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Sekaquaptewa v. MacDonald
Civil No. 74-842 Prescott

Indian Claims Commission
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HOPI

INDIAN CLAIMS COMMISSION

NO. 196

THE HOPI

THEIR HISTORY AND USE OF LANDS

BY

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Sekaquaptewa v. MacDonald
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The Hopi

Their History and Use of Lands

By

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Hopi Report

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V

EXTENSIONS OF LAND USE: INNER TO OUTER AREA

Animals and Birds Utilized

Hunting: In 1898 Hough stated that the Hopi were "practically vegetarians," although they occasionally ate rabbit, prairie dog, rat, a sheep or goat of their own, meat purchased from a Navaho, and even, on occasion, a burro (Hough, 1898, p. 141). But in 1919 he discussed Hopi hunting as it was when the range of many animals may have been extensive, where now it is restricted because of the reduction of grass and other herbage because of overgrazing and the epicycle of erosion which chanced to come at the same period.

> The antelope was, as we know, plentiful in all portions of the open country, and probably deer of several species ranged with them. Bear also had a more extensive range on account of food, there being evidence that juniper forests were much more widespread than at present. Smaller animals, like the fox, coyote, wolf, skunk, racoon, porcupine, badger, prairie dog, rabbit, hare, mice, etc, may or may not have been more prevalent. Birds, are still numerous; reptiles and insects are yet in sufficient quantity.
>
> The above is a summary of the animal resources, near and far, which were available to the Hopi and use was made of all of them (Hough, 1919, pp. 284, 285.)

Tietiev found that the Hopi were very fond of meat and laid much emphasis on hunting in both ritual and legend: "It appears likely that at one stage of their cultural development the Hopi were far more dependent on game as a food supply than they are at present" (Tietiev, 1944, p. 188). Meat, wild plants, salt, sugar, chili, onions, and garden vegetables are classified together by the Hopi under a term "Uh: ngala" (Watson, 1954, pp. 20-21). These were the items which were more difficult to obtain than the staples of their diet, corn, beans, and squash. They were those which added flavor and

variety and were hence much valued. Meals for which meat is the main dish may be served for guests or on occasions of fiestas; otherwise meat is used in smaller quantities, as a flavoring element and to add variety. Their method of preserving meat was by drying it in strips which later could be used in stews, etc. Fish were avoided by the Hopi and Zuni on the basis of legendary tabu; the Apache and Navaho fish avoidance beliefs undoubtedly were borrowed, as the norther Athabascans use fish as a major staple in their diet.

The Hopi is fond of hunting, the opportunity to display skill and daring (a contrast to the demanding but unexciting duties of the agriculturist), as well as to bring home animals of which the meat, hides, sinews, etc., could be used providing thorough personal satisfaction. Rabbits and other small game, coyotes, eagles, and some other birds, and turtles, are hunted today, but in the past - within the memory of living persons - when meat was otherwise unobtainable and pasturage grass adequate to support more wild animals, the Hopi hunted antelope, deer, mountain lion, mountain sheep, and the gray wolf (Beaglehole, 1937, p. 49; Thompson, 1944, p. 24). Fewkes pointed out, in 1890, that the supply of rabbits, deer, and other game was so small that almost every animal of mammalian form was eaten at times (Fewkes in Parsons, 1922, p.271). Chickens were unknown to Hopi at that time. The white man's domestic turkey and the razor back pig were not introduced until 1892 (Op. cit., p. 272).

Hopi hunting falls into two categories, that for economic use and that necessary to provide ceremonial items. The two cannot be strictly separated, but in general one thinks of the mountain lion, wolf, coyote, bear, birds, and turtles as of ceremonial importance only. In a culture where

ceremonialism is as developed as among the Hopi, such items are constantly required, and this type of hunting continues to a large extent even today.

Birds: The eagle was the most sacred of birds to all the Pueblos; he was a symbol of the sun and his downy plumes were thought to carry prayers to the supernaturals. The Hopi capture eagles, to gring to the village and there they are caged or tied so that their feathers may be used in making prayer plume offerings.

> The buttes on which eagle nests are to be found are owned by the various clans in each village and under no circumstances do members of one clan trespass on the buttes owned by another group. The buttes are situated in the country surrounding the mesas and may be forty miles or more away from the village. Clan ownership rights are established by legendary accounts of clan migrations which usually relate, along with other incidents, how the clan in question came to possess particular buttes. Unfortunately, the Navaho are unable to appreciate the Hopi viewpoint on this matter, and their rival claim to control of certain buttes is at present the source of much petty quarreling, and was probably in former times a potent cause for intertribal warfare (Beaglehole, 1936, p. 18).

Hough gives the location and owners of the various nest areas: ". . . the Snake Clan claims the eagle nests near their old village of Takorabi to the north of Walpi; the Horn Clan those to the northeast; the Firewood Clan those at the upper end of Keam's Canyon; the Bear Clan those at the mouth of the same canyon; the Tobacco Clan those on the crags of Awatobi; the Rain Cloud Clan the nests in the Moki Buttes; the Reed Clan those in the region of their old town forty miles north of Navajo Springs on the Santa Fe railroad; the Lizard Clan the nests on Bitakuchi or Red Rocks, about forty miles south of Walpi; or that the eagle nests west of the pueblos along the Little Colorado and Great Colorado belong to the Oraibi and Middle Mesa villagers. He (the Navaho) would disdain the fact that one cannot meddle with eagles within forty or fifty miles of the Hopi towns without trespassing on property rights" (Hough, 1915, p. 169).

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Stephens (1936, pp. 568, 569) gives a partial list of these same locations. Katherine Bartlett (Museum of Northern Arizona; Personal Communication, April 1960) notes that the Lizard clan nests at Red Rocks (Monument Point on road from Leup to Oraibi) still are utilized. Other nests still visited by the Hopi are the famous nest at Wupatki, and nests at Tolchaco, about 12 miles northwest of Leup, 2 or 3 miles above Grand Falls, and nests in Chevlon Canyon and 5 or 10 miles south of that canyon.

Hough explains the basis for this ownership pattern, according to Hopi thought: "The curious fact comes out that these eagle preserves are near the place of ancient occupancy of the clans and show in a most interesting way the lines of migration by which the several clans traveled to the villages where they now live. These rights are jealously guarded by the Hopi and are one of the sore spots in their relations with the Navaho; they frequently ask to have the government define their eagle reservations by survey to establish the boundaries free from molestation" (Op. cit., pp. 169, 170).

Fewkes' discussion of the Hopi concept of proprietary rights with reference to the eagle greatly clarifies understanding of a custom which seems as natural to the tribe as it is novel to us:

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A Hopi speaks of his eaglets and eagle-nests as he does of his sheep or horses, regarding them as clan property. He takes no care of them; but when he wishes their feathers, he plucks them from birds which he owns and from no others. This recognition that certain wild birds belong to one clan, and others to another, has not, so far as I am aware, been specially commented on by writers on zooculture among the Indians. . . When, as at Zuni, eagles are brought to the pueblo and kept alive from year to year, there exists an advancement beyond the Hopi custom of merely capturing the feral birds from the nests of their owners. [Others have stated that the Hopi, also, kept live birds in the pueblo.] Anyone in Tusayan who kills an eagle, not his own, within about fifty miles of Walpi, trespasses on the property-rights of others. In other words, the eagle, although wild, is regarded, from the point of view of ownership, in the same way as is the horse, cow, or sheep,--eagles are property over which the Hopi have rights which all their number respect. Unfortunately, however, this right is often violated by white men or by the Navaho, who see no reason why wild birds should belong to a person living perhaps forty or fifty miles away. There are no other wild creatures which the Hopi now regard in the same light of ownership that they do the eagle.

As already suggested, proprietary rights with reference to the eagle inhere in the clan rather than in the individual;

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nests, eaglets, and adult eagles are owned by the whole clan, not by any one member, although the male head or chief of that clan represents its rights; he speaks of them as his property, and has inherited the right to do so through his mother. This is an ancient form of ownership which prevails likewise in the case of land, springs, peach-trees, houses, and other possessions. Some clans are poor, and own no eagles; but among the "wealthy," two members of the same clan may have nests in different localities. As a rule, however, the nests of eagles near village ruins are owned by the descendants of clans which once lived in their neighborhood.

. . . In their early migrations from distant pueblos to their ultimate homes, each clan halted at intervals, where towns were built but were afterward deserted. The sites of these abandoned villages are indicated by ruins which are very numerous in Arizona and also in parts of New Mexico. Thus it resulted that men of certain clans claim rights in springs near ruins in which their forefathers lived, and at times of cerrmony they revisit these ancestral springs to obtain water which is considered particularly efficacious in the performance of ancient rites; thus, also, certain tracts of land are regarded as the property of this or that clan. The present ownership of eagle-nests in the vicinity is a survival of a similar claim.

. . . One of the oldest, if not the most ancient of all the Walpi clans, is the Snake, which formerly lived at a place called Tokonabi, near Navaho mountain, far north of the Hopi mesas.

. . . The eagle nests of the Snake clan are situated a few miles north of Walpi, not far from one of the abandoned Snake pueblos; they claim others north of this which, however, they never visit. In most ancient times this clan doubtless had eagle-nests at Tokonabi, but as it drifted southward and the country which they left became occupied by hostiles, visits to these nests were gradually dispensed with. Those which they still claim are near their last settlement, but visits to them became more or less dangerous after the hostile Ute raided the Hopi farms not many years ago.

