

ELEMENTS OF CULTURE AMONG THE MARICOPA, PIMAN, AND LOWER COLORADO TRIBES (Concluded)

<i>non to Maricopa, Pima-Papago, and Lower Colorado Yumans</i>	<i>Common to Maricopa and Lower Colorado Yumans</i>	<i>Common to Maricopa and Pima-Papago</i>	<i>Peculiar to Maricopa</i>	<i>Peculiar to Lower Colorado Yumans</i>	<i>Peculiar to Pima-Papago</i>
<b>OUS RITUAL ELEMENTS (Continued)</b>					
bu on game killed by young nan	All game tabu	Bull-roarer	Bull-roarer a toy	(Occurs among Yuma)	Bull-roarer for rain: call audience
	Noise of inanimate objects ill-omened		Eagle feathers "poisonous"	Tabu on deer and mountain sheep perinnent	First deer Tabu (197)
<b>AL AND DANCE</b>					
nce form: opposed lines of mer and women moving to and fro: are occurrence of circling dance (170, 183, 205, 289)	No ritual dancing				Little ritual dancing (250)
	Harvest dance alone called "dance"	Name song (begging dance) (171)			With rain-making
		Sahuaro brewing and celebration (70, L 51, 92, 119, 148)			Rain-making (347)
		Elements of Vikita-Navitco dance	Killdeer butterfly performance and dance (in war dance); masked clown (derived from Vikita-Navitco?)		Vikita-Navitco: masked singers; corn symbolism; rain-making; sun and moon; curing by touching effigies (91, 108, 168, 175, 266, 340, 378)
			"Moving-the-king" dance	(In H'alchidhoma mourning rite)	Audience of village groups oriented
			Prediction by swallowing dirt piles and by smoking		Salt gathering expedition, with purification (94, L 269)

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HOPi HUNTING AND HUNTING RITUAL

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## HOPI HUNTING AND HUNTING RITUAL

## INTRODUCTION

ALTHOUGH Hopi economic life is based fundamentally on agriculture, the hunting of wild animals plays a not inconsiderable role in the total economy of this desert people. The rabbit and other small game, eagle, and coyote are the only animals hunted to day, but formerly, when white contacts were few and grass more plentiful, abundant larger game roamed the Hopi country. When Whipple in 1854, and Ives in 1860, made their entrada into this region both reported numerous signs of the black-tailed deer, antelope, mountain sheep, mountain lion, grizzly bear and gray wolf, as well as the smaller game already mentioned. Possibly the Hopi, at one time or another, hunted all or most of these animals, though some more regularly than others. It is noted in this connection that Hough, in his examination of ruined Pueblo sites in the vicinity of the present Pueblos, found the bones of such carnivora as fox, coyote, wolf and puma much rarer than those of deer, antelope and rabbits. He found no bones of bear, but bones of beaver and small rodents, and of birds like the turkey, eagle, hawk and owl were frequent.<sup>1</sup> Fewkes, in excavating Awatobi, destroyed about 1700, found in one of the rooms a large bear skeleton which he suggests was a carcass awaiting consumption at the time the town was burned.<sup>2</sup> Today, however, for the larger animals, the memory of hunting seems to cover only that of antelope, deer and mountain sheep. One may conclude that these were regularly hunted whereas the lion and bear were killed, if at all, only through chance encounter and then because of necessity, not choice, never through regular expeditions sent out in their pursuit. The following is characteristic of this attitude:

Long ago when the people were living beside Corn Rock where the ruins are today, an old woman went out to collect firewood. On her way home she was killed by a bear. Her relatives, searching for her next day, found her bones. Near the spot, they marked the rock with the imprint of a bear's paw. They were too frightened to try and punish the bear by hunting it.

All the animals hunted were used either for ceremonial purposes alone, or for food, materials for clothing and blankets, and for the manufacture of items of material culture as well. The total phrasing of the complex has also been affected by factors other than those centered about the food quest. First, the characteristic ritual emphasis of Hopi society, and the application of ritual to hunting in order both to improve hunting methods and to secure the conservation and increase of game. Second, the habits of game in fairly open country, such as surrounds the Hopi Pueblos which necessitates the use, as a major technique, of patterns involving the rounding up or running down of game. Thirdly, the danger of hunters being attacked by enemy raiding parties and hence the necessity of hunting in

<sup>1</sup> Hough, *Archaeological Field Work*, 356-57.

<sup>2</sup> Fewkes, *A-wa'wob*, 371.

large groups for the protection thus afforded. Beside the social values arising from communal hunting methods, the hunt itself gives to the Hopi the opportunity to indulge in the pleasure and excitement of rapid movement that sets a premium on such elements as chance and skilful daring. In this respect much of the fascination that the hunt has for the Hopi appears to depend upon the contrast of these values with the monotonous routine work, the long-continued and patient toil implicit in all agricultural operations, and in the round of sedentary indoor winter activities.

In this paper I wish to describe the various aspects of the hunting complex in Hopi culture with reference to the ritual that accompanies each stage of the hunting cycle. I do not consider snake hunting in the present context, since it has already been adequately studied in accounts of the snake and antelope ceremonies in Dorsey, Voth, and Fewkes.

#### ANTELOPE AND DEER HUNTING

According to all my Second Mesa informants antelope and deer were hunted by the Hopi in but two ways. In earlier times, when horses were scarce, individual animals were hunted by running them down on foot. Two men with provisions and water gourds slung over their shoulders would seek an antelope trail. Finding it, they followed it all day, slept on it at night and took it up again in the morning, thus keeping going until the animal was sighted. Then they could get close enough to shoot with bow and arrow or else throw the exhausted animal to the ground and choke it to death. The men always hunted in pairs "to help each other." The second was the common Hopi method. The detailed account here given is a composite one compiled from information obtained from two men, Sak<sup>3</sup> mas of Mishongnovi (S), and Yustina of Shipaulovi (Y), both of whom had participated in many hunts when they were youths. The following story tells of the origin of antelopes:

The Hopi emerged from the Underworld and wandered around from place to place. At last they stopped at Burro Spring. There were many snakes here, however, which fatally bit the children, so that the people were once more obliged to move on. There was one woman in their company who was about to give birth to a child. She managed to accompany the wanderers only as far as Giant's Chair where she remained alone while the others went on to a place by Corn Rock where they decided to stay and build a village. Next day certain men went back to find out how the woman was getting on. They found that she had given birth to twins which were like little antelopes with horns on their heads. They also found that the mother had become an antelope as well. Although the three wanted to remain where they were, the Hopi brought them back to the mesa. They were unhappy in the village so the Hopi later sent them back to the place *mixai'oi*, where they made a hole in the ground and let the animals live there. The mother the Hopi called *mixai'oi wi'xai*, Mother of all Animals. They gave the antelopes prayer sticks, and have done so ever since so that the antelope and deer may increase in number and be hunted for the good of the Hopi (S).

Both antelope and deer were hunted in the region around the buttes to the southwest of the villages and on towards the Little Colorado River. The best time to hunt was after the Snake Dance and after the women's dance *Jaco'o'n* in the Hopi moon months corresponding to August and October (*ga'mi'ia'* and *laco'o'n mi'ia'*) when the animals were

fastest; in December when snow might make it difficult for the animals to run fast and their tracks would also be plainly discernible; and again in March and April "when the peach trees are in blossom and the animals have their young with them" (Y). Any man might arrange a hunt (*ozifalhai'wisa*), thus becoming a hunt chief (*mo'wvi*). The hunt chief makes two prayer feathers, one for the Gray Fox (*kwé'wi'i*), and the other for the Mother of All Animals. These he takes to the Badger clan chief, announcer of hunts "because the Badger clan own all the animals," four days before the hunt is to take place.<sup>3</sup> Both smoke a corn husk cigarette and then the projected hunt is discussed. The announcer calls out the hunt using the pseudonyms "rat" (*ka'la*) and "mouse" (*siwi'wva*) in his announcement to mean "antelope" (*oai dai'fra*) and "deer" (*ai'sa*) respectively. This is so that the animals may not hear themselves referred to and so run away before the hunters approach. Another explanation is that the *katsina soyo'ku'*, when she comes to the village in winter to ask the people to hunt for her, always refers to the larger animals in these metaphorical terms, and "as *soyo'ku'* speaks, so must all the Hopi speak when a hunt is announced" (Y). Later the announcer takes the two prayer feathers to *mixai'oi*, the shrine of the Mother of all Animals, placing them there with corn meal and prayers that good fortune and no injury shall be the lot of the hunters. The hunt might be announced also in other villages on the same mesa and anyone who wished was at liberty to join the party, lads as well as men.

