

THE HOPI INDIANS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THEIR COSMOLOGY OR WORLD VIEW,
AS EXPRESSED IN THEIR TRADITIONS, RELIGIOUS BELIEFS,
PRACTICES AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by

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INTRODUCTION

Understanding Hopi use, occupation, and possession of their lands as of 1934 requires a brief summary of Hopi cosmology. As with most other cultures, the day-to-day activities of Hopi people are tied directly to their beliefs concerning the nature and principles of the universe. Actions which impact practices associated with a culture's cosmology ultimately result in conflict with the cosmology itself.

Among American Indians, the Hopi culture is unique in the intricate interdependence of its various aspects. For example, the Hopi religious practice of gathering live eagles from nesting areas throughout Hopi country is directly tied to many other religious and secular activities. This practice, essential to maintain the fabric of Hopi culture, is one of many ways the Hopi used their lands in 1934. Similarly, the recognition by non-Hopis of the significance of this practice and the right of Hopis to engage in it, demonstrates Hopi occupation of an area. In addition, Hopi (and other non-Hopi) designation of certain areas as "belonging" to certain clans for the purpose of eagle gathering represents one measure of Hopi possession of those areas.

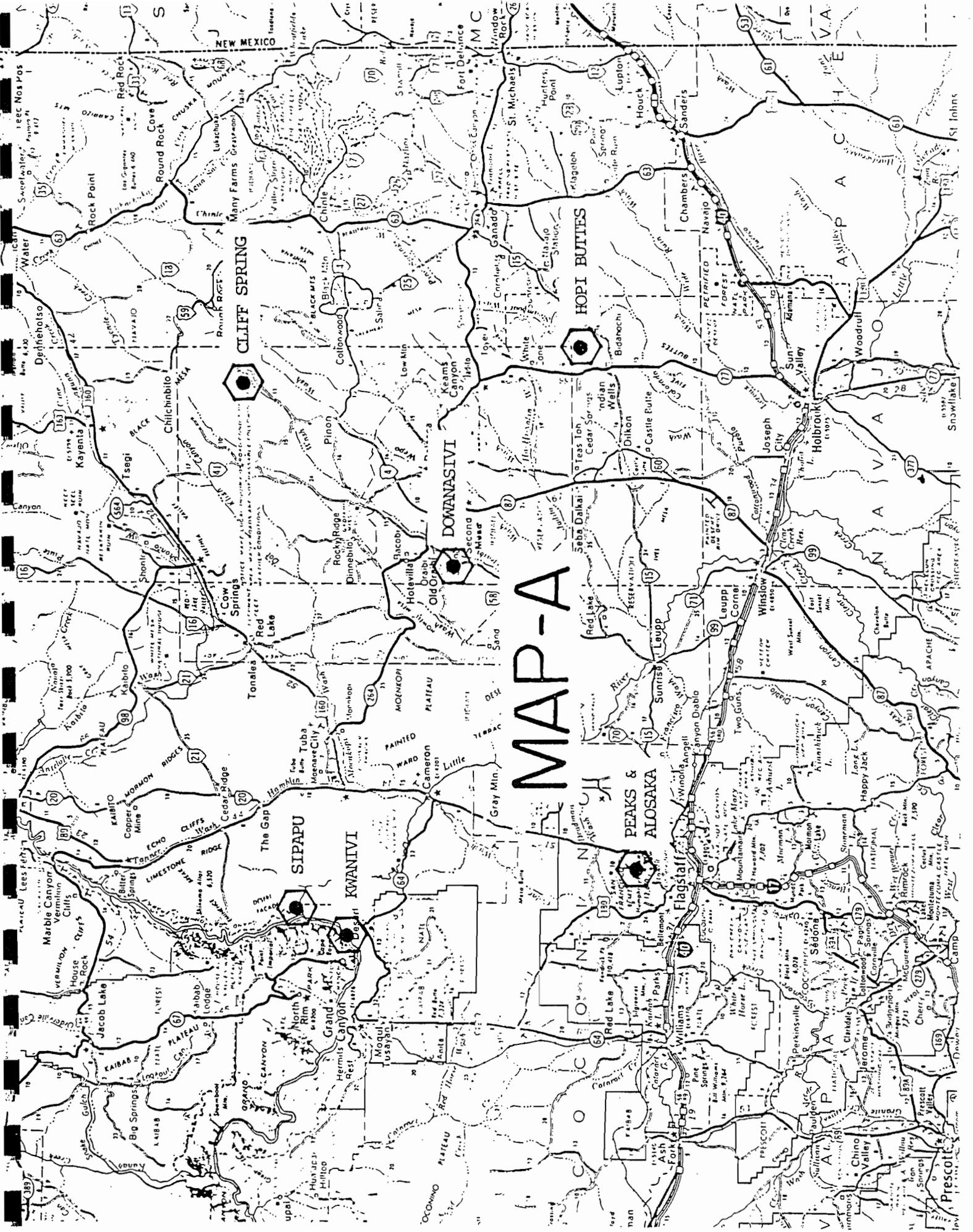
This report emphasizes certain Hopi beliefs and practices to demonstrate Hopi use, occupation, and possession of their lands. This author

writes from an unusual perspective of more than 50 years first hand experience with the Hopis in addition to a professional academic career spanning the same period with much focus on the Hopi and other Indian cultures. Regarding the important issues of concern here, the author visited the Hopi Reservation, including parts of the 1934 Reservation, in 1933-34.

I.