The Horn (Ala clan owns the eagle-nests about Wakash (Span. Vaca, Cow) spring, northeast of Walpi. Their eagle claim is contiguous to that of the Snake clan, as would naturally be expected from the fact that these two clans once lived together at Tokonabi.

. . . The Firewood clans came from the east, probably not far from the pueblo of Jemez, and during their early migration lived for some time in Keam's canon, not far

from Keam's trading post, where the ruin of their settlement may still be seen. This clan claims as its property all eagle-nests in the upper end of the canon named, near the school and their former pueblo.

. . . Little can be learned concerning the route of migration of the Bear clan westward from the Rio Grande valley, but it is said to have passed through Keam's canon to Turkinobi, a now-ruined pueblo not far from Sikyatki. The Kokyan, or Spider clan, one of the group of Bear clans, claims the cliffs at the entrance of Keam's canon as its eagle preserves.

. . . the Rain-cloud (Patki) clan formerly lived at Palatkwabi, but migrated northward to Homolobi, near Winslow. Abandoning this town, they went farther northward, building a pueblo not far from the Moki buttes. When they left this habitation, the ruins of which are still traceable, they continued their course to the Walpi wash and erected homes at Pakachomo, in the plain about three miles from Walpi, where the remains of house-walls are still pointed out. From Pakachomo the clan went to Old Walpi by invitation of the chief of the latter pueblo. Anawita, the head-man of that clan, claims as his property all eagle-nests in the Moki buttes as far east as the Holbrook road. The eagle property of the Kukutc (Lizard) clan begins at Bitahutci on the same road, and extends eastward to the ruin of Kintiel, twenty-five miles north of the railroad.

The Pakab (Reed) clan lived at Awatobi until its destruction, but before they reached that place they inhabited a pueblo called Kwavunapi, about forty miles north of Navaho station on the Santa Fe railroad. . . Pautiwa, chief of this clan, claims all the eagle-nests near Kwavunapi and the region south of that ruin.

The Kukutc (Lizard) clan, which, like the Patki, originally came from the far south and had settlements at one time on the Little Colorado at or near Homolobi, owns the eagle-nests east of the Holbrook road around Bitahutci, or Red Rocks, about forty miles from Walpi.

The eagle-nests near Kicyuba, north of Walpi, a sacred spring of the Katcina clan, are owned by Supela, of the Patki clan. This clan never lived in that region, hence there is no way of accounting for Supela's claim except that he inherited it from Oraibi relatives.

The eagle-nests west and northwest of the East Mesa, along the lower part of the Little Colorado (Pala-baiya), and portions of the Great Colorado (Pisis-baiya), belong to clans of Oraibi and the Middle Mesa pueblos, hence the

> Walpians lay no claim to them. I have not studied the clans of the latter villages, but there is evidently good reason for their claim, judging from the composition of the clans in these pueblos. Probably many of their ancient clans came from the numerous houses, now in ruins, within the drainage of Rio Colorado. . . .
>
> The clans of the Tewa pueblo of Hano have no eagle-nest property near their pueblo. This can readily be explained by the fact that they were late arrivals in Tusayan, consequently all available nests had been pre-empted by existing Hopi clans.
>
> It thus appears that the present claims to ownership of eagle-nests are based mainly on the situation near former places of residence. This fact can hardly be regarded as a mere coincidence, nor do the Hopi consider it as such; indeed, they regard their proprietorship as proof that the country in which eagle-nests are situated is theirs, and have repeatedly urged me to so inform those engaged in surveying the boundaries of their reservation (Fewkes, 1900, pp. 693-700).

Fewkes goes on to describe the catching of eagles by men hidden in circular structures like short towers, on top of which is tied a piece of meat to lure the eagle to where the hidden man may clutch his leg. Such hunting, like that for antelope (some time since almost dropped in the Hopi area, says Fewkes, because of disappearance of antelope), and of rabbits, was accompanied by ceremonial rites beforehand (Op. cit., p. 702). The eagle "prayer stick" is the ovoid representation of the eagle egg, in wood painted with spots, deposited in several shrines. The best known is that near the old ruin of Turkinobi on East Mesa not far from the two pyramidal mounds above Sikyatki (Op. cit., p. 703).

Near the school of Dawapa (Sun Spring) below Walpi, is the eagle egg shrine where "eggs," stone and wood have been placed with prayers for increase of eagles. In the modern period, images of domestic animals are placed here for the same purpose (Op. cit., pp. 171-172, 175).

The birds are thought to be children of the clan because they come from clan-owned buttes; they are "dead Hopi who have returned to the village disguised as eagles." Capturing them today is commonly accomplished by taking eaglets from the nests - whose down is much needed in ceremonies - a feat requiring some daring in fending off the adult birds as well as in climbing to the nests. This system is used also at Zuni, Santo Domingo, Zia, Santa Ana, San Felipe, and Cochite pueblos, and by the Comanche, Havasupai, and some California tribes, and as far north as Thompson River. In contrast, the Navaho, the Unitah Utes, Jemez, and Taos, and tribes to the north and east on the Plains, use the pit trapping technique for eagle catching -- and this is the method used by the Hopi in the past, and to some extent today. A man hides in a circular tower build upon a high place. Upon the top, a frame of rods lashed together, is tied a rabbit. When - eventually - an eagle swoops down for the rabbit, the hunter reaches out and grasps the bird by the legs, something of a feat (Hough, 1919, p. 286; Fewkes, 1900, p. 700 701; Hough, 1915, pp. 170, 171). "At each (Hopi) hunt one eagle was liberated after a prayer stick had been tied to his thigh in the belief that the bird would carry the prayer to the mighty beings with whom he was supposed to be on familiar terms" (Hough, 1915, pp. 170, 171). The captured birds are tethered to a beam or are caged on top of the house in which the hunt leader or the clan mother lives. Clanswomen or the hunter wash the head of each eagle with gypsum and ceremonially name it with an appropriate clan name. (Washing the head always is involved in the ceremony of Hopi naming rites.) The bird is fed well on crushed meat each morning to make its feathers large and glossy. It is plucked and killed on the tenth day of the Niman ceremonies by pressure on its chest, without loss of blood, and the body is deposited in the eagle cemetery in a crevice of the mesa, with a few rocks placed above

the body (Beaglehole, 1936, pp. 20, 21, 24, 25). Eagle wing bones are made into whistles used in ceremonies to dedicate medicine and to imitate bird calls (Hough, 1918, pp. 295, 296). The albumen from eagle eggs was mixed with dry ground coloring matter for painting masks and other ceremonial items, a very important matter to these people. Eggs were not eaten (Fewkes in Parsons, 1922, p. 272).

Other birds, the feathers of which are needed, are taken in traps or snares so that no blood is shed (a taboo for use of creatures to be used in religious observances) and so that their plumage will be perfect. A series of nooses secured at intervals along slender rods are planted near springs where birds congregate and seeds are scattered. The birds become entangled in the nooses while feeding (Hough, 1918, p. 285). The constant demand for feathers of many different birds for ceremonial use necessitates much effort and skill in maintaining the supply (Hough, 1918, p. 286). Hawks' feathers formerly were used in feathering arrows (Op. cit., p. 288), and to obtain their feathers hawks were kept in captivity part of the year (Simmons, 1942, p. 12).

Birds mentioned as commonly needed for their feathers are the red flicker, yellow warbler, hawk, owl, turkey, and road runner (Nequatewa, 1946, pp. 15-16).

The turkey is sacred to the Hopi and its feathers must be included in all prayer offerings because, traditionally, this bird is associated with water. Turkeys were domesticated in prehistoric times and kept principally for their feathers, used ceremonially or in making feather blankets. They still are kept in the villages for the same purpose (Hough, 1915, p. 172; 1918, p. 286).

Parrot feathers are important for some katcina equipment. These birds once ranged as far north as Oak Creek, just south of Flagstaff (Hammond and Rey, 1929, p. 183), and have been reported from Sycamore Canyon, near Flagstaff, but apparently were killed off about 1900. Mexico is considered to have been a more common source for parrot and macaw feathers, by way of the trade routes (Dockstader, 1954, p. 111; Brand, 1938, pp. 3-10). Dyed feathers have in part replaced some of the old colored plumes so difficult to obtain today.

Turtles: Turtle shells are used as rattles by most or all of the katcina dancers, and small boys frequently receive such shells from the Katcinas on the days when they appear with gifts for the children, occasions which to some extent parallel Christmas. The turtles are obtained from a tributary of the Little Colorado River near Winslow, now dammed to form a water supply for that city. Prayer sticks are placed on a shrine in a narrow rock crevice with prayers for rain and for success of the turtle hunt (Beaglehole, 1936, p. 22). Fewkes described the Hopi gathering turtles at Homolovi (a ruin in the area above described by Beaglehole) in 1896:

> While we were at work on our excavations at Homolovi a small party of Hopi made a visit to the Chevlon and Clear Creeks to collect turtles for use in the sacred dance. They also made prayer offerings, which they placed in shrines, and carried back water for use in a katchina dance, the Calako (Sio,Zuni) which was performed in July at Sitcomovi (Sishomovi). These men made a pilgrimage of 80 miles to visit ancestral places of worship. The fact has a significance and is connected with early migration of cults. (Fewkes, 1896, p. 525.)

Hough mentions Clear Creek, near Winslow, as one of the streams from which holy water is brought to the Hopi villages (Hough, 1915, p. 177).