During the four days before the hunt the men prepared equipment and weapons while the women made food for them. Continence was necessary. Dreams were looked upon as omens: to dream about a girl and have dream intercourse with her was a bad omen; to dream of a girl with whom one is enamoured without dreaming intercourse was good.<sup>4</sup> If was unlucky not to dream at all; it was also a sign of bad luck to wake in the morning feeling drowsy and sluggish.

The hunters left the village on the fifth day. In the old days, for antelope as for all other types of hunting, the proper dress for the hunter was a ceremonial kilt; the body was covered with yellow pigment and an eagle feather was tied in the hair (Y). The remains of the sunflower blossoms used as face pigment by the women in the *laco'o'n* was taken by the men after the dance and used by them to rub on throwing sticks, and behind both ears and on the face, for good luck (S). Neither informant had any knowledge of the use of the flower of the scarlet glia mixed with sacred meal which Hough mentions as being used in antelope hunting without, however, specifying the manner.<sup>5</sup> Y thought it was a Navaho and not a Hopi practice. Throughout the time the hunters were away from the village they might not joke or laugh, but had to be serious minded, thinking only of the hunting and the

<sup>3</sup> Hunts are announced by the Rabbit clan chief at First Mesa (Parsons, *Hopi and Zuni Ceremonialism*, 217). There is no Rabbit clan at Mishongnovi and announcements are made by the chief of the linked Badger clan. At Shipaulovi where there are only two clans, Bear and Sun, the village chief, and I think the hunt chief also, is a Mishongnovi. Water clansman married to a Shipaulovi woman. There is no Mishongnovi Badger clansman married or living in Shipaulovi.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. p. 10 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Hough, *Environmental Interrelations*, 140.

killing of animals. Nor might they have had thoughts towards each other or be uncooperative in the hunt, since this too would bring bad luck to the expedition. The women and men left behind in the villages might help the hunters to secure good fortune by rubbing ashes from the cooking fires behind their ears after the men left the village and further, by thinking no evil thoughts while the men were away.

Camp was made as near as possible to the location of the herd of animals, but in no particular fashion. The men ate and then rid themselves of the odor of women and babies which antelope and deer dislike, by drawing the hands over the legs, holding them to the mouth and blowing out with the breath, doing this for each part of the body in turn. Later they sat around the camp fire, in village groups if men from more than one village were present, and each man made six prayer sticks: one for the Mother of all Animals, one for Hunting Man deity (ma:k di:'vwi na'ka), one for Coyote so that Coyote would be prevailed upon to chase the animals at night and so tire them out for the next day, one for Earth Father (Masau), one specially long prayer stick for the antelope and deer to bring about their breeding and increase, and a final stick for the Sun. The sticks were collected into five bundles, those for the Sun being kept apart and dedicated to this deity on the following morning at sunrise. On a large plaque a section of turquoise necklace was put with the bundles and the plaque placed in the middle of the circle of men. The men sat upright with arms on knees while the leader sang special hunt songs. These songs were known only to one man now dead, and they could be sung only at hunting time without ill-fortune over taking the singer (S). The plaque was smoked over by all the men. After all had eaten of sweet corn meal dough (kwi'mi), two men were chosen to take the prayer sticks to a place away from camp, sprinkle them with meal, and pray for success, and then hide themselves under a blanket some distance away to listen for omens. To hear the sound of wolf, coyote or crow was good because coyote and wolf were chasing the animals and tiring them out, with crows gathering round their carcasses, thus foreshadowing death to the animals. To hear nothing at all or to hear the sound of bells was bad because the bells were jingled by the animals as they ran away from the hunters.<sup>9</sup> The two men returned to camp, and after all had smoked again, the report was made and then all could sleep. If the omens were bad, the hunt was held just the same, but with no hope of success, and the whole procedure would be repeated on the following night.

At sunrise the leader offered the sixth bundle of prayer sticks to the Sun deity with prayers for success. A small fire was lit, and each man passed his hands through the smoke to make them strong. After eating breakfast all mounted their horses. Two men acted as leaders to form a two wing circle some miles in diameter, and another pair went inside the circle to rouse the animals and chase them toward the hunters waiting on the periphery. The animals were chased until exhausted. The bow and arrow, later the gun, were sometimes used to bring down the largest animals, but approved practice was to throw the

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the bells were also ill-famed, because they represented survival in folklore of evil attached to the bells of the Spanish mission churches.

exhausted animal to the ground, point its head towards the village that rain might go in that direction, and then grasping the nose and jaws with the hand, press the head into the sand until the animal was smothered. No food or corn meal was sprinkled over the animals at this or any other time. The head was turned towards the east before skinning began. "To kill antelope or deer by cutting the throat or letting blood run from a wound causes a whirlwind and sandstorm; to smother them enables their spirits to go to their home and so to live again on earth" (S).

Each animal killed was divided among the killer and the next three men to arrive on the scene, making four divisions altogether. The animal was skinned and butchered immediately. An incision was made along the breast and the skin taken off towards the back and legs. Incisions were made under each side of the jaw and the tongue and breast were removed. The internal organs were drawn out through this aperture. The tail was left on the hide but the head was cut off. The blood was allowed to drain into the stomach cavity. The intestines were taken aside, their contents emptied on the ground, sprinkled with meal, and prayers made over them for the increase of animals and for rain. A fire was built, the liver roasted and eaten by the hunters. The killer received the horns, hide, head and body after portions were divided as follows: the first man to arrive received the left fore leg and the right hind leg; the second the right fore leg and the left hind leg; the third the internal organs and the blood, which he either drank immediately or cooked later over a fire.

After returning to the village each hunter wiped off and blew away with his breath the odor of antelopes, as previously he had rid himself of the odor of women, so that the antelope spirits might not trouble the hunter by haunting the village. Each hunter also took a bowl full of lighted juniper, bark and leaves (yri'maxai), and smoked himself over this as an aid to purification. The bowl and the ashes he afterwards placed on the shrine "done with hunting" (ma'knavor'bzini) situated on the ledge of the mesa below Mishong-novi village. The skin, meat and head were carefully seen to, to leave them lying about the house while the hunter slept would bring him sickness or death (Y). On the day of return only the tongue might be eaten by the hunter and his immediate family; usually, most of the meat was sun-dried and preserved for later use, while the remainder was reserved for a feast on the following day. The meat was cut up and boiled with hominy. A cob of yellow corn called Mother Corn, was placed at the bottom of the stew bowl and a cob of white corn called Father Corn, was placed on top of the meat. At times Father Corn was placed in the mouth of the animal and cooked there in place of the tongue. There was no pointing in the six directions with the cobs of corn. When the meat had finished cooking a feast was held to which relatives and friends were invited. The hunter's paternal aunts brought with them water bread and other corn foods to add variety to the menu; sometimes all the guests did likewise. Each guest took a bite of the Mother or Father Corn before tasting any meat in order to keep a healthy stomach and so avoid sickness. The aunts ate first of the tongue and then of the ordinary meat; after they had eaten, the other guests joined in the feast. The bones and skull of the animal were carefully placed aside, neither broken up for the

narrow not given to the dogs. Each bone was marked along its length with a streak of red ochre, and the skull was similarly marked on the eye sockets, jaws and nose. Before sunrise on the following morning, the bones sprinkled with meal were placed on a shrine *diri' ski* close to the village with prayers for the increase of animals; the skull with the antlers also, if the latter were to be put to no practical use, was placed on the shrine *ma'kna vo' dzi ni* with similar prayers.<sup>7</sup>

In connection with the above description the following account of an antelope hunt in which he participated as a youth was volunteered by Y:

Informant went hunting with a party in December. On the trip to the hunting location he saw a falling star which meant good luck because it foretold falling antelope. Half way from Shipaulovi to the present bridge over the Little Colorado River near Winslow the party came upon antelope tracks, camped, and took omens. Y heard the sound of coyote, crow and eagle hawk: the omens were good. On the next morning he and another man saw three animals, one of them a large buck with a disabled leg. The buck headed towards the buttes, so he left his horse with his friend and trailed the animal on foot. After a long pursuit he came up with the buck which fell into an arroyo and could not get out. He threw the animal over and choked it to death. He lit a small smoke fire. His friend saw this signal and came up with the horses. He gave his friend a fore and a hind leg and some meat for assisting him to skin the animal and pack the carcass back to camp. The hunters arrived back at the village in the afternoon. Y's wife made hominy and stew, and on the following morning his paternal aunts and friends came to eat.

