TUSAYAN MIGRATION TRADITIONS

BY

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By Jesse Walter Fewkes

INTRODUCTION

The observant traveler in Arizona will often have his attention attracted by mounds of rock and earth, indicative of former habitations, which are widely distributed over this territory. These mounds, which are almost numberless, are the remains of villages formerly inhabited by sedentary populations, and are particularly abundant near springs or streams. Similar remains, varying in size from simple hillocks to clusters arranged in regular form, also occur in inaccessible canyons or on the tops of high mesas.

The architectural characteristics of ancient Arizonian ruins are not all alike. The dwellings are sometimes found in the form of caves hewn into a soft tufaceous rock, or as cliff houses built in caverns, or as pueblos constructed of adobe and situated in the plains.

The great number of these ancient habitations now in ruins would indicate a large aboriginal population if they were simultaneously inhabited, but it is generally conceded that many of them were only temporarily occupied, and that at no one time in the history of Arizona were they all peopled by the ancients. Although there is evidence against the synchronous inhabitation of all these villages, there is reason to believe that the sedentary population was in the past evenly distributed over the whole pueblo region, but that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries causes were at work to concentrate it into certain limited areas. One of these areas of concentration was the present Moqui reservation, to which the people of the ancient villages were forced for refuge from their foes. The Hopi villages were thus peopled by descendants of clans which once lived as far north as the territory of Utah, as far south as the Gila valley, and as far east as the upper Rio Grande. In these concentrated communities we may expect to find survivals of the culture of many of the ruined pueblos of Arizona, combined with that of colonies from the New Mexican villages of the Rio Grande and its tributaries. The problem

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before the student of the history of any one of the Hopi pueblos includes the origin and course of migration of the different groups of clans whose descendants now form the population of those villages.

In preparing this paper the author has brought together such fragments of Hopi legendary history as could be gathered at Walpi. This account is not intended as a record of tribal genesis or creation myths, nor does it attempt a history from documentary sources of the dealings of the Spaniards or the Americans with the past or present inhabitants of this pueblo. It lays no stress on the discovery of Walpi by Europeans or the several attempts at mission work, but considers Hopi stories of the advent of different clans, the direction whence they came and the sequence of their coming, where they formerly lived, and the customs which they brought to the pueblo where their descendants now live. In other words, it is an attempt to examine the composition of the present population of Walpi by clans, and to trace the trails of migration of those clans before they reached the village. It is published as an aid to the archeologist who may need traditions to guide him in the identification of the ruins of northern Arizona,[1] and it is hoped that a discussion of the subject will bring into clear relief the composite origin of Hopi ritual, language, and secular customs.

It is impossible to interpret the Hopi ritual without a clear idea of the present relationship between the existing clans and of their connection with the religious societies. The growth of the Hopi ritual has gone on pari passu with the successive addition of new clans to the pueblo, and its evolution can not be comprehended without an understanding of the sociologic development and the clan organization of the pueblo. This applies also to the Hopi language and to secular customs which, like the ritual, are composite, and have resulted from the union of families of somewhat different stages of culture, each speaking a characteristic language. What the idiom of each of these several component clans was before their consolidation we can best judge if we know the sites of their ancestral homes and the speech of the early kindred from whom they separated when they migrated to the Hopi mesas. So also with their other customs and their arts, all of which are composite and were introduced some from one direction, others from another.

The legends which have served as the groundwork of this account of the history of Walpi were gathered mainly from the clans now living in the East mesa pueblos. Some of these legends have never been collected, although considerable work of great value which was done in this field by that enthusiastic student, the late A. M. Stephen,

[1] The main types of pueblo ruins have been described, and what is now necessary is a study of the manners and customs of the people who once inhabited them. This work implies an intimate knowledge of the ethnology of the survivors, and a determination of the survivors' identity may be had from migration legends of clans now living in the pueblos.

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was published in Mindeleff's account of the architecture of Tusayan.[1] This material has been critically examined, and certain significant variations have been found which are embodied in the present article.

There remains much material on the migrations of Hopi clans yet to be gathered, and the identification by archeologic methods of many sites of ancient habitations is yet to be made. This work, however, can best be done under guidance of the Indians by an ethno-archeologist, who can bring as a preparation for his work an intimate knowledge of the present life of the Hopi villagers.

While engaged in collecting the migration legends of different Hopi clans the author has consulted, when possible, the clan chiefs. Wiki, Wikyatiwa, and Kopeli have furnished the migration legends of the Snake clans, Anawita those of the Rain-cloud, and Hani the Tobacco legends. Pütce has given the author the story of the Horn and Flute and Pautiwa that of the Eagle clans. The legends of the neighboring pueblo of Hano, the history of which is intimately connected with that of Walpi, were obtained from Kalakwai and others. As was to be expected, since human memory is fallible, different men of equal honesty vary considerably in their accounts, and hence the collector of the unrecorded history of Walpi soon recognizes that it is best not to give too much weight to stories of clans to which the informant does not belong. An honest traditionist immediately declares his ignorance of the history of a clan not his own, and in the presence of a man of that clan will refer to him when questioned. Some of the older men take a pride in the history of their respective clans, and claim to know more than others; but many know or care little of the history of their clans, and when interrogated refer to their clan chief. To this class belong most of the young men, especially those who have attended school, where little encouragement is given to pupils to gain knowledge of the history of their ancestors.

THE HOPI PUEBLOS

The present Hopi pueblos are seven in number, and are situated on three table-lands, called East mesa, Middle mesa, and Oraibi. The inhabitants of six of these villages speak the Hopi language and of one the Tanoan. The East mesa has two Hopi pueblos—Walpi and Sichumovi—and a Tewa village called Hano. About 7 miles in an air line from the East mesa is the Middle mesa, upon which are situated three towns, called Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi, and Shuñopovi. The largest Hopi pueblo, called Oraibi, is situated about 20 miles westward from Walpi.

Walpi is regarded as the most ancient Tusayan pueblo, its settlement dating from before the middle of the sixteenth century. The

[1] Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

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neighboring pueblo, Sichumovi, was settled by foreign colonists about the middle of the eighteenth century, while Hano was founded by Tewa clans at the beginning of the same century.

Two of the Middle mesa pueblos are mentioned by name in documents of the seventeenth century, and one, Shipaulovi, was probably founded not far from 1750.

Oraibi is known to be an old pueblo, being also mentioned by name in early Spanish records; but it is more modern than Shuñopovi, having been founded by a chief named Matcito from the latter town.[1] The Hopi language as spoken in Oraibi is somewhat different in pronunciation from that of the other Hopi pueblos, but this difference is not more than dialectic, so that the six Hopi pueblos may be said to speak the same tongue. The people of Hano, however, speak a Tanoan dialect which the Hopi do not understand.

Sites of Old Walpi

The first site of Walpi on the East mesa which has been positively identified was on the northern side of the terrace which surrounds this rocky height, below the present town. The ground plan of this settlement is still clearly indicated by the remains of old walls, the size and arrangement of the rooms being still traceable without difficulty. This was probably the position of the pueblo in the sixteenth century, when its population was limited to the Snake, Horn, and Flute clans, and when the Spaniards first came into the country. It was also the site of the pueblo during the troubles with the inhabitants of the neighboring pueblo Sikyatki, which culminated in the destruction of the latter town.

The Walpians found this situation exposed to the attacks of their enemies, and consequently moved their pueblo one stage higher, to the top of the projecting spur at the western end of the mesa. On this site the Walpians lived through the mission epoch (1628–1680), and a chapel, the outlines of which may still be traced, was erected there. This second site of the pueblo is called Kisakobi, and the Spanish mission house Nücaki. As the walls of the first and second settlements almost adjoin, it may have been that portions of the two were inhabited synchronously.

The amount of débris around these former settlements indicates that both were inhabited for a considerable period, and evidently the size of the combined villages was not less than that of the present pueblo of Walpi. In this débris are found fragments of the finest old Tusayan ware, which bears pictography characteristic of the ancient epoch.

The inroads of the Ute from the north and the Apache from the south hastened the abandonment of the early sites, but probably the main cause of the final move to the top of East mesa was a fear of

[1] Matcito is said to have lived for some time in a cave near Oraibi, at a rock still pointed out.

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the return of the Spaniards after the murder of the padres in the Pueblo revolt of 1680. The Hopi abandoned Kisakobi about the close of the seventeenth century and moved their habitation to the top of East mesa, where a few houses may already have existed. At that time they transported much of the building material from Kisakobi, using the beams of the mission for the roofs and floors of new kivas and houses, in which they may still be seen.

The name Walpi was apparently not applied to the settlement before this last change of location, which may account for its absence from Espejo's list of Hopi towns in 1583. The earliest documentary mention of Walpi was "Gualpi," in 1680, or about the time the pueblo was moved to its present site. Parts of Kisakobi and modern Walpi may have been simultaneously inhabited for several years, but between 1680 and 1700 the rooms at Kisakobi[1] were completely abandoned.

Effects of Spanish Contact

The advent of the Spaniards, in the middle of the sixteenth century, does not seem to have made a lasting impression on the Hopi, for no account of the first coming of Europeans is preserved in their stories. Undoubtedly the Hopi regarded these earliest visits in much the same manner as they did the frequent forays of the hostile Ute, Navaho, and Apache. They were no doubt profoundly impressed by firearms, and greatly astonished at the horses, but special stories of the incidents of that time have long ago been lost. There survive many accounts of the life of the Spanish priests of a later epoch, with references to the building of the missions, but none of the Hopi have a good word to say of this period in their history.

The influence of the zealous fathers in their attempts to convert the Hopi to Christianity seems to have been ephemeral. While the padres may have introduced some slight modifications into the native ritual, with more exalted ideas of God, as a whole the products of these changes, if there were any, can not now be disentangled from purely aboriginal beliefs and customs.

The new cult brought by the priests was at first welcomed by the Indians, and no objection was made to it, for toleration in religious things is characteristic of most primitive men. The Hopi objected to the propagandist spirit, and strongly resented the efforts of the padres to make them abandon their time-honored religious practices (as the making of dolls or idols and the performance of ceremonial dances), and to accept the administration of Christian baptism. The Hopi further declare that the early padres practically tried to enslave them or to compel them to work without compensation. They obliged the natives to bring water from distant springs, and to haul logs from the distant mountains for the construction of the mission buildings. Per-

[1] *Ki*, pueblo, *saka*, ladder, *obi*, locative: "Place of the Ladder-town."

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haps sheep, horses, iron implements, and cloth were given in return for this service, or possibly they were not adequately paid. The Hopi maintain that they were not; but whether justly or not, time has not eradicated the feeling of deep hatred with which the Spanish mission epoch is now regarded by these Indians.

A few relics of the Spanish dominion still remain in Walpi. Some of the beams and flooring of the old mission are still to be seen in kivas and private houses,[1] and one or two old doors and windows date back to pre-American occupancy. There are also a few iron hoes—survivals of this early time—and metallic bells, the antiquity of which is doubtful. No Spanish written records are preserved in Tusayan, and nothing of Spanish manufacture has thus far been detected on any of the altars at Walpi. The lasting benefit of the Spanish régime was the gift of sheep, horses, goats, burros, and various fruits and seeds.[2]

CLANS LIVING OR EXTINCT IN WALPI AND SICHUMOVI

In the following lists the component clans of Walpi and Sichumovi are referred to their former homes:

1. Clans from Tokonabi (southern Utah): Tcüa (Snake), Ala (Horn).
2. Clans from Palatkwabi (southern Arizona) and the Little Colorado: Patuñ (Squash)[3], Leñya? (Flute), Patki (Cloud), Kükütc (Lizard), Piba (Tobacco), Tüwa (Sand), Tabo (Rabbit).
3. Clans from the Muiobi (Rio Grande valley), and New Mexican pueblos, (Zuñi, Acoma, Jemez, etc.): Honau (Bear), Kokop (Firewood), Pakab (Reed), Asa (Tansy-mustard), Buli (Butterfly), Honani (Badger).

Although the original clans which settled Sichumovi belonged to group 3, and this is practically a New Mexican pueblo in the Hopi country, the descendants of the original settlers have so intermarried with the Hopi that their linguistic characteristics are lost.

1. Clans from Tokonabi

Tcüa group

Tcüa wiñwû .....Snake clan.
Tohoû wiñwû .....Puma clan.
Hüwi wiñwû .....Dove clan.
Ucü wiñwû .....Cactus clan.
Yuñû wiñwû.....Opuntia (cactus) clan.
Nabovû wiñwû .....———.

[1] Decorated beams from the mission may be seen in Pautiwa's house.

[2] The Hopi names of these, which are corrupted Spanish (*kanela*, sheep; *kavayo*, horse; *melone*, melon, etc.), show the sources of these inestimable gifts which have profoundly modified the modern life of the Hopi.

[3] Extinct in Walpi and Sichumovi.

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1. Clans from Tokonabi—Continued

Ala clans of the Ala-Leñya group[1]

Ala wiñwû .....Horn clan.
Sowinû wiñwû.....Deer clan.
Tcübio wiñwû .....Antelope clan.
Tcaizra wiñwû.....———.

2. Clans from Palatkwabi and the Little Colorado

Patuñ group

Patuñ wiñwû .....Squash clan.
Atoko wiñwû .....Crane clan.
Kele wiñwû .....Pigeon-hawk clan.
Tubic wiñwû .....Sorrow-making clan.

Leñya clans of the Ala-Leñya group[1]

Cakwaleñya wiñwû....Blue- (Green-) flute clan.
Macileñya wiñwû.....Drab-flute clan.
Pañwû wiñwû.....Mountain-sheep clan.
Leleñtu wiñwû .....Flute clan.

Patki group

Patki wiñwû .....Rain-cloud clan.
Kaü wiñwû .....Maize clan.
Tanaka wiñwû .....Rainbow clan.
Talawipiki wiñwû .....Lightning clan.
Kwan wiñwû. .....Agave clan.
Sivwapi wiñwû.....*Bigelovia graveolus* clan.
Pawikya wiñwû .....Aquatic-animal clan
Pakwa wiñwû.....Frog clan.
Pavatiya wiñwû .....Tadpole clan.

Tüwa-Küküte group

Tüwa wiñwû.....Sand clan.
Küküte wiñwû.....Lizard clan.
Sihu wiñwû.....Flower or bush clan.

Tabo-Piba group

Tabo wiñwû .....Rabbit clan.
Sowi wiñwû.....Hare clan.
Piba wiñwû.....Tobacco clan.

[1] The Ant clans (Anu, Tokoanu, Wukoanu, and Ciwanu) belong to this group, but the author is in doubt whether to assign them to the Ala or the Leñya division, the latter of which did not come from Tokonabi.

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3. Clans from Muiobi and New Mexican Pueblos

Honau group

Honau wiñwû.....Bear clan.
Tokotci wiñwû.....Wildcat clan.
Teosro wiñwû.....Bluebird clan.
Kokyan wiñwû .....Spider clan.

Asa or Teakwaina group (Abiquiu, via Zuñi)

Teakwaina wiñwû .....Teakwaina (a katcina) clan.
Hosboa wiñwû .....Road-runner or Pheasant clan.
Pociwû wiñwû .....Magpie clan.
Teisro wiñwû .....Bunting clan.

Katcina group (via Kicuba)

Katcina wiñwû.....Katcina clan.
Añwuci wiñwû.....Crow clan.
Gyazru wiñwû .....Parrot clan.
Sikyatci wiñwû .....Yellow-bird clan.
Tawamana wiñwû .....Bird clan.
Salab wiñwû .....Spruce clan.
Sühüb wiñwû.....Cottonwood clan.

