



## 16. Hopi Agriculture and Land Ownership.

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Two subdivisions could be recognized in the Mesolithic at the Mugharet el-Wad, of which the more recent was practically identical with Shukba, while the older differed from it in some respects. Many bone implements and two remarkable carvings were found in the lower layer.

This industry is so distinctive as to require a name of its own, and I have called it Natufian, from the Wady en-Natuf at Shukba.

Many burials were found in the Natufian layer at the Mugharet el-Wad, and in three cases head-dresses of shells and bone beads were found in place on the skeletons.

On the terrace of the cave the Natufian layer rested on bedrock, and here we found a remarkable series of "constructions," including rock-cut basins, a pavement of limestone slabs, and a rough stone wall.

The Natufian would appear to antedate the first appearance of pottery in Palestine. Since, by cross-dating with Egypt, we know that pottery was being made in Palestine at least as early as 4500 B.C., we may date the Natufian at 5000-6000 B.C.

**Excavations at the Cave Mugharet-el-Kebarah, near Zichron Jakob, Palestine.** *Summary of a communication presented by F. Turville Petre : 8 December, 1931.*

**15** The Mugharet-el-Kebarah is situated in a limestone cliff overlooking the coastal plain and the Mediterranean near the southern end of the Carmel range.

Excavations carried out in the early summer of 1930 showed that below a mixed level (A) containing remains of all periods from the First Bronze Age to recent Arab was a Mesolithic occupation, level (B) typical of the newly discovered Natufian culture. Below this was a second Mesolithic level, (C) overlying Middle Aurignacian deposits.

Level B yielded very numerous flint sickle blades, and microlithic implements among which crescents predominated: there was also the usual series of scrapers, graters, etc. Further, there was a great quantity and variety of worked bone objects including points, fish hooks, harpoons, pendants, etc. Of special interest was a complete sickle-blade haft decorated at the handle with a carving of a goat's head, and three other similarly decorated handles. Associated with this level were a number of human burials.

Level C contained a large number of microlithic implements, among which a very elongated triangular form greatly predominated. Normal sized scrapers, graters, etc., occurred but in small quantities; the flint series does not seem to resemble very closely that from any hitherto known site. Probably to be attributed to this level are the remains of a number of cremated human skeletons.

**Hopi Agriculture and Land Ownership.** *Summary of a Communication presented by Professor C. Daryll Forde : 15 December, 1931.*

**16** Hunting and gathering have played little part in Hopi economy, while the herds of sheep they have reared since Spanish times are relatively unimportant compared with those of the Navajo. Dependence on agriculture, despite the desert conditions, is possible on account of the peculiar character of the flood water run-off from the mesas. Flash floods following the storms descend the canyons and scarps, fan out over the lower land forming washes, without cutting a definite channel. Apart from the gardens at springs there is no irrigation, merely the planting of patches of ground likely to be flooded, although erosion may be arrested and flood water held up on small patches in narrow gullies by erecting low dams of stones and brush. In recent years, however, definite channels or arroyos have been cut across some of the washes, seriously reducing the flooded area and destroying much valuable land. This may in part be due to overgrazing of the mesas by the Navajo and Hopi flocks promoting more rapid run-off, but other factors may be operating, since cycles of arroyo cutting have occurred in the past. One, indeed, appears to coincide with the abandonment of many Pueblo sites in the south-west at the end of the Great Pueblo period.

Arable land is, therefore, rather rigidly restricted, and there are definite, although disputed, boundaries between the lands of each village. The village lands are parcelled out into major areas nominally owned by the clans, and marked by boundary stones roughly incised with clan symbols. The clan lands are not concentrated in one place but subdivided into several lots in different parts of the village territory. Each family has field patches within several of its clan's lands. This

produces a superficial resemblance to open-field systems and distributes the risk of crop failure, as all fields are subject to a double hazard, i.e. of being washed out by too fierce a flood, or of receiving no water in a particular year.

The matrilineal clan organization is reflected in the control of land. The family plots are theoretically controlled by women, the older women disposing of fields to their daughters as they marry and have need of them. The actual cultivation and all field work except at harvest time, is undertaken by men, the husbands and unmarried sons of the clanswomen, who may have no personal lien on the fields they cultivate and, indeed, in the case of husbands, are not themselves members of the clan. The clan leaders may apportion fields if need arises, handing over some of those of dwindling families to others which are growing in numbers and have more labour to cultivate them. Certain fields are also reserved for the chiefs of societies; these are cultivated on behalf of the chiefs by working parties drawn from appropriate societies.

In practice, the matrilineal inheritance of land is not strict. Men frequently cultivate fields in their own clan lands, received from their matrilineal relatives, for the benefit of their own families, which do not of course belong to their clan. Such fields may not, however, be passed on for the use of the man's sons without permission of the owning clan, and such use would only be given for life without right of bequest. Women may similarly in practice acquire the use of fields in the lands of the father's clan. These practices, which are recognized as inconsistent with the theory of clan ownership, are rarely interfered with by the clan leaders, and serve to compensate for inequalities in the size of the lands of various clans and families.

Magico-religious practices are of great importance at every stage in cultivation. Agricultural objectives are prominent in several of the major ceremonies (e.g. the Kacina initiations at the beginning of the year); the summer may be prolonged and rain produced at the great ceremonies during the year or by small groups gathering for the purpose. Plant growth is stimulated by sympathetic magic practised by individuals and by working parties in the fields. The individual cultivator has a shrine in his field and by prayer-offerings endeavours to protect his plot and ensure its fruitfulness.

**Open Public Lectures:** *For Lectures I, II, III, of this course see MAN, 1931, 272-4.*

iv. **Hillmen and Head-hunters in Northern India.** *By Colonel T. C. Hodson: 2 November, 1931.*

The lecturer described the racial and linguistic elements in N. and N.E. India; summarized the social structure, educational system and general mode of life, past and present of the head-hunting tribes of those areas, among them the Garo, Khasia, Kachari, Rabha, Naga, Kuki, and Wa; and examined the complexity of motives, individual, religious and economic, to which the practice of head-hunting owes its vitality. A right understanding of these factors, and an intelligent handling of them, are essential to the future welfare of these virile peoples. 17

v. **From Pariah to Brahman in Southern India.** *By F. J. Richards, M.A., I.C.S.: 9 November, 1931.*

After a brief survey of the geographical, historical and racial factors operative in S. India, Mr. Richards sketched in rough outline the social organization, from the lowest to the highest grade, of the five chief nations of S. India—Maratha, Kanarese, Telugu, Tamil, and Malayalam. In general pattern these national systems are similar, but they differ from each other in the position and status assigned to the communal units of which they are composed, and in structural details. In essentials these systems owe little to the Vedic tradition of Upper India, but that tradition has played a part in giving them their final impact. The impact of Western ideas has accentuated social cleavages, and in present-day India "communal sentiment is the one stable factor in political life."

vi. **Historians and Painters of the Mughal Court.** *By J. V. S. Wilkinson, M.A.: 16 November, 1931.*

The historical importance of Mughal painting is quite distinct from its æsthetic value. It is an art, professedly, of illustration, chronicle, and portraiture. It was given its direction by the personal tasks of the early emperors. But the artists had a natural talent for observing and recording the life around them, and for seizing character. It thus forms a unique commentary on the copious written history of the time, though it cannot be said to take the place of written history.