Various other techniques used in hunting deer and antelopes have been attributed to the Hopi, the chute and pound method,<sup>8</sup> stalking in animal disguises,<sup>9</sup> the use of sounding gourds as decoys.<sup>10</sup> But all my informants agree that these methods were not characteristic of Hopi hunting and were never used in the Second Mesa villages. The chute and pound is considered to be a Navaho method purely, though S said it was occasionally used by First Mesa Hopi who had learned of it from the Navaho. The animal disguise was attributed to Zuni and Navaho, not to Hopi, though here again culture contact may have introduced it to First Mesa. Y asserted that if a Hopi man dressed in a deer skin or antelope skin at any time other than during a ceremony, he would become crazy and die. Of the gourd decoy, informants had heard of its use in eastern Pueblos, but were vague about the matter. Other techniques, such as driving animals into pits, setting fire to brush and thus driving animals together, drawing animals over mesa edges or into natural culs de sac, or waiting for animals at drinking places were all quite unknown to informants. Dogs were occasionally used to assist in running down animals, but were not specifically trained for hunting; they were given children's names and taught to answer to call.

<sup>7</sup> Parsons, *op. cit.*, 57.

<sup>8</sup> See the accounts in Stephen, *Hopi Journal*, Bourke, *Singe Dance*, 72, 84, and Hough, *Hopi Indian Collection*, 287. I am indebted to Dr. E. C. Parsons for her kindness in allowing me to consult Stephen's journal while it is still in proof.

<sup>9</sup> Hough, *loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> Hough, *op. cit.*, 296.

Beliefs and customs concerning antelope hunting other than those already mentioned were rare. The meat of animals was always eaten even though the skins were used for ceremonial costumes. There were no beliefs about the person who willfully wasted venison, though one suffering from convulsions, a common complaint in former days, should eat no meat from antelope, deer or mountain sheep. The meat from deer, antelope or other animals killed by coyote or mountain lion was never eaten. Such meat "smelled" and caused sickness if consumed. Special prayer feathers were made at the winter solstice and placed on the shrine of Masau to secure the fertility of animals and good fortune in hunting. There was no use of deer caldull as hunting charms.

Special precautions had to be adopted in trailing the albino antelope or deer (*masi' tcvu viva' ni*) in order to be sure that the animals did not circle round the hunter. If this happened the hunter would be crazed "like a drunken man" and die. When it was evident that the animal was going around in a circle the hunter had to break up the trail with his hand or with a stick. "This is good for you" and saves from craziness another hunter who might otherwise unwittingly find himself inside the circle. If a hunter were caught inside such a circle the only cure was for him to take a piece of skin from the albino when it was killed, place the skin in a bowl with lighted juniper, and thoroughly smoke his head over the bowl. Another informant believed that being caught inside the circular tracks caused blindness to the hunter and his horse; smoking with juniper was a cure for blindness of both man and animal.

The skins of antelope and deer were softened and preserved by being first scraped and then rubbed with the brains of the animal dissolved in hot water, and the skins were afterwards pegged out in the sun to dry. They were variously used for clothing, moccasins, leggings, arm bands, shields, bags, masks, riding gear, lariats, and drum heads. Sinew was used for bow strings and for sewing, hooves and antlers for rattles, necklaces, items of ceremonial costume, wall hooks, arrow wrenches, basket-making implements, and the like. The scrotum was filled with sand, dried in the sun, and used as a rattle.

#### MOUNTAIN SHEEP HUNTING

The following data on the hunting of mountain sheep (*awa' nu' ni*) is mainly from information given by Y since he is one of the few very old men still alive who remember the method with any completeness. I give his account in some detail. The method appears to follow that for antelope hunting in general patterning but presents interesting elaborations.

The time for hunting mountain sheep was in September, when the animals were fattest, usually after the *ma' z'rau* festival. Any man might arrange a hunt and become a hunt chief (*mak mo' w'i*), but only the older men would assume this responsibility. The hunt chief made six prayer sticks, one for the Mother of All Animals (*dirgi' i w'i xdi*); one for Earth Father (*Masaui*); one for Sparrow Hawk (*ki' sa*); one for Eagle deity (*gwa' ni*); one for Gray Fox (*kw'e' w'i*); and one for another animal deity (*ozo' hona*). By making prayer

sticks for these animal deities the chief assured himself that the hunters would be successful as these deities are in their own hunting. The hunt chief took these sticks to the Badger clan chief. The two smoked together, and the hunt leader explained the purpose of his visit, using metaphorical language referring to the hunting of rats, mice and other "meat substitutes." The Badger chief then called out the hunt four days ahead and placed the prayer sticks on the shrine *naka'tena* near the rock *siau'ndjikwi'* below Shipaulovi village.

During the next four days, food, equipment, and weapons were prepared, and everything made ready for the expedition. Confinement was necessary. Beside the dreams given in the preceding section as foretelling good or ill luck, the following were also mentioned as likely to affect the fortune of the hunter whether he dreamed them in the village or in the hunting camp: to dream of Masau or to experience a similar "nightmare" and to awake with the body stiff and paralyzed with fear was good luck; to dream of an accident or of somebody being hurt was bad luck, and the hunter should not have gone hunting or else, if he went, he had to be particularly careful about observing hunting customs and prescriptions.

On leaving the village the hunters assembled at the place *djikwi'* where they waited for laggards and for men from the other villages on the mesa. They made camp near to the buttes or canyons where mountain sheep were to be found, built a fire, and each man took ashes in his left hand and circled them over his head six times in an anti-clockwise motion. The ashes were thrown away and with them the odor and contagion of women. Thereafter the hunter for the duration of the hunt had to keep his mind fixed on the killing of animals and take no further thought of women under the penalty of misfortune's overtaking him. There is the same idea here as in antelope hunting of ridding the hunter of contact with women but the specific technique varies slightly. Parties of men, grouped either by villages or by friendship, then made for themselves little round shade houses of brush and grass called hunt houses (*makci*). There was no order in the arrangement of these, nor any protecting fence about them. A man slept inside or outside as he pleased but always with his equipment and weapons ready for a surprise attack. In going out of the hunt house a man turned left at the entrance and walked round from the back to the front again before going any place; he did not walk straight out of the door under penalty of sickness. After the hunt houses were built the men ate, and later each hunter made six prayer sticks, one for each of the hunting deities mentioned earlier. These were placed on a plaque and taken away from the camp for omens. When the omens had been reported to the hunters, the hunt chief called out the hunt to the camp, referring as before to the hunting of rats and mice. All might now go to sleep.