Kokop group (Jemez, via Sikyatki)

Kokop wiñwû.....Firewood clan.
Isanû wiñwû .....Coyote clan.
Kwewû wñwû.....Wolf clan.
Sikyataiyo wiñwû .....Yellow-fox clan.
Letaiyo wiñwû .....Gray-fox clan.
Zrohono wiñwû .....———.
Masi wiñwû.....Masanû (Death-god) clan.
Eototo wiñwû.....Eototo clan.
Tuvoû wiñwû .....Piñon clan.
Hoko wiñwû.....Juniper clan.
Awata wiñwû .....Bow clan.
Sikyatci wiñwû .....Bird (?) clan.
Tüvatci wiñwû .....Bird (?) clan.

Pakab group

Pakab wiñwû .....Reed or arrow clan.
Kwahu wiñwû .....Eagle clan.
Kwayo wiñwû .....Hawk clan.
Koyoña wiñwû.....Turkey clan.
Tawa wiñwû .....Sun clan.
Püükoñ wiñwû.....War-god clan.
Palañą wiñwû.....War-god clan.
Cohu wiñwû .....———.

Honani group (via Kicuba)

Honani wiñwû.....Badger clan.
Muiyawu wiñwû .....Porcupine clan.
Wicoko wiñwû.....Turkey-buzzard clan.
Buli wiñwû .....Butterfly clan.
Katcina wiñwû.....Katcina clan.

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CHRONOLOGIC SEQUENCE OF THE ADVENT OF CLANS

Traditions regarding the sequence of the arrival of clans conflict in details, although they coincide in general outline. Anawita, one of the best informed men of the Patki clans, has given the following order of the arrival of clans at Walpi:

1. Honau, Bear.
2. Tcüa, Snake.
3. Ala-Leñya, Horn-Flute.
4. Kokop, Firewood.
5. Pakab, Reed.
6. Asa, Tansy-mustard.
7. Patki, Cloud.
   Kükütc, Lizard; Tüwa, Sand.
   Tabo, Rabbit; Piba, Tobacco.
8. Honani, Badger; Buli, Butterfly; Katcina.

It will be noted that Anawita does not mention the Squash clan, probably because it is now extinct at Walpi:

Wikyatiwa, of the Snake clan, gave the following sequence:

1. Tcüa, Snake.
2. Honau, Bear.
3. Kokop, Firewood.
4. Pakab, Reed.
5. Ala-Leñya, Horn-Flute.
6. Patki, Cloud.
   Kükütc-Tüwa, Lizard-Sand.
   Piba-Tabo, Tobacco-Rabbit.
7. Honani, Badger.
8. Katcina.
9. Asa, Tansy-mustard.

Poyi, a very intelligent man of the Okuwuñ or Tewa Rain-cloud clan, gave the following sequence:

1. Tcüa, Snake.
2. Honau, Bear.
3. Patuñ, Squash.
4. Ala-Leñya, Horn-Flute.
5. Kokop, Firewood.
6. Asa, Tansy-mustard.
7. Isauû, Coyote.
8. Patki, Cloud.
   Kükütc-Tüwa, Lizard-Sand.
   Piba-Tabo, Tobacco-Rabbit.
9. Katcina.
   Honani, Badger.

The late A. M. Stephen obtained, in 1893, from five chiefs now dead,[1] the following sequence:

1. Honau, Bear.
2. Tcüa, Snake.
3. Patuñ, Squash.
4. Ala-Leñya, Horn-Flute.
5. Patki, Cloud.
   Tüwa-Kükütc, Sand-Lizard.
   Tabo-Piba, Rabbit-Tobacco.
6. Kokop, Firewood.
   Pakab, Reed.
7. Honani, Badger.
   Katcina.
8. Asa, Tansy-mustard.
9. The clans of Hano pueblo.

Some of the inconsistencies in the foregoing lists may be explained by the fact that a misunderstanding existed between the natives and the author in regard to the information desired, the former believing in some instances that the sequence of arrival of clans at Walpi, and in others that the order of their advent into Tusayan, was desired.

[1] Cimo, Masaiumtiwa, Nasyuñweve, Hahawe, and Intiwa.

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Evidence has now been gathered that other villages than Walpi existed in the Hopi country at the time of the arrival of the Tcüa clans. Studies of the ruin of Sikyatki show that this pueblo was older than Walpi, and consequently that the Kokop clans which founded it came into the Hopi country before the Tcüa. The Leñya were also in this region when joined by the Ala (who left Tokonabi with the Tcüa clans) and probably were living at Leñyanobi. Moreover, there is every reason to suspect that Awatobi also was inhabited in that early epoch.

Bearing on these probabilities, the testimony of one of the Ala men, who did not confuse the Hopi country with the pueblo of Walpi, but called the author's attention to the error of such confusion, is highly important. In his account of the sequence he declared that the Honau clan was the first to settle Walpi; but that about the same time the Kokop clan founded Sikyatki and the Leñya clan Leñyanobi. The Ala and Tcüa peoples came into the country at about the same time, by different routes, the former joining the Leñya at Leñyanobi and the latter the Honau at Walpi. Sikyatki and Awatobi were in existence at that time. Although the Honau clan had not been at enmity with the Kokop, as both came from Muiobi (Rio Grande) and Jemez, the pueblo of combined Tcüa and Honau clans was not on amicable terms with the people of Sikyatki. The outcome of the hostilities which followed was the overthrow of the Kokop clan of Sikyatki, "while the Honau-Tcüa people of Walpi conquered Masauû, the tutelary god of Sikyatki, who had given the Kokop a site for their pueblo." The combined clans of the Ala-Leñya pueblo gained kinship with the Honau-Tcüa through the Ala who had lived with the Tcüa at Tokonabi. These two pueblos were peacefully united by the moving of the Ala-Leñya to Walpi. The tragic overthrow of Awatobi by its rival, Walpi, occurred later.

Thus it seems that at an early period there had settled in the Hopi country three groups of clans, the Honau, the Kokop, and the Leñya and kindred Patuñ. The Honau had a pueblo on the site of Walpi; the Kokop were settled at Sikyatki; the Patuñ on the Middle mesa; and the Leñya at Leñyanobi or Kwactapahu. The kindred Tcüa and Ala clans, which had previously lived together at Tokonabi, entered the country by different routes. The Tcüa joined the Honau at Walpi; the Ala the Leñya at Leñyanobi or Kwactapahu. The Honau-Tcüa and the Ala-Leñya later consolidated at Walpi, and the town of the latter was abandoned. The combined people of Walpi destroyed the Kokop settlement at Sikyatki, as above stated, adding some of the survivors to its population. With the assistance of the Middle mesa clans Walpi overthrew and destroyed Awatobi. The settlement of Patki people at Pakatcomo was abandoned, some of the clans from that place removing to Walpi. The Honani, Asa, and other eastern clans sought Walpi as a home. The details of the above history are best brought out by an intimate discussion of each clan legend.

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It may then be stated that while the main bodies of the three groups of clans from the north (Tokonabi), the south (Palatkwabi), and the east (Muiobi), settled at Walpi in the sequence given, individual clans of these groups were, so far as is known, of equal antiquity there; thus, while the majority of the clans from the Rio Grande were late arrivals, the Honau and Kokop were among the first to settle at the East mesa.

The author has chosen the advent of the Snake clans as the epoch of the founding of modern Walpi, and for consecutive history he will consider the arrival of the clan groups in their order, namely, from Tokonabi, Palatkwabi, and Muiobi.

CLANS FROM TOKONABI

TCÜA CLANS

The clans known as the Tcüa and the Ala[1] say that they formerly lived together at Tokonabi, which place, so far as can be learned, was near the junction of the Little Colorado with the Great Colorado, in southern Utah. The Tcüa, or Snake, clans were dominant from the very first in Walpi, and their chief was, as late as the end of the seventeenth century, governor of the pueblo, for he it was who is said to have sent to the Tewa people of the Rio Grande for aid against hostile nomads.

The following list contains the names of the men and women of the Snake clans now (January 1, 1900) living at Walpi:

Census of Tcüa clans at Walpi

Men and boys	Women and girls
Kopeli *a*	Mamana
Koyowaiamû	Saliko
Nuvawinu	Pobi
Hoñyi	Kokyanmana
Lomavoya	Kotcanapi
Honauwû	Talasmuima
Wiki	Haso
Wikyatiwa	Kabuzru
Uebema	Cikwavensi
Ahula	
Talakabu	
Sanna	
Sikyahoniwa	
Moumi	
Tcoko	

a Since deceased.

[1] The Ala, by union with the Leñya, later became the Ala-Leñya. There is no evidence that the latter clan ever lived at Tokonabi.

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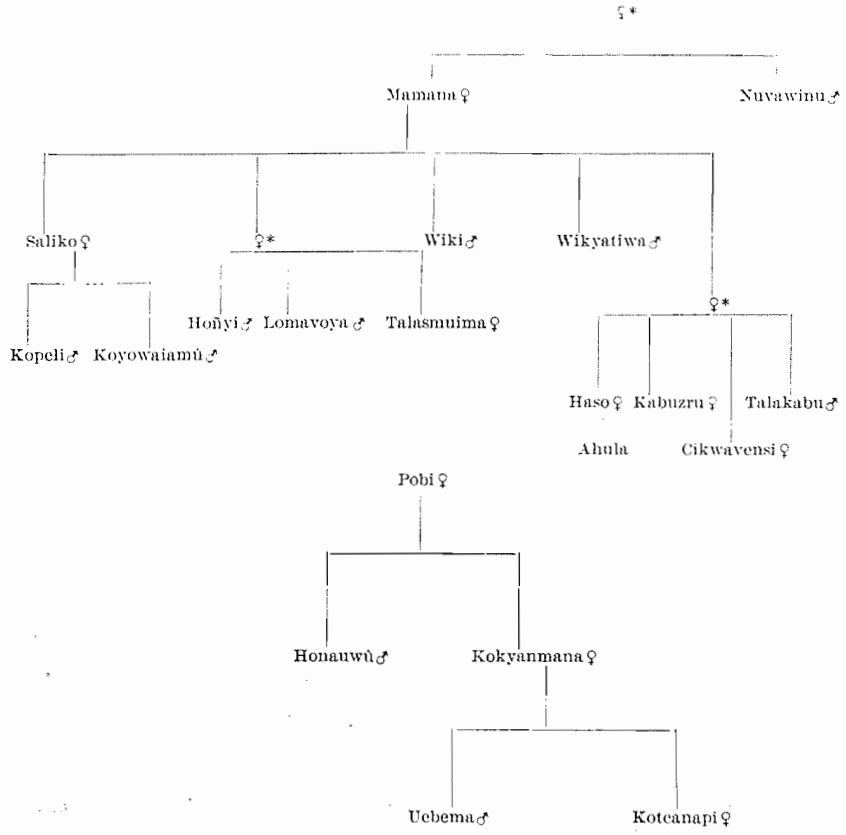

The different clans which, according to the legends, are associated with the Snake people are mentioned in an accompanying list (page 582). When the Snake settlement was first made at the northern base of the East mesa, the Snake, Puma, Dove, and Cactus peoples were possibly all represented, but the Snake clan was dominant and its chief was governor of the town.

In their former life at Tokonabi the Huwi (Dove), Toho (Puma), Ala (Horn), and Tcüa (Snake) were associated, and in some accounts the Tüwa are also said to have been represented in this northern home. In most of the Patki traditions the Tüwa are asserted to be a southern clan closely related to the Kükütc (Lizard) people.

The burden of the Snake legend[1] is that in ancient times, when the Puma, Dove, and Horn clans lived at Tokonabi, a youth of the first named brought home as his wife a girl of the Snake clan. One of his "brothers," but of the Horn clan, also married a girl of the Snake clan, and it would seem that other members of the girl's clan joined the Puma-Horn settlements. In passing, it may theoretically be sup-

[1] This legend is couched in the form of a mythic story of the adventures of the god Tiyo in the Underworld.

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posed that these women were of Shoshonean affinity, possibly from a nomadic tribe, with which the Puma and Horn were thus united.

As the offspring of the two Snake women did not get along well with the children of other clans at Tokonabi,[1] the Puma, Snake, and Horn clans migrated southward. They started together, but the Horn soon separated from the other clans, which continued to a place 50 miles west of the East mesa, and built there a pueblo now called Wukoki. The ruins of this settlement are still to be seen.

While the Puma and Snake clans were living at Wukoki one of their number, called Tcamahia, left them to seek other clans which were said to be emerging from the Underworld in the far east. He went to the Upper Rio Grande to a place called Sotcaptukwi, near Santa Fe, where he met Püükoñhoya, the war god, to whom he told the object of his quest. This person shot an arrow to a *sipapu*, or orifice, in the north, where people were emerging from the Underworld. The arrow returned to the sender, bringing the message[2] that the clans to which it was sent would travel toward the southwest, and that Tcamahia should go westward if he wished to join them. He followed this direction and met the clans at Akokaiobi,[3] the Hopi name of Acoma, where, presumably, he joined them, and where their descendants still live.

In answer to a question as to the identity of Tcamahia, the narrator responded that the name signified the "Ancients." As the same term is used for certain ceremonial objects on the Antelope altar in the Snake dance, it may be possible, by a study of this ceremony, to give a more intelligent answer. Around the sand picture which constitutes an essential feature of this altar there is arranged a row of stone celts which are called tcamahias. During the altar songs one of the priests of the Sand clan, which is said to have lived with the Snake clan at Wukoki, rapped on the floor with one of these stone objects, for the purpose, it was said, of telegraphing to Acoma to the Tcamahia to join them in the Snake ceremony. On the eighth and ninth days of the dance Tcamahia came, and, while acting as asperger at the kisi or brush shelter, called out the invocation "*Awahia, tcamahia*," etc., the Keres invocation to warriors.

The author is of the opinion that this asperger personates the old Tcamahia of Wukoki, who parted from the Snake clans at that pueblo to seek his fortune in the east, finding it at Acoma. Among the clans associated with the Snake at Wukoki were the Puma and Sand. Perhaps Tcamahia, the warrior, belonged to one of these, possibly the former. The Puma fetish on the Antelope altar at Walpi may also be interpreted as indicative of a former association of the Puma and the

[1] Tokonabi, possibly from *toktei*, wild-cat, and *obi*, the locative.
[2] This reminds us of the use of the paho, or prayer stick, as a message bearer.
[3] There is said to be a ruin on the Awatobi mesa called Akokaiobi.

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Snake clans, and the sand picture of the mountain lion on the Snake altar of the same pueblo may admit of the same interpretation. The personation of the Puma-man in the exercises in the Snake kiva is regarded in the same way. These are all modern survivals indicative of the former association of Puma and Snake clans.

Evidences of the contact of the Horn and Snake clans are also found in the ceremonial paraphernalia of the Snake dance, such as the two antelope heads on the Antelope altar at Oraibi and the many snake fetishes, to which it is hardly necessary to call special attention. But the strongest of all evidences that the Horn and Snake clans have been associated are the Hopi names of the two priesthoods which celebrate this great festival, namely, the Antelope and Snake fraternities.

Thus in the Snake dance we find in the ceremonial paraphernalia totemic evidences of composition from at least three clans--the Puma, the Horn, and the Snake--which substantiates the legend that in ancient times these three lived together. When we study the Flute ceremony we shall see additional evidence that the Horn were once in contact with the Snake clans, notwithstanding that the Flute element, which predominates, had an origin different from that of the Horn.

Ala-Leñya Clans[1]

The first addition to the settlement of Bear and Snake clans at Old Walpi was a group composed of Ala (Horn) and Leñya (Flute) clans. As this group was composite, their legends are likewise composed of at least two elements. They go back to two cultus heroes, the Deer youth and the Mountain-sheep youth, one of whom is the boy of the Horn clan who married one of the Snake girls, the other the male ancestor of the Flute clans.

