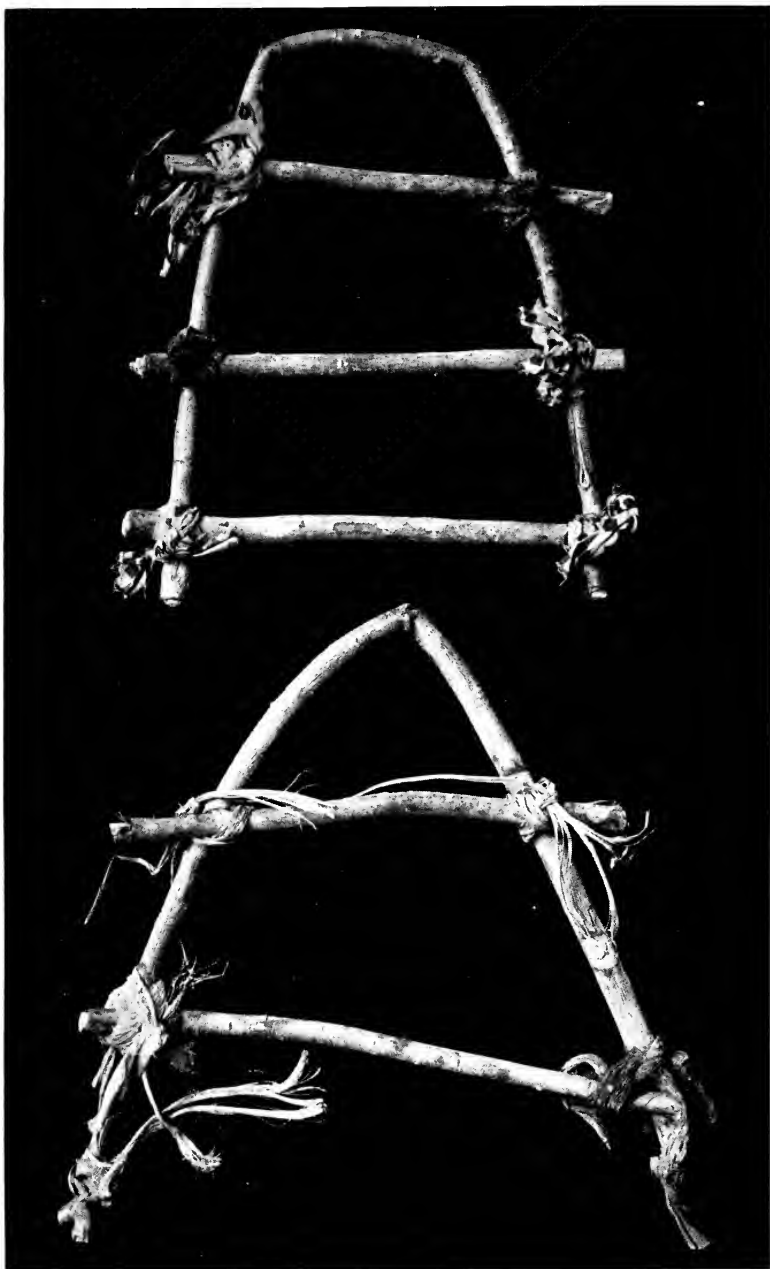
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PL. XLVIII.

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



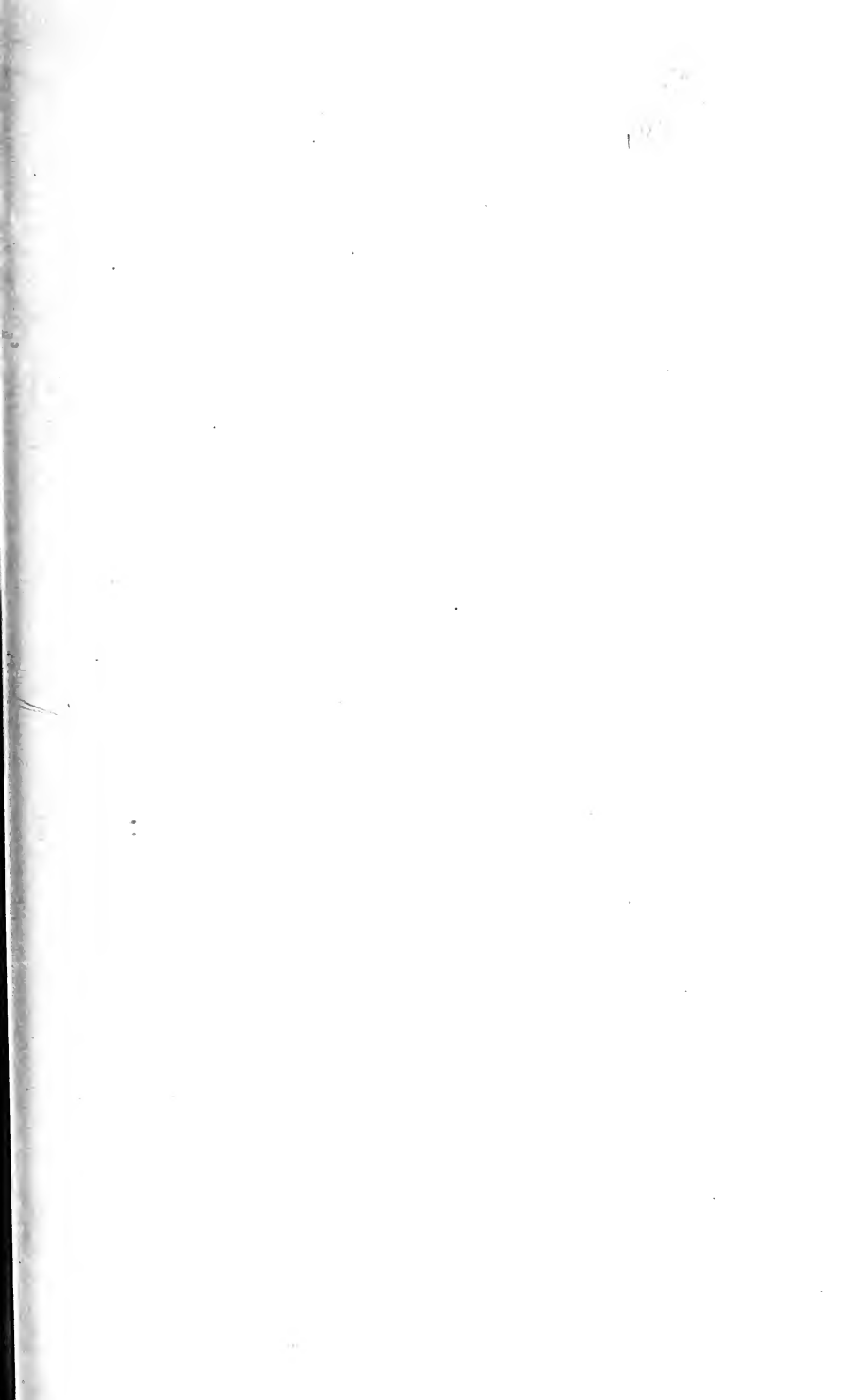




PL. XLIX.

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





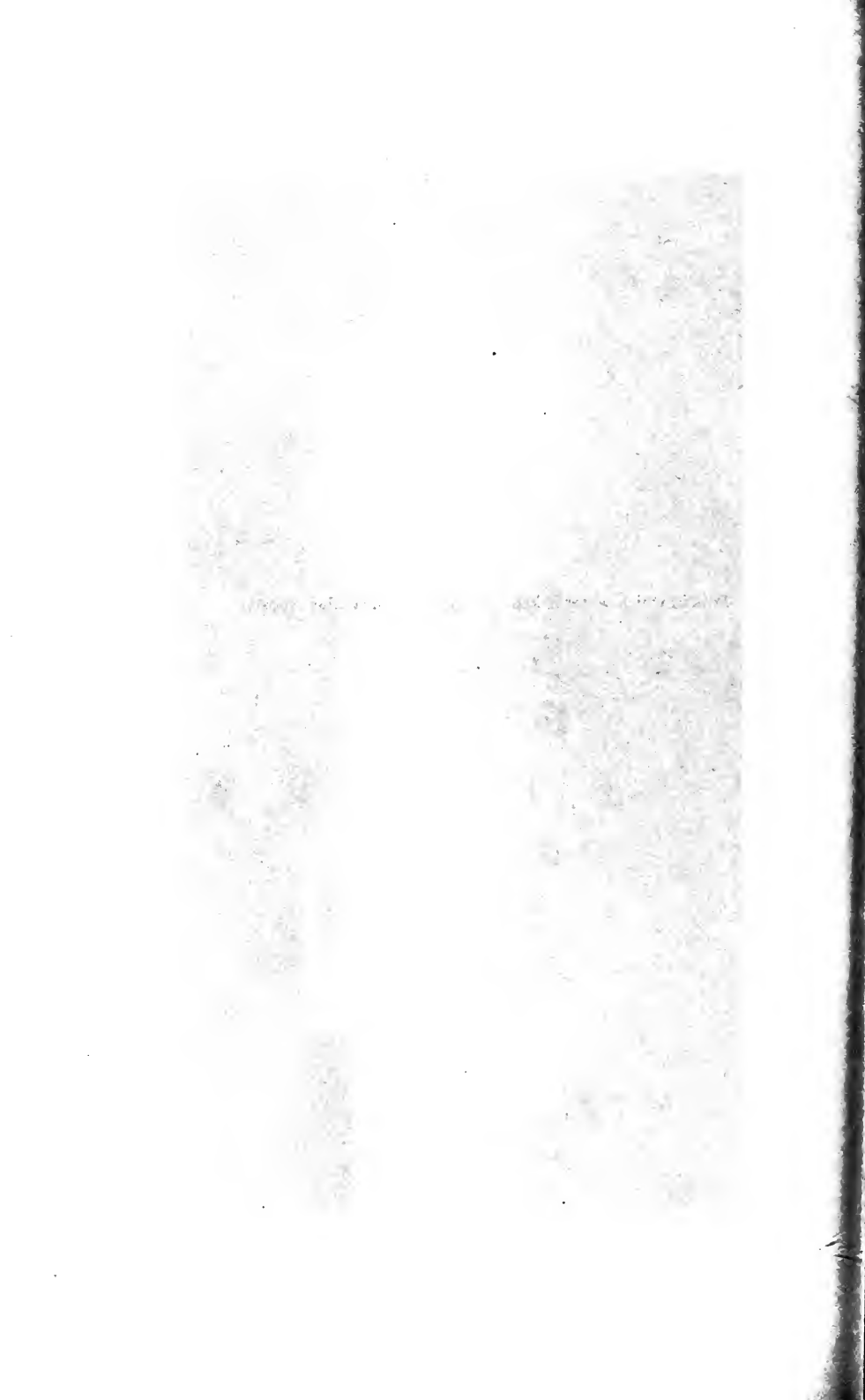
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ANTHROPOLOGY, PL. L.