Early next morning the hunt chief built a fire over prayer sticks and put animal droppings and grass on it; each hunter passed his weapons and his hands through the smoke. The men went out on foot in the two-winged circle formation. Using dogs to assist and making much noise, they tried either to drive the sheep into a cul de sac canyon or else to drive them over a mesa edge in such a manner that the animals would be killed outright or

severely injured. The incapacitated animals were choked to death or else shot with bow and arrow. Those that took refuge on inaccessible rock ledges were lassoed with ropes of braided wool, hauled to the top of the cliff and then choked with their heads turned in the direction of the villages. At the end of the day the kill was skinned and butchered. The skinning procedure was like that described for antelopes. The meat was cut up into equal parts and the meat placed together. The chief divided all the meat equally between all the hunters present, save that the killer of the animal received in addition the skin, hooves, and horns. All the meat, together with the internal organs and the blood collected in the stomach bags, was taken back to camp. The internal organs were eaten immediately, as was the blood cooked with sheep fat. In the evening the heads were roasted over the fire: "if you were not too tired and fell asleep early you had a good supper of roasted sheep heads." The topics for evening conversation would refer to hunting, hunting stories, incidents of the day and the like. The dogs were fed on offal, never on bones or meat.

The men stayed in the hunting camp and hunted for four days. On the final day's hunt all but two of the sheep captured were killed. These two, a male and a female, were let go free "so as to make more sheep for the next hunting." Before breaking camp to return to the village each man purified himself with ashes from the fire, casting the ashes in the opposite direction from the village. Each man who had actually killed sheep took a long cotton string to which he tied a number of prayer feathers at equal intervals, thus making a giant prayer feather (*ni'kwasi*). This he placed on the ground near the camp, with the skulls of the animals he had killed in a row on top, each skull facing toward the rising sun. The skulls were sprinkled with meal and prayers were made that the spirits of the animals might go to their homes there to live again.

On return to the village, each hunter smoked himself with juniper (*nyima'xai*) and the bowl of ashes was placed as before on the shrine *maknivo'* *dzibi*. The meat was cut into thin strips, boiled, sun dried and stored in piles in the storeroom "just as corn is stored." The meat to be used immediately was boiled with hominy and the usual feast was held on the next day, the paternal aunts bringing water bread and other foods, and eating first of tongue, heart and meat before the remaining guests ate. The bones were carefully put aside, painted with red ochre, and placed on the shrine, *mbiska*.

#### RABBIT HUNTING.

The organized communal rabbit hunt, termed "hunting" (*na'kiwa*),<sup>11</sup> is still held at irregular but frequent intervals throughout the year, most frequently in early summer and autumn when fields must be protected from the depredations of the rabbit and when there are eagles in the village to be fed each day, less frequently in winter when the hunt forms a welcome relief from indoor life, though only when weather conditions permit. Hunts are often held in connection with ceremonies in order to provide meat for feasting or for dis-

<sup>11</sup> Note that rabbit hunting is thought of as "hunting" and not qualified by any descriptive term such as "rabbit" hunting.

tribution to the villagers. There is a closed season, however, during the making of prayer sticks at the winter solstice and for four days afterwards. During these days rabbits are supposed to have time to increase in numbers; this is in line with the concept that the prayer sticks made at this time help towards the fertility of all animal life. But since the ground is considered specially thin during this month called "danger moon" (*ga 'mi' ta*), it is dangerous to break into the earth, so no animals, not even rabbits, should be dug from their holes during the whole of the moon.

Any man in the village may organize and lead a rabbit hunt, thus becoming hunt chief (*ma'k mo' ʔwi*). The day before the hunt he makes six prayer sticks, four for the rabbits themselves, one for Gray Fox deity, and one for the Mother of All Animals. He takes these to the house of the Badger clan hunt chief in the evening. Both smoke a corn-flusk cigarette; then the leader tells his plans for the hunt. The hunt announcer calls out from his house top the next day's hunt. He calls toward each of the four cardinal directions, naming the meeting place for the hunters and accurately specifying in succession the areas of land which will be hunted. Later he places the prayer sticks for Fox and Mother of All Animals on the shrine *dixci' ai*. Omen dreams are similar to those mentioned previously, but there is no taboo on intercourse with women.

Early next morning the hunt chief goes to the announced meeting place taking with him the four prayer sticks. Here he makes a circular clearing in the sand and in this a small basin-shaped depression. From the four cardinal directions he makes four lines of meal meeting at the central intersection, starting from the north and proceeding anti-clockwise. A prayer stick is placed on each line with the feathers meeting in the center. On top of the sticks he puts grass, brush, animal droppings, and sand bearing the imprint of the rabbit tracks. The brush and grass is then lit.<sup>12</sup> As the hunters assemble each throws a handful of grass on the fire and passes his throwing stick through the smoke. This causes the stick to throw straight. When all are ready the fire is covered with sand. The hunters spread out in the two-winged circle formation, twenty-five yards or so apart according to the number present and the area to be beaten. All then walk towards the center of the circle beating the bushes and killing the rabbits with throwing sticks as they are flushed. When two men flush the same rabbit the animal belongs to him whose stick hits it first. The same procedure is repeated over adjacent areas until it is time to return to the village.

On occasions when rabbits are numerous and doing marked damage to the crops, the procedure may vary slightly. Representatives from each *kiva* are expected to participate. The hunt leader remains beside the partially sand-covered fire throughout the day, taking no part in the actual hunting. The hunters set fire to the brush and grass as they advance toward the center of the circle. This variation was formerly also used in hunting coyotes by the communal method. Lowie notes that in the days of organized coyote hunting, men

<sup>12</sup> Parsons, *op. cit.*, 21, 27, states that the Rabbit clan chief announces the hunt, makes the prayer sticks, and builds the hunt fire. This is evidently First Mesa practice only.

bers of the Coyote clan did not at first participate in a coyote hunt, saying that coyote was their uncle, but later they would not hesitate to join the hunters.<sup>13</sup>

Judging from brief entries in Stephen's journal, rabbit hunting ritual varied slightly between the mesas. Stephen notes that young hunters would often deposit at special shrines on the night before the hunt eight prayer sticks for Maasu, Earth Father, and four for the Mother of all Animals; this to ensure success on the following day. The four rabbit prayer sticks were sometimes laid over a depression on a heaped up sand mound and meal sprinkled round the rim of this depression. Again, all the hunters, after assembling, might assist the leader in building the ritual fire. None of these variations was referred to by my informants. They may well occur at First Mesa only. I have already referred to the difference of functions attaching to the office of hunt announcer on the two mesas.

Usually only men and boys participate in a communal rabbit hunt whether it is the two-winged circle type on foot or fanwise beating of larger stretches of country on horseback, the common method today. Occasionally however, on the day after an important dance festival like the *niman katsina*, or again after a girl earns the right to wear the type of hat dressing termed *soi' xini*, a hunt is held in which the unmarried girls go out with the hunters. This mixed hunt is called *neya ʔ na' kiwa*. The usual ritual is performed. The men move off and the girls either follow in a group or else deploy in line, alternating with the men. When a man kills a rabbit, youth and maid race for it, with the rabbit going to the person reaching it first, or else the man holds up the rabbit and the group of girls nearby race for it. She who reaches him first receives the rabbit. It is the custom for each girl to give a present, a special corn food (*somi' wioi*), for each rabbit she so obtains. Now the return present is sometimes bread, cake, or water bread, and sometimes the hunter complains the modern maid returns no gift at all. This combined hunt is the occasion for good humor, merry-making, and courtship activity. In this respect it is paralleled by the formal group walk which youths and maidens take together on the day after a public dance ceremonial.

On returning to the village the hunter takes his kill to his house. His wife or mother lays the rabbit on the floor with its head pointing in the direction of the hunting ground, sprinkles crumbled water bread or corn meal over the body and breathes a twofold prayer; first, that the hunter may be successful on his next hunt, second, that the rabbit will be satisfied with the food sacrifice and allow his children to be caught by the Hopi. The women skin and dress the meat. No blood is allowed to drip on the floor for this would weaken the feet of all those who walk on it. The blood is caught in a bowl and thrown out. The gall bladder, a part of the ear, and some water bread are thrown into the fire, kept in the house for a few days, or else thrown away outside the house, and the above prayer is repeated. The animal is fed whether it is killed in an organized hunt or by a solitary hunter. It was customary for each hunter to give one rabbit from his kill to the leader. This is falling into abeyance today, but it is still usual to present one rabbit to the hunter's senior paternal fe-

<sup>13</sup> Lowie, *Notes on Hopi Clans*, 338.

male relative in part fulfillment of the complicated economic and social obligations that bind together the "child" of the father's clan and his father's female relatives. After meal has been sacrificed and the rabbit dressed, the meat is usually thrown into the stew pot and cooked with corn and squash. The feet are prepared on another occasion and served with special pancakes of blue meal. Formerly the skins were scraped, softened by rubbing with brains and then cut into strips and twined on a cotton foundation to make robes, saddle blankets, and the like. Today the Hopi consider this too laborious a task, so the skins are either thrown away or used when needed as brushes in whitewashing.