Large Game: The Hopi prefer to follow the larger game on foot (see Stephens, 1936, p. 277) but do use horses, as well, today.

There are ritual preparations for the hunt, and after the game has been brought home and the meat removed, the bones are cleaned and each bone marked along its length with a streak of red ochre. The eye sockets, jaws, and nose of the skull are similarly marked. Next day before sunrise, the bones are sprinkled with sacred meal and placed on a shrine close to the village with prayers for increase of the animal.

The use of an animal shute or pound in an antelope or deer drive is given by Beaglehole (Op. cit., p. 8) as a Navaho method of hunting, though occasionally used by First Mesa Hopi, who had learned it from the Navaho. Stephen, who knew the First Mesa Hopi very well from 1881 to 1894, believed this to be of Hopi background (at least not borrowed from the Navaho). (Stephen, 1936, p. 149.) He describes two types of Hopi hunts.

Hough states that the Hopi used the shute and drive method in ancient times and that its use later increased when these people acquired the horse and the metal axe (Hough, 1919, p. 285).

More commonly, however, the Hopi relied on surprise, speed, the bow and arrow, the throwing club (rabbit stick) and encircling the game (Hough, 1915, p. 173). Stephen, who knew the Hopi very well between 1881 and 1894, gives a description of both methods of hunting:

> Ma'kabono, the old style of hunting afoot when all the men of the village took part. They divided in two long deployed lines surrounding a wide scope of country and gradually converging. This method was employed as against deer, antelope, and rabbits.
>
> They also formerly made long tinchels or fences for the capture of antelope. The whole structure was very extensive and was called antelope house (chubki). A suitable

large mesa nook or other practical site was chosen and of an area say 600 feet by 300 feet. This was enclosed with a strong high stockade of tree boles and limbs, close, compact, and slightly overhanging inward, to prevent the antelope from jumping out. This stockade structure was usually in the form of an ellipse and at one end was left open, fifteen or twenty feet wide. This elliptic construction was called sheep house (kane'lkiadta).

From each side of this opening a brush fence, limbs in foliate piled close together, was built, gradually diverging in width as it extended from the sheep house. These two fences were called its wings (masha'adta) and were carried along for a good distance, 800 to 1000 yards. Beyond this distance, also gradually diverging, were laid piles of brush at short intervals and boughs and limbs were set in the ground here and there, and this open structure was extended several miles, ten or twelve or even more, usually, however, not more than four or five miles long.

A person spying a band of antelope grazing in the region of an antelope house would be careful not to alarm them, but hastening to the village would tell what he had seen. Eight young lads were then sent toward the antelope, the other villagers hastening to the antelope house. The eight approaching the band would seek for cover, striving to arrange so that four would crawl down an arroyo on either side of the band, deploying so as to leave three on either flank at a distance apart from one another, and the two in advance of the two lines having passed the antelope would approach each other, thus surrounding the band on three sides. All were provided with cedar bark and the fire-making board (pilanko), and the two at the far end of the antelope would start two smokes and imitate the cry of the wolf, starting the antelope from them. As soon as the antelope approached the other youths, they in turn started each a smoke and, yelping like wolves, tried to head the antelope in the direction of the wide spread antelope house wings. A few men were stationed at intervals far apart on the outside of the wings and kept the antelope in the desired course. The antelope running through the stockade, two men who had been stationed at the gate with piles of heavy brush wood, all ready, would instantly close the gate. The chief of the hunt and the other men were stationed outside the stockade and shot the antelope down. Of course they were not always successful. Some men with bad hearts might be at the stockade, or the Hunt chief may have been remiss in some of the hunt ceremonials. Then the antelope would refuse to go near the "house" or approaching it, if they smelled those evil persons, they would break away (Stephen, 1936, pp. 287, 279.)

Stephen described one of these "pounds," which he saw in 1893, on First Mesa:

> The wall built long ago across the narrow mesa neck southwest from Kiku chmo (on the mesa top two miles north of Tewa) was a hunt corral. Before the Navajo came to this region, or before they were numerous, game, especially antelope, were in abundance. A hunt being organized, antelope were driven down the mesa toward this wall in which was a wide gateway. After they had passed through, this was closed with pinon and juniper boughs and the whole length of the wall was stockaded with these boughs. The younger lads remained outside of the wall shaking their blankets to scare the game away from jumping the wall.
>
> The grown men went inside the wall and shot the game down or in the melee caused the antelope to leap over the cliffs and break their legs and necks. This same version was told me many years ago (Stephen, 1936, p. 149).

Capt. John G. Bourke, who saw much of the Indian country of Arizona and New Mexico in the 80's, described a similar antelope shute in Navaho country farther to the east. Later he called attention to a shute between Keams Canyon and the Hopi mesas, used by both tribes (a point which casts doubt on antelope shutes or corrals serving as indication of Navaho - or Hopi - exclusive occupation of an area):

> We saw another antelope corral similar to that already described; this was used by both Navahoes and Moquis, whose territorial possessions overlap in this vicinity (Bourke, 1884, p. 84).

The Hopi used buckskin for shirts, leggings, breech-clouts, bags, parts of masks, etc., some of this material being the product of their hunting and some obtained by trade with the Havasupai and others. Sinew, horn, and bone also found use in production of household articles (Dockstader, 1954, pp. 78, 108, 109, 112, 115, 119; Hough, 1919, pp. 242-245, 251; Fewkes in Parsons, 1922, p. 254, etc.).

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Mountain sheep were killed on occasion in the Grand Canyon area; their horns were pierced to serve as "wrenches" for straightening arrow shafts, for dippers, etc. (Hough, 1919, Pl. 46).

Small Game: The place of the antelope, once a favored animal with hunters but now scarce, has been taken largely by the rabbit. Rabbit hunting is done by the first method described by Stephen, in which two groups of men each start out in a wide circuit heading in opposite directions until it is felt they are far enough apart, when, at a signal, they approach each other, cross, and form a smaller loop. Repeating this, they cut the size of the circle within which the surrounded rabbits are enclosed. When the circle is small, the rabbits are killed by the boomerang-like rabbit sticks being thrown at them or by being clubbed with straight sticks (Tietiev, 1944, p. 188; Hough, 1918, p. 286). Coyotes were sometimes taken in the same fashion, though they, the fox, and other mammals usually were trapped by use of the deadfall (Tietiev, 1944, pp. 191-193; Hough, 1918, p. 286). Deer and antelope were hunted from horseback in a drive of similar type, but when pursued animals broke from the group, each man singled out an animal and went after it alone (Tietiev, Op.cit., p. 191).

The throwing club (rabbit stick) was thrown at rabbits and other small game to knock them off their feet, after which they were struck on the head. Prairie dogs sometimes were driven from their holes during rain storms by digging a small trench which directed the run-off into their holes (Hough, 1918, p. 285).

A more unusual method of taking rabbits involved digging a trench about three feet wide and from six to eight feet long and two deep,

on a rabbit trail. After the debris had been removed to some distance, a net was stretched over the trench and fastened at the side with pegs. Grass or other vegetation was spread thinly over the net to conceal it. The jackrabbit who jumps onto this net finds himself unable to hop off and so can be killed by the hunter (Nequatewa, 1946, p. 62).

In winter, men ran down rabbits in the snow, a good runner taking three or four jackrabbits in a day (Ibid.).

Cattle Raising: Hopi cattle, obtained - like the sheep - through the Spaniards, never have been as popular with them as sheep because of initial expense of the stock and the problem of their breaking into fields, destroying growing crops, and thereby causing trouble among the villagers (Tietiev, op cit., p. 194). Cattle did not become important in the Hopi area until the 19th century. In the late 1800's four Hopi owned large herds and established ranges and herding camps as far from the villages as Shonto Springs, Tolani Lakes, Ganado, and the Hopi Buttes, localities now deep within the regions used and thickly settled by Navahos. The Hopi do not attempt to herd their cattle, even today, but leave them roaming the range. If they drift onto Navaho sheep ranges or onto Navaho corn fields (Page, 1954, p. 9), the Hopi are not embarrassed because they consider the Navaho as recent invaders on their own ancestral lands.

Collecting and Gathering of Native Products

The Hopi, as Pueblos, are thought of as sedentary people, as indeed they are. But they are accustomed to moving with alacrity and to run when long distances are to be covered. This trait, sometimes not realized by outsiders, is brought to attention in the tale of a Hopi runner who - before transportation, phones, etc., were available between

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the villages and the outer world - left Oraibi with a note at 4 P.M. one afternoon and arrived in Winslow, 65 miles south, during the night. Next afternoon he returned to Oraibi with an answer to the note, a round trip of 130 miles, - and this Indian was not the best runner in Oraibi. Hough referred to one in that village who customarily took a morning practice run of 30 miles or so to get himself in trim for the dawn races in some of the ceremonies (Hough, 1915, pp. 108-109). Racing was a feature of many ceremonial occasions, but, aside from this specialized feature, all boys and girls were trained in running. Travel to specific areas for collecting and gathering food and other materials was a part of the annual round of life for both men and women.

Plants: Hough (1915, p. 6) noted the use of seeds of wild and tame plants: "Hopi women assiduously gather the seeds of grasses and other plants, which they grind up and add to cornmeal to improve the flavor of the bread, or, perhaps, a prized bread is made entirely of the ground seed of some desert plant. Oily seeds, such as those of the piñon, pumpkin, and melons are ground to form shortening in various cakes and to add richness to stews. Often food is colored with harmless vegetable dyes. . . Our tradition of spring lamb with mint sauce is duplicated by stewed rabbit with nanakapshi greens, which, with various other herbs, are put to appropriate use by the master of the Hopi culinary art."