PL. L.

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



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

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

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

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III. THE ORAIBI NEW YEAR CEREMONY

BY

H. R. VOTH.

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INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

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

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

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NEW YEAR CEREMONY.

(YASANGWLAWU.)

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

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

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

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

Four eagle feather nakwakwosis.

Two eagle feather pūhus (roads).

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

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

All the bahos and nakwakwosis were laid on a tray.

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

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

Nakwaheptiwa four nakwakwosis and two pūhus.

Shakyeshiwa, eight of the same kind.

Nasingyamiwa the same.

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

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

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

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

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

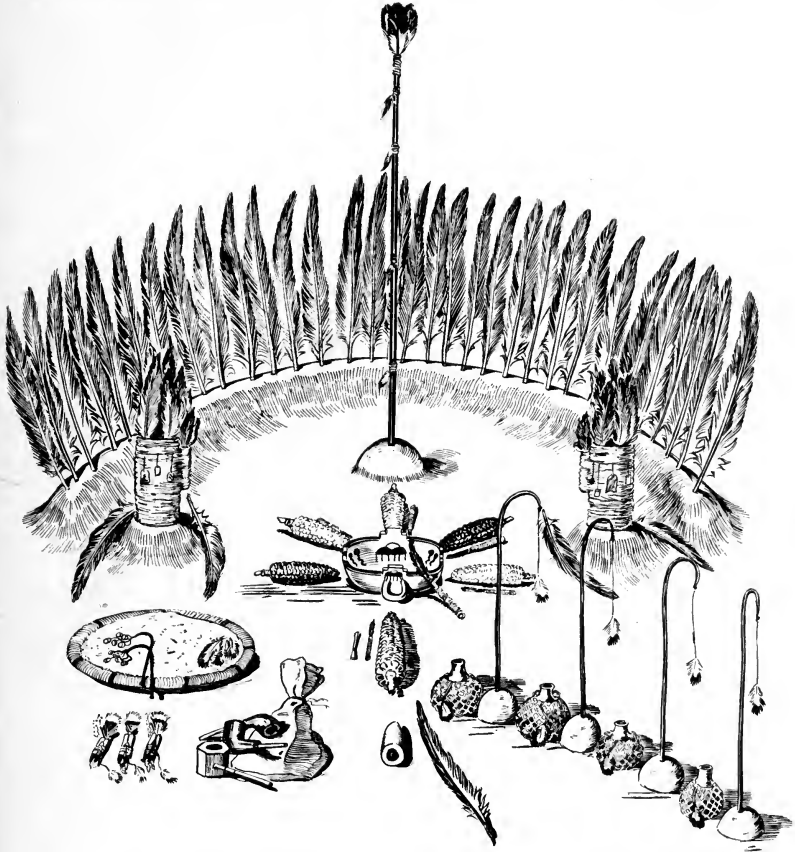
Other song: Talasswungwnima placed small pieces of stone or shell near the corn-ears, first one north, then west, south, east, north-east and north-west.

Other song: Talasswungwnima put an old makwanpi (aspergill)

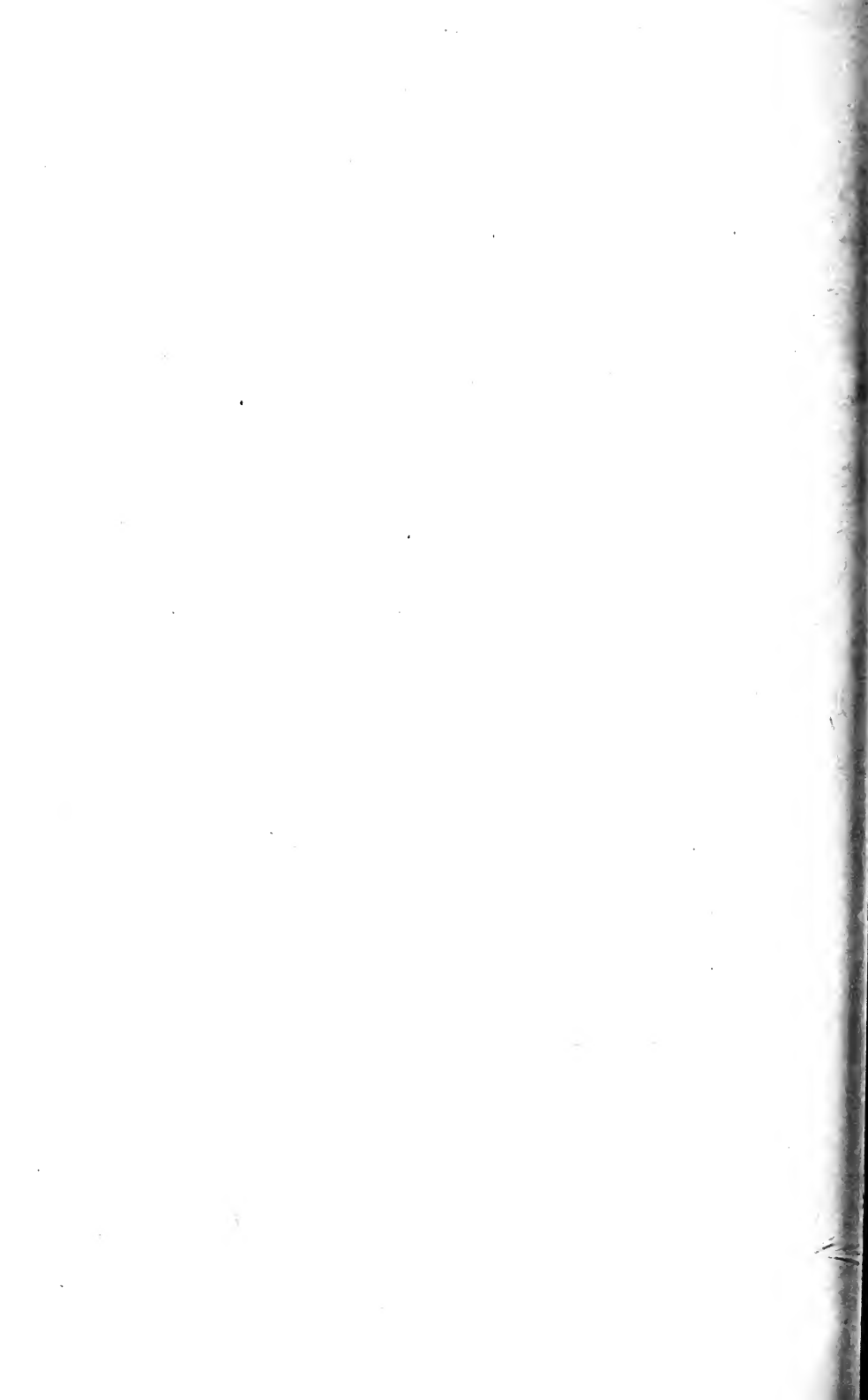
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PL. LI. ALTAR OF THE NEW YEAR CEREMONY.

