HOPI SHRINES NEAR THE EAST MESA, ARIZONA

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Introduction

The more we know of the sociological evolution of the Pueblos, the more evident it is that the increase of population and attendant modifications in culture are due only partially to internal growth or the enlargement of existing families. Additions of new clans are most vital factors in producing these changes, always tending to modify more or less the culture of the population with which they have become incorporated. Survivals of these additions may be detected in cults, language, and arts of the component people. In order rightly to estimate the modifications resulting from successive incorporations of other clans with a people, it is important to recognize distinctive culture features belonging to the several component clans. This can be done by determining the sites of their former habitations and investigating the archeological evidences of culture contained in them.[1]

The main but not the only source of our knowledge of the migrations and successive halts of Hopi clans is tradition, which indicates the pueblos (now ruins) that have been occupied by them. Culture objects from these ruins may verify or disprove tradition. Each clan added to a Hopi pueblo, being in itself a unit, has its own history, that may be regarded as independent of other chronicles of the kind up to the time of its fusion into general Hopi history.

Some of the characteristics of clan culture history survive among the Hopi to the present day. The first step in an investigation of Pueblo culture evolution is, then, definitely to associate ruins with clans. This may be done by several methods, one of the most reliable of which is by traditions.

I have already shown how certain Hopi clans claim ownership in eagles' nests near distant ruins and how this claim may be used

[1] Most of the data here recorded were gathered between 1890 and 1894, while the author was connected with the Hemenway Expedition.

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died of smallpox the preceding year. Hani declared also that the stone that usually covered the shrine of Badger had been removed to allow the inmate to leave his home in the under-world.[1] It was then discovered that some shrines were practically symbols of the entrance to the under-world realm of the dead, and regarded in the same way as springs or kivas.

Traps Mistaken for Shrines

Among several constructions in or near Hopi pueblos, ancient and modern, that have been mistaken for shrines, may be mentioned coyote pitfalls and rabbit traps; one of the former, from near Sikyatki, is figured in the accompanying illustration (pl. XXVI, fig. *c*). As here shown the construction consists of three flat stones set upright on edge, forming a box with one side and the top open. The missing side gives entrance to the trap and the upper stone is seen through the opening. When the trap is set, this upper stone is weighted, and propped up with a stick to which is attached a piece of meat or a rabbit, and the coyote in pulling out the prop causes this stone to fall on its head. Similar traps occur about ancient ruins and have sometimes been mistaken for shrines.

Conclusion

It is not intended to consider in the preceding pages all shrines and springs about the East mesa, but rather to show the importance of many of them in the study of Hopi archeology. Ownership in shrines and springs, like that in eagles' nests, is hereditary in clans among the Hopi. The right to a spring is one of the most ancient of all ownerships in realty. So sacred are these places to the Hopi that they are associated with tribal gods and clan tutelaries; consequently, proprietorship in them is not abandoned even when the clans in their migrations seek new building sites.

It is desirable that those engaged in the study of Southwestern archeology should pay particular attention to the shrines in the immediate neighborhood of ruins, and, where possible, gather all

[1] Nothing would induce Hani to accompany me to this shrine, or sipapû, of Badger. I have never seen it, but have had it described by several Hopi whose descriptions recall the katcina shrine used in the Niman.

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