Pueblo cosmology in general emphasizes the earth rather than the heavens, and begins with the emergence of people from the underworld rather than with the creation of the world. The Hopi Indians, as one of the Pueblo cultures, share this emphasis. Their cosmology provides for the evolution of mankind in four worlds, with final emergence of the Hopi in the Grand Canyon, by way of the sipapu or opening from the underworld below. See Map A. Life in the underworlds was crowded and difficult, and periodically the leaders led their followers through openings in the ceilings of each cave world, leaving behind troublemakers and witches in an attempt to maintain Hopi teachings. With their emergence into the Grand Canyon near the mouth of the Little Colorado River, the Hopi chief thought they had succeeded, but when his child died, he knew that at least one witch had emerged with the rest. When the witch was discovered, she saved her own life by showing the chief and his followers that his child was alive in the underworld and playing happily with other children. The Hopi believe that their dead return to the underworld, where they live in villages in the manner of the living, and have a continuing role in Hopi life.¹

The Hopi do provide a brief account of the creation of the physical world in which the Sky God created a beautiful virgin who caused so much



MAP-A

rivalry among the other deities that he transformed her into the earth world, her hair becoming vegetation, her eyes the springs, her secretions the salt, etc., and assigned separate regions and powers to the various deities. Thus Muingwa was placed in the center of the earth to guard the terms of all life; Gnatumsi guards the virgin's heart and fecundates the germs of life; Palolokong, the water serpent, presides over the waters of the earth and nourishes vegetation and animal life; Masau presides over the surface of the earth and is in charge of the dead and the afterworld; Omau is the cloud deity responsible for rain; and Tawa, the sun, is "father" to all.² This account suggests that the emergence from the underworld may be interpreted as a "myth of gestation and birth," as Washington Mathews long ago observed,³ and makes the conception of the earth as "mother" to the Hopi intelligible.

In addition to the deities mentioned above, the Katsinas (sometimes spelled "Kachinas") play an important role in Hopi life as mediators and messengers of the gods. They come periodically to the Hopi villages from December to July as masked dancers to bring gifts to the children and moisture for bountiful crops for the villages. They remind the Hopis of the Hopi responsibilities over the land and their duties to carry out their ceremonies to bring rain for the crops. Once they came in person but later they taught the Hopi their songs and dances and now come to dance in spirit from their homes in the mountains and springs.

The Hopi dead, whose "breath bodies" journey from the grave to the afterworld in the Grand Canyon, are met by sentinels from the Kwan society, who are associated with Masau, and are either allowed to proceed or are punished in fire pits for non-Hopi behavior until they are purified. In the

villages of the dead they continue Hopi life, existing on the odor or "steam" of food offerings and responding to the prayer offerings of the living. Daily they ascend to the San Francisco peaks as Katsinas, and as clouds they provide rain to those Hopis with good hearts who are following the Hopi way of life.⁴

Pahos, or prayer feather sticks, and other prayer offerings are gathered by the sun on his daily travels across the sky and sorted out with Muingwa on the sun's return journey through the underworld on his way to his eastern house. Muingwa makes the germs of all living things in the world, the seeds of all vegetation that grow on the surface of the earth and all animals and human beings who walk on it. Muingwa answers the requests of those Hopis with good hearts by making their crops grow, and discards the requests of witches and those with bad hearts.⁵

In Hopi belief, prayer offerings made with a good heart require the proper return from the deities who are petitioned, but insincere requests can result in drought or windstorms that bring disaster. In this semi-desert environment moisture in the form of rain or snow at the proper time is essential for the growth of crops, principally corn plus beans and squash. Hopi prayers are primarily for rain to grow the crops and for good health and long life. The equation of the dead with clouds and rain, by means of the concept of Katsinas, provides a system in which the dead maintain their interest in the living and continue to help their relatives by sending rain. In this system each individual is responsible for the welfare of the whole community and those who do not conform may be branded as witches. Hence public opinion expressed through gossip is a powerful force for control and until recently was strong enough to obviate the need for policemen.

II.

Hopi social organization⁶ centers on the matrilineal clan as the basic unit of society. Clans were not present in the underworld, but the bilateral groups or bands who emerged via the sipapu, wandered around for a considerable period during which they took their present names from particular events. For example, the group that became the Bear Clan found a dead bear, and took their name from that event. By emphasizing descent through the female line, the band gradually became the matrilineal clan and established a rule of marrying outside the clan group.

The household likewise became organized in terms of matrilineal residence, with the houses belonging to the women and the husbands joining their wives' households, though retaining an important position in their natal households. Marriage became monogamous but divorce was frequent and remarriage simple. Daughters usually remained in their mother's household, where their husbands joined them. Sons remained until marriage when they left to join their wives. The right to use clan or village property traditionally extends down from mother to daughter, with men having the responsibility to care for the fields of their mother's clan and, after marriage, for the fields of the wife's clan. In some cases in more recent times, with the advent of non-Indians into Hopi country, responsibility for lands was passed down from uncle to nephew or father to son, particularly in the Moencopi area. Non-Hopis may not obtain any right to Hopi property at all.

Each household was, therefore, composed of a group of women who, with their brothers, formed a clan segment which anthropologists call a lineage group. Men from other clans married into the households, while male members

of the lineage married into the other clans and households. Initially clans might be composed of a single lineage but might expand into several households, each of which might become a separate lineage or, alternatively, might die out if not enough females were produced.