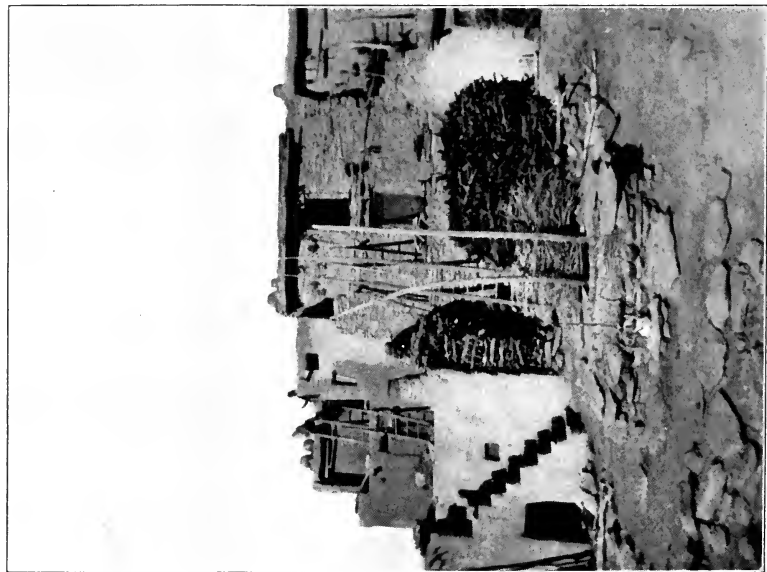
In the sand-ridges are thirty-two eagle wing feathers. On each side stands a tiponi (palladium of chief priests), which differ from all other Hopi tiponies in having what resembles a small tiponi attached to them. They are used also in other ceremonies in this kiva. In the centre stands a standard and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



Drawing by C. L. Dalrymple.



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A



B

PL. LII.

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

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

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

1. The King first in which
2. The same showing the
3. The King in which
4. The same showing the
5. The King in which
6. The same showing the
7. The King in which
8. The same showing the
9. The King in which
10. The same showing the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

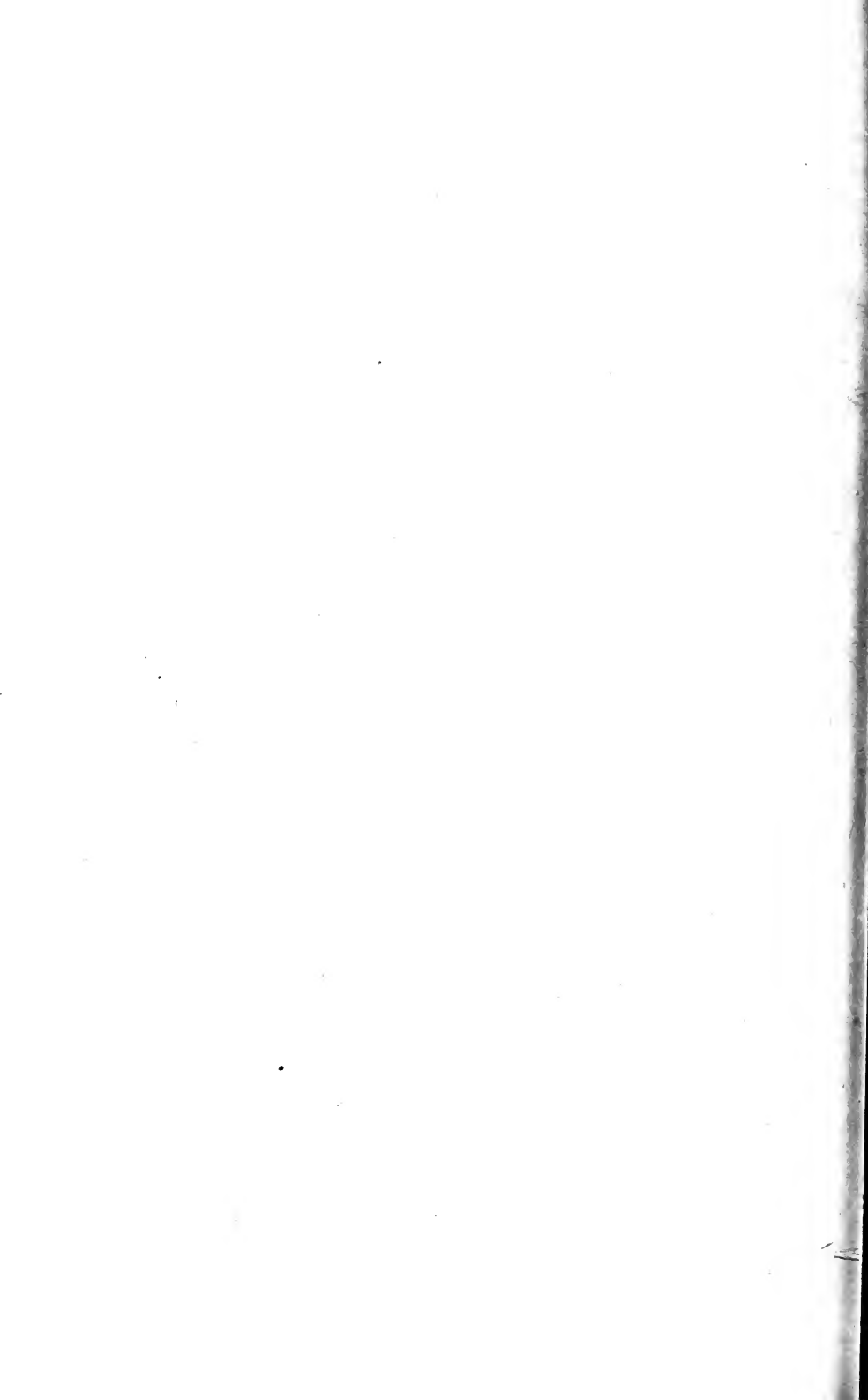
All were then silently sitting and waiting awhile, most of them being awake by this time. At 5:30 A. M. the two priests took their tiponis, sat down north of the fireplace, and Naashashtiwa, waving his one slowly

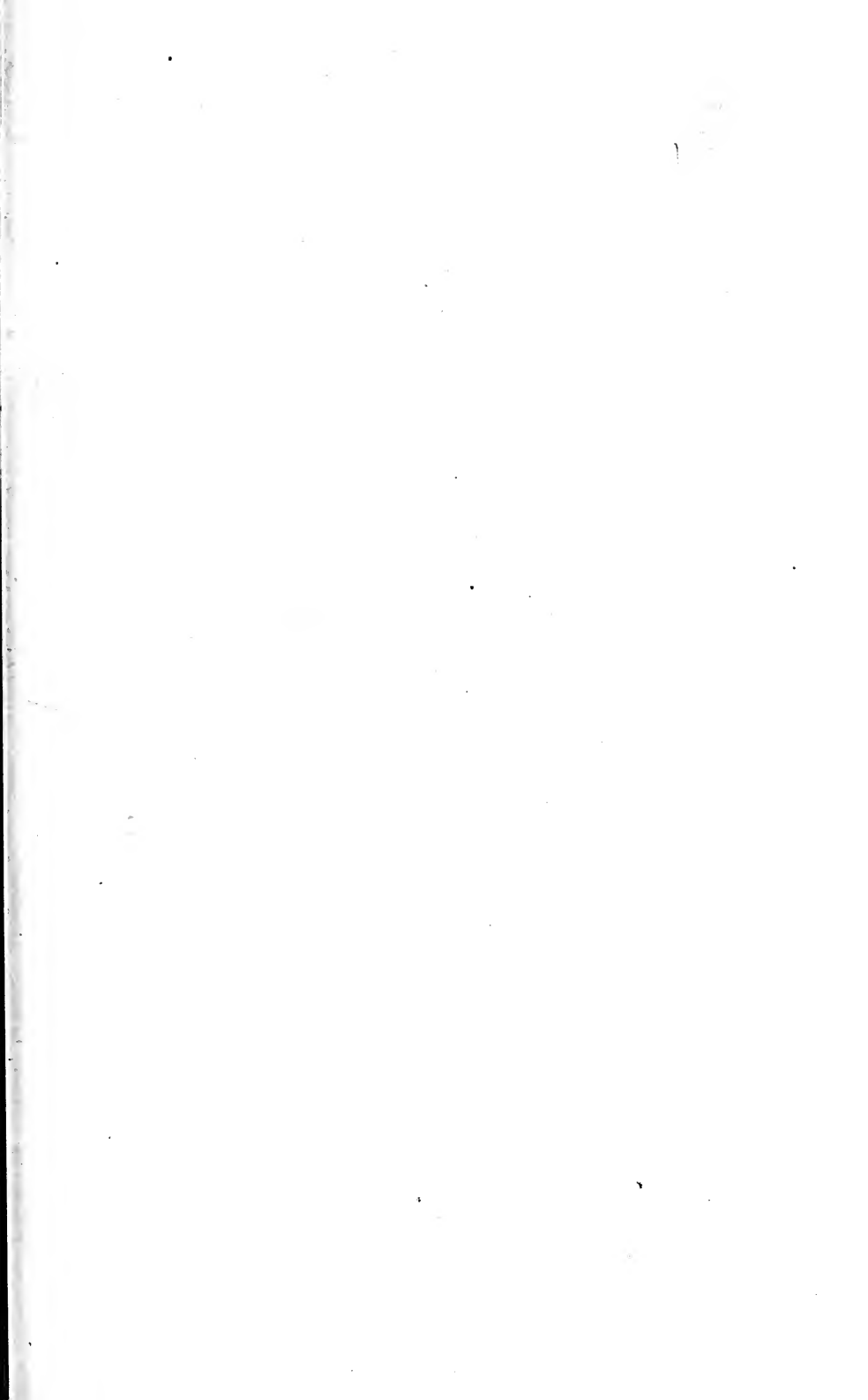
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PL. LIII.