The numerous elements of the legends of the Horn-Flute clans which run parallel with those of the Snake are interpreted as due to the former life of the Horn with the Snake clans. The Flute legendists say that their ancestor descended to the Underworld, and that while there he drew a maid to him by playing on a flute. He married this girl in the Sun-house and she became the mother of the Flute clan. This legend is thought to bear traces of a different origin from any of the Horn legends, although it is mixed with Horn stories.

After the Horn clans parted from the Snake people in their migration southward from Tokonabi, they drifted into an eastern place called Lokotaaka. How far eastward they went is not known, but from Lokotaaka they moved to Kisiwi, and then to Moñpa, where ruins are still to be seen. Continuing in their migration, which, after they left Lokotaaka, was toward the west, they came to a pueblo called Leñyanobi, "Place of the Flute" (clans). There they evidently

[1] As has been previously stated, the Leñya clans of the Ala-Leñya group came from Palatkwabi, but for convenience they are here considered with their associated clans from Tokonabi.

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united with the Flute people, and from that time the group was composite. The combined clans did not remain at Leñyanobi, but moved by way of Wikyaobi to a point called Kwactapabi, where they were well within the present Hopi reservation. The route from Kwactapabi to Walpi, where they joined the Snake pueblo, was by Wipo, Kanelba, and Leñyacüpu, or Kokyanba (Spider spring).

The spring known as Kwactapahu, situated a few miles from Walpi, is said to have been the site of a pueblo of the Horn-Flute clans for some time, and it was possibly while they were there that news of the Snake settlement at Walpi reached them. The chief of the pueblo sent Alosaka to spy out the country west and south of their settlement, and he returned with the report of the existence of the Snake town at Old Walpi. The Horn people, knowing that the Snake people must have made their way into the region after their separation, no doubt expected to find them as they journeyed westward. At all events, they recognized them as kindred. Kwactapahu was abandoned, and the combined Horn-Flute clans were hospitably received by the Snake villagers.

In the present Hopi ritual at Walpi there is a remarkable confirmation of that part of the above legend which deals with the union of the clans from Kwactapahu and the people of Old Walpi. It is no less than a dramatization of the event with a cast of characters representing the participants.

About noon of the seventh day of the Flute ceremony, the Flute chief, accompanied by several members of the Flute priesthood, visited in sequence the springs mentioned above, where the Horn-Flute people had tarried during the latter part of their migration. They went first to Kanelba, about 5 miles from Walpi, thence to Wipo, still farther to the north, on the west side of the table-land of which the East mesa is a continuation. They then crossed the plain west of Wipo, and made their way onto the mesa which bounds the western edge of this plain. At a point called the Flute house they slept, and on the following morning went a mile beyond the Flute house to Kwactapahu, where ceremonies were conducted and offerings made to the spring.

The rites at Kwactapahu ended, the Flute priests retraced their steps, crossing the valley as their ancestors did in ancient times. At intervals they halted, set the tiponi or badge of office in position on the ground, and made symbols of rain clouds near by. One of the stopping places was near the mound called Tukinobi, on which there is a ruin of considerable size. They continued their course and approached the narrow neck of land called Hütciovi, along which runs the trail by which Walpi is entered from the north. There they found a line of meal drawn across the trail which symbolized that no one could enter the pueblo. Entrance to Walpi was closed to the incoming personators of the ancient Horn-Flute clans.

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Back of this line, between it and the houses of the pueblo, stood the chiefs of the Bear and Snake clans. There was also a boy dressed like the Snake boy in the Antelope kiva rites, as well as two girls dressed and decorated similarly to the Snake maid in the same ceremony. As the Flute chief and his followers approached, the Bear chief challenged him, demanding, "Who are you? Whence have you come?" The Flute chief responded that they were kindred and knew the songs necessary to bring rain. Then the Bear chief took his tiponi from one of the girls, while the Antelope-Snake chief received his badge from the other. Holding them tenderly on their arms, they advanced and welcomed the Flute chief to their pueblo. As a symbol of acceptance the Flute chief gave prayer offerings to the girls, the line of meal barring entrance to the pueblo was brushed away, and a new line extending along the trail was made to symbolize that the entrance was again open.

This symbolic reception of the Flute priests not only dramatizes a historic event in the growth of Walpi, but also displays a tendency to visit old sites of worship during ceremonies, and to regard water from ancient springs as efficacious in modern religious performances. It is a common feature of great ceremonies to procure water from old springs for altar rites, and these springs are generally situated near ancestral habitations now in ruins.

This tendency is illustrated in the Sio-calako or Zuñi Calako ceremony celebrated at Sichumovi in July, when the chiefs procure sacred water from a spring near St Johns, Arizona, called Wenima, the ancient home of the Hopi and Zuñi Calako. The Kwakwantû chief obtains water for some of his ceremonies from a spring called Sipabi, where the Patki clans, who introduced the Kwakwantû, once lived. The Piba chief of the Tataukyamû procures water from Clear creek, near the ruin of Cakwabaiyaki, the former home of the Piba clans. Thus in instances where clans have migrated to new localities their chiefs often return to ancestral shrines, or make pilgrimages to old springs for the purpose of procuring water to use in their ritual.

Ala-Leñya (Walpi)

Men and boys	Women and girls
Ala phratry:	
Pontima	Keli
Pavatiya	Nüüce
Pütci	Turwa
Tawakwabi	Siohumi
Nabi	Humesi
Paluñhoya	Komañaieci
Makto	Talahoniwa (Tüba)

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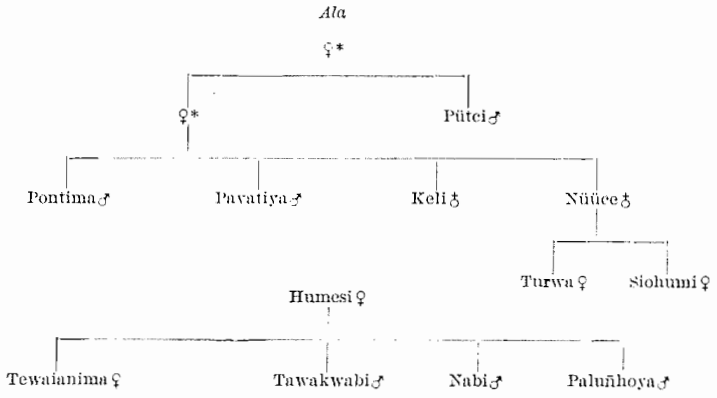
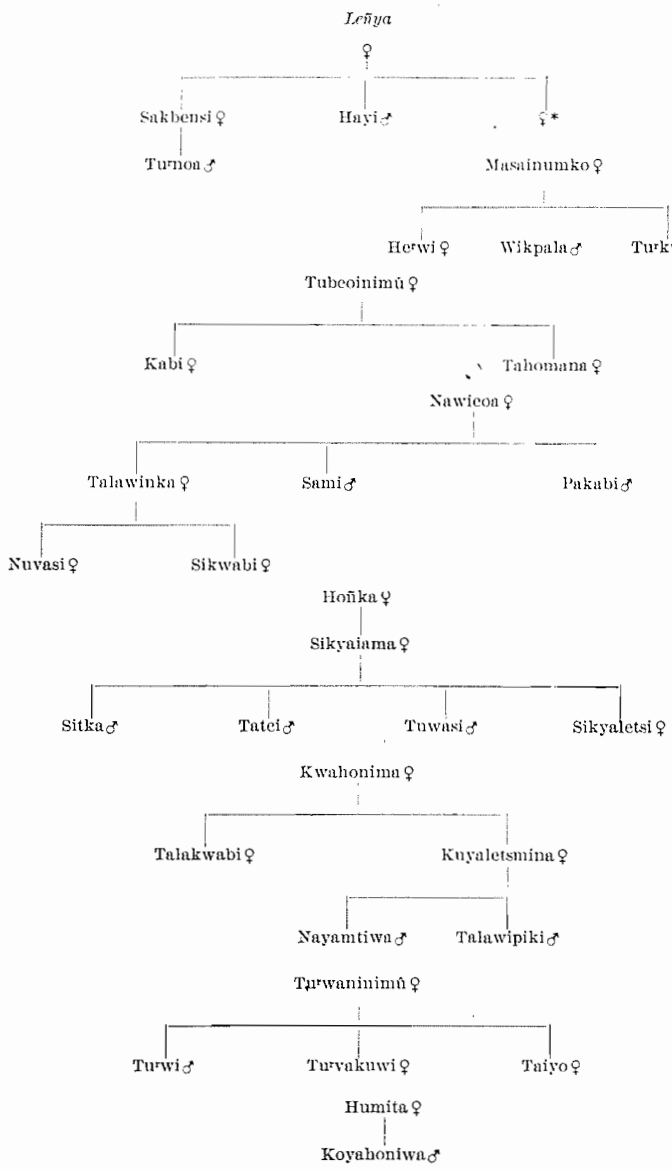
Ala-Leñya (*Walpi*)—Continued

Men and boys	Women and girls
Ala phratry—Cont'd	
Suhimu	Tewaianima
Sokoni	
Nüuñu	
Sikyabentima	
Tcono	
Pema	
Honyamtiwa	
Leñya phratry:	
Tu'noa	Sakbensi (Vensi)
Tu'kwi	Tu'waninimû
Wapa	Masainumko
Hayi	Talawinka
Wikpala	Humita
Nitioma	Tahomana
Tatci	Kabi
Sami	Hoñka
Pakabi	Kwahonima
Lomaventiwa	Talakwabi
Tuwasi	Kuyaletsmina
Sitka	Sikyaiama
Koyahoniwa	He'wi
Nayamtiwa	Nawicoa
Talawipiki	Tubeoinimû
Sikyaiauma	Nuvasi
Tu'wi	Sikwabi
Taiyo	Sikyaletsi
	Tu'vakuwi





CLANS FROM PALATKWABI AND THE LITTLE COLORADO PUEBLOS[1]

It is stated that the Little Colorado pueblos were settled by clans from the far south, or Palatkwabi, which accounts for their consideration under the above heading. There is good traditional and docu-

[1] By the Little Colorado pueblos the author does not refer to ruins at the Caseades or between them and the river's mouth. The pueblos south and southeast of Hopi are included.

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mentary evidence that some of the pueblos now in ruins along the Little Colorado, due south of Walpi, were inhabited until near the close of the seventeenth century, but they were not all abandoned at the same time. Some of the clans went northward to the Hopi pueblos, others eastward to Zuñi. Among the first groups to migrate northward was the Patuñ (Squash), which may have been accompanied by the Leñya or Flute. The former settled at the Middle mesa and Awatobi, the latter were later joined by the Ala at Leñyanobi. As there were Patuñ clans in Awatobi, which was destroyed in 1700, this migration must have taken place before that year.

The Patki group left Homolobi somewhat later, for it is said that they did not go to Awatobi, but as there were Piba clans in Awatobi, the Piba arrived in Tusayan before the destruction of the pueblo of the Bow people. It may have been that Pakatcomo, the Patki settlement in Tusayan, was founded before Awatobi fell, but the evidence seems to be contrary to such conclusion.

Patuñ Clans

Among the first clans to migrate from the pueblos of the Little Colorado in quest of homes in northern Tusayan of which information has been gathered through legends were the Patuñ or Squash clans. They originally lived on the Little Colorado, southwest of the present Hopi pueblos, and were accompanied by the Atoko (Crane) and Kele (Pigeon-hawk) clans. They made a settlement at Tcukubi, on the Middle mesa, which was afterward abandoned, the inhabitants removing to another pueblo of Squash clans, Old Mishongnovi. Some of the Squash clans went to Awatobi and others eventually to Walpi. The Squash clans which went to the East mesa are now extinct, so that it has not been possible to investigate their legends, but ample material for this study is still extant at the Middle mesa villages.

In their life along the Little Colorado the Squash clans came in contact with many others, some of which followed them in their northward migration. There is reason to believe that among those they met were the Leñya clans, which may have preceded them in the journey. There are several reasons for associating the Leñya with southern clans. In the Oraibi Flute altar the main image is a figurine with a single horn on the head resembling the pointed helmet worn only by the Kwakwantû, a society of the Patki clan, the southern origin of which is unquestionable. In most of the Flute altars there are two mounds of sand (*talactcomo*, "pollen mound") in which artificial flowers are inserted. The construction of similar flower mounds (*atkya sitcomovi*) in the Underworld is mentioned in Piba and Patuñ legends of the origin of their Tataukyamû, Wüwütcimtû, and Mamzrautû societies. The Patuñ legends contain much about the cult of Alosaka (a germ god).[1]

[1]Alosaka is really another name for Muyiñwû, the germ god.

which they say originated in the south. The personation of Alosaka is prominent in the Flute observance at Walpi.

This Alosaka cult, which, as elsewhere shown, is in some way connected with the Mountain-sheep clan of the Flute group, is one of the most perplexing at Walpi. There is legendary evidence that Alosaka was introduced into Tusayan from the settlements along the Little Colorado, by Squash and kindred (Flute) clans, some of which joined the Horn, others went to Awatobi, and still others to the Middle mesa, where they founded Teukubi and other pueblos. All the evidence would appear to indicate that the original home of this cult was in the south, and as the Squash and related clans (except the Flute) are extinct at Walpi, the perpetuation of the Alosaka ceremonies in that pueblo has fallen to other clans—the Asa and Honani—by which the nature of the cult has been somewhat modified.

In the enumeration of the clans belonging to the Ala-Leñya group, there is a Pañwü or Mountain-sheep clan. This fact is significant, as the Aaltû or Alosaka wear artificial horns and personate Mountain-sheep in several ceremonies.

In the New-fire ceremony, where Alosaka are personated, the personations observe rites at the shrine of a being called Tuwapoñtumsi ("Earth-altar woman"). The shrine has no statue of this being, but contains simply a block of petrified wood. Sikyahonauwû, an old man of the Tüwa clan, made for me as his totem a figure with two horns, which he called Tuwapoñtumsi, a female complement of the double-horned Alosaka.

In the Soyaluña, or Winter-solstice ceremony, we find a figure of Alosaka on the shield of the Ala-Leñya people, and at Oraibi a screen similarly decorated is found. It has not yet been determined, however, whether this Alosaka screen at Oraibi has any relation to the Ala-Leñya clans.

The Alosaka cult was practiced at Awatobi, for the figurines of Alosaka used in that pueblo, as well as legends connected with them, are known. This is explained on the theory that there were Patuñ and related Leñya clans in that ill-fated pueblo.

Patki Clans

In the general designation "Patki clans" are included the last group which sought refuge from their southern homes among the Hopi. This group includes the Kükütc (Lizard), called also Tüwa (Sand), the Tabo (Rabbit) and Piba (Tobacco), and the Rain-cloud. They say that they once lived on the Little Colorado, near Winslow, and when they entered the Walpi valley they built and occupied Pakatcomo, where they practiced a higher form of religion than that which existed in the pueblo founded by the Bear and Snake clans. An intimate study of the character of the surviving rites which these clans say they

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introduced substantiates this claim of their legends, for all the ceremonies ascribed to southern clans are higher than the rite which came from Tokonabi.

The original home of the Patki clans is called in their legends Palatkwabi, and is said to have been near San Carlos in the Gila valley, southern Arizona. The legends of this clan say that their ancestors were forced to leave their ancient home by reason of destructive floods, due to Palülükoñ, the Great Snake, and they migrated northward along the trail indicated by the ruined pueblos mentioned in the following pages. From Kuñchalpi, the most ancient pueblo of the Patki, probably, in the Palatkwabi region, they went on in turn to Utcevaca, Kwiñapa, Jettipehika (the Navaho name of Tcübkwitcalobi, or Chaves pass), Homolobi (near Winslow), Sibabi (near Comar spring), and Pakatcomo (4 miles from Walpi). The last four ruins have been identified, and extensive archeological investigations have been conducted at the fourth and fifth.