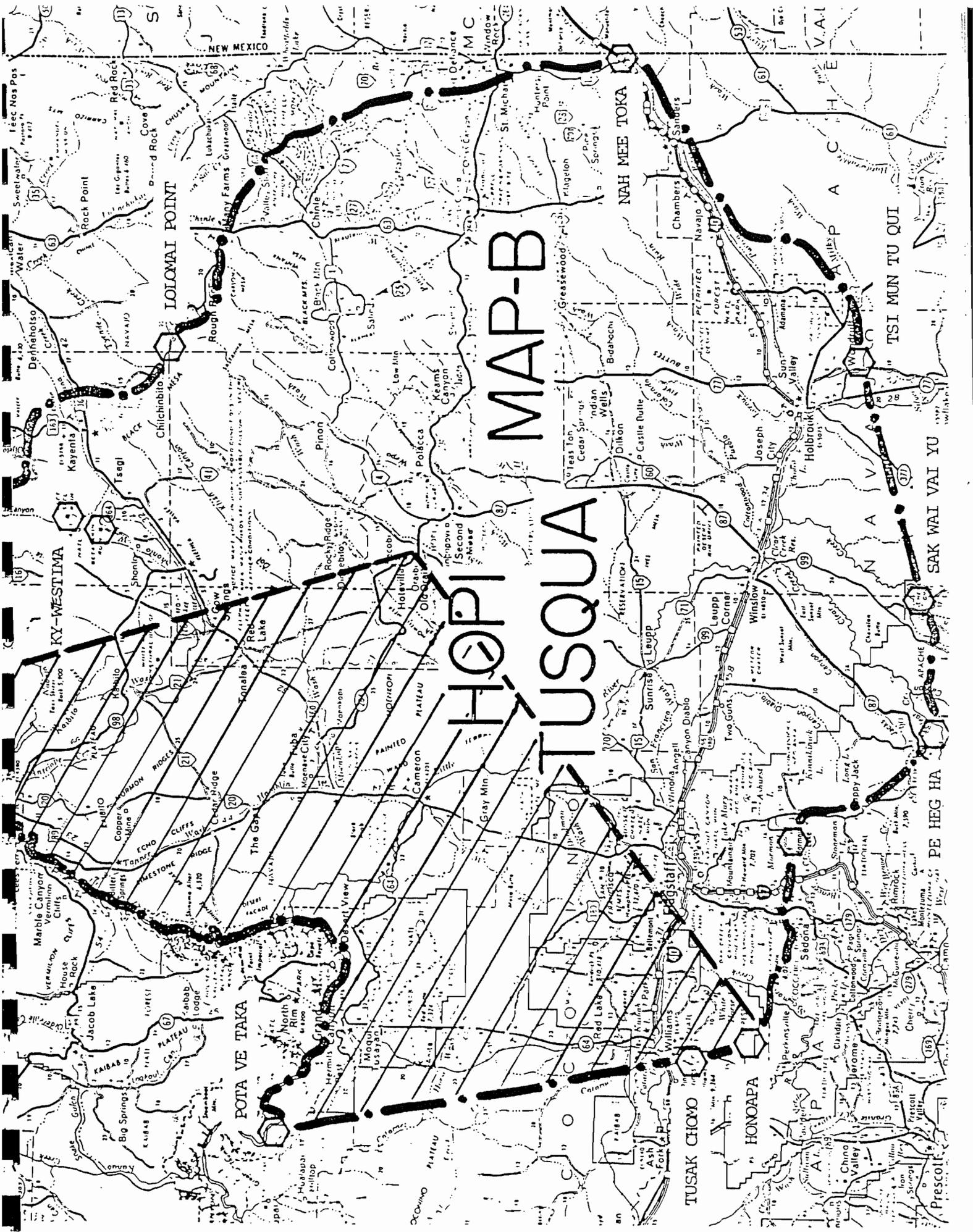
In Hopi tradition, the clan migrations after emergence from the underworld covered much of the American Southwest. It was during this period that agriculture reached them from the south, along with pottery making and the weaving of cotton. As agriculture became more important, and gradually replaced hunting and gathering as the primary basis for subsistence, the Hopi lifestyle became sedentary, building pit house hamlets and later masonry storage structures that gradually evolved into the modern Pueblos. Agricultural land and sources of water became more important and the early Hopi settled on Black Mesa, in the Hopi Buttes, along the Little Colorado River, and in the Grand Canyon.

It is a fundamental Hopi belief that the deity Masau assigned to the Hopi the Tusqua, or sacred land, and charged the Hopi with a sacred stewardship over the area. The Hopis were and still are responsible under this stewardship to mark the boundaries of their area and to live and carry out various religious practices within it. The first Hopi clan to settle in the Mesa area according to Hopi tradition was the Bear clan. When the Bear clan received the land from Masau they became the leading clan. Later clan arrivals had to demonstrate their prowess of bringing rain, or as warriors and protectors, or some other useful function, before being allowed to settle in the village. Once settled in a village, new clans were given land in exchange for their performances of ceremonies or of special ritual services to the Bear clan chief, who became the village chief.

The village chief, or Kikmongwi, has the ultimate earthly control over the land. He uses this "inventory" to compensate other clans for their contribution to the community. If a clan should cease to perform its function for the community, the right to the land would revert to the Kikmongwi.

This interrelationship between the clans and the Kikmongwi was demonstrated to the author on one visit to the Hopi area in 1934. On Howell Mesa, while traveling from Third Mesa to Moencopi, chief Tawakwaptewa, Kikmongwi of Old Oraibi, pointed to Tokonavi (Navajo Mountain) and sweeping his arm toward the San Francisco Peaks and further south, said that this was his domain; that the lands within that area were subject to his control as the Hopi chief. (See Map B.) Other village Kikmongwis have responsibilities over other areas within the Tusqua. From their respective inventories of lands, Kikmongwis designate specified segments for various clans within their respective villages. See, e.g., Godfrey, Grazing Report, Second Mesa Chapter, which refers to grazing areas east of the 1882 area claimed by the Kikmongwi of Second Mesa.