Naashashtiwa, chief priest of the Kwan society.







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ANTHROPOLOGY, PL. LIV.



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

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

THE STATE OF TEXAS, COUNTY OF DALLAS, ss. I, the undersigned, a Notary Public in and for said State and County, do hereby certify that the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original of the same as the same appears from the records of said County.

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

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

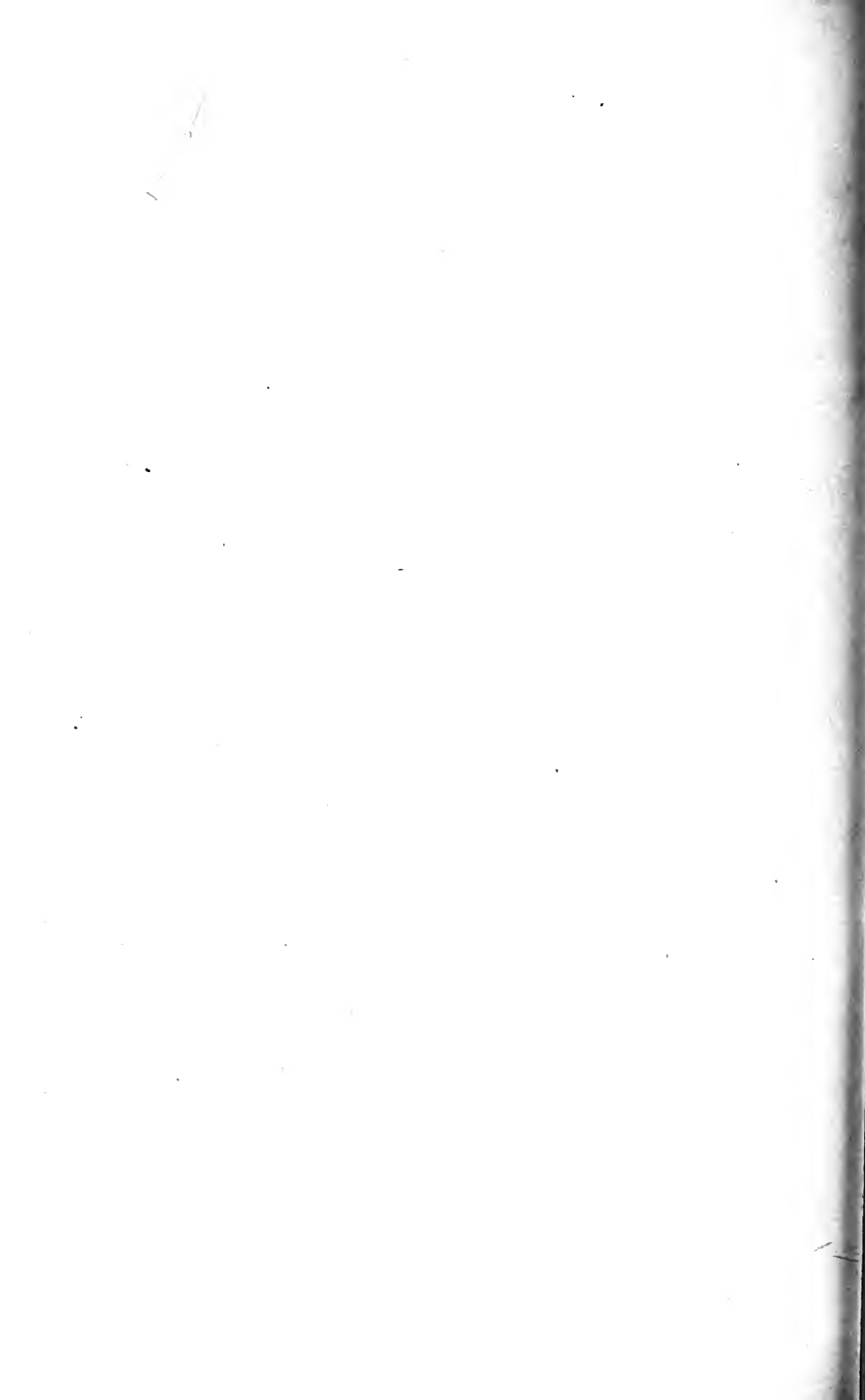
¹ See the Author's paper on "The Oraibi Niman Ceremony," in preparation by The Field Museum.

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IV. TAWA BAHOLAWU OF THE ORAIBI FLUTE
SOCIETIES

BY

H. R. VOTH.



PREFACE.

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

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

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THE WINTER CEREMONY OF THE DRAB FLUTE SOCIETY.

JANUARY 20, 1898.

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

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Lomáhungwa ¹ | Chief priest. |
| 2. Namítnyaoma | } Singers. |
| 3. Tangákyeshtiwa | |
| 4. Chokíoma | |
| 5. Kwávaho | |
| 6. Shákwuna | |
| 7. Qómáhoiwiwa | |
| 8. Talásyantiwa | |
| 9. Towáhoyniwa | |
| 10. Siviletstiwa | |
| 11. Bánümtiwa | |
| 12. Shákyantiwa | |
| 13. Masáveima | |
| 14. Shákwaima | |

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

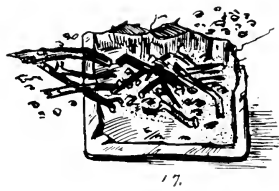
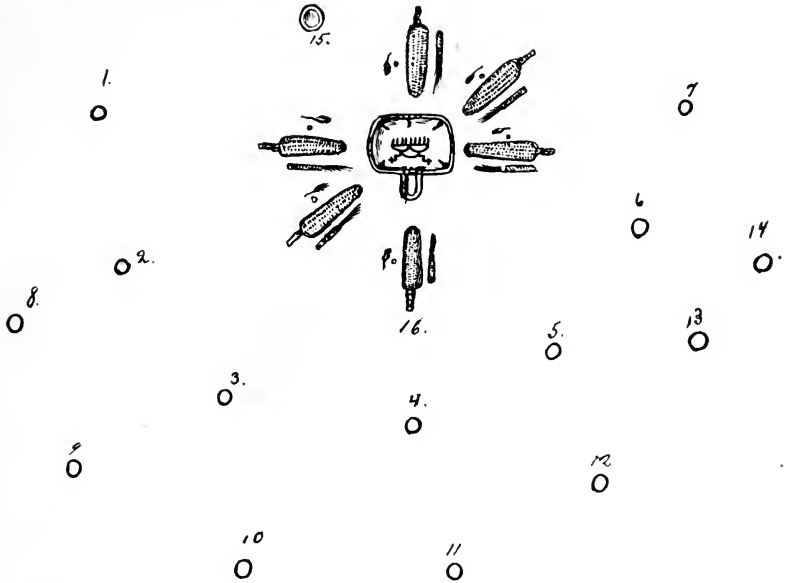
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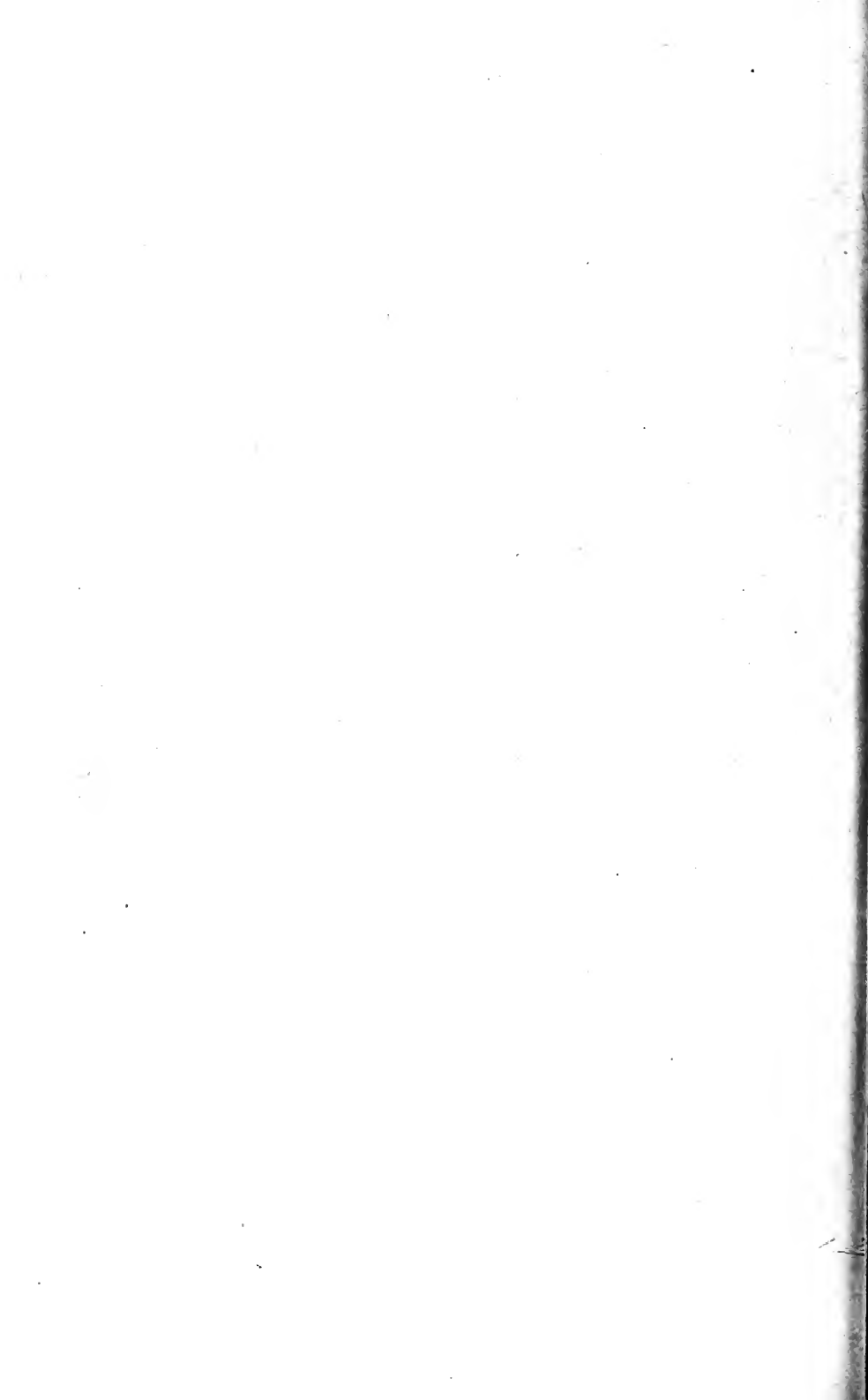
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PL. LV. DIAGRAM OF DRAB FLUTE BAHOLAWU.