That rabbit hunting plays a not unimportant role in Hopi life is shown by two further facts: first, special hunts are regularly held in connection with the observance of calendrical ceremonies; second, initiation of youths on the rabbit hunting field is equivalent to full hunting initiation. An example of hunts connected with particular rituals are those associated with the annual *wi'wizim* ceremony held in November of each year. On the day that the crier chief announces this ceremony a rabbit hunt takes place. In the extended initiation ceremony the rabbits are given to the initiates; in the short ceremony, when no initiations are made, the rabbits go to the society members themselves. On the sixth day of the ceremony a hunt is usually held by the four constituent societies celebrating the *wi'wizim* ceremony. In 1891 Stephen noted full details in his journal. The Singers, *wi'wizim* and Horn society members, each with an ear of corn in the left hand, hunted as one group; the Agaves as another. The hunt lasted all day; in the evening the hunters returned with many rabbits, other small game, and quantities of firewood. Each society took its game to its *kiva* where the animals were dressed. Later the Agaves carried most of their game to the dance court and presented it to the women of the village. The kill of the other societies was distributed in the form of gifts to the various households by members dressed in ceremonial costume. In another performance of this ceremony (1898), Fewkes noted that immediately following the conclusion of the ceremony each of the four participating societies organized an elaborate society rabbit hunt, occurring each on its own day. The game so obtained was eaten by society members in a feast held in the *kiva* they occupied during the ritual performance.<sup>14</sup> The hunts connected with *wi'wizim* and other major ceremonies do not appear to possess ritual or esoteric significance in themselves. Possibly their chief purpose is to provide meat for the feasting that usually occurs at some stage of the ceremony, and also one suspects, to break or provide an outlet for the high emotional tension inevitably associated with the functioning of major religious patterns.

#### HUNTING INITIATION

The ceremony of hunt initiation (*ma'k'va'ci*, or *ci'ci'daywa'*) appears to be a product of the intense Hopi interest in all phases of hunting. Though it nominally occurs in connection with rabbit hunting it may not be literally construed as initiation into rabbit hunting only, since formerly it was not customary for a youth to hunt larger game such as

<sup>14</sup> Fewkes, *New-Fire Ceremony*, 119.

antelope or mountain sheep without first being initiated on the rabbit hunting field. Such initiation was looked upon as a general hunting initiation and informants were concerned to stress the point that it did not concern rabbit hunting to the exclusion of the hunting of larger game. In this sense it is merely a continuation of the same interest in hunting that dictates the custom of cutting the umbilical cord of a boy on an arrow shaft and then wrapping the dried cord round the shaft before thrusting it into the roof beams of the house; all this that the boy may develop into a good hunter in after years.

Hunting initiation occurs when a boy kills his first jack rabbit (*so'wi*). He may have been going out with hunting parties for some time previously and have killed the cottontail rabbit (*pa'vo*) or the yellow cottontail (*si'kya da'vo*) but since these are considered easier to kill than the jack, initiation waits on the later event. When this occurs, the hunt is stopped and all the men gather round the boy. His father, or a kinsman if the father is not present, chooses the best hunter on the field to act as hunt father (*ma'k'na'nd*) to the boy "because he wants the boy to be as good a hunter as this man." As in the old days the men hunted clad only in breech cloth, pigment, and moccasins, so today the boy is stripped of his clothes. The men form a circle round him holding each other's wrist. A relative takes the boy by the shoulder and bends him forward with his back turned towards the north. The hunt father takes the dead rabbit and swings it across the boy's back from left to right leaving a blood mark on the flesh. This is done for the other three cardinal points; the boy's back being turned toward them anti-clockwise. The boy receives the rabbit, which he may later eat if he so wishes, and the hunt is resumed. During the next three days the boy may eat neither salt nor meat. Each morning before sunrise his hunt father takes him to do *ji'va* spring below the mesa to bathe; both are unclothed save for a breech cloth. The father totally immerses the boy in the water four times each morning, gives the boy some of the water to drink and then presents him with four prayer sticks which the boy plants, one at each side of the spring in the four cardinal directions, praying at the same time for health, strength and skill as a hunter. This is done on each of the three mornings.

On the third day the boy's paternal aunts make a corn dish (*si'kani*), and his mother makes hominy stew. In the evening a hunt is announced for the next day. On the morning of the fourth day the boy eats salt and meat in the stew, and a feast is held at his mother's house. He is then taken to the house of his hunt father's mother or sister. His hair is washed and he is given a new name, according to customary naming ritual, by the father's female relatives who also present the boy with gifts of *piki* and sweet corn food (*k'wi'mi*). His hunt father presents the boy with two curved painted throwing sticks (*ci'ci'wu'z'k'oh'i'*, the unpainted curved stick is *bu'z'k'oh'i'*), and dresses him in white ceremonial skirt, sash, and moccasins. Bells are tied about his waist, necklaces of turquoise are placed round his neck, and a bunch of white eagle and parrot feathers tied in his hair. The boy's body is also painted with a broad yellow line across the chest from shoulder to shoulder and short parallel horizontal yellow lines are painted above and below the elbow of each arm and above and below the knee of each leg. Each cheek is painted with two vertical lines of red

ochre. White meal is rubbed over the rest of the face.<sup>15</sup> The hunt father dresses in ceremonial skirt and moccasins, with a feather in his hair. His body is painted with two horizontal finger marks of yellow paint on both legs, thighs, forearms, upper arms, sides of the chest and stomach. On each cheek he has two vertical lines of red ochre.

On arrival at the hunting field, the hunt father makes the ritual fire. When the hunters assemble they ask the boy his new name and this is announced by the hunt father. The men thereupon call the boy by his new name. The boy is chosen to lead one of the two wings as the hunters move off. The first few rabbits that the boy kills he gives to his hunt father to pay for the two curved throwing sticks. Thereafter he gives some to the hunt father's relatives whenever he cares to do so. There is no prohibition against the boy's eating of the first rabbits he kills. The boy calls his hunt father "my hunt father" (ma'ka na'ad), and the father calls the boy "my hunt son" (ma'ka di'y).

Though the hunting father teaches the boy hunting ritual and the arts of the skilled hunter, there is no formal instruction in the actual techniques of hunting large and small game. The boy is expected to learn of these things from old men telling hunting stories in the kiva during the winter months and from close observation of the behavior of other hunters when on his first hunting expeditions. The age at which a boy is initiated depends upon his own initiative, inclination, and luck. Today boys from about the age of twelve upwards go out regularly with the hunters if they can obtain the use of a horse or burro, and then it is only a matter of time before they acquire sufficient skill with a throwing stick to kill a jack rabbit they may chance to flush.

The curved throwing stick is thought to possess special virtue. According to a legend mentioned by Stephen, the Hawk deity (ki'sa) owned the prototype of this stick, which was modelled after the shape of his wing. Long ago, when the Hopi had only the bow and arrow, a boy went to the Hawk deity and from him obtained the first stick. Its special virtue, and that of all sticks made after it, consisted in the fact that when stood up vertically with the grasping handle on the ground and its curve pointed towards a rabbit, the animal was magically drawn towards the stick and was thus easier to kill. Second Mesa informants did not recall the legend but vouched for the specific value of the stick. In spite of its legendary virtues, however, the hunter does not use the curved throwing stick exclusively. More often than not he tucks five or six straight, pointed throwing sticks into his belt before leaving the village, and throwing these with skill and accuracy, finds them as efficient as the curved stick. Moreover, they are easier to replace should any be lost or broken during the day's outing. The solitary hunter occasionally uses a rifle today for small game. The throwing stick, however, remains the favorite, and he it said the safer, weapon for those

<sup>15</sup> The paint design as given by Stephen, presumably for First Mesa, is: the body painted red, with white stripes on the outside of each leg and arm, the cheeks and chin being streaked with red ochre. Stephen suggests this costume and painting was formerly worn by all rabbit hunters, but has survived today only in connection with initiation. I have already mentioned the old time hunting costume as given by my own informants. They did not think the ceremonial skirt was ever worn at a time other than this and believed also that yellow was the characteristic color for hunting decoration.

engaged in the large communal hunts. Rabbits are never doked to death for the reason that they would be too difficult to catch.