The basic clan system is similar in all the Hopi villages. The Hopi clans are named after animals or plants, or various aspects of nature. There is an important relationship between the named plant or animal and the clan group, and each clan has a set of names referring to its eponym which are bestowed on its members at birth and at all changes in social status through various initiations. Each clan was likewise given areas of land by the village chief in exchange for performing a ceremony or ritual essential to the religious system, as noted above.



MAP-B

HOP! TUSQUA

TSI MUN TU QUI

SAK WAI VAI YU

PE HEG HA

With the great drought of the 13th century (1276 A.D. - 1299 A. D.) ancestral Hopis moved to areas such as Southern Black Mesa where the springs were more reliable and farming was still possible. In Hopi tradition, the initial movements were still earlier. The Pueblo populations in the Grand Canyon left in the first half of the 12th century, when there was apparently a change in climate, and moved toward the Hopi mesas, some stopping in the Moencopi area and others joining relatives on Third Mesa. At about the same time other groups moved from northern Black Mesa to join growing Hopi communities to the south, and groups in the Hopi Buttes to the south moved northward.

Hopi tradition assigns priority to the Second Mesa community of Shungopavi which was founded by the Bear clan, and this village is considered the "mother" village for all the Hopi. As clans arrived, the Bear clan chief, as village Kikmongwi, tested their contributions and assigned them lands and a place to live. Oraibi was founded by a brother of the Shungopavi chief, named Matcito, and was settled initially by his relatives and friends. Oraibi later received an influx from the Moencopi area and the Grand Canyon. On First Mesa "Old Walpi" was established below the mesa top, and at nearby Antelope Mesa, Awatovi and other villages were gradually settled.

As new clan groups arrived they were fitted into the developing social organization. Clans considered similar in some important respect were grouped into phratries and considered to be kinsmen. Thus the Bear clan, the Spider clan, the Bluebird clan, the Rope clan and others were considered to belong together because of similar or related experiences with the same dead bear that gave its name to the Bear clan. Others, such as the Snake clan, Lizard clan, Cactus clan and Sand clan were conceptually linked in terms of some similarity

or habitat. The clans in a phratry support one another and may take over ceremonial or other functions in case of clan extinction. As such, clans are often rivalrous groups, in competition for higher status.

Phratry groups are particularly important in maintaining the ceremonial system. When a clan expands in size, through producing more female members or by aggregation, the lineages may reside in separate households. The "prime" or most important lineage occupies the "clan house" and is in charge of clan lands and ceremonial paraphernalia, which it provides to the chief priests for the ceremonies which the clan controls. Other lineages provide a supporting role and only take over in case of lineage extinction.

These groupings -- lineage, clan and phratry -- are held together by the kinship system, which is known in the scientific community as a "Crow" type, based on matrilineal descent. One's closest relatives are in the lineage and household, and a similar pattern is extended to the clan, so that similarly named clans in different villages are treated as relatives, as well. For clans within the same phratry, kinship terms are extended and marriage is restricted, but the obligations are largely limited to hospitality. But the clan wuya, or supernaturals, while primarily the responsibility of the particular clan, are shared by all the phratry group.

In Hopi society, only the clan has a name, but the lineage and phratry groupings are clearly recognized by the Hopi, and the same kinship terms and exogamic rules are extended to all clans within the phratry.

The villages on each of the three mesas represent independent towns, for the most part, though major villages may have dependent colonies. As noted above, Shungopavi is considered the "mother" village in terms of its traditional

founding, with Oraibi an early colony. Walpi and other communities at First Mesa and neighboring regions were considered as guardians of the Hopi land base and responsible for its protection. As populations expanded on the Hopi mesas, this pattern was repeated. Thus on Second Mesa, Shungopavi is the "mother" village, and Shipaulovi is a colony established around 1700 A.D. as protection against Spanish reprisals following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 A.D. A third village, Mishongnovi, was established earlier as a "guard" village. There is a similar organization on First Mesa, with Walpi as the "mother" village, and Sichomovi as a colony. The refugee Tewas from the Rio Grande, who came around 1700 A.D. and founded Hano or Hopi-Tewa, are the "guard" village. They continue to speak Tewa but are otherwise largely acculturated to Hopi patterns. On Third Mesa, Oraibi was the major village and the largest of all the Hopi villages. An agricultural community had been established at Moencopi, some 45 miles to the west of Oraibi, and around the turn of the present century became a formal colony of Old Oraibi. With the "split" or division of Old Oraibi in 1906, the conservatives founded Hotevilla and, later, Bakavi, a few miles away, to escape pressures from the U.S. Government. New Oraibi (Kykotsmovi) was established at the foot of Oraibi mesa and settled by Christian Hopis and progressives.

There are traditional boundaries between each mesa, as well as between villages and within village holdings. The earlier pattern of clan lands (closely tied to the ceremonial cycle) is still in operation on First and Second Mesas, but the difficulties which led to the break-up of Old Oraibi on Third Mesa modified the clan-land system and changed it more to a village-land system. Between the major communities there is no traditional or formal political

organization and colonies are tied to the "mother" village by ceremonial bonds as well as by kinship. Within the village the Kikmongwi has ceremonial authority but little political power, while the tribe as a whole had no formal political organization. As a result of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, however, Indian groups were allowed to organize as units and the Hopi voted to accept and established a Tribal Council to represent the whole tribe in 1937. The Tribal Council had difficulty in getting started, due to opposition from conservative villages, but was in operation by the 1950s as a spokesman for the majority of villages. The Hopi Tribal Council has been recognized by the United States government as the governmental authority for the entire Tribe.

III.