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



Drawing by C. L. Dalrymple.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Other song: Sprinkling by Qömaho.

Other song: Sprinkling by Qömaho.

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

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

THE WINTER CEREMONY OF THE BLUE FLUTE SOCIETY.

JANUARY 20, 1898.

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

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

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

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

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

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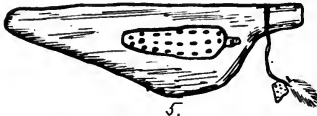
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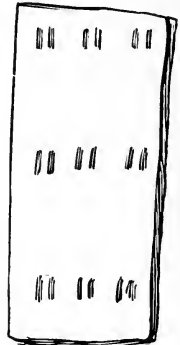
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10.



11.



12.

PL. LVI. VARIOUS PRAYER OFFERINGS.

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

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Faint, illegible text on the right side of the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.

THE SUMMER CEREMONY OF THE DRAB FLUTE SOCIETY.

JUNE 13, 1901.

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

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

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

Lomahungwa prepared the following objects:

1. Four round prayer sticks of cottonwood root, six inches long, one and one quarter inches thick, which were said to represent corn-stalks (see Plate LVI).

2. One wonawika of cottonwood root, four inches long and about one and a half inches wide, representing an old weeding implement. This had an old eagle breath feather and a butterfly wing from the medicine bowl attached to it (see Plate LVI).

3. Two prayer sticks, about six inches long, one with a facet representing a female prayer stick. Both had a nodule in the middle.

4. Five single black bahos (chochokpi) six inches long.

5. Four short and one long púhus (roads), which he moistened with honey and rolled in corn-pollen. Also three plain short roads.

6. Six double green bahos with black tips four and a half inches long. All bahos had duck feather nakwakwosis tied to them. He smoked over all and spurted honey over them. He also prepared the paint for painting the bahos except the first named, for which Masaveima prepared it. He put into a double mortar green and yellow, and into another mortar some black paint, some honey, a pinch of some ngahu (medicine), also some water and a butterfly wing; the latter he tied

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

later to the nakwakwosi on the wonawika. Masaveima prepared the paint for the "corn-stalks" and also the charm liquid in the medicine bowl, in which he was assisted by Siviletstiwa. The latter had brought a small beetle (*maná-kwushiwuu*), which he threw into the medicine bowl. Masaveima then took a quartz crystal and, holding it up against the sunlight, let some rays of light fall into the medicine bowl. He then painted the four corn-stalks as shown on the accompanying plate (see Plate LVII). Next he prepared four wipo (cat-tail grass) wheels (see Plate LVI), into which Tuwahoyniwa put pieces of the beetle that Siviletstiwa had placed into the medicine bowl. Later he also made two pūhus of eagle and small warbler feathers and six nakwakwosis of eagle feathers. He then got some sand for the small tiponi altar. Tuwahoyniwa made four short round sticks or cylinders (see Plate LVI), three of which were one and one-half inches long and one two inches long; all about one inch in diameter; he also made one wheel of cat-tail grass. He then painted all cylinders and wheels black, the ends of the cylinders green and fastened a duck feather nakwakwosi to each. Later he also made two eagle feather pūhus with yellow warbler feathers, for the sun and for Spider Woman; four hawk nakwakwosis for the four cardinal points, and four eagle feather pūhus for the eagles.

Siviletstiwa dressed the four corn-stalks in the same way as bahos are usually dressed. Somewhat below the middle he fastened the usual sprig of kunya, maövi and a small turkey feather on one side and a corn-husk packet, containing corn-meal and honey and having a nakwakwosi attached to it, on the opposite side. He then also made the following prayer offerings: Two pūhus (roads) of eagle breath feathers and a few tiny yellow warbler feathers, six nakwakwosis and one pūhu of hawk feathers. These, he said, he made for Spider Woman.

There were also prepared four objects, resembling cakes, about three and one-half inches in diameter and four small slabs five and one-half inches long, two inches wide and one-half inch thick, but my notes fail to state by whom these objects were made and decorated. I think these, as well as the artificial ears of corn, were only repainted (see Plate LVI).

Qömaho made eight eagle pūhus, four for the four world quarters, two for the eagles, one for the moon, one for the sun. Only the last named had warbler feathers. The two for the eagles he handed to Tuwahoyniwa.¹

Shokhungwa made four pūhus and four nakwakwosis of eagle and small warbler feathers.

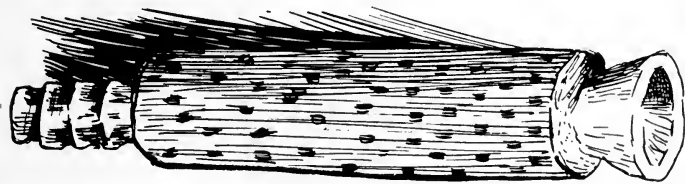
¹ Only certain families control territories in which eagles are found, and I have observed, at different times, that prayer offerings, made by men who do not own such territory, are handed to representatives of such territory, who deposit them at certain shrines and places devoted to the eagle cult.

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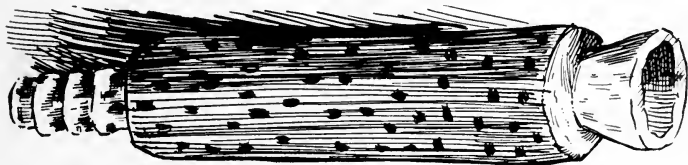
PL. LVII. ARTIFICIAL CORN-STALKS.

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

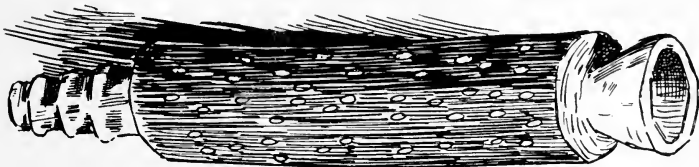
The objects are all dressed with a turkey feather, a sprig of *Artemisia frigida*, one of *Gutierrezia Euthamiae* Torr. and Gray, a corn-husk packet, containing meal and a pinch of honey, and a duck feather *nakwakwosi*, as shown on No. 4.