We thus have the names of three pueblos occupied by the Patki during their northern migration from Palatkwabi, before they arrived at Chaves pass, which have not yet been identified. These are Kwiñapa, Utcevaca, and Kuñchalpi. The determination of the sites of these villages, and a study of their archeology, would prove to be an important contribution to the knowledge of the origin of the Patki clans. Anawita, chief of the Patki, a very reliable man, can point them out to any archeologist who has the means to prosecute these studies in Arizona. When the Patki clans arrived in Tusayan they built the pueblo of Pakatcomo, from which some went to the Middle mesa and others to Walpi. The Patki traditionists say that when their ancestors lived at Pakatcomo the people of Walpi were in sore distress on account of the lack of rain and the consequent failure of crops, hence they invited the Patki to perform their rites to relieve them from calamity. This invitation was accepted, and the Patki societies erected their altars and sang their rain songs at Tawapa. As a result there came over the land first a mist, then heavy rain with thunder and lightning. Although the latter alarmed the Walpi women, the men were grateful, and the Patki were admitted to the pueblo, which they later joined.

There was probably also another reason for the abandonment of Pakatcomo. The pueblo was in a very exposed position, and the Apache were raiding the surrounding country, even up to the very foothills of the East mesa. Pakatcomo was in the plain, and its inhabitants naturally sought the protection of Walpi on its inaccessible mesa site.

Pakatcomo is a small ruin, with walls of stone, and closely resembles the ruins at Homolobi, but it was evidently not inhabited for a long time, as the quantity of débris about it is small, and there are only a few fragments of pottery in its mounds.

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Date of the removal of clans from Homolobi

Historical documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries point to the existence at that time of inhabited pueblos in the region west of Zuñi and south of the present Hopi towns. We find constant references to the "Cipias" as living west of Zuñi in the seventeenth century, but the name drops out of history in the century following.[1] Where did they go? Probably to Pakatcomo. In 1604 Juan de Oñate, in search of the South sea (the Pacific), marched *westward* from Zuñi to "Mohoce" 12 or 14 leagues, where he crossed a river. This Mohoce is generally said to be modern Tusayan, which, unfortunately for the identification, is not west but northwest of Zuñi, is three times the distance mentioned, and is not on a river. Moreover, to visit the South sea, Oñate had no reason to go to the northern or modern Hopi pueblos. He had been there in 1598, and had gone from them to the mines north of Prescott and returned to Zuñi by a "shorter" route. Why should we suppose that he went out of his way from a direct route to the South sea on a subsequent journey? The line of march of Oñate in 1604 was stated to be from Zuñi west to Mohoce, which name is not restricted by the author to the present Hopi pueblos. The pueblos along the Little Colorado were in Mohoce, for, as we shall see, the Gileños told Fray Francisco Garces in 1775 that "la nacion Moquis" formerly extended to Rio Gila.

In 1632 the Little Colorado settlements were still occupied, but by the middle of the seventeenth century the Apache had raided the territory between the settlements of sedentary Sobaipuri tribe of the San Pedro and those of the Hopi along the Little Colorado, preventing the trade between the tribes which had been common in the sixteenth century. In 1674 the hostiles had destroyed a Zuñi pueblo, and there is every reason to believe had forced the clans in the Little Colorado valley northward to modern Tusayan. It is therefore highly probable that the pueblos in the neighborhood of Winslow were deserted in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

The "Kingdom of Totonteac," which is mentioned in documentary accounts written in the sixteenth century, is now generally regarded as the same as Tusayan, but neither name was restricted to the present Moqui reservation in early times. There is every reason to suppose that when Coronado marched through New Mexico in quest of Cibola, the pueblos along the Little Colorado south of Walpi were inhabited, and that there were other inhabited pueblos, now in ruins, south of these. Totonteac may have been the name of one of these clusters[2] possibly as far south as Verde valley or Tonto basin; but

[1] In talking over traditions with Suñoitiwa, a member of the Asa clan, the author found that he placed the home of the Cipias or Zipias south of Laguna and east of Zuñi. Whether these were related to the Cipias west of Zuñi was not known to him.

[2] Tusayan extended far south of Walpi in the sixteenth century. According to Castañeda it was 25 leagues from Cibola, which distance he later reduces in his account to 20 leagues. Espejo says that Zuñi is another name for Cibola. Now, 20 leagues from Zuñi, in the direction indicated, would not bring one to Walpi in northern Tusayan, but to some other Tusayan pueblos, possibly Homolobi.

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Captain Melchior Diaz learned from the natives that "Totonteac lies about seven days' easy journey from Cibola. The country, the houses, and the people are of the same appearance as in Cibola. Cotton was said to grow there well, but I doubt this, for the climate is cold. Totonteac was stated to contain twelve towns, each of them greater than Cibola."[1]

The above quotation is from Mendoza's letter of April 17, 1540, but on August 3 of the same year Coronado wrote to Mendoza that the Cibolans informed him that the kingdom of Totonteac was "a hotte lake on the edge of which there are five or six houses." In the same letter Coronado says: "They tell me about seven cities which are at a considerable distance. . . . The first of these four places about which they know is called Tucano."[2]

Certainly, if we judge from the contents of this letter, Coronado's informants did not regard Totonteac and Tucano as the same cluster of towns or "kingdoms." It seems more rational to believe that they were names applied to two different groups of villages, west and northwest of Cibola, respectively, neither of which may have been the present Hopi pueblos, but both may have been inhabited by clans which later found refuge in what is now the Moqui reservation.

The old men of the Gila Indians told Garcés in 1775 that the "Moqui nation" formerly extended to the Gila, and that its people built the pueblos then in ruins in their country.[3]

Patki (Walpi and Sichumovi)

Men and boys	Women and girls
Supela	Naciumsi
Kwatcakwa	Koitsyumsi
Tcazra	Nemsi
Sakwistiwa	Nempka
Suñi	Yuña
Citaimû	Naciainima
Kwazra	Gnenapi
Makiwû	Kuʳyû
Mowû	Tcie

[1] Letter of Don Antonio de Mendoza to Charles V, Ternaux-Compans, ser. 1, tome IX, p. 292. Ibid., Nordenskiöld's translation, p. 135.

[2] Winship, Coronado Expedition, p. 562.

[3] "Esta enemistad me la habian contado los Indios viejos de mi Mision los Gilenos, y Cocomaricopas por cuya noticia he discurrido quela nacion Moquis se extendia antiquamente hasta el mismo Rio Gila: fundome para esto en las Ruinas que se hallaron desde Esta Rio hasta la tierra de los Apaches, y que lo las he visto entre las sierras de la Florida," etc.—From a copy of the Diario in the Library of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Since this paper was written a translation of the Diario, with valuable notes, by that eminent scholar, the late Dr Elliott Coues, has been published (see On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés, New York, 1900, vol. II, p. 386).

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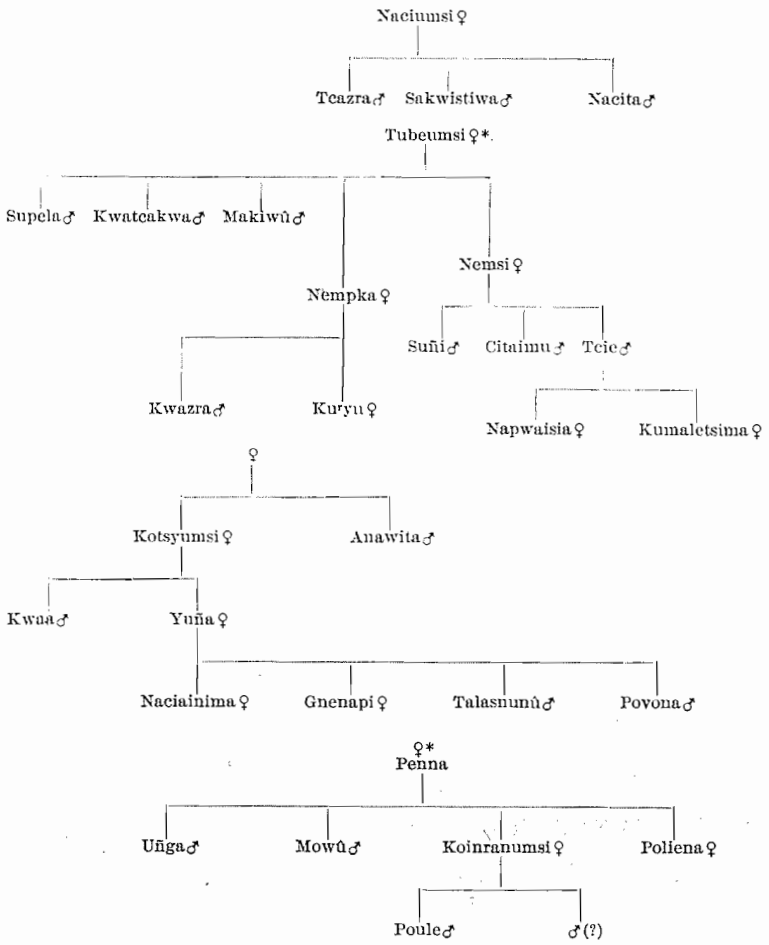
Patki (Walpi and Sichumovi)—Continued

Men and boys	Women and girls
Uñga	Napwaisia
Pocto	Kumaletsima
Kwaa	Kumawensi
Nacita	Tuwabensi
Namtû	Penna
Tu'ba	Koinranumsi
Nasanihoya	Poliena
Poule	Tocia
Talasninû	Lenmana
Povona	



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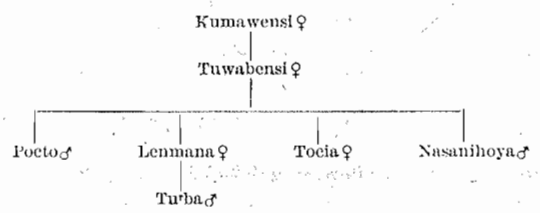
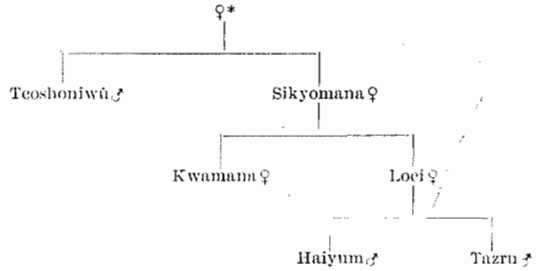


Several members of the Patki clan live in Sichumovi. Their names follow:

Men and boys	Women and girls
Anawita	Sikyomana
Tcoshoniwû	Kwamana
Kleā	Loci
Haiyuma	
Tazru	



The Piba (Tobacco) and the intimately associated Tabo (Rabbit) and Sowi (Hare) clans are given a southern origin by their traditionalists. Some associate them with the Squash, others with the Water-house or Rain-cloud group, but all ascribe to them former habitations on the Little Colorado near Winslow. The ruin which now marks the site of their former home is probably that near the mouth of Chevlon fork, called Cakwabaiyaki. There is well-nigh strict uniformity in the statements that there were Piba clans in the village of Awatobi, and some say there were Piba people in the Patki settlement of Pakatcomo. The chief of the Piba clans at the former pueblo was Tapolo, who was the first Tataukyamu chief at Walpi; and Hani, who says he is a direct descendant of Tapolo,[1] is chief of the same religious society in that pueblo.

[1] Tapolo admitted the hostile Walpi into Awatobi on the night that the latter pueblo was destroyed. After the massacre he settled in Walpi.

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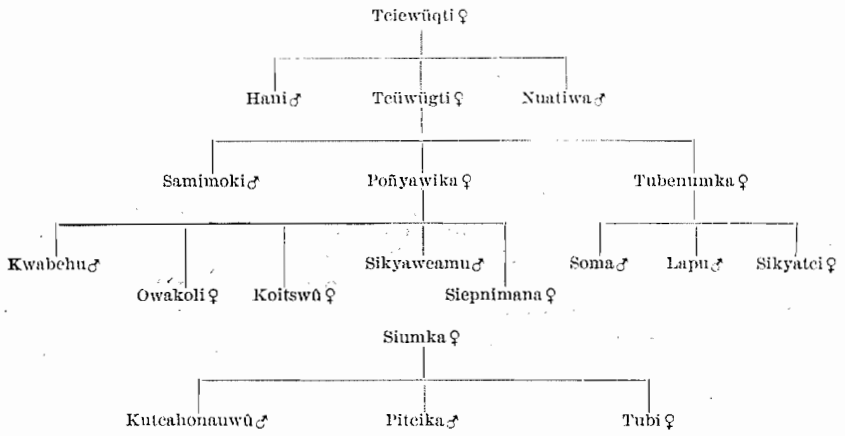
Piba-Tabo (Walpi and Sichumori)

Men and boys	Women and girls
Hani	Tciewüqti
Talashonima	Tcüwügti
Nuatiwa	Tubenumka
Samimoki	Poñyawika
Tcali	Owakoli
Kwabehu	Koitswû
Pümû	Siepnimana
Sikyaweamu	Sikyatci
Soma	Tubi
Siskyamû	Koyoainimû
Masahoñiwû	Siumka
Tcaini	Masainumsi
Wisti	
Namoki	
Lapu	
Letaiyo	
Tinabi	
Talasi	
Tcühoya	
Lelentci	
Tüktci	
Honauwû	
Pitcika	
Kutcahonauwû	
Homovi	

Piba



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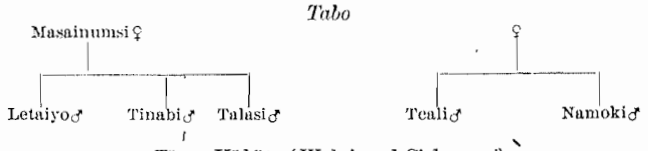
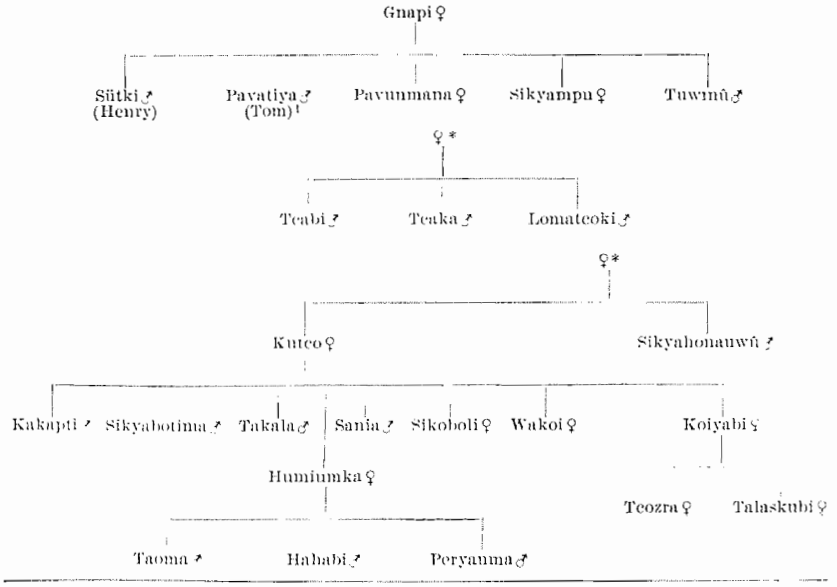
Tabo



Tüwa-Kükütc (Walpi and Sichumovi)

Men and boys	Women and girls
Kakapti	Koiyabi
Sikyabotima	Gnapi
Takala	Kutco
Sikyahonauwû	Humiumka
Tcabi	Sikoboli
Tcaka	Wakoi
Sütki	Tcozra
Sania	Nakwañwuñsi
Taoma	Kerwaunainimû
Awata	Pavunmana
Peryauma	Sikyampu
Lomatcoki	Talaskubi
Tubeñima	
Lalaito	
Pavatiya	
Tuwinû	
Hahabi	



[1] Tom's mother was of the Ala clan; when she died Tom was adopted into the Tüwa.