The religious organization⁷ of the Hopi revolves around the Katsina cult, mentioned above, and a ceremonial calendar in which "clan owned" ceremonies follow each other throughout the year at roughly monthly intervals. Tradition associates each ceremony with a particular clan, and the controlling clan is responsible for the performance and provides the chief priests, as well as some of the participants. In recent times, ceremonies are carried out by societies whose membership cuts across the clan divisions. Much of the ritual of the ceremonies, including the altar and songs, is secret, and is carried out by members who are initiated into the society and represent a cross section of the community.

At birth an infant is kept in seclusion for 20 days, after which the father's mother takes the mother and child to the eastern edge of the mesa and presents the infant to the rising sun, giving it a name from her clan stock of names. On the occasion of a boy or girl joining the Katsina cult at the age of 8-

10, a ceremonial father or mother is selected by the parents to look after the novice and help him or her through the initiation. This establishes a kinship relation between the child and his ceremonial father and the latter's clan. The ceremonial father inducts his ceremonial son into the various societies that he happens to belong to, including the Antelope society, Snake society, and the Blue and Gray Flute societies. A girl is similarly inducted into the Marau society and often, the Oaqol and Lakon societies, as well.

At the age of 16-18, a young man goes through the Tribal Initiation, joining one of the four major men's societies, Wuwutsim, Tao, Ahl, or Kwan, which collectively initiate new members every few years. At Oraibi most of the young men join the Wuwutsim society, who are counselors and who, with the Tao, or Singers, are associated with fertility. The Ahl, or Horn society, are the watchers or heralds and are representative of all the horned animals. The Ahl are paired with the Kwan society which are associated with Masau and the underworld of the dead, and which are the most mysterious and feared of the men's societies. Initiation into one of these societies gives a young man a new status whereby he becomes a taka, "man." The four societies together are thought of as "concentric walls of a house" protecting the Hopi against their enemies. Associated with them in this role are the members of the Snake society, who control the deadly powers of the rattlesnake, and the members of the War society composed of those who, in former times, had taken scalps from the enemy.

The four societies involved in Tribal Initiation have their own kivas where they perform their particular ceremonies, and each group makes up a unit in the Katsina cult and competes against one another in dances, races and

games. When societies without kivas perform their ceremonies, they either borrow one of the Wuwutsim kivas or hold the ceremony in the clan house of the controlling clan. In addition, there is usually a chief kiva used by the village chief during the Soyal ceremony at the winter solstice. When not in ceremonial use, the kiva is utilized as a men's clubhouse for weaving or other activities. While the kiva is "owned" by the person who took the initiative in building or repairing it, it can be freely borrowed for any legitimate purpose and secular meetings often take place in kivas.

In early Hopi history ceremonial activities centered around hunting and gathering and the cure of illness through medicine men or shamans, but as agricultural practices became more important, fertility rituals were added to the older hunting rites, and rituals for rain became central in the ceremonial system. In Hopi thinking, the growth of the corn paralleled the development of the child, the germs for both being provided by Muingwa in the underworld. As has been shown, the dead came to play a new role in the bringing of rain and snow, as they ascended as Katsinas and clouds and brought moisture to the fields of the deserving.

IV.

The basic means of securing rain and good crops is by prayer offerings -- pahos and other ceremonial gifts to the deities and Katsinas. These items are placed on altars or shrines or in springs and fields to secure their aid in the growth of crops or other needs. The Hopi have a large number of shrines,⁸ some associated with the emergence of the Hopi from the underworld in the Grand Canyon, some derived from the experiences of various clans in their wanderings, some at earlier sites (now ruins) where they lived for

a period, and others in and around their present villages, or in neighboring mountains and springs associated with the Katsinas. In addition, a number of the clans have an allotted section along the Little Colorado River and the main Colorado River, in the Hopi Buttes to the south of the villages, along the escarpments of the mesas, and in adjoining canyons, where they gather young eagles each spring for ceremonial purposes. See maps attached to Ainsworth report. The fledglings are brought back to the villages and treated as members of the household, being given names and tethered on the roofs where they are fed daily until after the Niman ceremony, when they are ritually killed and buried after their feathers have been secured for prayer offerings to the deities.

Among the most important shrines or sacred areas are those in the Grand Canyon where the Little Colorado River flows into the Colorado. Here the sipapu or place of emergence, is physically present in a large raised spring. In this area also there are salt deposits which are periodically visited to gather salt, with shrines to Spider Woman, who created the Salt, and to the Twin War Gods, who are her grandchildren and the protectors of the Hopi and their domain. Only Hopis initiated into Wuwutsim could journey to this area, since the trip was physically difficult and involved danger since the spirits of the dead lived in this region and Masau, the God of Death, had his major home in the cliffs. The Salt Journey from Oraibi was a sacred occasion and took several days, and involved stopping at Moencopi for final preparations and the making of offerings and the carrying out of rituals at a number of shrines along the "salt trail," both going and returning.⁹ Similar salt journeys were made by the Hopi from the eastern side of the reservation area to the Zuni Salt Lake in New Mexico.

Important shrine areas are likewise found in the San Francisco Peaks, associated with the Katsinas. There are shrines on the major peaks, and annual expeditions are made to gather spruce boughs for use in the final or Niman homegoing dance, when the Katsinas are sent to their homes in the peaks for the next half year. Other important Katsina shrines are on Black Mesa, particularly at Kisiwu ("Cliff Spring"), northeast of Pinon, where there is an important spring from which come the Katsinas involved in the Powamu or "Bean Dance" in March and the associated initiation of Hopi children into the Katsina cult. The region around Kisiwu is also an important source of spruce for the Katsina dances, and parties from different villages regularly visit the spring and make prayer offerings to the resident Katsinas before gathering spruce boughs.