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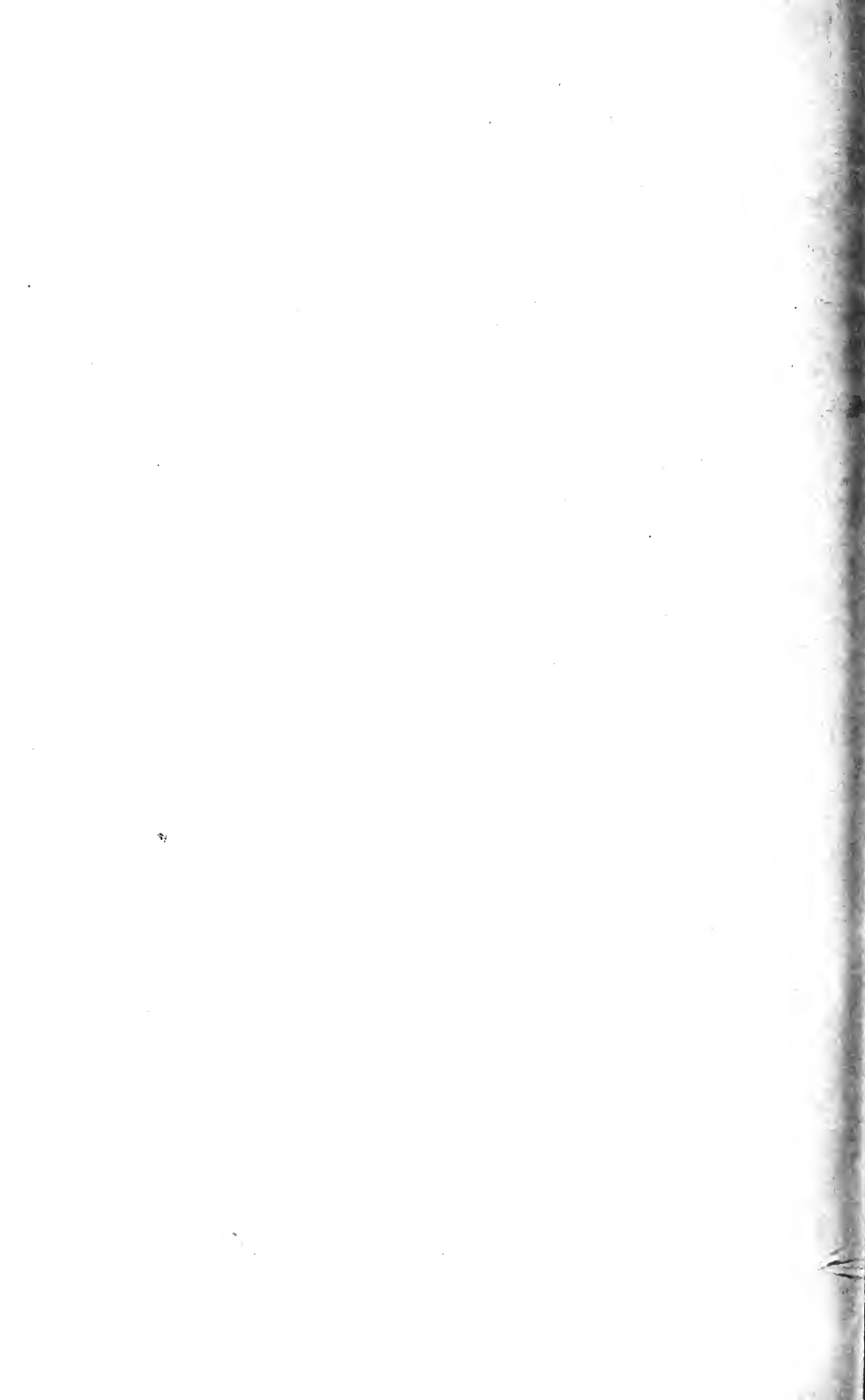


3.



4.

Drawing by C. L. Dairymple.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Honani (Badger) clan: Qömaho.

Piva (Tobacco) clan: Masaveima.

Kele (Sparrow Hawk) clan: Tuwahoyniwa, Talasnömtiwa.

Ishawuu (Coyote) clan: Nakwahoyoma.

Honawuu (Bear) clan: Shakhungoma.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE SUMMER CEREMONY OF THE BLUE FLUTE SOCIETY.

JUNE 12, 1901.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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V. FOUR HOPI TALES

BY

H. R. VOTH.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. HOW A LITTLE TURTLE DECEIVED THE COYOTE.

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

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

3. THE LITTLE LOCUST HUNTER.

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

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

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

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

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

Lâlena, lâlena,
Flutes, flutes,

Aapiyo hongiomakang,
Off, being fleet.

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

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

Told by Lomâventiwa.

4. TRADITION ABOUT SEVERAL MISHONGNOVI CLANS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. The Katcina clan with the Katcinas.

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

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

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

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

Told by Sikánakpu.

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VI. HOPI MARRIAGE RITES ON THE WEDDING
MORNING

BY

H. R. VOTH.

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HOPI MARRIAGE RITES ON THE WEDDING MORNING.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sákwömösi, Ishawuu (Coyote) clan.

Báyamka, Ishawuu (Coyote) clan.

Nuvávánka, Ishawuu (Coyote) clan.

Kiwánhoyñöm, Ishawuu (Coyote) clan.

Mösínömka, Tuwa (Sand) clan.

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

Honánmana, Ishawuu (Bear) clan.

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

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

Mótooma, Ishawuu (Bear) clan, groom.

Tobángyamsi, Ishawuu (Coyote) clan, bride.

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

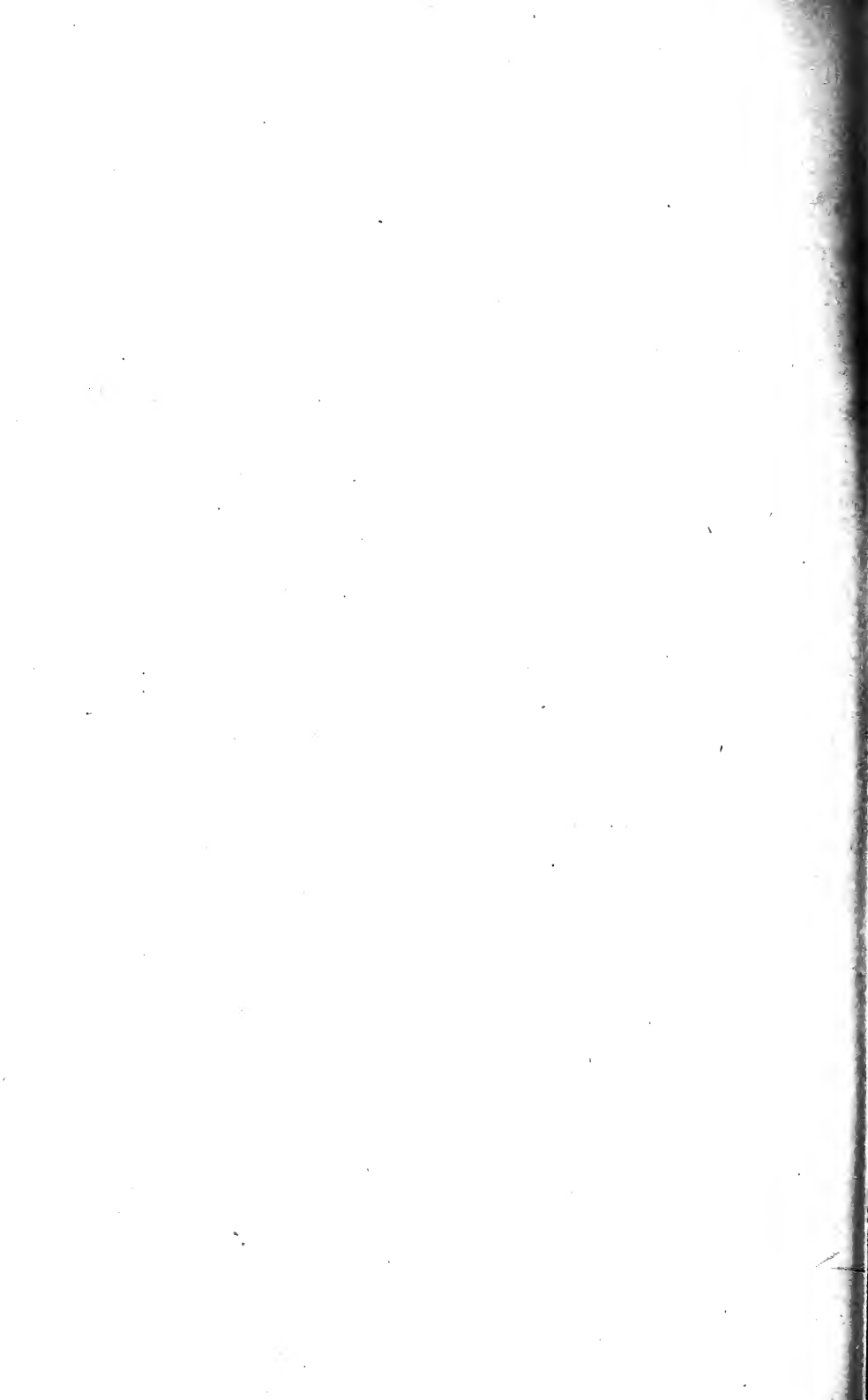
When they were through the young man seated himself on the west side of the room quite a little distance from the stove, while the bride seated herself behind and close to the stove. Pungnyanömsi got a bowl into which the suds were poured and carried it out later on. There were present in all about eleven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