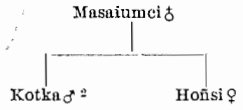
CLANS FROM MUIOBI AND NEW MEXICAN PUEBLOS

Honau Clan

The author has been unable to gather much information regarding the early history of the Bear clan. Kotka, the chief, asserts that his people were the first to come to the Hopi country; that they formerly lived at Muiobi, the Rio Grande region, and that they "overcame" Masauû, the ancient owner of Tusayan. The author is inclined to regard the Bear clan as one of the groups of Pueblo people from the east which migrated to Tusayan at an early date, founding a pueblo on a site assigned to it by the Kokop, with whom it lived in friendship until the advent of the Snake people; his interpretation of the "overthrow of Masauû," a tutelary god of Sikyatki, will be given later.

There are at the present time only three members of the Honau clan in Walpi: Masaiumci, the oldest woman, with her son, Kotka, the chief, and a daughter, Hoñsi, wife of Tu'noa, the Flute chief. Hoñsi has no children, and if none are born to her, the Honau clan, which was once most powerful in Walpi, will become extinct at the death of the chief and his sister.

Honau (Walpi)



Kokop Clans

The former home of the Kokop clans was Sikyatki, a pueblo now in ruins, about three miles north of Walpi. Archeologic evidence indicates that this pueblo was destroyed before the first contact of the Hopi with the Spaniards, and the Kokop legends declare that it was overthrown by Walpi. There was a clan in the Kokop group called the Masauû clan, and the Snake legends recount that Masauû formerly owned all the country, but that they, the Snake people, overcame him and received their title to the site of Walpi from him. This is believed to be a reference to the Sikyatki tragedy, and to indicate that Masauû, the God of Fire, was a tutelary god of the Kokop or Firewood people.

Katci, the chief of the surviving Kokop clans, says that his people originally came from the pueblo of Jemez or the Jemez country, and that before they lived at Sikyatki they had a pueblo in Keams canyon. Others say that they also once lived at Eighteen-mile spring, between Cotton's ranch (Pueblo Ganado) and Puñci (Keams canyon); others that they drifted at one time into the eastern part of Antelope valley, where the ruin of their pueblo can still be seen.

Archeologic investigation shows that Sikyatki was inhabited for many years, that its population was large, and that it had developed ceramic art in special lines characteristic of Tusayan ware. The technique

[2] Kotka really belongs to the Kokyan (Spider) clan of the Bear phratry.

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and pictography of Sikyatki pottery are distinctly Hopi, showing that the makers had developed a characteristic art which could have been attained only after a long interval. The peculiarities of this pottery are not found elsewhere in the Pueblo area and are not equaled by modern Hopi potters. These conditions indicate long residence in Tusayan.

The being called Eototo has many resemblances to Masauû and may be the same being under another name. There was formerly an Eototo clan among the Kokop people, and the masks of the two personifications are very similar. In Niman-katcina, in which Eototo is personated, the Kokop chief assumes that part.

Kokop (Walpi)

Men and boys	Women and girls
Katci	Sakabenka
Maho	Kunowhuya
Kunahia	Teveyaci
Sami	Ani
Teüa	Lekwati
Koitswinu	Hahaie
Heya	Nakwawainima
	Posiomana
	Kutcnaiya

During the last decades of the seventeenth century many clans fled from upper Rio Grande valley to the Hopi country. These were mainly Tewa people, for hardly had the Spaniards been driven out of New Mexico in 1680 than the eastern pueblos began to quarrel among themselves and, as a rule, the Tano and Tewa were worsted. A few of the former and many of the latter escaped to the province of Alaki (Horn house, Hopi country) between 1680 and 1700.

About the middle of the eighteenth century many of the descendants of these fugitives were persuaded to return, being reestablished in new pueblos. It is highly probable that the people who were thus brought back belonged to Tanoan clans, and were not true Hopi, although called "Moquis," or "Moquinos," in the accounts of that time, from the fact that they had lived in the Hopi country. In other words, they were Tewa and Tano people who had fled to Tusayan, and not original Hopi. There has been a wave of migration from the Rio Grande to the Hopi country and then a return of the same people to their former homes. No considerable number of true Hopi have

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migrated to the Rio Grande and remained there, but many Tewa people who fled to Tusayan have never returned to their former homes on the Rio Grande. This is an important fact, and partially explains the existence of so many Tanoan ceremonies in the Hopi pueblos, especially of the East mesa, where Tewan influence has been the strongest. The Hano villagers are of Tanoan stock, as were probably the Asa, who were somewhat modified during their life at Zuñi.[1] No connected migration story of the Honani clans has yet been obtained, but it is said that they lived at Kicuba, and brought katcinas, which are now in their special keeping. The Katcina clan is also supposed to have come from eastern pueblos, but of that no circumstantial proof can yet be given.

Honani Clans

The Honani clans once lived at Tuwanacabi, north of the Hopi pueblos, where ruins are still to be seen. They say that the Honani katcinas came up from the Underworld at that point, and that they entrusted themselves to the special keeping of these clans. The Honani migrated to Oraibi from their home at Tuwanacabi, and later some of them went to the Middle mesa, and to Awatobi and Walpi. At the time of the Awatobi massacre, in 1700, some of the Honani women were carried to Mastcomo, near the Middle mesa, where they were divided among their captors, some being taken to Mishongnovi, and others to Walpi.

These women are not now represented by female descendants in Walpi, as all the Honani women on the East mesa are domiciled in Sichumovi.[2] Evidences drawn from the pictography of modern pottery shows that the katcinas were late arrivals at Walpi, and their association with Honani and Asa clans shows that these two groups were kindred. That the Honani claim to have the katcinas in their special keeping points the same way and supports the legends that this cult was a late addition to the preëxisting Hopi ritual.

Honani (Sichumovi)

Men and boys	Women and girls
Hozro	Kelewüqti
Moñwû	Kokaamû
Apa	Tcutcunamana
Yakwa	Kutcamana
Totci (Zuñi)	Sikyanunuma
Simotci	
Sezüta	
Yoyowaia	

[1] There is no doubt that the Asa people lived in Zuñi, where they left some members of their clan. The descendants of these are now called Aiwahokwe.

[2] The ancestors of the Honani of Sichumovi came to that pueblo from Oraibi.

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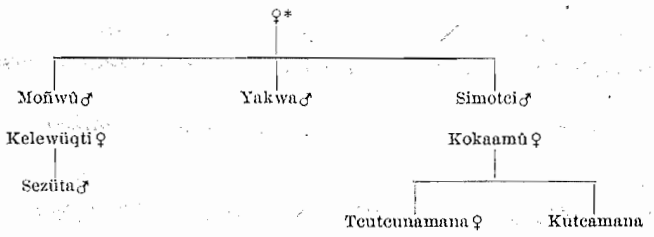
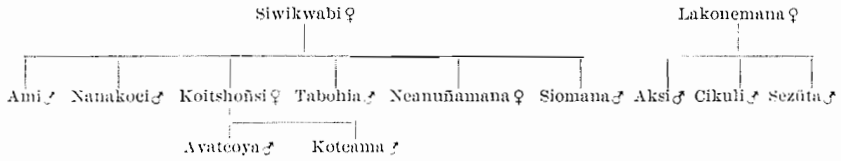


The Buli or Butterfly clan is regarded as the same as the Honani or Badger. It formerly lived at Awatobi, and, although not now represented at Walpi, it is important in Sichumovi.

Buli (*Sichumovi*)

Men and boys	Women and girls
Ami	Siwikwabi
Aksi	Lakonemana
Cikuli	Neanuñamana
Sezüta	Siomana
Nanakoci	Siwihonima
Tabohia	Koitshoñsi
Teoctki	
Yoyowaia	
Kotcama	
Avatcoya	



Katcina or Añwuci Clans

The Katcina or Añwuci clans were of late arrival at the East mesa, and are reported to have come from the east. The only ruins which have been identified as homes of these clans are Kicu and Wiñba, or Katcinaba, the small ruin of which is situated about 3 miles east of Sikyatki, in the foothills of the same mesa. There are at present very few people of this group at Walpi, and none at Sichumovi. Hano contains a considerable number, which would indicate that the main body went to that settlement. The abandoned houses east of the main cluster of Hano, where the site of the Katcina-kiva was pointed out by Wehe, are said to have been once inhabited by people of this group. The modern houses of the Katcina clan of Hano are on the other side of the main house cluster.

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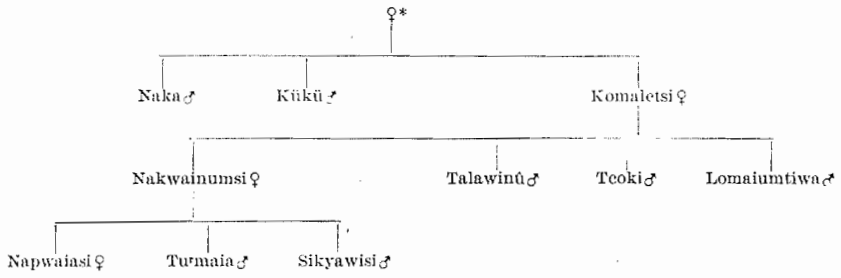
Katcina or Añwuci (Walpi)

Men and boys	Women and girls
Naka	Komaletsi
Kükü	Nakwainumsi
Lomavema	Napwaiasi
Talawinû	
Lomaiumtiwa	
Tu'maia	
Sikyawisi	
Tcoki	



Pakab Clans

The legends of the Pakab clans are somewhat conflicting, but Pautiwa, of the Eagle clan, has given the most intelligible account. His ancestors, he asserts, came from the eastern pueblos, and once inhabited a village, now in ruins, called Kwavonampi. This ruin has not been identified, but was probably not far from Pueblo Ganado, and possibly may have been the same as Wukopakabi ("Great reed or arrow place"). It has been suggested that the Pakab (Arrow) was the same as the Awata (Bow) clan, which lived at Awatobi ("Place of the bow"), and additional evidence to support this suggestion is that the Bow priests came from the Bow clans. It is highly probable that the Pakab lived at Awatobi, where they were known as the Awata.

According to Stephen, on authority of Pautiwa, the Eagle clan once lived at Citaimu, now a ruin at the foot of the Middle mesa, which they abandoned, part of the inhabitants going to Walpi, others to Mishongnovi.

The affiliation of the Pakab ceremony has an important bearing on the question of clan origin. The Momtcita ceremony peculiar to the Pakab has strong resemblances to a Zuñi rite. This ceremony occurs just after the winter solstice, and although it has never been thoroughly studied,[1] the author has ample hearsay data concerning it. Pautiwa,

[1] The author witnessed the ceremony in 1900.

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the Pakab chief, is also chief of a warrior society called Kalektaka, which the Hopi declare is the same as the Zuñi "Society of the Bow" (Api'hlaushiwani). He has a figurine of Püükoñhoya which corresponds with the Zuñi Ahaiuta, and when he sets it in place his acts are identical with those of Naiuche, the Zuñi Bow chief. On the walls of the room where it is kept there are figures of animals of the cardinal points identical with those at Zuñi, and the public dance of the Momtcita resembles the War dance at the latter pueblo.

The evidence is strong enough to show that the Momtcita is closely related to the warrior celebration of the Zuñi Bow priests, and it is believed to have been derived from Zuñi, from some pueblo colony of Zuñi, or from the same source as the Zuñi variant, which means that the Pakab clans are of Zuñi origin.

The probability that the Pakab (Reed, Arrow) clans were the same as the Awata (Bow) clans makes it possible that Awatobi was settled by the Pakab people. There is nothing in the Pakab legends to forbid this, but on the other hand there is nothing definite to support it except the important statement that there were Pakab people at Awatobi. The Pakab-Awata may then be regarded as the founders of Awatobi, and if this be true there must have been close kinship between Awatobi and Zuñi, or some settlement or Pueblo whose inhabitants later went to Zuñi.

Pakab (Walpi and Sichumovi)

Men and boys	Women and girls
Pautiwa	Nuñsi[1]
Kanu	Teoro
Piba	Kannae
Kütekwabi	Leñhonima
Nae	Kokoma
Potca	Pavuñamana
Winuta	Ponyanumka
Tuwasmi	Kumahabi
Ciaum	
Sikwi	

[1] Her arm was amputated years ago by Dr Jeremiah Sullivan (Urwici). Dr Sullivan lived for some years at Walpi, studying Hopi customs.

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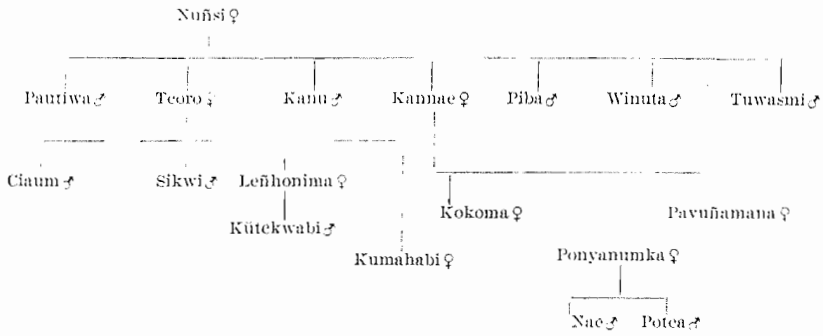

Asa or Tcakwaina Clans[1]

The Asa clans are said to have formerly lived at Kaëtibi, near Santa Fe (Alaviya),[2] and near Abiquin. They are reputed to have originally been of Tewa ancestry, and to have left the Rio Grande at about the end of the sixteenth century. In their western migration they went to Tukwi (Santo Domingo) and from there to Kawaika (Laguna). From Kawaika they proceeded to Akokaiabi (Acoma), and thence to Sioki (Zuñi), where some of this clan still live, being known to the Zuñi as the Aiwakokwe clan. How long the Asa lived at the pueblo last named, and whether the Zuñi ascribe to the clan an origin in the upper Rio Grande, are unknown.

Some of the Asa continued their migration from Zuñi, proceeding to the Awatobi mesa, where they built a pueblo called Tcakwainaki ("village of the Tcakwaina clans"), near the wagon road west of the extreme end of the mesa. It is said that katcinas were then with them. They did not remain at this village a long time, but continued to the East mesa. The site of their first village at this mesa is not clearly indicated by the legends; perhaps they joined the Tewa clans, their kindred, above the spring called Isba, and it is said by some that they aided the other Tewa in their fights with the Ute. The Asa legends recount that after they had been in Tusayan for some time they built houses on the end of the East mesa above the gap (Wala), east of Hano. Years of drought resulted in a famine, and the Asa moved away to Canyon de Chelly, in the "Navaho country," where they lived in houses now in ruins. They intermarried with the Navaho, but ultimately returned to Walpi, and found that other Tewa clans occupied their former dwellings, whereupon the Walpi chief assigned them a site for a new village at the head of the "Stairway trail," if they would defend it against enemies. Their houses for the greater part are now

[1] The cult of Tcakwaina common to Zuñi and the East mesa is ascribed to this clan.
[2] Alta villa, Spanish "High town."

in ruins, although one of them, east of the Wikwaliobi-kiva, is still inhabited by an old woman of the Asa clan.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the majority of the women of the Asa phratry moved to another point on the East mesa and founded the pueblo of Sichumovi, where their descendants still live.