He comments: "There are few Hopi who do not know the herbs and simples, and some are familiar with the plants that grow in the mountains and canyons, hundreds of miles from their villages. Even the children know many of the herbs. . . Many a time, as the legends tell, the people were kept from famine by the plants of the desert. . . . Perhaps all the

Hopi believe that the wild plants are most valuable for healing and religiou purposes, for the plants they use in medicine would stock a primitive drug store. Bunches of dried herbs, roots, etc., hang from the ceiling beams of every house. . . and, as occasion requires, are made into teas and powders for all sorts of ills" (Op. cit., pp. 57, 58).

Sumac twigs and rabbit brush are used by Third Mesa women in making wicker plaques, baskets, "paper bread," trays, and baby cradles; the rabbit brush grows nearby but the sumac is from the mountain valleys and cliff recesses (Op. cit., p. 92). Thin "checker mats" for use on the floor and, in the past, for wrapping the dead are made of yucca leaves or rushes. Roofs of houses are constructed by placing a layer of "rods or willow brush" across the heavy pine or cottonwood beams, on top of the brush is a layer of grass or small twigs, capped with clay.

Whiting's more recent list of wild plants obtained at a distance indicates something of the extent to which the Hopi moved out from their home villages for obtaining what they considered to be the necessities of life:

> Many plants are obtained from the higher altitudes in the general vicinity of the San Francisco Peaks, eighty miles to the southwest. These include pine for roofing timbers, oak and holly grape for tools and weapons, mountain mahogany for dyeing leather, tobacco for ceremonial purposes and beebalm for flavoring food. Beebalm, Douglas fir, and oak can be obtained in small quantities thirty or forty miles to the north of the Hopi villages and occasionally tobacco may be found on the desert. Mescal (Agave) however cannot be found in the Hopi country and must be obtained by trading with the Havasupai (Whiting, 1959, p. 49).

In discussing the Hopi in relation to their environment, Whiting summarizes the many plants, cultivated and wild, utilized by this Pueblo group: 40 cultivated plants, 10 semicultivated, 54 wild plants used for

food, 47 plants used in construction and in making implements and doing decorations, 65 medicinal plants, 37 ceremonial and magical plants, and 15 as plant symbols. Breaking down the category of wild plants used for food, he gives 5 used in preparing corn dishes, 10 as staple foods, 15 as spring greens, 8 as seasonings, 4 as beverages, 8 used as delicacies between meals, and 12 relied upon when crops fail. Under construction, implements and decoration, we find 3 used in making agricultural implements, 9 in construction, 3 in fire making, 6 as firewood, 14 in the pursuits of hunting and warfare, 8 in music, 24 in arts and crafts, and 14 in personal decoration. To supplement this list, Whiting explains:

> When we realize that there are little more than two hundred wild species of flowering plants in the vicinity of the Hopi villages, we marvel at the apparent thoroughness with which the Hopi utilize these limited resources. Actually less than a hundred wild plants are used in everyday life. This list is misleading for in addition to considerable duplications, it includes a number of plants obtained from outside the local flora. . . Although the plants which are not used in everyday life are numerous, the list of plants for which no use has been suggested either by the Hopi interviewed or in the literature, is surprisingly short (Op. cit., pp. 48, 49).

In looking into Whiting's list of wild plants brought into Hopi from some distance, we discover that most are of such fundamental use that tribal dependence upon them for centuries probably should be considered. For instance, sand grass, a reed-like grass growing in "a valley of the red cliffs area near the edge of the Painted Desert south of the Hopi towns" has several uses. A reed receptacle is made by fastening the reed stems together with fine spun cotton strings. It is usually about twenty-two inches wide and four and one-half feet long. It is used as a carrying case for a part of the wedding garments. Stephens describes,

"a reed mat which can be spread on the floor to pile the carded cotton upon, and may be rolled up as a scroll, wrapping up light unfinished fabrics" (Stephen, 1936, p. 626). Nowadays it can often be seen hanging on the wall covered with snapshots. Mindeleff (1891, p. 126) describes the use of this reed in the construction of a Second Mesa kiva in which it formed a primitive lathing which was covered with adobe plaster. Stephen reports a similar case in Oraibi (Stephen, 1936, p. 726). This grass also is used in making pahos (prayer stick ceremonial offerings set into shrines) and as decoration for the headpiece of the Jemez katcina mask, thought to have been introduced to Hopi by Jemez who spent some years with the Hopi during the general period of the Pueblo Rebellion (Whiting, 1959, p. 65). Reed mats of this type have been found in prehistoric sites in the Kayenta area, Aztec Ruins, Mesa Verde, Chaco, etc.

The bark of the mountain mahogany "Growing in higher altitudes at some distance from the reservation" is used in dyeing leather to a reddish brown color and the wood is made into the hard battons and combs used in weaving (Whiting, op. cit., p. 78). Bark from the Black Alder is required for use in the dye process. "The trees grow in Oak Creek Canyon and in the White Mountains where the Hopis must go to procure it. . . Only this one species of alder will do, for its inner bark is bright terracotta color." For a mordant the leaves of the juniper of any species or saltbush are burned to obtain the ashes (Kewancoytewa and Bartlett, 1946, p. 23). Beebalm which grows "especially in the higher altitudes, particularly along the road to Pinyon," though other species are used when available, ". . . is in great demand among the Hopi and the Hano Tewa (Robbins, et al., 1916) as a pot herb. It is gathered and dried in bundles for winter use."

Occasionally this plant is cultivated (Whiting, op. cit., p. 91). Wild tobacco is of two types. "The first species occurs commonly along roadsides in the higher altitudes of the transition zone, and both are found sparsely on the desert. It is said that tobacco is cultivated sporadically. Today native tobacco is smoked in pipes for ceremonial purposes only. Cornhusk cigarettes are reported by earlier writers. In general the smoke is associated with clouds and hence has power to bring rain. Smoke is also said to carry the prayers of the people to the gods. . . Tobacco is mixed with other plants for ceremonial and medicinal purposes." One phratry is named for this plant. A "sacred" tobacco (Onosmodium thurberi) occasionally found in the higher altitudes of the transition zone, is powdered and mixed with the native tobacco to make it more efficient in bringing rain (op. cit., p. 88). Aspen also is ritually smoked (op. cit., p. 71). The use of tobacco among the Pueblos is known to go back centuries. White fir, which grows on the higher slopes of the San Francisco Mountains (Op. cit., p. 62), also is used for ritual smoking in which the object is to make a cloud and thus to suggest, by imitative magic, that clouds bring rain to Hopi lands. A clan is named for this tree. A fern (Spleenwort) which is found "among rocks at higher levels away from the reservation" is soaked in water and the solution is painted onto prayer sticks to help bring rain (Op. cit., p. 99).

Bear grass, which is not found in the Hopi country but farther to the south, apparently is referred to when the Hopi speak of a "long leaved yucca," valuable for fiber (Op. cit., p. 70). It is important to all the more southern tribes. The Holly Grape is a shrub "growing at higher altitudes and in canyons a considerable distance from the Hopi villages." Its strong wood is used for tools, arrows, spindle shafts, and battens. It also is used medicinally (Op. cit., p. 76).

The sage used by the Hopi is "a shrub of rare occurrence. . . Seen only in a canyon near Winslow road south of the Hopi Reservation." It is much valued as a medicine. (Op. cit., p. 91.)

The broad leaf yucca, found "in the canyons and on mountain slopes south of the Hopi country" had three important uses. The fruits were baked in ovens and cherished for their sweet flavor. The leaves occasionally were (and are) used in basketry and the roots for soap (Op. cit., p. 71). The Century Plant or Agave also is used for food, the leaves and deformed buds being baked. "The stalk is said to have been used as a lance shaft in ancient times." A Hopi clan and a Hopi religious society are named for this plant, although it now reaches the Hopi through trade only (Op. cit., p. 71). Yucca leaf fiber was used for cordage.

Yellow pine, "the dominant tree in the regions of higher altitude," and usually brought to the Hopi towns from the San Francisco Mountains, is used for all kiva ladders and for large roof timbers. That this was so centuries back is indicated by tree ring dates obtained from specimens still being used in Hopi structures. "Pine needles are attached to prayer-sticks to bring cold." (Op. cit., p. 63.) Hough is incorrect (1919, p. 275) in stating that the pine was too distant to be available; but it was not used for small items. (See Hough, 1915, pp. 96, 97, for statement of actual use of pine beams from mountains by the Hopi.) Douglas fir, found on the high slopes of the San Francisco peaks and somewhat lower in certain canyons, is made into ruffs, arm bands, etc., for many ceremonies (Colton, 1959, p. 16). One clan is named for this tree. "The Hopi of the Second and Third Mesa obtain branches of this tree from the mountains near Pinyon, about thrity-five miles to the north" (Op. cit., p. 63). Oak of

several different species is procured in the mountain regions, "far to the north of the villages." The wood is used in making rabbit sticks, bows, digging sticks, clubs, weft battons, axe handles, and other utensils, including spurs (Hough, 1919, pp. 276, 287, Plate 22). A Hopi clan is named for the tree (Whiting, op. cit., p. 72). Arrows were made of oak shoots, sprouts of sumac, or wild currant (Hough, 1919, p. 288).