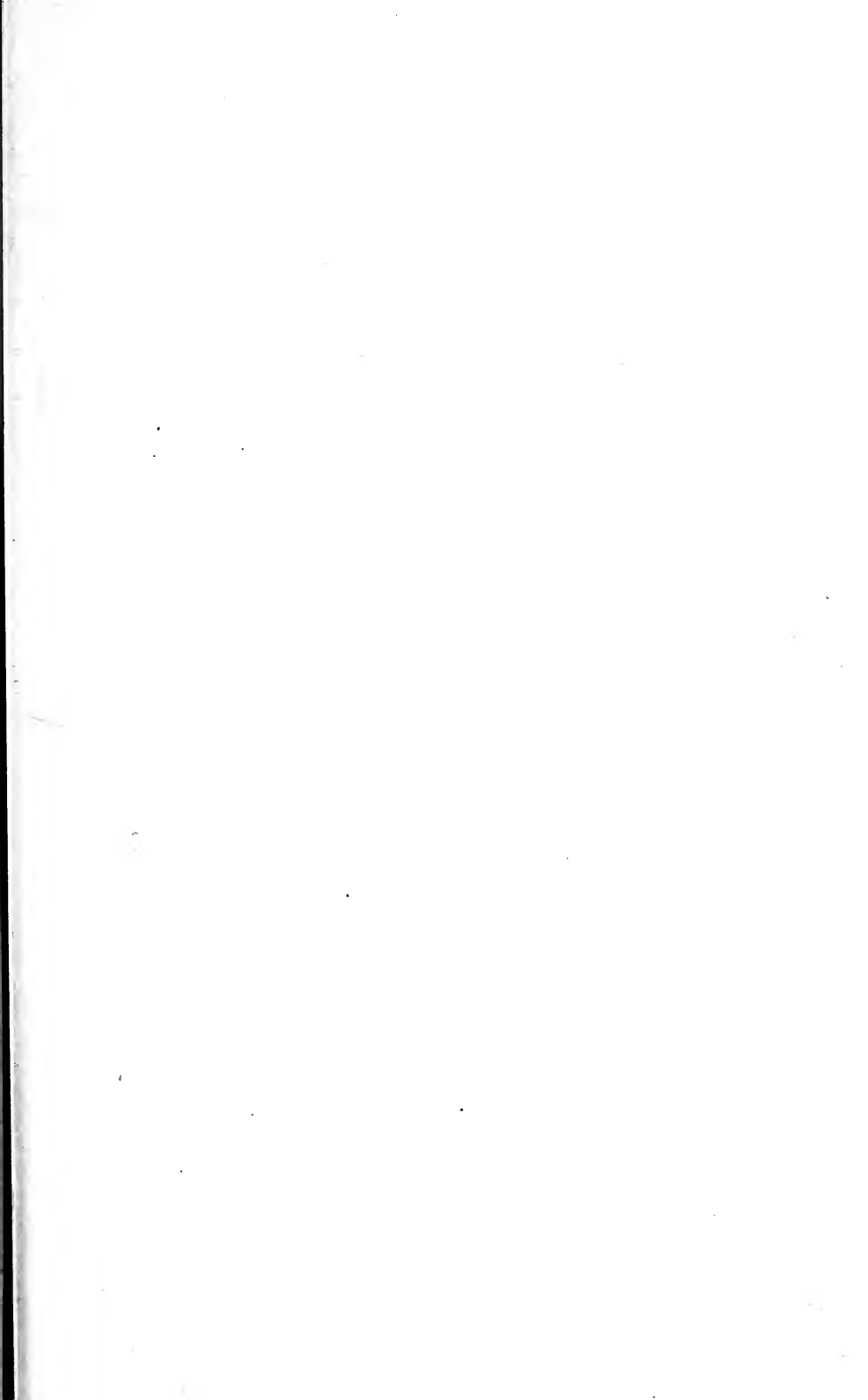
After the bowls had been emptied and fresh water poured into them

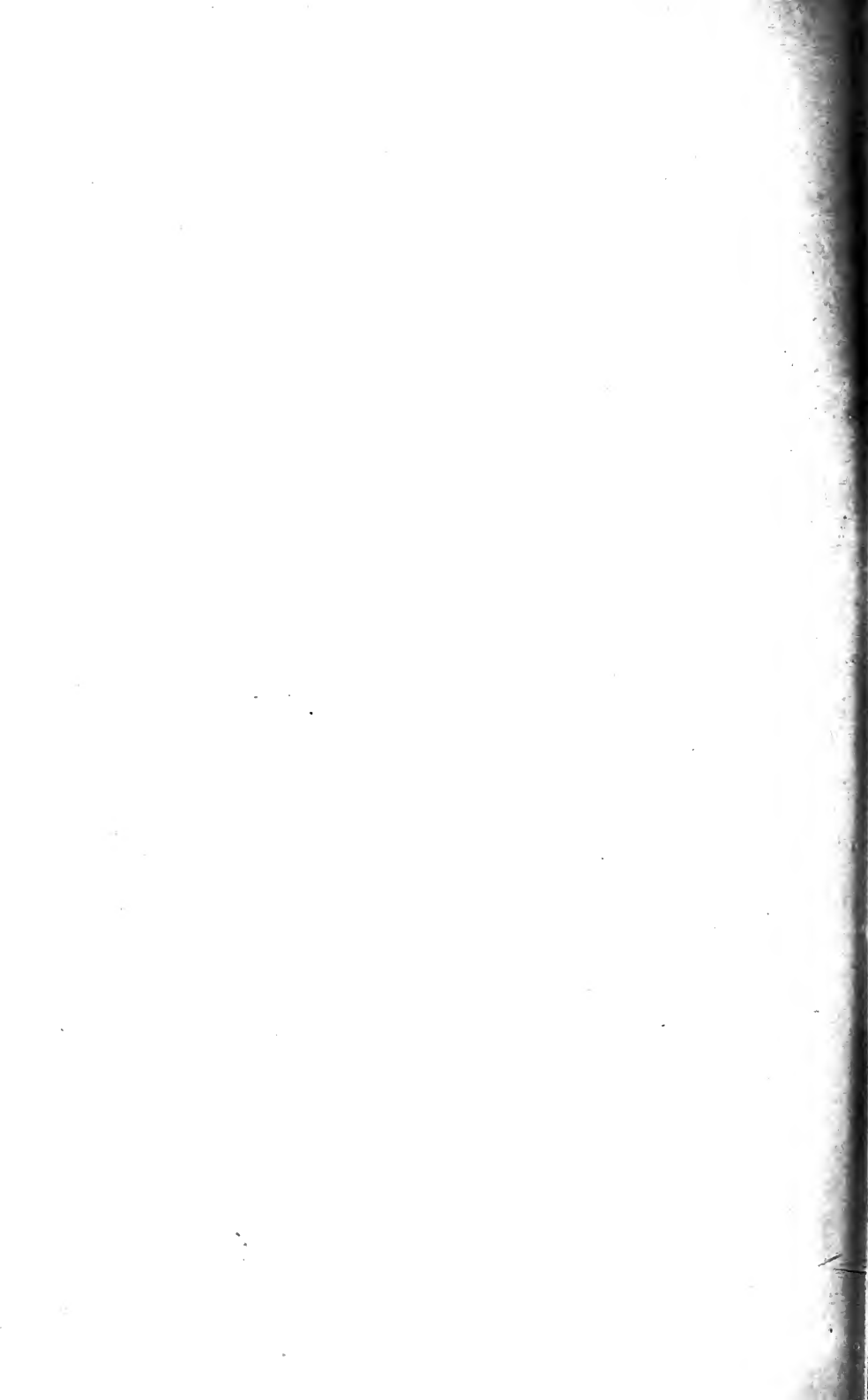
Pungnyanömsi took off the atöe of the bride and invited her to come to the bowl again, where the upper part of her body was bathed, the bride washing her arms herself. The bridegroom somewhat protested saying the water was too cold. He seemed to be at first embarrassed to take off his shirt, and so the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

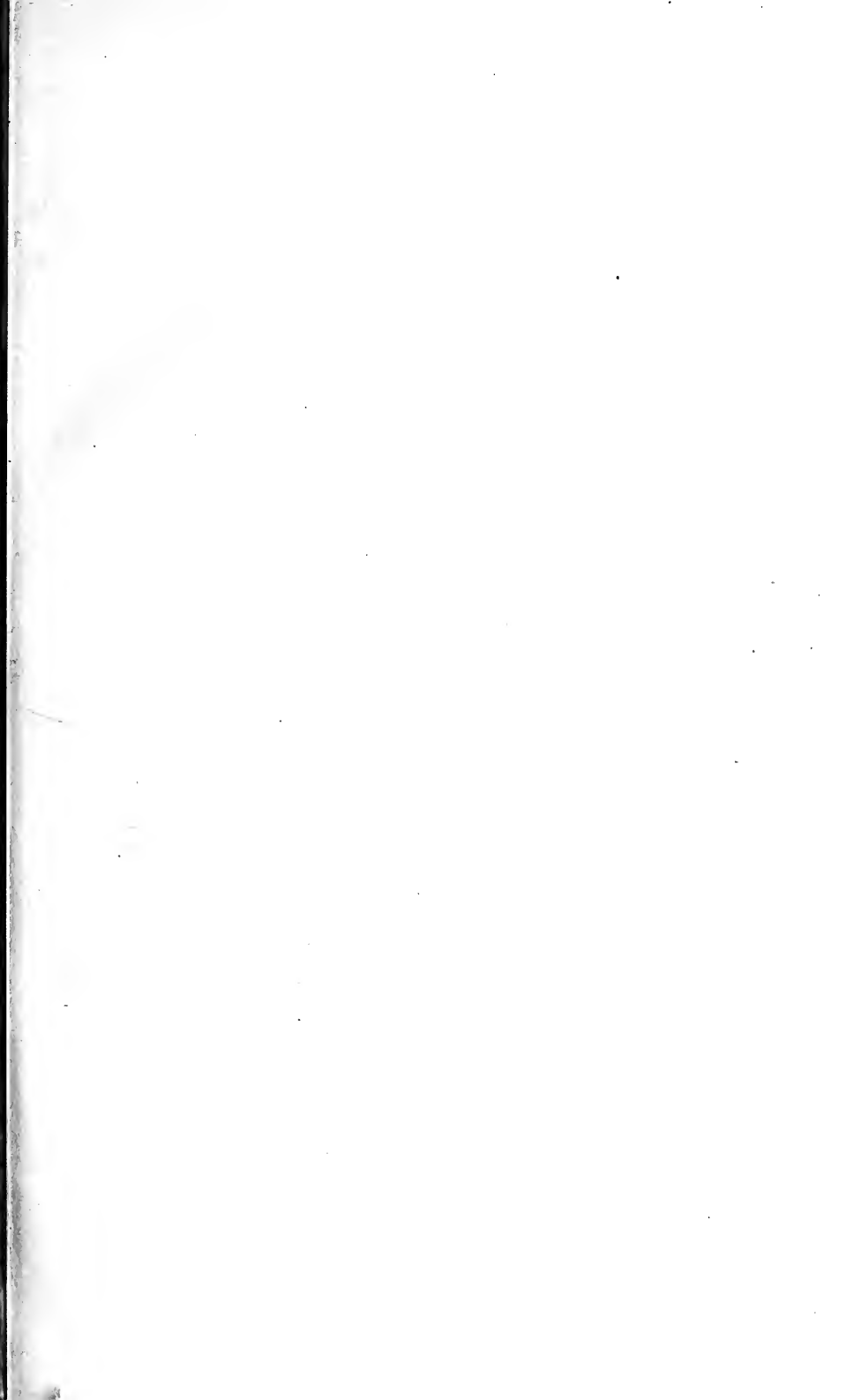
As soon as the bathing was over all the women left except the mother of the bride and Kuktiwa's wife. At about five o'clock, as soon as the hair of the young people was somewhat dry, Pungnyanömsi handed them a pinch of corn-meal, whereupon they went outside and sprinkled the corn-meal towards the dawn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