The exodus of the Asa people to the Navaho country may have been about the year 1780, when Anza was governor of New Mexico. At that time we learn that the Hopi were in sore distress owing to the failure of their crops, as the legend also states, and many moved to the Navaho country, where men were killed and women "reduced to slavery." In September of the year named, Anza found that two Hopi pueblos had been abandoned and that forty families had departed.[1] As the legends declare that the Asa left at about this time for the same region, it is probable that these were the people to whom Anza refers.

It is not unlikely that the Asa and Tewa clans formed a part of the Tanoan people who were forced to leave the upper Rio Grande valley directly after the great rebellion of 1680. Niel is said to have stated[2] that at about this time 4,000 Tanos went to Tusayan by way of Zuñi, which is the trail the present Asa people say their ancestors took. We are told that they went to Alaki, and as the Ala (Horn) people were then strong at the settlements of Walpi, on the terrace of the East mesa, it is not improbable that their village was sometimes called Alaki, or "Horn pueblo." From the Hopi side we find verification of this historical event, for it is said that many people came to them from the great river just after the rebellion of 1680. The number mentioned by Niel, the statement that they went to Oraibi, and indeed all that pertains to the "kingdom founded by Trasquillo," may have been from hearsay. At all events the Asa people do not seem to have gone to Oraibi, nor are their clans now represented at this pueblo.

As bearing on the claim of Asa traditionists, the following quotation from that well-known scholar, Bandelier, has great importance:

> The modern town of Abiquiu stands almost on the site of an ancient village. The town was built in part by Genizaros or Indian captives, whom the Spaniards had rescued or purchased from their captors. The Tehuas of Santa Clara contend that most of these Genizaros came from the Moquis, and that therefore the old pueblo was called Josoge.[3]

As the Asa legends claim the site or vicinity of Abiquiu as their Rio Grande home, it would have been a natural proceeding if any of

[1] See Bancroft, Works, vol. XVII (New Mexico and Arizona), p. 186.
[2] See Bancroft, op. cit., and others.
[3] Final Report, part 2, p. 54.

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them resettled there when they went back. These "Joso" (Hopi) were probably Tewa from the East mesa, and as some of the Asa returned to the Rio Grande in the middle of the eighteenth century, it would be quite natural for the Tewa to call the old pueblo on the site of Abiquiu Josoge ("Hopi pueblo").

The Asa people, like the Honani, brought some katcinas to Walpi, among which may be mentioned Tcakwaina. In the winter solstice meeting of the Asa, at which their peculiar fetishes are exhibited in the kiva, the Asa display as an heirloom an old mask called Tcakwaina, which they claim to have brought with them when they came into the country. There is a striking likeness between this mask and those of Natacka, and it is suspected that the Asa brought the Natacka to the East mesa. It is instructive to note that the Asa are not represented in the Middle mesa pueblos and Oraibi, and important light could be shed on this question if we knew that the Natacka were also unrepresented in these villages. The author suspects, on good ground, that the Oraibi have no Natacka in the Powamû ceremony.

The similarity in symbolism between the masks of Tcakwaina, Natacka, and Calako taka is noteworthy, and it is not impossible that they are conceptions derived from Zuñi or some Zuñi settlement. The home of Calako was the present ruin of Winima, near St Johns, Arizona, from which place the Zuñi Calako came, according to both Hopi and Zuñi legends. The Hopi Calako is said to have come from the same place. It is likewise highly probable that the Asa introduced several other katcinas besides the Tcakwainas. Sichumovi, the present home of the Asa, is often called a Zuñi pueblo, probably because it was settled by Asa (Aiwahokwe) clans from Zuñi. This is probably the Hopi town which the Zuñis say is one of their pueblos in the Hopi country.

Asa people at Walpi

Men and boys	Women
Ametola	Wukomana
Nüvati	
Sunoitiwû	
Hauta	
Kiazru	
Hayo	
Tu^{r}kia	
Añwuci	
Talahoya (Soyoko)	
Mu^{r}na	

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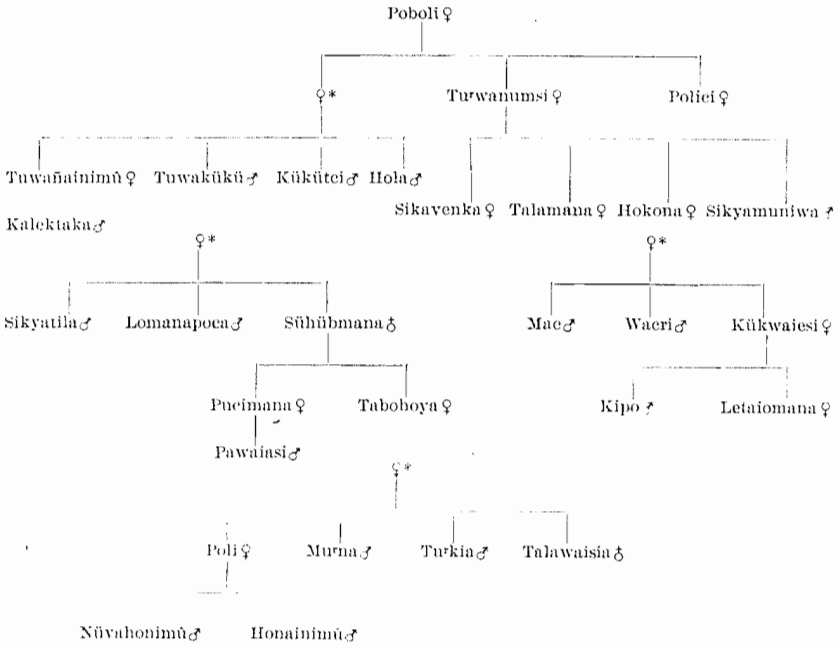
Asa people at Sichumovi

Men and boys	Women and girls
Hola	Tuwañainimû
Tuwakükü	Polici
Kükütci	Kükwaiesi
Mae	Letaiomana
Waeri	Poboli
Kipo	Nuva
Sikyatila	Hanoko
Lomanapoca	Talawaisia
Nüvahonimû	Sühübmana
Honainimû	Sikavenka
Sikyamuniwa	Talamana
Lomaiisba	Hokona
Turkwinamû	Teoro
Pavashoya	Masaiunima
Kalektaka	Hewi
Taimu	Palawica
Süki	Pucimana
Poñci	Poli
	Tu'wanumsi
	Omowû
	Pawaiasi
	Taboboya



POPULATION OF WALPI AND SICHUMOVI BY CLANS

Walpi		*Sichumovi*	
Teüa wiñwû	24	Asa wiñwû	40
Honau wiñwû	3	Honani wiñwû	13
Kateina wiñwû	11	Buli wiñwû	16
Patki wiñwû	37	Patki wiñwû	8
Pakab wiñwû	14	Tüwa-Küküte wiñwû	15
Kokop wiñwû	16	Pakab wiñwû	4
Asa wiñwû	11	Piba-Tabo wiñwû	21
Tüwa-Küküte wiñwû	14	Oraibi women	2
Leñya wiñwû	37	Total	119
Ala wiñwû	22		
Piba-Tabo wiñwû	16		
Total	205		

HANO CLANS

The present people of Hano are, in the main, descendants of Tewa clans which are said to have come to the East mesa at the invitation of the Snake chief of Walpi about the end of the decade following the destruction of Awatobi. These clans still speak the Tewa language, but, owing to intermarriage, they are more closely related consanguineally to the Hopi than to those speaking the Tewa language along the upper Rio Grande.

The traditions regarding the advent of the ancestors of the Hano people are more circumstantial than those of the other component peoples of Tusayan. The best traditionists state that the ancestors of these clans were invited by an old Snake chief, who was then the kimoñwi or pueblo chief of Walpi, to leave their home in the upper Rio Grande valley and settle in Tusayan. The Ute were at that time harrying the Hopi, and four times an embassy bearing prayer sticks was sent by the Hopi to the Tewa chief. The fourth invitation was accepted, and the Tewa clans started westward.

The original home of these clans is said to be Tcewadi, and they claim that they speak the same language as the present people of the pueblos of (1) O^{r}ke′; (2) Ka′po; (3) Po'kwoide; (4) Posonwû; (5) Nambe; and (6) Tetsogi. Their trail of migration is variously given. The following route is on the authority of Hatco:

Leaving Tcewadi they went to Jemesi, or Jemez, where they rested, some say, a year. From Jemesi they continued to O^{r}pinp'o, called by the Hopi Pawikpa ("Duck-water"). There they rested a short time, some say, another year, then continued to Kipo, or Honaupabi (Fort Wingate). From there they went on to the present site of Fort Defiance, and after halting there a year continued to Wukopakabi (Cotton's ranch) and to Puñci (Keams canyon). Passing through Puñci,

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they went on to the East mesa, where they built a pueblo on the high land near Isba, or Coyote spring. The site of their pueblo can still be seen here, and obscure house walls may be traced on the ridge of land to the left of the trail above the spring, near the rocky eminence called Sikyaowatcomo ("Yellow-rock mound").[1]

While living here they used a spring called Uñba, near the peach trees west of the mound on which the old pueblo stands. This spring is now filled with sand, and its exact position is problematic, but a spring called Isba, on the east side of the old Hano pueblo, to which reference has previously been made, is still used by the Hano people.[2]

The original Tewa clans were as follows:

Tewa	Hopi	English
Okuwañ	Patki	Rain-cloud
Sa	Piba	Tobacco
Kolon	Kae	Corn
Tenyük	Hekpai	Pine
Katcina	Katcina	———
Näñ	Tüwa	Sand
*Kopeeli	———	Pink-shell?
*Kapo'lo	Atoko	Crane
*Koyanni	Tcosbüci	Turquoise
*Täñ	Tawa	Sun
*Pe	Kokop?	Firewood?
Ke	Honau	Bear
*Tayek	———	———
*Tceta	Küküte	Bivalve-shell

*The clans whose names are preceded by an asterisk are now extinct. Legends current in Hano state that the first kimoñwi, or chief, of the pueblo belonged to the Näñ towa.

It will be noticed that several of these clans are named from the same objects from which certain Walpi clans derive their names. Thus at Hano we have Rain-cloud, Tobacco, Corn, Katcina, Sand, and Bear clans corresponding to the same at Walpi. The present village chief, Anote, belongs to the Sa (Tobacco) clan, and his predecessor, Kepo, was a member of the Kolon clan. It is reported that the first pueblo chief of the Tewa of Hano who migrated to Tusayan was

[1] The shrine of the Sun, used during the Tañtai rite, is situated to the east of this rock. In this shrine are placed, during the Soyaluña ceremony, the tawa saka paho (sun-ladder pahos), the omowû saka paho (raincloud-ladder-pahos), and several forms of nakwakwocis, or feathered strings.

[2] This spring is owned by the Hano clans, and much of the water which they use is taken from it. The cleaning out of springs when, as often happens, they are filled with drift sand is one of the few instances of communal pueblo work performed by the Hopi. As this time arrives notice is given by the town crier, by direction of the chief (kimoñwi), and all the men of the pueblo aid in the work. When Tawapa spring was cleaned out in the autumn of 1898 the male adults of Walpi worked there for three days, and the women cooked food near by, so that at the close of each day's work there was a great feast. While the work was going on a circle of the old men smoked native ceremonial tobacco in ancient pipes.

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Mapibi of the Näñ (Sand) clan, and Potañ of the Ke (Bear) clan is said to have succeeded Mapibi. There are no Tewa women belonging to the Hano clans living in Walpi, the pueblos of the Middle mesa, or Oraibi.

The legends of their conflicts with the Ute, who were making hostile inroads upon the Hopi, have several variants, but all agree in stating that the Tewa fought with and defeated the Ute, and that the last stand of these nomads was made on the sand hill east of the mesa. Into that place the Ute had driven all the sheep which they had captured and made a rampart of their carcasses. This place now has the name Cikwitu'kwi ("Meat mound") from that occurrence. Here the Ute were defeated and all but a few (two or four) were killed. There is an enumeration of the number above the wagon trail to Hano a short distance below the gap (Wala). The men who were saved were released and sent back to join their kindred with the word that the Tewa bears had come to Tusayan to defend it. Since this event the inroads of the Ute have ceased.

As a reward for their aid in driving back the Ute, the Tewa were given for their farms all the land north of a line drawn through Wala, the gap, across the valleys on each side of the East mesa, at right angles to the mesa; there their farms and homes in the foothills near Isba are now situated. The land holdings of the Hopi clans are south of this line, and the new houses which they have built in the foothills are on the same side.

Almost all the people of Hano speak Hopi as well as Tewa, but even the Hopi men married to Hano women do not understand the language of the pueblo in which they live.

The people of Hano are among the most industrious of the inhabitants of the East mesa. Although they number only about 160, they have (in 1899) more children in the school at Keams canyon than all the other six pueblos, which number approximately 1,800 inhabitants.

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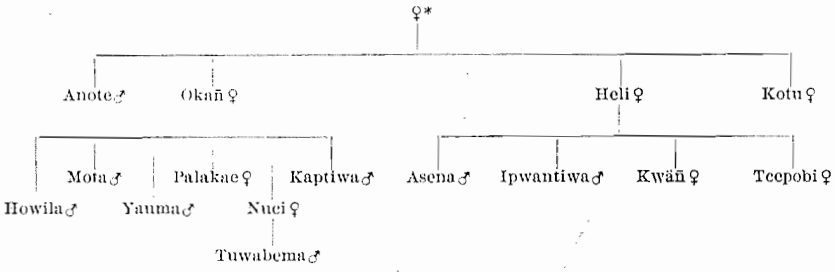
Census of Hano Clans

Sa or Tobacco clan

Men and boys	Women and girls
Anote	Okañ
Asena	Heli
Ipwantiwa	Kotu
Howila	Kwäñ
Mota	Nuci
Yauma	Tcebopi
Tuwabema	Palakae
Kaptiwa	



Kolon or Corn clan

Men and boys	Women and girls
Polaka	Kotcaka
Patuñtupi	Nampio
Kano	Kwentcowû
Toto	Akontcauwû
Peke	Talikwia
Kelo	Awatcauwû
Komaletiwa	Heele
Kalaokuñ	Añtce
Tacena	Kumpipi
Oba	Pelĕ
Agaiyo	Kontce
Tcide	Tcaiwû
	Kweckatcañwû

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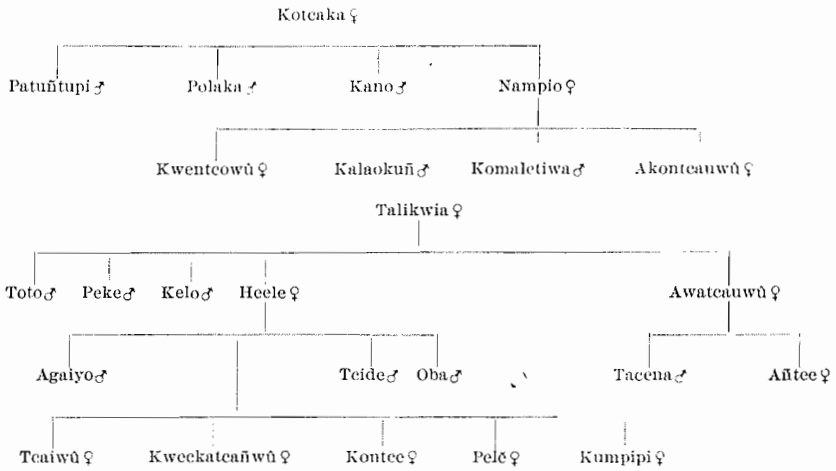
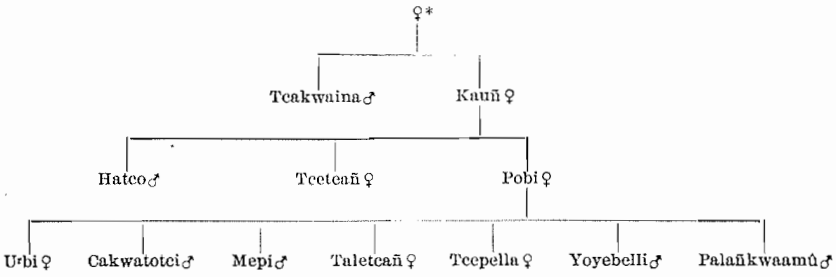