#### OTHER SMALL GAME AND BIRDS

Rabbits, coyotes, prairie dogs, rats, mice, badgers, porcupines, and small birds are all trapped by the dead fall method or else by the use of snares. Bird snaring is called *pa'ot'iva'* and the snare wire 'si. It is done by the older boys and youths, usually in winter when heavy snows make it difficult for the birds to find food. Snares are set on the flats about the village, sometimes near a spring. Twisted horse hair is made into a running noose two inches in diameter. A series of nooses are set two inches apart on a stick, often on an old arrow shaft. The stick is placed on the ground and studded by large stones at each end. Corn meal or seeds are strewn about the stick and in the nooses. All species of birds are so snared. Suitable feathers are used for dance costumes, specifically for the feather face screen in the mask of the female impersonators of the *niinan he'mi's katsina*. Flesh of the larger birds is roasted and eaten.

In the trapping of small game such as field mice and the like the trap is called *ca'ka' mi*. Formerly a man would set many of these traps round the edges of his fields when vermin were troublesome at or after planting time, the weight of the stones used depending upon the size of the animal he desired to catch. The trap consists of a ground stone and an incline stone both about twelve inches square and three inches thick. The inclined stone rests at one end on the ground stone and at the other end it is supported by two sticks both about four inches long and the thickness of the index finger, one stick standing vertically on the ground stone and the other supported horizontally at right angles on top of the upright. To the distal end of the horizontal stick a cotton or wooden cord is tied which passes round the upright and is fastened to a crosspiece. A tension stick rests against the inclined stone at one end and at the other rests against the cord, pressing it against the upright and holding it at a tension. Meal is sprinkled on the surface of the ground stone. An animal enters the trap and dislodges the tension stick. This loosens the tension on the cord and cross stick. The inclined stone can now overbalance the upright, pushing the sticks outward and falling on the animal eating beneath it. The action of the trap is illustrated in Figure 1.

For trapping larger animals a modified trap is used. For coyote it is called *i's ca'ka' mi*, for fox *kw'e'wi ca'ka' mi*. As before there are an inclined stone and a ground stone, each about two feet square and eight inches thick. The ground stone is firmly embedded in the earth and the inclined stone anchored at one end to prevent slipping. It is inclined at an angle of about 30° and is supported by a stick twelve inches long and three quarters of an inch thick which is set up in the middle of the ground stone. Suitable bait is tied to the stick with yucca fiber. In getting at the bait the stick is disturbed and the inclined stone falls. See Figure 2. When the hunter sets his trap he places a prayer stick and a small piece of turquoise or shell bead on the ground close to the trap and prays that coyote or fox may come from wherever they are and enter the trap. He does this today even when setting a

commercial steel trap. This is done for coyote and fox, and not for rats, mice and prairie dogs, because the Hopi do not believe that the latter animals possess souls, and so they do not have to be propitiated as do the larger animals. Neither fox nor coyote is eaten. Coyote skin is sold today to the trader; fox skin is of value because of its importance in ceremonial costume.

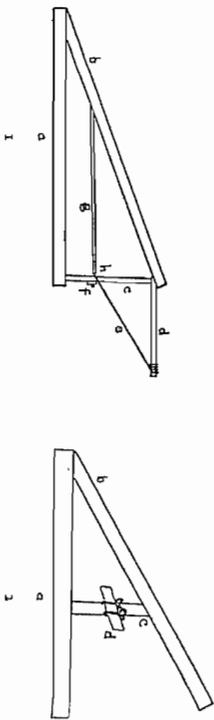


FIG. 1. Trap for mice and small game: a, ground stone; b, inclined stick; c, upright stick; d, horizontal stick; e, cord fastened to distal end of d, passing behind c, and fastened to the crosspiece, f; g, tension stick resting against b and holding the tension of the cord at h.

FIG. 2. Trap for coyote and fox: a, ground stone; b, inclined stick; c, vertical supporting stick; d, bait tied on with yucca fiber.

#### EAGLE HUNTING

The Hopi hunt and keep eagles in the village for ceremonial purposes and not in connection with the food quest. The buttes on which eagle nests are to be found are owned by the various clans in each village and under no circumstances do members of one clan trespass on the buttes owned by another group. The buttes are situated in the country surrounding the mesas and may be forty miles or more away from the village. Clan ownership rights are established by legendary accounts of clan migrations which usually relate along with other incidents, how the clan in question came to possess particular buttes. Unfortunately the Navaho are unable to appreciate the Hopi viewpoint on this matter, and their rival claim to control certain buttes is at present the source of much petty quarrelling, and was probably in former times a potent cause of inter-tribal warfare.

Two varieties of eagle are recognized by the Hopi: the ordinary black eagle (gwa') and the bald eagle (ni'wa'ka gwa'a, "snow eagle"). The men know of two ways to hunt both varieties, the pit trapping technique and the nest robbing method. According to S both methods were formerly in use, the first being employed by men whose clans did not in the past own eagle buttes. Other informants, however, believed that pit trapping was the only method formerly used, though none could explain why it is not practiced today. Y volunteered the statement that for the hunter to pit trap today would result in virulent sores breaking out on his back, so bad that they might result in his death; but Y was unable to elaborate further his remark.

The following information was collected on pit trapping of eagles.<sup>14</sup>

In May or June men would go out to high mesa promontories or buttes, owned by their clan (gwa'ma'ka, "eagle hunt places"). Six or more men would go out together and be away from the village for two days and a night. They would take with them prayer sticks, a small plaque, a small pottery bowl, and some turquoise to place on the eagle shrine with prayers for the fertility of eagles and success in hunting. These gifts are made today as part of the nest robbing method and the objects may be briefly described here. The plaque is made by the clan mother, plainly coiled, without design, unfinished, and about four inches in diameter. It is believed that the older eagles will finish coiling the plaque and find it useful as a foundation for next season's nests. The valuable turquoise is to compensate the eagles for the loss of their young or of their companions. The pottery bowl is filled with water that the eagles may not suffer from thirst and desert the buttes, "since eagles are just like Hopi and like to drink water."

On some of the more rocky buttes small permanent stone enclosures about four feet in height were erected. The top was covered with a grating of wooden beams to which a bait of dead rabbits was fastened. When an eagle alighted on the bait the hunter grasped it by the legs and drew it into the house. This use of stone enclosures was known to one informant, but the method described by all informants was for the hunter to choose a sandy spot, dig out a small pit or depression in the sand, and erect over this a small round shelter of brush and grass "like a Navaho hogan, three feet high." These shelters (gwa'gwu'dha "eagle house") were easily rebuilt from year to year. At the entrance to the shelter, which faced in no particular direction, a stout stick about two feet long was firmly fixed in the ground and supported by a rock pile where necessary. A live rabbit was tied to one end of a rope about two feet long and the other end fastened to the stick. The hunter hid himself in the shelter and sang a song similar to the following eagle song, to magically attract the eagles. The song is called gwa ma'ka daw'wi, "song of the eagle hunt place."<sup>15</sup> Sung by Y.

e'na'i na di'a  
They are coming  
gi'a ci'a a'ho a'ila a'wa  
The eagles  
o gwa' do o gwa'imó  
Come in Sit down  
gi'ai na we nai he'na  
Walk into the house  
o he'lo Ge'si'ida  
Enter

<sup>14</sup> It may be compared with Peckes, *Property-rights in Eagles*, 700-701, since it supplements much of his brief account; see also Curtis, *North American Indian*, 12: 33-34.