The piñon and juniper (cedar) were important to the Hopi. Hot piñon gum (pitch) was used for coating Hopi water jars to make them waterproof (Colton, Mary Russell, 1938, p. 10). Piñon and cedar were sometimes used for fuel in old days, though greasewood, sagebrush and corn stalks and cobs were more commonly used. Dried dung from the corrals was used for the same purpose when nothing else was available (Fewkes, in Parsons, 1922, p. 255). Roasted piñon nuts still are eaten as a delicacy (Nequatewa, 1954, p. 24) and in former times stores of them were cached in crypts in house walls to be kept as food for time of famine. Juniper berries were picked in winter, after frost-bite had made them sweet, and served with fresh piki (wafer bread). Juniper leaves were boiled to make a drink widely used for medicinal purposes, from colds to post-parturition cleansing.

Hough (1919, p. 275) notes that the only tree of general use in the vicinity is cottonwood (Populus monilifera), which grows along washes and near springs. This tree is the basis of the Hopi wood-working industry. Drums, feather boxes (for containing the feathers used in ceremonial paraphernalia), and other small objects are made from the wood. Cottonwood as well as pine was used for house beams (Hough, 1915, pp. 96, 97). The latter entailed "a journey of eighty or a hundred miles, requiring immense labor." Piñon grows at a somewhat less distance and sometimes is used

beams, etc., but its size makes it less useful than pine. Juniper is too crooked and brittle to serve for much but firewood, but its bark was shredded and used for the slowmatch, diaper pads, etc. Yucca flowering stalks and wands of the rhus (sumac) and willow were mentioned as among minor wood stuffs of some value (Hough, pp. 275, 276).

Cottonwood and its roots (some obtained from washes near the mesas but more from driftwood along the Little Colorado) are used in carving katcina dolls, parts of masks, animal figurines such as birds, prayer offerings, altar frames, lightning sticks, altar slats, etc. (Hough, 1919, p. 276; Colton, 1959, p. 9). Expeditions still are made to collect large supplies of the cottonwood roots from near Winslow. Colton estimates that between 500 and 1000 katcina dolls are made by the Hopi per year (Colton, 1959, pp. 10, 11), entailing a considerable consumption of wood. Before these became commercial articles, the number would have been lower, but making these images in numbers to give the children (for instruction as well as gifts) is old in Hopi tradition. Root collecting and turtle hunting expeditions to the Little Colorado sometimes are combined (Beaglehole, 1937, p. 56; Tietiev, 1944, p. 195; Thompson, 1944, p. 22). Logs were felled and cut into short lengths by means of fire as well as stone axes and hammer-mauls. The stone axe was used in pealing the logs. The stone rasp, the knife and saw of chert, and the drill and smoothing stones (mostly sandstone) were used. It is thought that the wedge was not known, but it is far from certain (Hough, 1919, p. 276).

As there is almost no timber or firewood near the Hopi mesas, to obtain fuel for cooking and certain types of wood for craft work frequent expeditions are made to the forests on Black Mesa, a day or more to the north.

Each year the men must go farther to secure adequate supplies. With wagons the men in the 1930's had to devote two days to each load, riding out some ten or fifteen miles to timber country and loading up the first day, and driving home slowly on the next. Usually five or six trips are made during the fall to ensure a sufficient supply for the winter. Beaglehole records trips made to Piñon on Black Mesa to obtain mountain oak wood for throwing sticks (Beaglehole, 1935, p. 20; 1937, p. 56).

In the past there was annual wood gathering in November when the men of First Mesa went with burros to a wooded mesa six miles north of the ruin of Sikyatki. When the men were expected to return, the Town Crier announced that the girls of the village, dressed in their best, should go to a shrine spring, Monwiba, on the trail where the men would appear. The priest-chiefs put prayer offerings on the trail and greeted the wood gatherers with a "thank you" as they appeared. Each girl presented her favorite boy friend with a little packet of corn meal mush as he passed. She then followed him up the trail. When all the wood gatherers had passed, each of the old men gathered a bundle of greasewood and carried it up the trail to the village on his back. Fewkes first witnessed this old wood-gathering procedure in 1900 (Fewkes, 1906, pp. 353-354).

Beaglehole mentions many of the wild plants listed by Whiting and adds a few others. Small household groups may go out on picnics to favorite gathering spots, for mesquite grass to serve as brooms, or for medicinal herbs. At times large numbers are called out by the crier chief to go out as a group gathering party. Wild mint grass is collected thus, also wild potatoes, and young leaves of pine, spruce, and aspen; these are mixed with tobacco for ceremonial smoking (Beaglehole, 1936, pp. 50-51).

Hough, in 1897, after noting the grass and the sumac twigs used in Second Mesa coiled basketry, the wild tobacco smoked on ceremonial occasions and the Jimpson weed (Datura metaloides) used, though very rarely, by the Hopi and much decried by the tribe as a whole, commented:

> It is true that the Hopi extend their environment by long journeys for various substances. Every berry patch for many miles around is known and visited; a journey of 200 miles or so for salt from the Grand Canyon, wild tobacco from the Little Colorado, water from Clear Creek (a tributary of the Little Colorado, near Winslow), or pine boughs from the San Francisco mountain, the home of the snow, is thought of little moment. . . The knowledge of the resources of a vast territory possessed by the Hopi is remarkable and the general familiarity with the names and use of plants and animals is surprising. Even small children were able to supply the names, corroborated later by adults.
>
> The ancient Hopi were apparently in nowise inferior to their descendants in these matters, as was proven by the excavations undertaken by our party last summer (Hough, 1897, pp. 35-36).

Nequatewa (1954, pp. 24-26) gives Hopi recipes for preparation and use of piñons, cedar berries, fruit of broad and narrow leaved yucca, currants, prickly pear, cholla cactus buds, tomatilla berries, tansy mustard, lambs quarters, wild onions, wild potatoes, fetid marigold, the giant dropseed and Indian millet which are ground into flour, the squaw-bush berries used for making a drink like lemonade.

Stone for Manfacture of Implements: The stone for the griddle on which piki, the staple corn wafer bread, is baked is quarried at "Duna, ten or fifteen miles south of Oraibi, or from a deposit of rock at Manakavi, which lies about twelve miles southwest of the village (Oraibi)" (Tietiev, 1944, p. 197). Only a certain type of stone may be used for this slab, as it must be able to stand the heat of a fire built directly beneath it, without cracking.

Salt:

> One of the products of the more widely extended environment that the Hopi gathers at regular intervals is salt. Formerly this was obtained from deposits in Marble Canyon, close to Grand Canyon. Prayer sticks were deposited at the shrines of the Salt Woman and the Twin War Gods near the Canyon and the men either suspended themselves with ropes from the rim of the Canyon and broke off stalactites of salt from the sides of the cliff or else clambered down to the floor of the Canyon by means of ropes, trees and a step ladder and obtained salt from the Canyon bottom. This salt was brown in color, a soft rock salt, easily ground down but when added to food it turned the latter a yellowish color. The Canyon deposits later became too difficult of access and salt today is obtained almost exclusively from the Salt lake forty-two miles south of Zuni, though Mishongnovi men on occasion used to obtain some salt from deposits on the wash southeast of the mesa (Beaglehole, 1937, p. 52).

The journey was considered dangerous because of the descent by yucca ropes into the narrow canyon, and because the Grand Canyon nearby is considered to be the home of the dead (Colton, 1946, p. 3). Moreover, in the old days, enemies might be encountered on this annual journey. Offerings are left at numerous shrines during the trip. (See description in section on Hopi shrines and Sacred Places, this chapter.) For description of salt deposit in Grand Cañon and of route to deposit, see Eiseman, 1959, and unpublished more detailed manuscript deposited with Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, Ariz.

Stephens (1936, p. 994) tells of the Hopi going to the salt lake south of Zuni for salt in 1887. Beaglehole (1937, pp. 52-55) describes the trip to the Zuni salt lake, collection of salt there, and the numerous rites considered essential, both before and after the salt gathering. Prayer plumes are set up in a shrine on the south side of the lake. Stevenson (The Zuni Indians, p. 357) notes that prior to 1902 the Hopi deposited prayer sticks in two circular-walled chambers built of blue clay similar to those used by the Zuni, but in a different section of the lake. Apparently Mexican salt gatherers had destroyed these chamber-shrines by this date (1902) (Beaglehole, 1937, footnote 5, p. 53). The trip is considered full of

peril not only because of natural dangers, but also because the Salt Woman may be malificent. Zuni, Laguna, Acoma, the Hopi - and the Navaho - all obtain salt from this lake and leave prayer offerings at shrines there (Ibid., pp. 52-55).

Pigments: Many dyes and pigments are obtained from wild plants and from clay deposits near the Hopi mesas, but considerable trips are made for some. (See discussion under "Coal, Clay and Pigments," in section on "Hopi Home Area.")

Chips of chert, chalcedony, and obsidian formerly served for cutting rawhide and tanned skins and anything else requiring a sharp edge (Hough, 1919, p. 280).

Quartz crystals were used as part of the ceremonial paraphernalia (Hough, 1919, p. 295).

Hopi Shrines and Sacred Places

The Hopi recognize about thirty-two major supernaturals or dieties, most of which are not impersonated or represented by carved "dolls."

The Hopi origin legend shows the marked similarity to the Zia, Laguna, and Acoma origin legends, basis of their religion. To this four-way parallel, we can add the fact that the Navaho origin legend is very like that of all these pueblos, though in some points, such as details concerning the Twin Heroes or War Gods, and the tales of their killing the Giant, the Monsters, etc., the Navaho are closer to the Laguna than to the Hopi.