Ke or Bear clan

Men and boys	Women and girls
Hatco	Kauñ
Mepi	Pobi
Yoyebelli	U'bi
Palañkwaamû	Taletcañ
Yañe	Tcetcañ
Tegi	Tcepella
Cakwatotci	
Tcakwaina	



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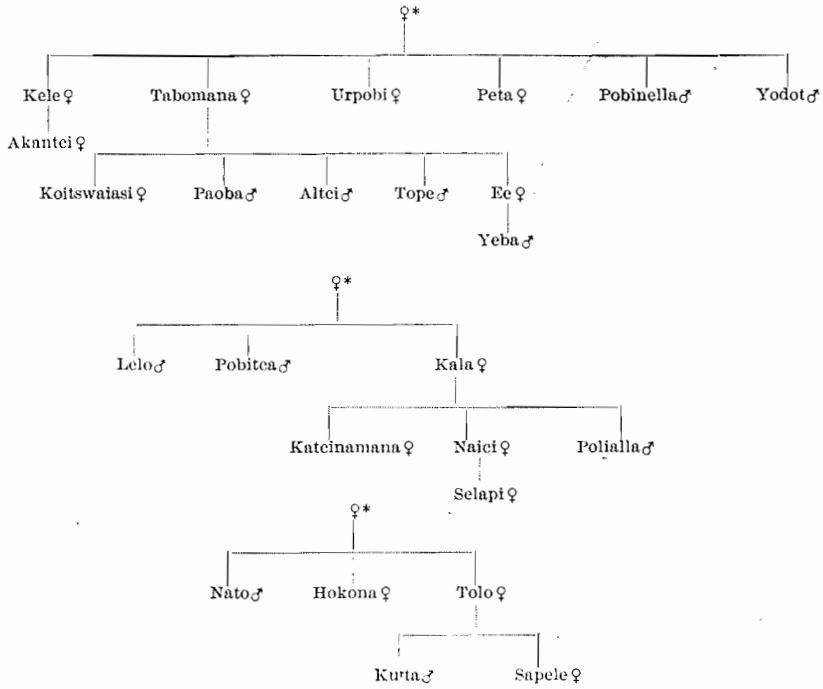
Tenük or Pine clan

Men and boys	Women and girls
Nato	Kala
Tae	Katcinamana
Lelo	Naici
Polialla	Selapi
Yodot	Kele
Pobitca	Akantci
Pobinella	Tabomana
Tope	Koitswaiasi
Altci	Potci
Yeba	Urpobi
Kurta	Peta
Paoba	Ee
	Tolo
	Hokona
	Sapele



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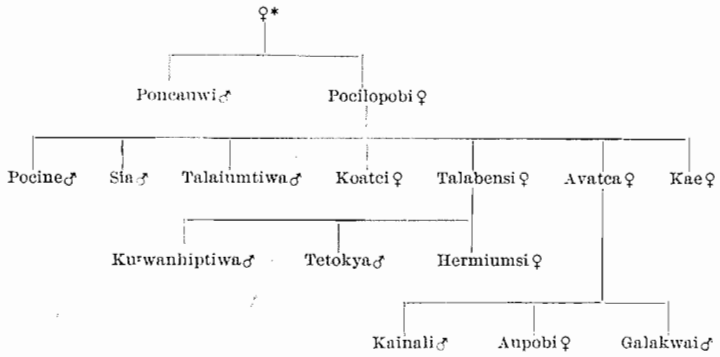
Nāñ or Sand clan

Men and boys	Women and girls
Poncauwi	Pocilopobi
Pocine	Talabensi
Talaiumtiwa	Kae
Galakwai	Avatca
Kainali	Aupobi
Kuʳwanhiptiwa	Hermiumsi
Tetokya	Koatci
Sia	



Katcina clan

Men and boys	Women and girls
Kwebehoya	Nokoñtce
Taci	Oʳkotce
Oyi	Kweñka
Avaiyo	Potcauwû
Wehe	Peñ
Sibentima	Peñ
Tawihonima	Sawiyû
Tcuayauma	Nüva
Koloa	Tcao
Mali	Awe
Oʳkun	Kalatcan
Pintcena	Pobitcan
Kawaio	Poʳtza
Kuʳyapi	Yowailo
Suʳtapki	Tcanwi
Kotcamu	Keselo
	Paupobi

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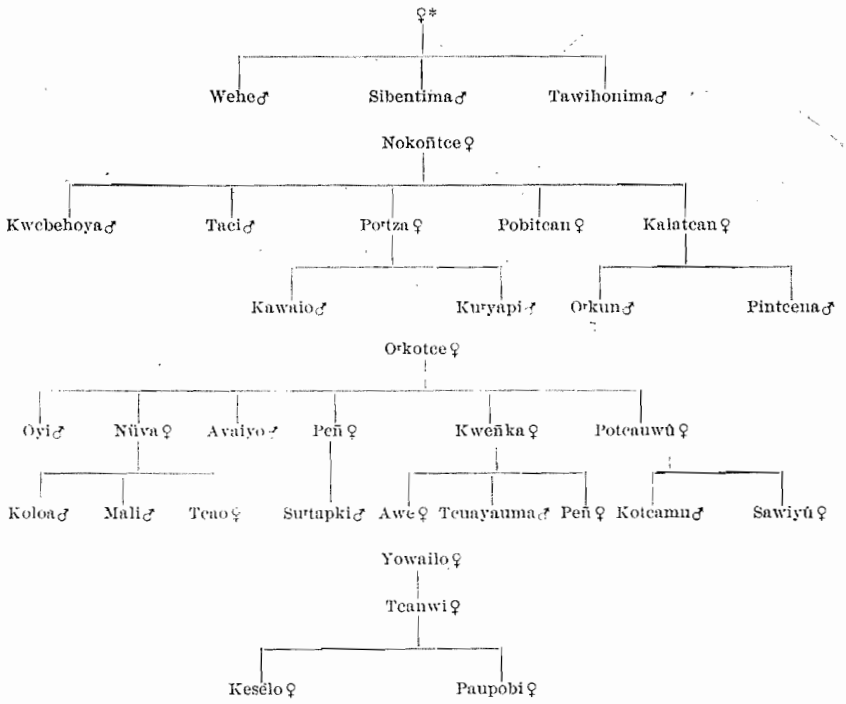
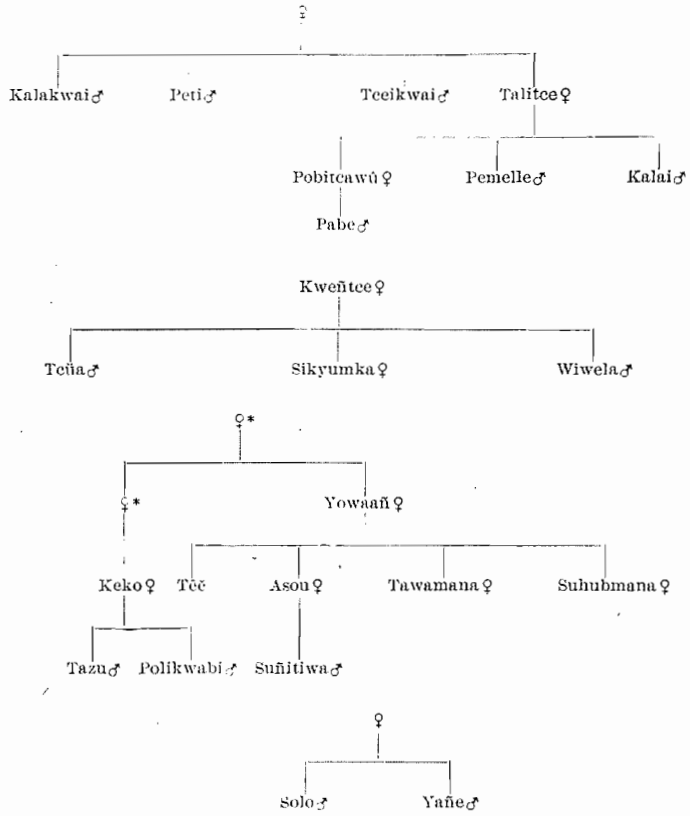


Okuwañ or Cloud clan

Men and boys	Women and girls
Kalakwai	Yowaañ
Kalai	Sikyumka
Tcüa	Saiya
Wiwela[1]	Kweñtce
Yañe	Talitce
Kelan	Pobitcawû
Solo	Asou
Pabe	Tawamana
Kokteina	Yekwi
Tceikwai	Těč
Poyi	Suhubmana
Tukpa[2]	Keko[3]
Yati	
Moto[2]	
Peti	
Pemelle	
Suñitiwa	
Tazu[3]	
Polikwabi[3]	

[1] Lives at Shuñopovi. [2] Lives at Walpi. [3] Lives at Sichumovi.



Totals of Hano clans

Sa towa	15
Kolon towa	25
Ke towa	14
Tenük towa	26
Näñ towa	15
Katcina towa	32
Okuwañ towa	31
Doubtful	1
Total	159

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES AT WALPI

The personnel of the Walpi religious societies, so far as known, is given in the accompanying lists, which may be regarded as fairly complete for the male but only approximate for the female membership. As a rule, the women members of a society may be said to be the members of the clan which introduced it, and some others. It

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is not necessary to mention the names of the participants in the katcina dances, as the organization may be said to include all the men and the older boys of the pueblo. So also the names of those who participate in the Soyaluña, or Winter-solstice gathering, are not given, for, from the nature of the festival, it includes all the families in the village.

The following list includes the main religious societies in Walpi:[1]

From Tokonabi

Tcübwimpkia	Ala clans.
Tcüwimpkia	Tcüa clans.

From Palatkwabi and the Little Colorado pueblos

Kwakwantû	Patki clans.
Lalakontû	Patki clans.
Aaltû	Patuñ clans.
Wüwûteimtû	Patuñ clans.
Tataukyamû	Piba clans.
Mamzrautû	Patuñ clans.
Cakwaleñya	Leñya clans.
Macileñya	Leñya clans.

From an Eastern pueblo, Kwavanompi (derived from Zuñi?)

Kalektaka	Pakab clan.

The Katcina society, which includes all males, practices the katcina cultus, and while each performance has its own derivation, all came from eastern pueblos. In order to show whence it came to Walpi each masked personage should be mentioned in order.[2]

Katcina altars of Powamû and Niman	Katcina clans	Kicuba.
Eototo	Kokop clans	Jemez.
Sio Humis (Zuñi) and Humis	Jemez clans?	Jemez.
Calako (Sio or Zuñi)	Honani clans	Zuñi.
Tcakwaina (Natacka)	Asa clans	Zuñi.
Sio		Zuñi.
Tacab		Navaho.
Malo		Zuñi.
Pawik		Zuñi.
Aña		Zuñi.
Soyohim		Several eastern pueblos.
Kawaika		Keres pueblo?.
Kohonino		Havasupai Indians.
Hahaiwügti	Katcina	Kicuba.
Soyokmana	Honani	Keres pueblo.
Tuñwup	Honani.	
Hehea	Asa	Zuñi.

[1] This list does not include such societies as the "doctors"—the Poewimpkias or Yayawimpkias—who are called in to cure disease, and some others.

[2] The derivation of many other katcinas will be given in a later article.

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Religious Societies from Tokonabi

The Walpi clans which came from Tokonabi were, as has been shown, the Horn-Snake, and the present survivors of these components are represented by two societies of priests called Tcüa-wimpkias and Tcüb-wimpkias, that is, Snake priests and Antelope priests.

These societies are regarded as the oldest in Walpi, and the ceremonies which they perform are survivals, possibly with some modifications, of a worship practiced in the former home of the Snake and Horn clans at Tokonabi. The nature of the rites at Walpi in early times may be judged from that of their modern survivals, namely, the Snake dance in August of odd years, and certain ceremonials in January of the same years.

SNAKE-ANTELOPE SOCIETIES

When Walpi was founded it contained, as has been shown, clans belonging to the Snake-Horn and the Bear groups, and probably all males older than young boys participated in their great ceremony, the Snake dance. Since that early time the advent of other families has considerably changed the social connections of the personnel of the societies, and their membership has outgrown clan limitation. The expanded societies called Snake and Antelope are now limited to no clan, but include members of all. The chief, however, and the majority of the members still come from the Snake clan, and include all its men. The extent to which the transformation of the early Snake-family worship has gone, in becoming a composite worship practiced by a dual society with a membership from all existing clans, may be seen by an enumeration of the present Snake and Antelope priests.

The existence of these two sacerdotal fraternities supports the traditionary declaration that the original people who settled on the site of Walpi included two groups of clans, the Horn and the Snake. There is also evidence in their rites that a Bear and a Puma clan were likewise represented in this early settlement, for in some of the secret ceremonies of the Snake dance we find both the bear and the puma personated.

The nature of the ceremonial calendar of the Snake-Horn people when these clans came to the East mesa and settled on the terrace under Walpi may never be known. Many rites have been dropped in the course of time, or have become so merged into others that their identity is difficult, perhaps impossible, to discover; but there are two ceremonies of the most ancient Snake-clan rites of Walpi which survive to

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our day. Since the Snake dance was first celebrated in the ancient pueblo it has been somewhat modified by contact with the rituals of other clans, but even now it retains certain characteristics of a rude animal worship or zoötotemism. With modification has come a change in its purpose, so that at present it is a prayer for rain and for the growth of corn—a secondary development due mainly to an arid environment.

Membership of the Antelope Society

Individual	Clan	Individual	Clan
Wiki	Tcüa	Katci	Kokop
Wikyatiwa	Tcüa	Sami	Leñya
Hoñyi	Tcüa	Kakapti	Tüwa
Tcazra	Patki	Wewe	(?)
Kwaa	Patki	Pontima	Ala
Tcoshoniwû	Patki		

Membership of the Snake Society

Individual	Clan	Individual	Clan
Kopeli	Tcüa	Kiazru	Asa
Sikyahoniwa	Tcüa	Puryato (?)	Asa
Moumi	Tcüa	Cikuli	Buli
Nuwawinu	Tcüa	Ami	Buli
Sanna	Tcüa	Yoyowaia	Honani
Honauwû	Tcüa	Hani	Piba
Koyowaiamû	Tcüa	Sikyaweamû	Piba
Supela	Patki	Kanu	Pakab
Kwatcakwa	Patki	Piba	Pakab
Makiwû	Patki	Siskyamû	Tabo
Pocto	Patki	Homovi	Tabo
Citaimu	Patki	Lomaiumtiwa	Katcina
Nacita	Patki	Tu'kwi	Leñya
Tcazra	Patki	Tcono	Ala
Talahoya	Asa	Nakava	Kokop
Lomanapoca	Asa	Sikyabotima	Tüwa
Sikyatila	Asa	Patuñtupi	Kolon
Nüvati	Asa	Kano	Kolon
Mae	Asa	Wiwela	Okuwañ

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Religious Societies from Palatkwabi

The migration of clans from the south to Tusayan began very early in the history of the Hopi, and we are fortunately able to speak definitely of the movements from this direction in the seventeenth century. These were in part brought about by the inroads of a nomadic people, the Apache, who at the close of the sixteenth century began to raid the sedentary people of southern and central Arizona. Their attacks were at first weak, but gathered strength during the following century, until at the close of the year 1700 the entire central part of Arizona had passed under Apache control. The villages along the Little Colorado held out until about the close of the century, but their inhabitants were ultimately forced north to join the Hopi.