Archaeological sites, representing the original homes of particular clans, are sacred areas which are visited periodically to make offerings to ancestors, with requests for aid in growing crops. Ruins are visited in connection with particular ceremonies to notify the deceased relatives buried there that the ceremony is in progress and that the dead should do their part.

Around the villages are local shrines to particular deities who are impersonated in the ceremonial system and to whom offerings are periodically made. Thus, there are shrines to Masau, the deity of the surface of the earth who presides over the land and is also the God of death, near each village, as well as at his "real" home in the Grand Canyon.

The Tribal Initiation, itself, dramatized the emergence from the underworlds through the sipapu, with each of the constituent societies playing particular roles. On the night of initiation the spirits of the dead are invited to

return to the village and Masau is impersonated by the chief of the Kwan society. The novices, who are "little chicken hawks," are apparently "killed" and revived as "men" in the presence of the spirits of the dead, who will thus recognize them when they in turn reach the land of the dead. The Kwan and Ahl societies kindle new fire in the kivas after all the fires in the village are extinguished (in recognition of Masau's ownership of fire), and jointly patrol the village to insure that no intruders enter the village and that the Hopi remain in their houses while the dead are present. The Wuwutsim and Tao societies dance through the village periodically, the Wuwutsim carrying emblems of fertility and taunting the Hopi women, and the Tao singing the songs that were used when the Hopi emerged from the sipapu.

When a child dies, its spirit or "breath body" doesn't go to the underworld, but returns to the household of its mother where it resides in the roof and is reborn in the mother's next child. At death, the Wuwutsim initiates go to the general underworld and to the homes of the Katsinas in the San Francisco Peaks or in springs such as the one at Kisiwu. Deceased Kwan members, on the other hand, have a special home at Kwanivi, a small mountain near the Grand Canyon, while Ahl members go to a lake in the San Francisco Peaks known as Alosaka. The Singers have a home at Downasavi, the center of the earth, with a shrine south of Oraibi.¹⁰

Initiation into the men's societies automatically provides for entry into the Soyal ceremony which occurs at the winter solstice and sets the stage for the new ceremonial year. The kivas are opened by the Soyal Katsina, who is impersonated by the village chief and head of the Bear clan, and the main chiefs or priests of the village are involved. The sun is started back on his path

toward his summer home by Sotukinangwu, the Star or Sky God, impersonated by a Sun clan leader twirling a Sun shield. Prayer offerings are made for relatives and friends, plants and animals, and for known ancestors, and are placed on shrines nearby. The dead are invited to come and share the offerings and food. The first Katsinas also come at this time and inaugurate the season of Katsina dances which continue at intervals until the Niman, or "home going" in July, when other societies take over the task of providing rain for the crops.

Throughout the year offerings are made to the springs and other sources of water. Springs are sacred, being inhabited by water serpents who are mythical creatures quite separate from the ordinary snakes. The earth is thought to rest on two gigantic water serpents, or palolokong, who may punish the Hopis by turning over and thus causing earthquakes, or by causing floods or other disasters. In tradition, a village chief might have to sacrifice a son or daughter to appease them.

The exterior boundaries of the Hopi domain (Tusqua) are likewise marked by a series of shrines which the Hopi elders revisit from time to time as recent study by this author confirmed. The Shungopavi leaders have taken the initiative in these visits and in the post-war period have listed the shrines without revealing to the public their exact location. At one point, the secrecy of such visits by Hopis led some observers to believe erroneously that these sites were not being visited. More recently, the Hopi elders decided that they would allow Jake and Susanne Page, a writer and a photographer who had lived with the Hopi over a period of several years, to accompany the 1980 pilgrimage to the boundary shrines. On this trip the group journeyed to eight major shrines, marked in part by spirals or concentric petroglyphs and buried prayer

offerings at locations of importance to the Hopi. In general, these shrines are among those which mark the last staging areas in the final migrations to the Hopi homeland, and the trip by car took four days and covered some 1,100 miles.¹¹ (See also Map C from Euler report.)

The 1980 visit to the boundary markers included six Hopi priests and two drivers, plus the Pages. Starting at Shungopavi, the group drove to the area near Lupton on the Arizona-New Mexico border. The Red Rock cliffs were marked with clan symbols and earlier pahos were found buried nearby. New offerings were prayed over, smoked, and sprinkled with corn meal and buried at the shrine and the old ones taken along. The leaders were from Shungopavi but there were priests from other mesas as well.

Navajo Mountain was the next objective, a day's journey to the northwest. Tokonavi, as the Hopi call it, is the traditional homeland of the snake clans and the boundary shrine is on the top of the mountain. On the way to Navajo Mountain the party had stopped at Betatakin, an ancestral home through the mid-thirteenth century and known to the Hopi as Kawestima. Here the Park superintendent closed the trails so the Hopi party could locate the shrine near the ruins of this ancient village and provide new prayer offerings to their ancestors. The original Navajo in this region are relative late-comers, fleeing the round-up by Kit Carson and the New Mexican Volunteers in 1863-64 and their incarceration at Bosque Redondo on the Pecos River.

From this northern region the Hopi priests went on to Point Sublime along the south rim of the Grand Canyon, stopping en route to visit a Salt Shrine below Grand Canyon village where priests traditionally prayed when getting salt from the site near the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado

Rivers. The boundary shrine is further west at the beginning of the old Havasupai trail down to their village. Here the group of priests performed the requisite rituals, sprinkling sacred corn meal, smoking to the deities, and burying feathered prayer sticks.