The war gods are sons of the Sun [Oshats, the father, who "travels the sky every day, ending his trip in the kiva of the woman of the hard substances in the Pacific ocean" (Colton, 1947, p. 12)] and of the earth

mother, one of two sisters (sometimes one child from one sister, one from the other) created by Spider Woman. This earth mother [Hopi: Huru-ing wu-itti "thought of as an ugly old woman in daytime, beautiful young girl at night. Her home is a kiva in the Pacific Ocean." She is goddess of turquoise, shell ornaments, and wealth. (Colton, 1947, p. 12)] has the specific attributes of the Navaho Changing Woman, "goddess of hard substance," one of the two wives of the Sun, the other wife being the other of the sisters. Changing Woman, growing old but renewing herself, represents the changing seasons, spring, fertility, etc. In one manifestation she apparently also is Salt Woman, "Woman of the Hard Substance," associated with salt water of the ocean, salt lakes, salt deposits, etc.

The Moon (Ibid.) also is of high rank among Hopi, Keres, Navaho, etc. The Hopi and Keresan Gods of the World Quarters, the six cardinal directions (our four plus Up and Down) are warriors. There are many animal spirit supernaturals. And then there are the katcina, some of whom are rain spirits and some animals or other spirits. The Hopi also recognize a God of the Gamblers (Op. cit., p. 15), a shaggy haired old man who lives in the underworld but used to mingle with the people and play tricks on them. He parallels the Keresan Gambler, apparently the prototype for the Gambler of the Navaho legend. The elderly Salt Woman (Op. cit., p. 13), for Keres, Hopi, Zuni, and Navaho, lives in the salt lake forty miles south of Zuni, where all of these groups formerly obtained salt.

Several shrines have been erected to various of the supernaturals, Sky and Sun dieties and "such earth beings as Spider Woman, Tuwapontumsi, Muyinwu, and Masauu" (Fewkes, 1906, p. 350). There are also shrines to the war gods, shrines at springs, (Water Serpent), shrines to the katcinas, and shrines at certain animal "homes."

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The shrines vary in form and construction. A spot where a sacred image is permanently kept is a shrine, but so may be a natural cleft in the side of a boulder or cliff because it is thought of as a symbol of some supernatural personage. One of the most common types of Hopi Pueblo shrines consists of a ring or pile of stones placed to form an enclosure (usually with a large rock at the back) for reception of offerings. If a shrine is abandoned because too difficult or dangerous of access (as when predatory tribes raided too near) a new shrine is built to hold images (though not found in all shrines), but the old still is regarded with reverence and offerings are placed there on special occasions. Shrines commonly contain concretions and stones of unusual shape or color as offerings, as well as the frequently prepared "prayer plumes" or "prayer sticks" known to the Hopi as "pahos" of various styles, which are made by leaders or members of the many religious societies in connection with their specific ceremonies (Fewkes, 1906, p. 350). Small, and sometimes larger, vessels also are placed at some shrines.

Some shrines, as well as springs and kivas, are regarded as practically symbols of entrance to the underworld realm of the dead and spirits (Fewkes, op. cit., p. 374).

All shrines are not of what might be termed permanent construction. Fewkes describes "World Quarter Shrines":

> In certain of the great Hopi festivals, as the Snake dance and the Flute ceremony, but more especially in the former, it is customary for the priest to deposit prayer sticks for rain in temporary shrines situated in the four cardinal directions from the pueblo. These sticks are made for seven consecutive days, their length each day being less than on the preceding day. The shrines in which the offerings are placed are situated at distances also diminishing day by day from the maximum, -- about five miles. On the last day prayer sticks no

> longer than the first joint of the finger are placed on the four sides of the entrance to the room in which the offerings are manufactured. These temporary world quarter shrines and the offerings placed in them are located at constantly diminishing intervals in order to call the Rain gods from their distant homes to the pueblo (Fewkes, 1906, p. 361).

These shrines would, as described, be within a five mile range of the mesas. At the close of the snake dance the long black prayer sticks (and one snake apiece) are deposited in four shrines located at the base of the mesa and named for the world quarters. Pictographs of snakes are to be found on boulders close to some of these shrines.

The Hopi recognize over two hundred katcinas. Some are very old, but new ones may be invented from time to time to represent the spirit of animals or peoples not previously represented and one, the Cross-legged Katcina, is explained as representing the spirit of a very kind Mishongnovi man who died some 70 years ago (Colton, "What is a Kachina?", in Hopi Customs, Folklore, and Ceremonies, MNA Reprint Series, No. 4, 1954, pp. 14, 15; originally in Plateau 19:3, 47). The first katcina who appeared to the people was Chaveyo, said to have been seen accidentally near the San Francisco Peaks by some Second Mesa men, and later located in a kiva there upon the mountain. The people were told by the katcina that his group was made up of immortal spirits who lived in kivas here and there, each kiva having a little hole (sipapu) leading down into the Underworld. Each of the animal spirits had his little kiva in the earth, as well, where he rested in human form between excursions onto the earth in animal form. This is why the Hopi (and other Pueblos) pray forgiveness for killing animals necessary to their use, carefully explain their need, and ceremoniously make offerings to the killed animal and, for many, place the skull on a certain shrine or in the forest, returning it to nature (Nequatewa, 1936, p. 61).

Chaveyo and other similar spirits came to Hopi and taught the people the katcina cult and ceremonies, especially designed to bring rain. Some time later, when the people failed to show sufficient respect for the katcinas, they no longer came and the people learned to make masks and go through the ceremonies themselves, offering prayer plumes so that the supernaturals would give them aid (Nequatewa, 1948, pp. 18-20). Most of the Hopi katcinas are considered to live on the San Francisco Peaks, from where they come in the spring at the beginning of the planting season (February-March) to spend the summer among the Hopi, and returning to the mountains after the Niman Katcina or Home Dance, at the end of the growing season. The San Francisco Peaks contain shrines (devotional places) and are sacred as the home of the katcina, as well as being one of the markers of Hopi domain. A fetish image of these peaks is made in pottery for the altar equipment of one of the Hopi religious societies.

There are also shrines to others of the supernaturals and shrines to the spirits of various things in nature, the prayer offerings at these shrines being in the nature of combined thanks for the benefits rendered by that natural object (ex. - all springs), and a plea that the object continue to replenish itself and permit man to use that replenishment. Some shrines belong to certain clans or religious societies, others to certain villages, and some to all of the Hopi.

Hough describes numerous shrines which "abound near each pueblo and are likely to be happened upon in out-of-the-way places among the rocks where the offerings are scattered about" (Hough, 1915, p. 175). Where one of the earlier Walpi villages once stood at the point of the Mesa are several shrines, one being that to which the katcinas go after ceremonies to deposit the wreaths of pine they have brought from the San Francisco mountains and to make offerings of sacred meal and food.

Numerous other shrines are located on the mesas and in the center of the main plaza of each village is a stone box with stone slab to cover its eastern opening. This is the central shrine, carefully closed when not in use. Each field has a shrine where prayer sticks are placed from time to time.

The sacred equipment of Hopi religious societies is kept in crevices just below the upper edge of the mesa and any spot containing such equipment is considered to be more or less sacred. "Other holy places, most of them ruins of abandoned towns, are visited at times by this people, who cheerfully make long journeys to mountains and running streams for sacred water, pine boughs, or herbs. They carry with them feather prayer-sticks and sacred meal as offerings to the gods of the place" (Hough, 1915, pp. 176, 177).

Tietiev mentions a shrine located in a prehistoric ruin (NA 2418) on Second Mesa (Tietiev, 1938, pp. 40, 41), a shrine near Mongyavi (Porcupine Peak), a prominent rock on the mesa east of Oraibi (Ibid., p. 41), and one in the range of hills on Black Mesa northeast of Pinyon (Ibid., p. 42).

Fewkes speaks of old shrines near Awatobi, one being near a ruin to the west of the main pueblo, not far from the sand hill burial place. Another was at the extreme west end of Awatobi mesa among the foothills; this shows recent as well as past use. There also is a shrine of Alosaka 50 feet below the old ruin at the most precipitous point of the mesa (Fewkes, 1893, p. 384; 1906, pp. 347-348).

Parsons comments on a series of spots pointed out to her as on the route

> followed by the Patki clan when 'after the children had had a hard time with mosquitos' the clan came up from Momolovi in the south, seeking Sihtakwi (Hopi). As Crow-wing and I travelled over this route, from the First Mesa to Winslow, a spring the Patki clan claimed a few

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> miles from the First Mesa was pointed out; also a ruin, Pakotsumo, Little Hill, about four miles to the south. Several miles further on there was a circle of black stones. Men passing by always pick something and throw it from them as the women throw baskets in the Lalakun ceremony where black stones are set in a circle in their dance (Parsons, 1933, p. 35).

These all were shrine spots, and the circle of stones is but one of the many found here and there in the Hopi country, Navaho area, and elsewhere in the Southwest, where the idea of putting a stone or a twig on the pile for good luck is widespread.

Hough speaks of a heap of small stones which make up the shrine of Masauu(h), god of earth, death, and fire. "No orthodox Hopi would dare to omit throwing a stone accompanied with a prayer to Masauuh, of whom all speak in fear and with bated breath. For a good reason, then, many shrines to this god may be seen in Hopiland, as it is necessary to appease this avenging being" (Hough, 1915, p. 176). Fewkes mentions such stone piles (Fewkes, 1906, p. 354) and adds that stones similarly are deposited in natural crevices of boulders or cliffs.