<sup>15</sup> Most of the words are so obsolete that the interpreter was unable to translate them; the given translation is necessarily free.

ya'li'lo ha gwi  
 Come into this place  
 o Be''lo ge's'i'da  
 Enter

When the eagle, thus called, swooped down and securely fastened its talons into the bait, the hunter stretched out his arms and grasped the eagle. He placed it on the ground and forced its head into the sand, killing it by suffocation. Each eagle was immediately skinned, prayer feathers were tied to beak, wings, and legs, and the bird buried in the ground or thrown into a rock fissure. Informants knew of no custom which dictated that one of the eagles so caught would be freed with a prayer feather tied to one leg: this is contrary to Fewkes' and Curtis' statements; nor could they corroborate Curtis' remark that one of the eagles would be eaten by the hunters, informants commenting on the impossibility of such behavior in the light of Hopi eagle belief.

Eagle hunting today by the nest robbing method is carried out each year in the early part of June, that is, at a time when the eaglets are beginning to mature but are not sufficiently advanced to fly from the nest when the hunter approaches. An expedition to the clan buttes is arranged by several men of the same clan. The trip is on horseback; provisions for three or more days together with the requisite ritual objects and necessary camp equipment are taken. The ritual objects consist, as mentioned earlier, of prayer sticks, plaques, turquoise, pottery and sacred meal. The prayer sticks may be made at the preceding winter solstice or else just prior to departure from the village. On arrival at the buttes, the shrines are visited and the appropriate offerings made. One of the hunters is lowered by his companions down the face of the butte by means of a rope, until he is level with a nest. With one hand he takes an eaglet from the nest, using the other hand to ward off dangerous attacks by the adult eagles. If an eaglet flutters to the ground on the approach of the hunters it is followed on foot until captured. No eggs are ever taken from the nests, and the hunters are well satisfied if they obtain one or two eaglets each year. Should three birds be found on one nest, it is bad luck to take all three for the same clan. Two are kept and the third is brought back to be given to a relative in another clan, or else any man is welcome to capture the third from the butte. To transport the birds to the village, a framework of sticks is made about twenty inches square and padded with rags and grass (gwa na 'ai). It resembles in some respects the cradle board without its hood.<sup>15</sup> The bird is wrapped in a cloth to prevent it clawing or biting and is then tied to the frame and "made as comfortable as possible." The frame is slung over the left shoulder with cords attached to the top of the frame and hangs down the right back with the head of the bird uppermost. It is only released from the frame when one leg is securely fastened to the cross bar on the roof of the house in which the hunt leader or the clan mother lives. Since the birds come from clan-owned buttes, they are considered to be children of the clan. In theory the clanswomen are

<sup>15</sup> Two frames are figured by Voth, *Notes on the Eagle Cult*, plate 49.

supposed to assemble, wash the head of each eagle with gypsum, and ceremonially name the eagle according to its sex with an appropriate clan name. More often in actual practice, however, the hunter himself whitewashes and names the eagle, adding a streak of gypsum to the back of the bird, and making a further splash on the external wall of the house for each eagle captured "so that the downy feathers underneath each wing will be white." Only birds taken from the buttes are so named. Hawks are often caught on the wash, tethered to the roof beam, and the feathers also used ceremonially. They are treated thereafter in a manner similar to eagles, but are not considered children of the clan.

The birds are fed each morning on crushed meat. Hence the necessity for frequent rabbit hunts while there are eagles in the village. If the rabbit meat is not available, young pups or an older dog are butchered. The birds are well fed to make the feathers large and glossy. On the occasion of the niman katsina festival, katsina bring to the eagles miniature presents similar to those given to the boys and girls of the village—small, flat, painted katsina dolls, and bows and arrows. These gifts are hung up beside the birds and imply further recognition of the status of the eagles as clan children, really, "as dead Hopi who have returned to the village disguised as eaglets."

The prescribed time for killing the birds is on the day following the niman dance. If, however, the birds are not sufficiently mature by this time, killing is deferred until the day after the niman festival in another village. The bird is first given a substantial meal. This is to give its soul ample strength to fly back to the buttes after death. Its head is covered with a cloth and the bird is killed by pressure exerted with the arms or foot on the heart and throat. Any man may do this whether of the Eagle clan or not. The bird is laid on its back and an incision is made down the throat, chest, and belly. The skin is pulled off on each side of this incision, and from the legs and neck, leaving the claws and head attached to the corpse. An incision is made along each wing and the skin removed. The distal joint of the wing is cut, but the tendon joining the wing skeleton to the body is left intact. The corpse is turned over and the skin pulled from the back; the tail feather joint is severed and the tail feathers cut off in a bunch after the animal is completely skinned. Throughout the work, effort is made to remove the skin very carefully without gashing the flesh or drawing blood. The bunch of tail feathers is looped to a cord and hung up to dry. The skin is placed on the ground, feathers underneath, stretched slightly, then pegged down with rocks and left to dry in the sun for a few hours. Hawks are skinned and the corpse disposed of in the same manner as eagles.

Five prayer feathers are made quickly and fastened to the corpse, one to the beak, one to the distal end of each wing, and one to each leg just above the claws. The corpse, together with katsina dolls and bow and arrow, is taken to the eagle cemetery. Prayers are made that the soul of the eagle may fly back to the buttes, there to be born again, and the corpse is tossed into the fissure. If there is a young boy in the house, a downy white feather is tied to his hair "to show the people that the men of the house have just killed an eagle." Later the feathers are pulled from the skin and tied up with yucca fiber into bundles of fifteen.

The skin is thrown away after all the feathers have been removed. These feathers are considered the property of the men of the clan and are kept in the senior clan house. They are freely used by all members of the clan as occasion arises and may be borrowed by men from other clans for ceremonial dress provided they are promptly returned. It may be noted that at Oraibi, according to Voth,<sup>19</sup> the eagle corpse is buried in the ground along with a small plaque, a doll, and a few rolls of blue piki. Y said that in the old days the men of Shipaibowi would throw the body of only a young eagle into a fissure on the mesa edge, thus burying it the way a child's body is disposed of, but the older birds were buried in the middle of a corn field, together with plaque, doll, and piki, with their heads pointing in the direction of the buttes so that their souls would know the direction home. The adult bird was buried in the corn field because "the eagle is the most important animal friend of the Hopi and the old bird is like a grownup person."

The above account shows implicitly that the eagle is a bird highly valued by the Hopi. Prayer offerings are made in many of the major ceremonies for its conservation and increase. When Bagle katsina dance in the village they are given prayer feathers to deposit on katsina shrines to ensure the laying and hatching of eagle eggs during the coming season. Again, at the winter solstice festival, carved and painted wooden representations of eagle eggs, tied with prayer feathers, are placed on eagle shrines close to the village, also to promote the increase of the birds. These customs, together with those relating to the manner in which the birds are hunted, propitiated, and named, indicate that the eagle complex is integrally related not only to social and economic patterns, but also to the religious thought and practice of the Hopi.

#### TURTLE HUNTING

In this account of the manner in which the Hopi exploit the desert animal life a final note may be added on expeditions made for the purpose of obtaining turtle shells (yung'i'son, turtle) to be used as dance rattles. This has not been done for many years, but formerly expeditions would be planned some time before the niman festival in July in order to provide an abundance of rattles for the dancers. Any man might arrange the hunt (yung'i'son ma'koo), and it would be announced four days ahead by a Badger clansman. Men from other villages would participate. The men would be away from the village for six or seven days.

On arrival at the river lemo'vaiyi', a tributary of the Little Colorado now dammed to provide a water supply for the town of Winslow, each man placed a prayer stick on a shrine in a narrow rock crevice, with prayers for rain and success in the hunting. The men then entered the water. Sometimes they formed a line and waded up the river feeling with hands and feet for the turtles. At other times when the water was high, they had to dive to bring the turtles up from the river bed. As they caught them, they tied them together on a rope. When the collecting was finished the men stood in shallow water and killed the animals

<sup>19</sup> *Iidem*, 107-108.

by cutting the skin away from the shell and drawing the body out of the shell by the neck. The body was thrown back into the water in the belief that it would grow a new shell and so be caught again on another occasion. It was important that this work should be done in the water and that no blood or intestines remain on dry land; otherwise the turtle would not be able to renew its shell. The shells were brought back to the village and hung up to dry in the sun, being tested at intervals by flicking with the forefinger to determine the amount of drying advisable to produce the maximum sound. Sheep's hooves were tied to the shells to produce the completed rattle. The Little Colorado tributary was the main source for the supply of turtles. One informant, however, insisted that trips were not infrequently made to the Salt River to hunt turtles, but he could give no details of such long expeditions.