From here the pilgrimage party drove to Bill Williams Mountain, south of the Grand Canyon; then to Honapa, 'Bear Springs' west of Sedona; then on to Cheylon Cliffs, where the Apache Trail leaves the Mogollon Rim; and then on to Woodruff Butte, south of Holbrook, Arizona, a shrine that the Hopi share with the Zuni tribe; and back to Lupton, where the pilgrimage began. See Robert Euler report on Hopi use and occupation, specifically pages 5 and 6 and map 3.

V.

The Hopi ancestral domain, outlined above, occupies a diamond-shaped region from Lupton, Arizona, in the east to the junction of the San Juan and Colorado Rivers in the north to Bill Williams Mountain in the west and the Cheylon Cliffs in the south.¹² Within this area is all of Black Mesa and virtually all of the region provided as a reservation for the Navajo and "such other Indians . . ." in the "1934 Boundary Bill." The San Francisco Peaks, rising just to the north of Flagstaff in the southwest center of the area, is one of the most important of their sacred areas. As the major home of the Katsinas, who are thought to use the entire surface of the peaks to prepare the making of rain and snow, and who manifest themselves daily as clouds above the peaks, as well as appearing from December to July as spirit dancers in the Hopi villages, the peaks are extremely sacred and the shrines on their tops are essential in Hopi ritual. The high spruce forests on the Peaks furnish important portions of the

Katsina costumes, as the Katsina join with the men of the village to pray and dance in the kivas and plazas. With the passage of the Arizona Wilderness Act in 1984, the federal government recognized the continuing importance of this area to the Hopi by designating the peaks as the Kachina Peaks Wilderness Area.

To the north and west of the San Francisco Peaks is the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, another very sacred and secret area for the Hopi. Already noted, here is their "source" in the physical presence of the sipapu, the place of emergence from, and entrance to, the underworld. Here deceased Hopi live and respond to the prayers of their descendants. Here the Hopi gathered salt essential to their diet until recently, and here are many of their early villages in which their world view was shaped, and which are still shrines to their descendants.

Usually at least annually, the Hopis also visit clan shrines, eagle shrines, ancestral ruins, salt sources, places associated with the Katsinas or ceremonies, and other places still kept secret. Because of the life-and-death importance of water to the Hopis in this arid land, it is not surprising that virtually all springs have been well-known for centuries and most have been marked with sacred shrines.

Hopi religion continues central to Hopi life, which for centuries has involved their land. The Hopi have no word for "religion" as such because for them virtually all aspects of their life have a sacred quality. Relatively isolated in their lands for centuries, they have integrated their subsistence practices, their land base, their social organization, and their cosmology into one interdependent whole.

As Mischa Titiev has demonstrated in Old Oraibi (1944), the underlying concepts of Hopi religion center on the continuity of life after death. The dead are reborn in the underworld where they live in villages like the living and eat the essence of the food offerings which the living provide. In return they visit the living in the form of clouds and Katsinas and bring rain to those with good hearts. In ceremonies the dead are notified so that they can participate, which they are thought to do by actual attendance, participating in the most important rituals.

This relation between the living and the dead is reflected in Hopi cosmological beliefs, which include a dual division of time and space. The sun journeys from his eastern "house" to his western "house," and at night travels underground from west to east. Hence, day and night are reversed in the upper and lower worlds. Similarly, in the sun's annual cycle, from winter solstice to summer solstice, when it is winter in the upper world, it is summer in the lower world, and the Hopi calendar of six month names which are repeated, reflects this duality. And in the Hopi life cycle, the "breath of life" comes from the underworld and at death returns to it.

The ceremonial calendar reflects the duality of life as well. From the winter solstice to the summer solstice, the spirits of the ancestors are present in the villages in the form of Katsinas and clouds, and the rituals performed are preparatory to the agricultural season which follows. Thus, beans and corn are planted in basins in the kivas in March during Powamu, and the resulting sprouts are brought in procession by the Katsinas to every household to demonstrate their powers to the small children and assure the adults that Muingwa and other deities will aid in the growing of the coming season's crops.

VI.

The above outline, centering on the Hopi view of the world and how it operates, helps to make intelligible the importance of their land base and how it is used to support the Hopi social system and the continuance of the Hopi way. At the village level the Kikmongwi controls the Hopi lands. Such lands were given to the Bear clan chief by Masau, the deity presiding over all the lands, in exchange for the promise to follow the Hopi way of life. These lands are allocated to particular clans in exchange for ceremonial services, or for protection against enemies. Some services are essential to all ceremonies -- e.g., the Sand clan provides valley sands for the altars, the Tobacco clan provides pipes and native tobacco for ceremonial smoking, in which the smoke is symbolic of clouds, the Badger clan provides the roots, herbs, and other materials to put in water and make the medicines and emetics used in the ceremonies, and a member of one of the water clans provides water for asperging and other purposes. If a clan dies out or no longer performs its ceremonial duties, the land returns to the village chief, for reassignment to whomever takes over the obligations.

As the Hopis say, "Our land, our religion and our life are one, and our leader, with humbleness, understanding and determination, performs his duty to us by keeping them as one and thus insuring prosperity and security for the people." ¹³ The traditional uses of the Hopi Tusqua are listed as follows:

1. It is from the land that each true Hopi gathers the rocks, the plants, the different woods, roots and his life, and each in the authority of his rightful obligation brings to our ceremonies proof of

our ties to this land. Our footprints mark well the trails to these sacred places where each year we go in performance of our duties.

2. It is upon this land that we have hunted and were assured of rights to game such as deer, elk, antelope, buffaloes, rabbit, turkey and the like. It is here that we capture the eagle, the hawk, and such birds whose feathers belong to our ceremonies.