The shrines at or near abandoned villages are considered to still belong to the people, or the specific clan, which formerly occupied that village and built or used the shrine. Fewkes points out the identification of the use-group for such shrines as a method of checking on clan legends claiming former occupation of certain ruins and recalls, as example, the fact that when the sacred images of the Alosaka, earth mother, were removed by someone from the old shrine near Awatobi and taken to Thomas V. Keam's trading post to be offered for sale, the post was at once visited by almost the entire population of Mishongnovi, descendants of Awatobi clans, begging for the images. He gave them to their priests. Several Awatobi springs and

shrines were being used ceremonially by certain clans living at Hopi who claimed them through their ancestors (Fewkes, 1906, pp. 347-348).

The same is true for sites at much greater distance:

> Even remote ruins like Homolobi, Kicuba, and Lenyanobi are still regarded as the property of the clans that once inhabited them, and their old shrines and springs still figure in the ceremonials of those clans.
>
> Another instance of the verification of a clan migration by ownership and position of a sacred spring is suggested by Sisibi, near the Noki buttes. This spring lies on the trail taken by the Southern people of Walpi in their migration to that pueblo from Homolobi. It is visited annually by the chief of the Kwakwantu, a warrior priesthood of Southern clans, for sacred water used in the New Fire ceremony.
>
> Several clans are said to have migrated separately or together from Homolobi, northward to Walpi. Among these were the cloud, Lizard, Tobacco, Rabbit, and possibly the Young Corn. The Flute, Sun, Squash, and others had preceded them in this migration. When some of the clans came to a place called Kokopelti a short time before they reached the Moqui buttes, the Young Corn separated from the others and then or a little later the Tobacco and possibly the Lizard went to Awatobi. The remainder continued their journey to a pueblo called Pakatcomo, later to Tawapa, and ultimately joined the Walpians. After the destruction of Awatobi the Tobacco peoples were united with their former kindred in Walpi (Fewkes, op. cit., p. 348).

Some shrines are given the name of pueblos, now ruins, formerly occupied by ancestors of those who now recall that pueblo by the shrine set up nearer to the present villages. Kivas sometimes are similarly named. An example is the Pakatcomo kiva (since re-named Mon kiva) named from the ruin of that name where the Patki people once lived. Fewkes notes that there formerly was a kiva on First Mesa known as Homolobi for the same reason (Fewkes, 1906, p. 367, fn. 1). This is good evidence of the conviction of these people that the ruins from which the names are duplicated once were their homes. Water from sacred springs, especially those associated with early migrations, is considered most efficacious in

"medicine-making." Water from traditional springs also is used otherwise in ceremonies and prayer offerings are left at these spring shrines when water is taken (Op. cit., pp. 370, 371).

Tietiev's account (Tietiev, 1937, pp. 244-255) of the salt trip made by Don Telayesva and two older men in 1912 brings out not only the importance of this journey but also the many shrines located on the route to this deposit in Salt Canyon, a branch of the Grand Canyon. After some personal ceremonial preparations, the men went from the Hopi mesas to Moenkopi, where they found several others making prayer-feathers to be placed at a spot not far from the salt deposit, from which yellowish clay was to be obtained and brought back to them. This clay deposit, is considered to be the sipapu from which the Hopi came out from the underworld and every man in the Soyal ceremony must have a supply of the clay.

The men traveled with burros. A short distance out of Moenkopi the men left offerings opposite a sacred spring and later when they passed another, and when they reached the first of several salt shrines said to have been established by the Twin War Gods, and near which the Hopi used to hunt. From here they went to a shrine known as Tutuveni (Writing), identified by Colton as Willow or Oakley Springs (Colton, 1946, p. 3), where they stopped and each man carved or pecked his clan symbol onto the face of a large sandstone boulder. This is his signature, and the rows of clan symbols testify to past trips. The boulder is a shrine and prayer plumes are left with the signatures.

The next stop was at Totolospi, a shrine where each member of a salt party must "play a game" with the Twin War Gods, and win, so that a successful journey, rain, crops, and good health may be enjoyed. Offerings are left. From here they went to the shrine of the Salt Woman,

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went through a brief ceremony, left offerings, and went a short distance farther to camp for the night. They rose early next morning and soon began the descent into Salt Canyon. Offerings were left at two jagged rocks considered to represent images of the Twin War Gods. They passed "Broad Cliff" the special home of the dead from the Reed (Pakab or Bakab) clan, passed the shrine known as Fur Carvings and left offerings, and onto a shrine known as Mountain-sheep Upper Story, said to be the home of mountain sheep, where they saw fresh tracks and droppings. Offerings were left. The next spot named was marked with a flourishing growth of agave, and here the Havasupai and possibly Paiute formerly came to gather the agave and prepare it for food. Next they left offerings at a stone considered to be "home of chickens," and then reached a "hollowed out-cave-like spot," where the God of Death was said to live. One man of the warrior society or of one of the clans closely affiliated with war must enter this cave on each trip to deposit feathers and corn meal and look for favorable signs predicting good or bad harvest. The next "home" is that of the Koyemci (sacred clowns) where prayer offerings are left. The stream is followed toward its junction with the Colorado. At spots known as "Blue Salt" and "Brown Salt," salt of those colors is obtainable but is not collected because it is considered not to have the flavor of that in the main deposit. Offerings are left, however.

From here it is not far to the "original sipapu" at "the Kiva," a spot outlined by soft damp earth where bushes grow. From these bushes stems are taken to serve as firedrills in making new fire for the Wuwutcim ceremony in November. The water in the "sipapu" boils when one shouts, as if in response. Clouds come out from this sipapu to go to the east (Hopi) to the most worthy people who summon them. A small ceremony is done here

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and the yellow clay is gathered nearby. For each handful removed, a prayer feather was deposited. The men were very tired by the time they reached the point where the Little Colorado merged with the Colorado, but after a small lunch and sip of the river water, considered sacred, they went on to where they must make the final difficult descent by sliding down a rope which they attached to a boulder supposed to be an image of the Elder War God. Below is a natural rock basin which receives a constant drip of salty water, from which the sacred salt must be tasted and rubbed over oneself. Little images may be made of dough and deposited on the natural stone bowl to be left for a year, when they will be retrieved as "stone pets" covered with a hard deposit. An important shrine (the home), of the Kwan society, is in a cave nearby. After offerings are deposited, the party is finally ready to collect salt. No offerings were deposited on the return trip, but those previously left were examined to see whether they had been well received by the supernaturals.

From Stephen's Appendix 5: Place Names and References (Stephen, 1936, pp. 1152-1169) and Fewkes partial list (Fewkes, 1906, pp. 351-375), one can make a list of the Hopi shrines and sacred spots where ceremonials are conducted or material for such is obtained, though both lists pertain only to First or East Mesa. The list gives something of the extent of area considered by these people to comprise their special sphere, what Hough calls their "earth center." Fewkes gives sixteen other shrine springs without stating location, and Stephen names many other shrine spots on the mesas or inside the pueblos, which we have not set down. Sites marked in our lists as "shrine, etc." are those where ceremonial affairs other than the deposit of prayer offerings occur.

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Hopi Shrines (apart from those in the villages) of First Mesa

(Stephen, Hopi Journal, Pt. II, Appendix 5: Place Names and References, pp. 1152-1169; Fewkes, "Hopi Shrines Near the East Mesa", Am. Anth., Vol. 8, 1906, pp. 346-375. Pages listed, without other reference, and maps, are from Stephen.)

1. Altutushkya, Horn shrine - below southwest point of First Mesa. (1153)

2. Amuba - spring on east side of First Mesa. (1153) (Fewkes, Amipa; 1906, p. 372.)

2b. Atutuskia - to right of road in foothills east of First Mesa. (Fewkes, 1906, p. 366.)

3. Bolíki - Butterfly House, shrine on oval mound on extreme southwest of First Mesa near Snake Shrine and Niman katcina shrine; Wind shrine is beyond. 1/2 mile from Tuwanashabi. See Maps 1, 4, 6. (1153)

4. Bonsikya or Rush Canyon, part of Keams Canyon, 10-12 miles east of First Mesa, spring here is associated with Cedarwood clan, one of the localities farthest away from First Mesa to be planted. (Others are Wipho, 4-5 miles north of Walpi, and Sheep Spring, 2 1/2 miles north of Walpi. (Map 7) (1153)

5. Spring in Cataract Canyon area but slightly east of it, where Hopi go to obtain yellow pigment, also clay and reed to be used in a kiva ceremony. (1154)

6. Chai yumpakiwu' ta (where the War Gods turned two children to stone) at northeast side of First Mesa. (1154)

7. Chuaki - Snake shrine, southwest shrine, at butte beyond Butterfly shrine. (1154)

8. Chubmo - Rock mass east side of West Valley southwest from Wipho 1/3 distance from Sheep Spring to Wihpo, Snake, Antelope, and Flute racers start from here. (See map 7) (1154)

9. Grand Canyon of the Colorado (near Cataract Creek) (Pisisvaiyu) - Sipapu or the emergence, near salt deposits and bubbling spring where yellow ochre is obtained. (1154-1155)

10. Halakabuki, Whirlwind House - shrine in crevice or sand dunes, southeast of Butterfly shrine. (1155)

11. Hao'a - a shrine on cliff on east side, just under Awatobi.

12. Hazrütüwa - a knoll in foothills close to base of mesa east from Walpi, supplying sand for ritual bean planting. (1155)

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13. Hocho'koba, Hostho'ditho (Juniper spring) - in East valley north of Sikyatki. Salty clay is found here and prayer sticks are deposited. This clay is used in flavoring foods. (1155)

14. Homolobi - home of Patki clan on Little Colorado; also name of site of an old kiva at east base of First Mesa, which belonged to Patki clan and was named after their old home. (1155)

15. Hopok paho'ki - northeast shrine. (Map 3), (1155)

16. Huchiovi (The Break) - the narrow neck on northeast end of Walpi, shrine location, etc. (1156) (See also Fewkes, 1906, pp. 365-366.)