These fugitives took refuge among the Hopi in groups of clans at intervals as one after another of the southern pueblos was abandoned. The earliest group seems to have been the Patuñ, after which followed the Patki, the Piba, and others. There may have been others earlier than the Patuñ people, and possibly the Leñya was one of these, but the Patuñ clans founded some of the oldest pueblos in the Hopi country, as Mishongnovi and Tcukubi.

As Mishongnovi is mentioned in the list of Hopi towns at the end of the sixteenth century, we may assume that the advent of the Patuñ clans was prior to that date; and the fact that there were both Patuñ and Piba (Tobacco) clans in Awatobi shows that they came before the advent of the Patki people, which must have occurred shortly after Awatobi was destroyed, for no one maintains that the Patki lived at that town. They had a pueblo of their own, called Pakatcomo, 4 miles from Walpi, in which lived Patki and Tüwa or Kükutc clans.

ALA-LEÑYA SOCIETIES

The Ala-Leñya clans brought a new cult to Walpi, which survives in the Flute (Leñya) observance celebrated during alternate summers. In some of the Hopi pueblos there are two sections of the Flute priesthood, called the Blue Flute and the Drab Flute, but at Walpi the latter is extinct and the ceremonies of the two are consolidated.

The existence of two divisions of Flute priests, and the fact that the Ala-Leñya group of clans is composed of two main divisions, would seem to show that the dual sacerdotal condition reflected the sociological status; that one society sprang from the Ala, the other from the Leñya components. In the present celebration of the Flute there are flute elements in both societies where they exist in dual sections.

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Membership of the Flute Society[1]

Individual	Clan	Individual	Clan
Tu'noa	Leñya	Kwatcakwa	Patki
Wupa	Leñya	Amętola	Asa
Moumi	Tcüa	Tcüavema (?)	Asa
Hoñyi	Tcüa	Hani	Piba
Kopeli	Tcüa	Winuta	Pakab
Supela	Patki	Sikyabotima	

[1] There are other members of this society not here mentioned.

PATUÑ-PIBA-PATKI SOCIETIES

The Patuñ (Squash) clan probably introduced into the Hopi pueblos the Aaltû, Wüwütcimtû, and Mamzrautû (a woman's priesthood) societies; the Piba (Tobacco) brought the Tataukyamû; and the Patki (Rain-cloud) brought the Kwakwantû and Lalakontû. As these clans came from the south, there are many resemblances in the rituals of their priesthoods. The names of the members of these priesthoods are given in the following lists:

Membership of the Aaltû Society

Individual	Clan	Individual	Clan
Tuwasmi	Pakab	Tcazra	Patki
Mu'na	Asa	Pocto	Patki
Talahoya	Asa	Kwatcakwa	Patki
Hauta	Asa	Tcoshoniwû	Patki
Sikyatila	Asa	Wiwela	Okuwañ
Nüvati	Asa	Talasi	Tabo
Kiazru	Asa	Honauwû	Tabo
Simotci	Honani	Lelentci	Tabo
Yoyowaia	Honani	Letcomo	Tabo
Yakwa	Honani	Hayi	Leñya
Apa	Honani	Kükü	Katcina
Tcotcki	Buli	Tawihonima	Katcina
Sania	Tüwa	Yañe	Okuwañ.
Takala	Tüwa	Koitswinû	Kokop
Matco[1]	Tüwa	Tcüa	Kokop
Kakapti	Tüwa	Pontima	Ala
Matcuwû	Tüwa	Pema	Ala
Talanainiwû	Tüwa	Hoñyi	Tcüa
Kotka	Honau	Lomavoya	Tcüa
Mepi	Ke	Wisti	Piba

[1] Lives in Zuñi.

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Membership of the Wüwütcimtû Society

Individual	Clan	Individual	Clan
Sunoitiwa	Asa	Sikyahonauwû	Tüwa
Kükütci	Asa	Pavatiya	Tüwa
Tuwakükü	Asa	Sikyabotima	Tüwa
Ametola	Asa	Potca	Pakab
Hayo	Asa	Sikyapiki[1]	Tawa
Mae	Asa	Homovi	Piba
Hola	Asa	Tcüa	Okuwañ
Kopeli	Tcüa	Tukpa	Okuwañ
Mouni	Tcüa	Makiwû	Patki
Sikyahoniwa	Tcüa	Kunahia	Kokop
Sanna	Tcüa	Katci	Kokop
Nuvaiwinû	Tcüa	Maho	Kokop
Tcaini	Tabo	Naka	Katcina
Tüktci	Tabo	Talawinû	Katcina
Sezüta	Buli	Sikyabentima	Ala
Lelo	Tenük	Honyamtiwa	Ala

[1] Lives in Shumopovi.

Membership of the Tatawkyamû Society

Individual	Clan	Individual	Clan
Hani	Piba	Tu'noa	Leñya
Namoki	Piba	Sami	Leñya
Siskyamû	Piba	Pakabi	Leñya
Nuatiwa	Piba	Supela	Patki
Masahoñiwû	Piba	Kwazra	Patki
Lapu	Piba	Nanaha[1]	Patki
Ami	Buli	Nato	Tenük
Hozro	Honani	Wiki	Tcüa
Moñwû	Honani	Koyowaiamû	Tcüa
Hozro	Honani	Nae	Pakab
Sokoni	Ala	Piba	Pakab
Suhimu	Ala	Taci	Katcina
Makto	Ala	Sibentima	Katcina
Tcono	Ala	Sütki	Kükütc
Maho	Kokop	Wacri	Asa
Leso	Kokop	Tu'kia	Asa
Sami	Kokop	Tcaka	Tüwa
Wikpala	Leñya		

[1] Lives in Zuñi.

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Membership of the Kwakwantû Society

Individual	Clan	Individual	Clan
Anawita	Patki	Mota	Sa
Kwaa	Patki	Nùvaiwinû	Tcüa
Kleã	Patki	Wikyatiwa	Tcüa
Paca	Patki	Tenuntci	(?)
Sakwistiwa	Patki	Avaiyo	Katcina
Citaimû	Patki	Totci	Honani
Suñi	Patki	Cikuli	Buli
Veti	Okuwañ	Nanakoci	Buli
Poyi	Okuwañ	Añwuci	Asa
Klěě	Okuwañ	Lomaiisba	Asa
Kelan	Okuwañ	Turkwinamû	Asa
Pitkone	Tabo	Namiñhu	Tawa
Takala	Tüwa	Namoki	Piba
Tubeñima	Kükütc	Tcali	Piba
Pütci	Ala	Letaiyo	Piba
Tu^{r}kwi	Leñya	Kano	Kolon
Nitioma	Leñya		

The women's society which was introduced by the Patki people is called Lalakoñtû, and its ceremony at Walpi in 1891 was participated in by the following persons:

Membership of the Lalakoñtû Society

Women[1]	Clan	Men	Clan
Koitsyumsi	Patki	Pütci	Ala
Naciainima	Patki	Ametola	Asa
Kumawensi	Patki	Kwatcakwa	Patki
Ku^{r}yû	Patki	Supela	Patki

The author has not learned the names of all the members of the Mamzrautû society, but those of the more important participants in its 1892 performance are as follows:

[1] The list is incomplete, but it includes the chief priestesses.

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Membership of the Mamzrautû Society

Women	Clan	Men	Clan
Saliko	Tcüa	Smoitiwû	Asa
Sakabenka	Kokop	Ametola	Asa
Naciumsi	Patki	Supela	Patki
25 other women		Kwatcakwa	Patki
		Nuvawinû	Tcüa
		Wiki	Tcüa
		Hoñyi	Tcüa

The Kalektaka Society

The society of warriors called the Kalektaka was introduced by the Pakab clans, and their ceremony, the Momtcita, bears a very close likeness to that of the Priesthood of the Bow at Zuñi. From these resemblances this society is regarded as of New Mexican origin, but among the Hopi it is simply the celebration of the Pakab clans and does not dominate the rites of any society previously mentioned. It is one of many cults, and, like others, was introduced by certain definite clans and has not obtained a hold upon others. In this its relationship differs from that of the Society of the Bow in the Zuñi ritual.

KATCINA CULTS FROM NEW MEXICAN PUEBLOS

We come now to discuss a cult at Walpi which in many ways is unique, and so markedly different is it that we have no difficulty in distinguishing it from the cults already mentioned. The one feature which separates it from the others is the existence of masked personations—men wearing helmets or masks to personate supernatural beings. In its origin it is unlike any other, for it was not brought to Walpi by any one group of clans, but by several, the arrivals of which were separated by considerable periods of time, even generations. The katcina cult is therefore not homogeneous, for not only did different clans contribute to it, but these clans came from pueblos geographically remote from one another. There is no one Katcina society limited to one group of clans, but all men and boys may and do enter into the performance of katcina dances. In this heterogeneous collection of allied cults we find some introduced by the Honani, some by the Asa, some purchased or borrowed from neighboring tribes. Some of the katcina dances are worn down to a single public masked dance from which all secret rites have disappeared. Two at least, the Powamû and the Niman, are of nine days' duration.

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To look for the origin of the katcinas as a whole in any one family or clan would be fruitless. We must seek the independent origin of each. But there is one source to which we can turn for the two great katcina celebrations—the Powamû and Niman—and that is the Katcina (Añwuci, Crow) clans.

Happily, however, we can find that the general direction whence all the important katcinas came was the east—the New Mexican pueblos—where the same ceremonies still survive in modified form.

Tcukuwimpkiyas

An order of priests called the Tatcuktû, or Mudheads—men wearing cloth masks with large knobs on their tops and sides—was brought to Tusayan from the New Mexican pueblos. They do not belong to the ancient Hopi ritual, but came with those clans who brought the katcinas, with whom they appear in modern ceremonies. This order is very ancient in the pueblos from which it came, as are likewise the katcinas, but they do not belong to the cults of the clans from Tokonabi or Palatkwabi.

Sumaikolis

The Sumaikoli priests and cult are closely connected with the katcinas, and are supposed to have been introduced into Tusayan from New Mexico.

THE EAST MESA RITUALS

Walpi is the only pueblo on the East mesa where a true Hopi ritual is celebrated, but it has become more profoundly affected by intrusive clans of other stocks than that of any other Hopi pueblo. This modification, due to the vicinity of Sichumovi and Hano, is particularly marked in the great katcina observance called Powamû, which differs greatly from the Oraibi performance of that name. The clans which have been of greatest importance in bringing about this modification are the Asa[1] and the Hano clans, none of which exist at Oraibi.

The Walpi Ritual

January	Pa (Winter Snake or Flute).
	Mucaiasti.
	Winter Tawa-paholawû.
February	Powamû.
	Winter Lakone-paholawû.
March	Unkwanti or Palülükoñti.
	Sumaikoli.
	Winter Marau-paholawû.

[1] The author ascribes the introduction of the Natacka at the Powamû ceremony of Walpi to the Tcakwaina or Asa clan.

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April–June	Abbreviated Katcina observances.
	Niman-katcina.
July	Tawa-paholawû.
August	Snake or Flute dance in alternate years.
September	Lalakoñti.
October	Mamzrauti.
November	Wüwütcimti or Naacnaiya.
December	Soyaluña.
	Momtcita.

This ritual is practically that of the four other Hopi pueblos, in which it is repeated with some variation in details.[1]

The Sichumovi Ritual

January	Pamuʳti.
	Zuñi Return Katcina.
February	Powamû.
	Katcina visitors to Walpi kivas.[2]
March	Palülükonti.
April–June	Abbreviated Katcina observances.
July	Sio Calako (occasionally).
September	Bulintikibi (occasionally).
October	Owakülti (occasionally).
December	Soyaluña (contributes to Walpi celebration).

As Tewa (Asa and Honani) clans predominate in Sichumovi, katcinas largely predominate in this pueblo. The Bulintikibi is intrusive, unlike Hopi ceremonies, and almost identical with one of those still celebrated in the eastern pueblos from which the Asa came. The Sio Calako is an incorporated Zuñi observance greatly abbreviated. From a ceremonial point of view the Sichumovi ritual is closely related to that of eastern pueblos, and just those elements which it shares with the Hopi ritual are the elements which have been introduced into Walpi by clans from the same region of the pueblo area from which the Sichumovi settlers came.

The Hano Ritual

January	Abbreviated Katcina observances.[3]
February	Powamû katcina visitors to Walpi kivas.[4]
March	Palülükonti.
April–June	Abbreviated Katcina observances.
July	Tawa-paholawû (sun prayer-stick making).
August	Sumaikoli.
September–October	Howina (occasionally).
December	Tañtai (winter solstice rites).
	Warrior celebration.

[1] For bibliography of ceremonies see American Anthropologist, vol. XI, 1898.
[2] In 1892, Hahaiwügti, Natackas, Kawaika (Keresan) katcinas.
[3] In 1892, Tacab, Humis, etc., personations.
[4] In 1892, Tatcuktû (Mud-heads), Natackas, Hahaiwügti, Tcakwaina katcinas with squash blossoms in their hair.

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In this ritual of Hano, which is a fragmentary survival of that at Tcewadi, the Rio Grande home of the Hano clans, the Tawa-paholawû, Sumaikoli, and Tañtai are in a way characteristic and are essentially different from those of a Hopi pueblo. The Hano celebrations in the January and February moons take the form of personations of katcinas, who visit the Walpi and Sichumovi kivas as well as their own. No katcina altar has yet been seen in this village, and there is no presentation of the Powamû, Niman-katcina, Snake or Flute, Lalakoñti, Mamzrauti, Wüwütcimti, or Momtcita in this Tewa pueblo. To the great katcina celebrations of Powamû the Hano send katcina personators, and there are certain simple rites connected with the Powamû in some of their houses and kivas, as that of Ahole elsewhere[1] described, but these are fragmentary. Both Hano and Sichumovi contribute katcina personators, who visit the Walpi kivas, and this renders the Powamû in that village different[2] from that in other Hopi pueblos.

CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions are reached in the preceding studies:

1. The pueblo of Hano is Tanoan in language and culture; it was transplanted from the upper Rio Grande valley to the East mesa of Tusayan. Its religion is intrusive, and its ritual resembles that of Walpi only in those features which have been brought by kindred clans from the same region.

2. The religious ceremonies of Sichumovi are also intrusive from the east, because the majority of its people are descended from colonists from the same region as those who settled Hano. The Hopi language is spoken at Sichumovi, but the ritual is purely Tanoan. The rituals of Sichumovi and Hano are allied to those of certain New Mexican pueblos.

3. The pioneer settlers of Walpi were Snake and Bear clans, the former predominating, and the first increase was due to an addition of Horn clans which once lived at the now ruined pueblo of Tokonabi, the place from which the Snake clans also came. These Horn people were mixed with Flute clans from the Little Colorado. The majority of the clans and the most distinctive ceremonies in the Walpi ritual came from southern Arizona, and the many resemblances in the Hopi ritual to that of the eastern pueblos is due to eastern colonists who sought refuge in Walpi.

4. The conclusion that the present Hopi are descended wholly from nomadic people from the north is questioned, except within the limitations mentioned. Some parts of the ritual which are distinctly Hopi are found not to have come from the north, but from the south.

[1] Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

[2] The existence of Natacka at the Walpi Powamû is due probably to Sichumovi or Hano clans, possibly to the Asa of the former pueblo.

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