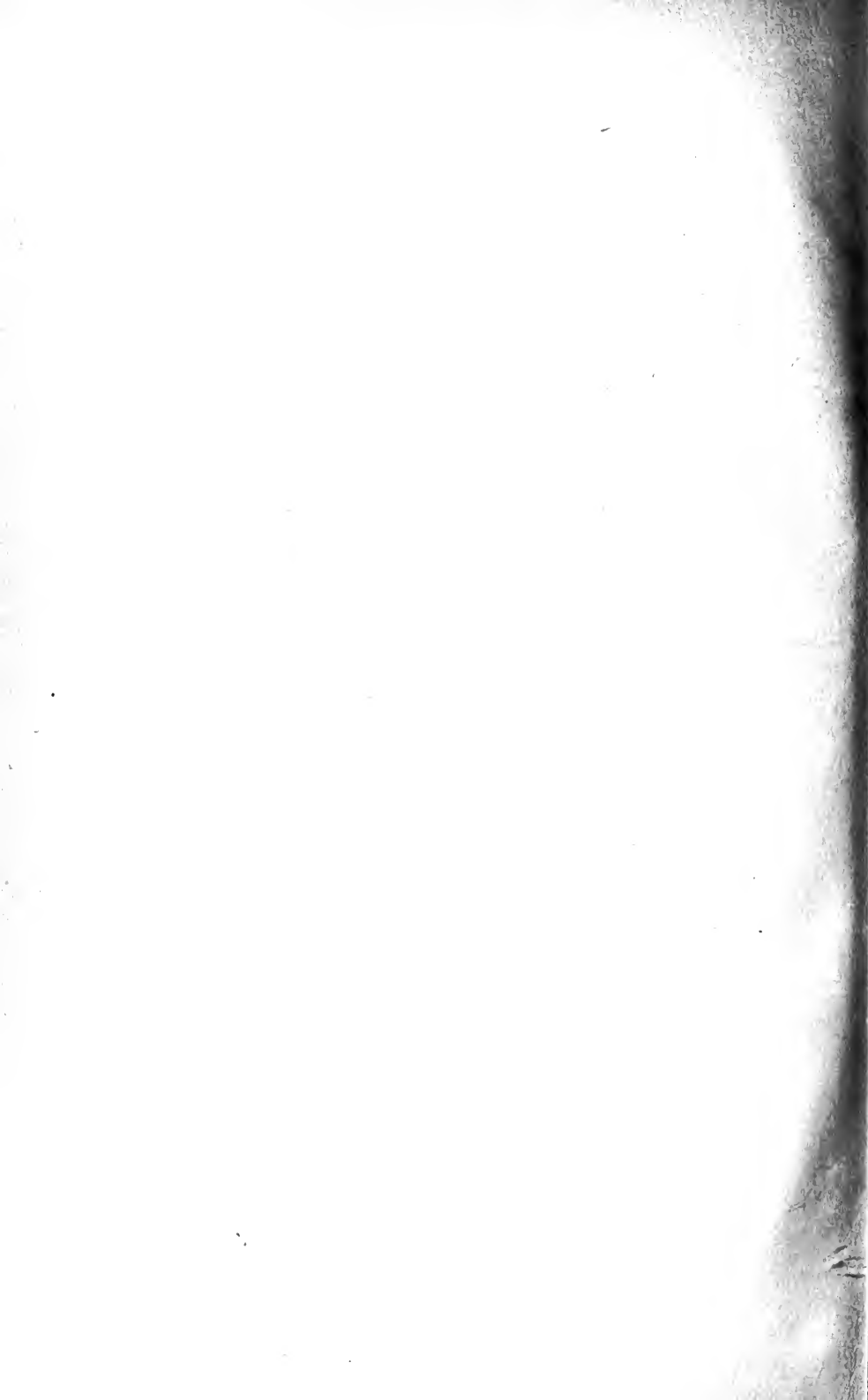
After this feast cotton was distributed to the friends and relatives of the young couple as usual, who then prepare, during the following six to eight weeks, the bridal costume which is used in another part of the general marriage ceremony.

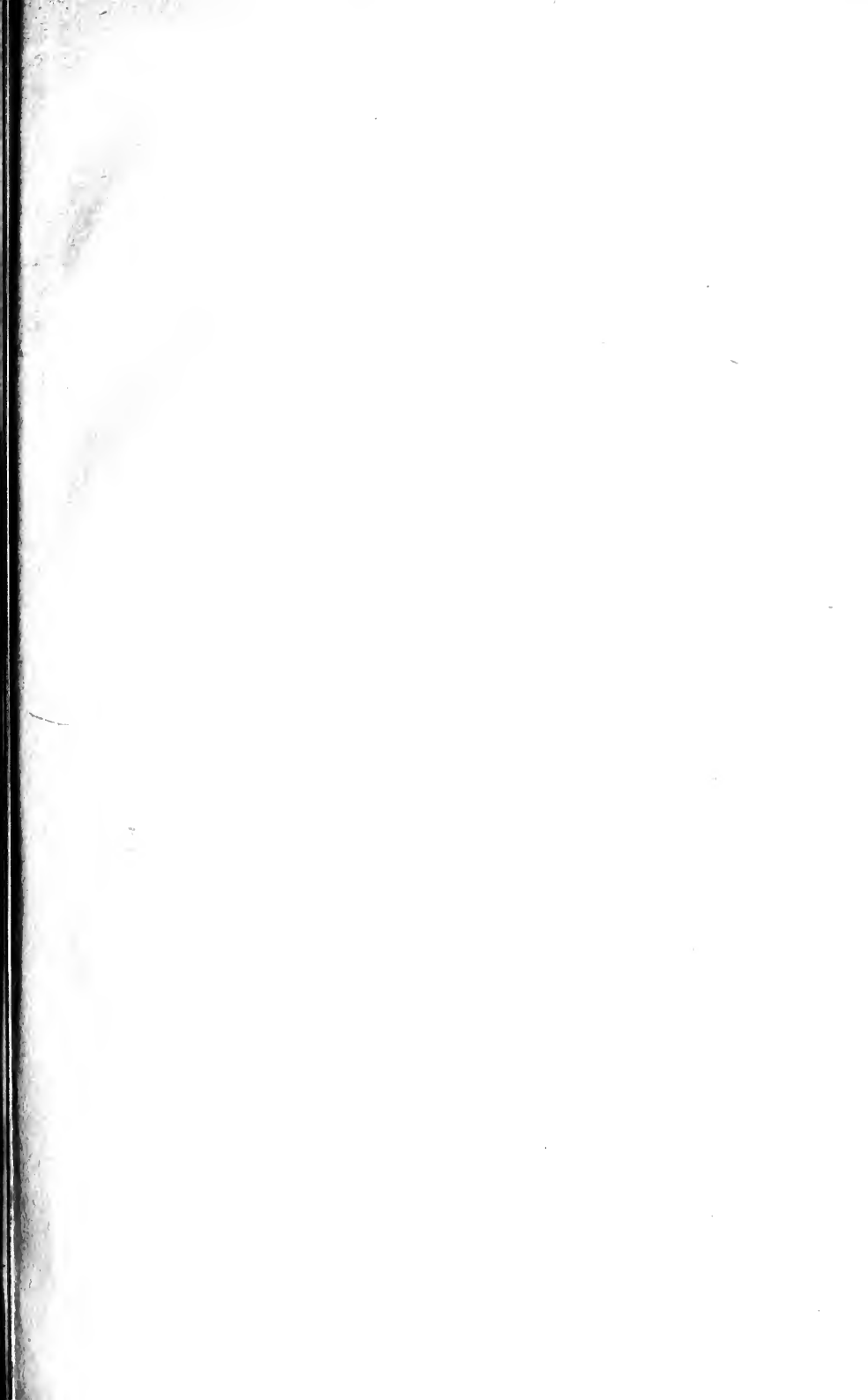












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