3. It is upon this land that we make our trails to our salt supply.

4. It is over this land that many people have come seeking places for settlement, and finding Shungopavi established, asked our leader for permission to settle in this area. All the clan groups named their contributions to our welfare and upon acceptance by our leader were given designated lands for their livelihood and for their eagle hunting, according to the direction from which they came.

5. It is from this land that we obtain the timbers and stone for our homes and kivas.

6. It is upon this land that we are bringing up our younger generation and, through preserving our ceremonies, are teaching the proper human behavior and strength of character to make them true citizens among all the people.

7. It is upon this land we wish to live in peace and harmony with our friends and with our neighbors.¹⁴

This statement was part of the petition prepared for the Claims Case of the Hopi Indians against the Government in 1951, and indicated the importance of the sustaining area outside the residential regions, not only for material products but for religious reasons and spiritual support, as well.

CONCLUSION

There is ample evidence presented in other reports (e.g., Ainsworth, Adams, Godfrey) which illustrates specific Hopi uses of their ancestral lands. The somewhat more abstract issues of "possession" and "occupation" of those areas are perhaps more difficult to ascertain.

There is no question, however, that the Hopi believes that Deity entrusted all of the sacred Tusqua to the Hopis; and, thus, in that sense, all of those lands constitute lands which are possessed by the Hopi. The Hopis themselves have acted on the fact of that possession and have used those lands as an inventory from which areas could be assigned to various clan groups or individuals as consideration for the performances of various functions for the village. As cited above, the author's personal experience with the Kikmongwi of Old Oraibi in 1934 attests to this point. In addition, the Hopis from time immemorial through 1934 considered all of the resources of the Tusqua to belong to them for their use in sustaining their life.

The Hopis' right of occupancy of the entire sacred area also is clear from a variety of factors. The presence of Hopis throughout the area for various purposes (hunting, gathering, traveling, grazing, and religious purposes), was rarely challenged by others (including the Navajos), from time immemorial through the 1930's. Only in a few instances did others confront Hopis in their sacred area and, with rare exception, those occasions seem limited to instances where a shortage in a resource existed (such as fuel wood and later, farming lands, grazing forage). With such qualifications, the Hopis' right to travel throughout the 1934 area in and around 1934 and to use whatever resources in that area were needed by them, was unquestioned. In 1934, Hopis

were free to come and go when and where they pleased throughout the entire 1934 area (save, perhaps individual Navajo camps and hogans which the Hopis would visit only if invited). Hence, this author concludes that the Hopis indeed occupied and possessed all of the 1934 Reservation area as of that year. At the same time, he also concludes that such occupation and possession was undoubtedly not exclusively Hopi throughout the area in 1934. Navajos were beginning to expand into the Western Navajo area and also had resided in some other parts of the 1934 Reservation long prior to 1934. Also, some Paiutes were present at Willow Springs and Paiute Canyon. Nevertheless, concurrent Hopi occupation and possession of even those joint areas at the same time cannot be denied.

It is clear, therefore, that others respected the Hopi cosmology, recognized the Hopi beliefs, and gave them deference. Without such deference over many years, Hopi culture would have been impacted much more significantly than it has. With such deference, Hopi cosmology and culture have been forced to change relatively less than in many other tribes.

NOTES

1. See William W. Quinn, Jr. "Something Old, Something True: A Hopi Example of the need for Cosmology," South Dakota Review , Vol. 21, No. 2 (1983): 20-55; and H.R. Voth, "The Traditions of the Hopi," Chicago, Field Columbian Museum, Publication 96, Anthropological Series Vol. VIII, 1905.
2. Alexander M. Stephen, "Hopi Indians of Arizona," Los Angeles: Southwest Museum Leaflet, No. 14, 1940, pp. 16-17.
3. Washington Mathews, "Myths of Gestation and Parturition," American Anthropologist, Vol. 4, No. 4, (1902): p. 738.

4. Mischa Titiev. "Old Oraibi, a study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa," Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. XXII, No. 1, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1944, esp. pp. 109-129.

5. See especially, J. Walter Fewkes. "The Snake Ceremonials at Walpi." A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology, Vol. IV, 1894. pp. 106-126.

6. This section is based on Titiev, "Old Oraibi." pp. 7-95; Fred Eggan, Social Organization of the Western Pueblos, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950, pp. 17-138; and John Connelly, "Hopi Social Organization," in Handbook of North American Indians, Alfonso Ortiz, ed., Southwest, Vol. 9 Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 539-553.

7. See, especially, E.C. Parsons, "Pueblo Indian Religion," 2 Vols, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939; Alexander M. Stephen, "Hopi Journal," ed. E.C. Parsons, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. 23, Parts 1 and 2, 1936; and Titiev, "Old Oraibi," Part II, 1944.

8. For a general introduction to Hopi shrines see Titiev, "Old Oraibi," 1944, Glossary p. 271, under shrines (general) and shrines (particular).

9. For an account of the Hopi salt journey and the shrines en route, see Mischa Titiev, "A Hopi Salt Expedition," American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, No. 2 (1937); 244-258; and Don Talayesva, Sun Chief, The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian, ed. Leo W. Simmons, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1942, pp. 232-246.

10. Titiev, "Old Oraibi," p. 136, fn. 48.

11. See Jake Page, "Inside the Sacred Hopi Homeland." National Geographic Magazine, November, Vol. 162, No. 5, 1982: pp. 607-629 (with map); Susanne and Jake Page, Hopi, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1982, pp. 205-223.

12. See map in J. Page, "Inside the Sacred Hopi Homeland," pp. 610-11.

13. "Hopi Hearings" July 15-30, 1955, p. 111. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Phoenix Area Office, Hopi Agency, Keams Canyon, Arizona (mimeographed).

14. Ibid., pp. 112-13.