#### RITUAL IN HUNTING

It may be of interest at this point to summarize the attitudes that underlie the Hopi use of hunting rituals. Among other pueblo groups there is a close association between hunting ritual and ritual connected with war; hunting is usually controlled by special hunting societies or else by the war chief.<sup>20</sup> With the Hopi, this is not the case and even where hunting is associated with clan groups, it is with representatives of Badger and Rabbit clans and not with lineages controlling war ceremonial. Hunting ritual, therefore, while drawing generally upon common Hopi ritual patterns, appears to have for its general purpose the stabilization of a definite psychological attitude towards the fauna in such a manner as both to increase the control of the individual over the environment and to conserve and protect the fauna by ritual propitiation.

The Hopi is a skilful hunter and trapper. Tradition and experience teach him the habits and ways of bird and beast; he knows too that success depends in large part upon a well-aimed throwing stick, or upon the ability to shoot an arrow straight and true. Even so, there are times when luck does not come his way, when rabbits are scarce, or eagles nest in inaccessible situations—when, in fact, but for the operation of ritual, the forces that control wild life would render hunting impossible. It is these forces that much of ritual is designed to control or placate and thus to ensure that fortune in the hunt will not be capricious and unpredictable, but regular and uniform. If, in spite of conscientious performance, success is not the result, it is likely that trouble has been caused by delinquencies of personal behavior or evil conduct affecting members of the group, and this must be set right according to approved group standards before ritual can again operate with customary efficiency.

To understand the use of ritual as an aid towards conservation, it may be recalled that the Hopi attitude towards animals, like that of all the Pueblo peoples, is one of respect and esteem. Animals may not be ruthlessly destroyed or wantonly exploited just for the love or excitement of the chase. They must be protected, entreated humbly not to become angry if killed, and urged to give themselves or their young for the use of their human kinsmen. From this viewpoint the phrasing of much ritual becomes clear. The adult eagles are

<sup>20</sup> For instance, at Isleta, San Juan, Cochiti, and Sia.

given useful or valuable gifts in exchange for their children and are further placated by kind treatment given to the eaglets in the village when the latter are adopted into the clan, well fed at all times, and given gifts at the niman festival. When death comes special measures are taken that the breath body of the eagle may return to childhood haunts and there live a happy and satisfied life. Similarly with regard to rabbit or antelope. The dead body is respectfully treated and food is sacrificed, that the soul of the animal may be appeased and find no occasion to warn away living companions from the Hopi hunter and his needs. Taken in conjunction with the fact that prayer sticks are placed on shrines or buried in fields during the winter solstice to ensure fertility of all animals, whether wild or domesticated, it is evident that this propitiatory aspect of ritual serves to preserve animal life for continued use by checking evil results that would inevitably follow from uncontrolled carelessness, neglect, ill-treatment, or the operation of obscure other-worldly forces. It has been stated by some students<sup>21</sup> that Hopi hunting assumes more the character of a religious ritual than an economic enterprise. This is surely incorrect. The quest for food or for objects to be later used in everyday or in ceremonial activities is fundamental. Owing to the prevailing ceremonial phrasing of Hopi culture, generalized ritual patterns of common occurrence in religious ceremonial are inevitably used in another context when it is a matter of improving hunting techniques. The nature of the chase is determined primarily by economic and social values. Ritual, and not specifically religious, patterns are used within this sphere to help secure success and to preserve the fauna of the environment from thoughtless exploitation.

## COMPARATIVE NOTES

A few notes may be added in conclusion on the distribution of some typical Hopi patterns of hunting and hunting ritual among other Pueblo peoples and tribal groups in the Southwest.<sup>22</sup> Mention has already been made of the control in eastern Pueblos of both deer and rabbit hunting by war captain or hunt society, and the common Pueblo attitude towards wild animal life has been briefly summarized. Correlated with this psychological attitude one finds in the eastern villages that prayer offerings and meal sacrifices are made to deities of the antelope and deer hunt at Zuni, Cochiti, and Sia. Additional offerings of tobacco, beads, shells and pollen are made at Isleta and Laguna. This attitude is further illustrated at Zuni, Isleta, Laguna, Cochiti, Jemez, and Sia, where, on return to the village, the kill is placed on a sheepskin, covered with blankets and beads, and sprinkled with meal. It is also specially noted for Zuni and Navaho that game to be used for ceremonial purposes must be killed without loss of blood, by smothering. Probably this custom is widespread among all the eastern villages. The chute and pound method of hunting larger game, or variations of this, together with the use of the head and horns of deer as a stalking disguise, are employed by the Basin Plateau peoples, Zuni, Navaho, and Apache. At Santa Clara, Cochiti, and Sia

<sup>21</sup> Notably Hough, *op. cit.*, 285-86.

<sup>22</sup> See bibliography for references to literature. Spier, *Havasupai*, 120-21, should be consulted for the more detailed distribution of some of these patterns.

the favored method is a communal gathering in which two wings of hunters fan out to enclose the game.

Communal rabbit hunts for men alone, or for mixed groups of men and women, either of the straight course, circular, or two-wing type, and characteristic of nearly all southwestern peoples, are reported, for instance, from San Juan, San Felipe, Jemez, Sia, Zuni, Acoma, Isleta, Cochiti, Navaho, Havasupai, and the Basin Plateau. Hunts held in connection with calendrical ceremonials, or for chiefs or priests, are also a common Pueblo pattern. Ritual fire-making by the hunt chief, together with the sacrifice of meal, food and offering of prayer plumes, is common to all Pueblos. Ritual employing the fire alone occurs among the Pavito and Shiwirts of the Plateau. The curved rabbit stick is known but little used at Isleta and is commonly employed as a hunting weapon by the Zuni, Navaho, and southern California tribes. The straight throwing stick is used at San Juan, Jemez, Sia, Acoma, and Cochiti, and the custom of ritually passing the weapon through the smoke of the hunt fire is noted at Sia and Zuni. At Zuni, Acoma, Laguna, San Felipe, and Jemez, rabbits brought back to the village are sprinkled or touched with meal and propitiatory prayers are offered to ensure that the soul of the animal is appeased.

Eagle hunting is widespread throughout the Southwest and adjacent areas. Clan ownership of nesting places is the rule with southern California groups. The pit trapping technique, together with a bait of deer or rabbit meat, or else a dummy rabbit bait, is employed by Uiriah Utes, Navaho, Jemez, and Taos, with a distribution north and east over the Plains. Capturing eagles in the nest is the pattern at Zuni, Santo Domingo, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Sia, Cochiti. It is also reported for Comanche, Havasupai, southern California tribes like the Cahuita, and Diegueno, for the Yokuts, and as far north as the Thompson River peoples. Shooting the birds with bow and arrow is favored at Isleta and recalls the similar method used by Gaddo and Cherokee to the east. For all these groups, of course, the ceremonial context associated with the eagle hunt follows the characteristic ritual phrasings of the peoples and cultures in question. When captured, the birds are caged in village or camp by Zuni, Havasupai, and California tribes. At Jemez, two birds only are kept in cages, the rest being killed immediately the men return from the hunt. The captive birds are plucked and eventually freed by Navaho, Yokuts, and Thompson River Indians, but the common pattern in the Pueblos and in southern California is to kill the birds ritually without loss of blood by pressure on the breast; among the last named this is done in connection with the annual mourning ceremonies.

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 MAAA Memoirs, American Anthropological Association  
 AP-AMNH Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History  
 R-BAE Report, Bureau of American Ethnology  
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