17. Hukyatuwi (Wind Terrace) - mesa in the eastern range. (Maps 8, 9) at base of which "moisture moon" prayer sticks are made. (1156)

18. Hutchimopa - small spring in plain below Walpi (Fewkes, 1906, p. 372).

19. Íspa or Ísba (Coyote Spring) - a major spring shrine east of Tewa, southwest from high yellow foothills; rituals performed here, etc. (1156) (Map 3) (See also Fewkes, 1906, pp. 353, 371.)

20. Kaha tniopi, Kaibitho (Tit Butte) - spring in buttes south of First Mesa. (1156)

21. Kahabipa - Comar Spring. (Fewkes, 1906, p. 371)

22. Kanelba (Sheep Spring) - 2 1/2 or three miles from Walpi on north side of First Mesa. Shrine, etc. (1156)

23. Katcinaki - katcina shrine, a shallow cave almost under Sichomovi on side of mesa. (See Fewkes, 1906, p. 357.)

24. Kautaktipu (Corn Burned Ruin) - in foothills in West valley, a village claimed to have been Hopi but destroyed by Utes and Navahos banded together. Red ochre found here. Gardens tilled as late as early 1800's. (1157)

25. Kishyuba - mountain spring of the katcina 30 miles northwest of Walpi on Black Mesa. Shrine, etc. Ritual water, spruce, white clay. Badger clan sipapu (important ceremonial entrance to underworld), here. (1158)

26. Kókyañba - Spider spring, west side under Tewa village, shrine. (1158)

27. Kowa'waimovi - shrine, etc. on ledge under Dawn cape, east face of cliff, 100 feet below summit, about half way between Dawn cape and Sochomovi. (1159)

28. Kuchaptuvela - former Walpi site on southwest terrace below Walpi on west side, opposite highest southwest point of First Mesa. (Map 1) (1159)

29. Kwahabiobi - spring near 19b or between it and Hopi Buttes (Fewkes, 1906, p. 372).

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30. Kwaka'tive - spring for ritual water in east foothills, First Mesa, 3/4 mile from Gap. (1159)

31. Kwa'wa'ba - Sweet spring, 2 1/2 miles southeast from Gap in sand hills; shrine, etc. (1159)

32. Kwapaho'ki - Eagle or Eagle egg shrine, Map 3, on north side of hill known as Tukinobi midway between twin mounts of Wala and Kukutcomo. Nearby is former settlement of Spider clan or Bear people, very old. (See Fewkes, 1906, p. 360.) (1159)

33. Kwa'shtapabi - spring shrine on mesa west side of east mesa, about five miles north of Tewa. Provides ritual water. Horn clan claims to have lived here for a while after coming from northeast and before settling at Hopi, says Stephen. Fewkes gives it as former home of Flute clans. (1159) (Fewkes, 1906, p. 371)

34. Kwuaohki - shrine at Kuya oki, Map 7. (1160)

35. Lakon'abva - bubbling spring shrine of Lalakon society, west of San Francisco Mountains and near them,home of Hail and other angry katcina. (1160)

36. Le'lentikihu - Flute dance house a mile from Kwáshtapobi. (1160)

37. Masau'ki, Ma'skí - Masau houses or shrines at Red cape, also northwest shrine or cairn. (See also Fewkes, 1906, p. 353.) (1160)

38. Moñ wiva - Chief spring in east foothills north of Gap 1/2 mile on east side. Ritual and other water taken from here. Dedicated to Hano Plumed Serpent. (1160) (See also Fewkes, 1906, pp. 353-354, 372.)

39. Nakopan - a shrine pictograph about 2 miles north of old Sikyatki (Fewkes, 1906, pp. 363-364), War god shrine. Says Fewkes, "Near this pictograph two Hopi men were killed by the Navaho in comparatively recent times."

40. Navochiyupi - exorcising place on west side of Dawn cape. (1161)

41. Niman katcina shrine near Butterfly shrine. (1161)

42. Numupa - spring at entrance to Keams Canyon. (Fewkes, 1906, p. 373)

43. Nuva tikyou - San Francisco Mts. - certain katcina live here, sipapu to underworld for katcina. Some Hopi used to live here and a monster eagle devoured their children. (This is same as Navaho legend.) (1161)

44. Palatuyuka - Red cape, southeast point of First Mesa. Eagle graves here, shrine below. (1162)

45. Pamyuka - spring on west side of Second Mesa, shrine. (1162)

46. Patni (Water Jar) - Shrine for Niman katcina at extreme southwest point of First Mesa. Map 6. (1162)

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47. Pisaba, Lenaba, Tetuiba, and Tcubpa - springs near Old Awatobi. (Fewkes, 1906, p. 373)

48. Puhtabnwu - shrine northeast of the Break. (1163)

49. Puhuba - spring shrine on west side of West Valley opposite Tewa. (1163)

50. Pupshe - shrine 4 miles from First Mesa in northeastern range. Various ritual material from here. Sun shrine is east from here. (1163)

51. Puukonki - War god shrine below Red cape. (1164)

52. Shoyalki - shrine rock below southwest point of First Mesa. (1164)

53. Shushtuban tukwi - the southwesternmost mountain, 15 to 20 miles from Walpi, southwest of Kaibito. Novices at Wuwuchum taken there. Red ochre collected in nearby hills. Maps 8, 9. (1164)

54. Sichomovi shrine, northeast of pueblo near cliff edge. (1164)

55. Sikya'o'chomo - Yellow Rock mound. Ruins here south of Coyote spring, formerly briefly occupied by Tewa but not built by them. (1164) Shrine. (See also Fewkes, 1906, p. 358.)

56. Sikyatkwe - Kokop clan shrine at Sikyatki ruin 2 miles north of Gap. The old spring of Sikyatki pueblo.

57. Sipi - spring near Hopi Butte where Patki and other southern people--- stopped on way north from Homolovi or other settlements along Little Colorado. Used by Kwakwantu society for initiation. Water taken for their other ceremonies. This is a society from the south. (Fewkes, 1906, p. 372.)

58. Soyokwuhtiki - shrine on broad terrace under the Break. (1165)

59. Sowinakabu - Rabbit ear shrine just below terrace at side of trail from Walpi to Tawapa. (Fewkes, 1906, p. 369)

60. Suvwiptuyuka - fourth cape or terrace of the southeast point below Walpi, with burials and Apache scalps in crevices. (1165)

61. Tahóki - snake shrine at rock below southwest point of First Mesa. (1165)

62. Tala tumsi kihu - shrine of Earth or Dawn woman in rocks southeast of and below Walpi. (1165) (See Fewkes, 1906, pp. 35, 352.)

63. Tiwapontunsi - shrine of Earth Woman near ruin of Kisakobi (Old Walpi). Offerings over entire ruin at solstice ceremony. (See Fewkes, 1906, p. 352.)

64. Dawn cliff or cape - northeast corner of rock stratum halfway between Sichomovi and Walpi. Shrine and ceremonial spot.

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65. Tatacpa - spring near coffin-shaped butte southeast of Walpi. (Fewkes, 1906, p. 373)

66. Tawakiata - sun shrine at Sichomovi east of Pupshe. (1166)

67. Tawapa - Sun spring in foothills 1/2 mile east of Walpi where Patki people coming up from south demonstrated their ceremonies to Walpi people to prove what they could contribute if permitted to join the pueblo. Lakone and Kwankwanu shrines and ritual center. Home of Plumed Serpent of Walpi. To right of road to Towapa is shrine of the Koyenshi clown supernaturals, a cult brought to Hopi from the south, probably one of ruins on Little Colorado. Zuni may have obtained their cult from same source. (1166) (Fewkes, 1906, pp. 365, 372.)

68. Tihkuyi - shrine. Map 5. (1166)

69. Tihkuyiki - shrine below Sakaovi. Maps 1, 5, 6. (1166)

70. Tovovepa - shrine spring at entrance to Keams Canyon. (Fewkes, 1906, p. 373)

71. Toko'nabi - Navaho Mountain associated with Snake clan, bounds their eagle territory, ancient kivas of Snake and Antelope societies here, early home of this group of Hopi. Snake, Sand, Laguna, and Akokabi clans all from here, and Puma and Dove clans lived here. (1166)

72. Tohkuku - animal footprint shrine on trail from Wala to the two mounds of Kukutcomo. (See Fewkes, 1906, pp. 359-360.)

73. Toho - a pictograph representing outline of a mountain lion several feet long, on terrace below Sichomovi. Offerings are placed in a depression representing the heart and at base of the rock. (Fewkes, 1906, p. 364)

74. Tukinovi - Spider Woman shrines on large natural mound 3/4 mile north of Tewa. Also a cave where images of Plumed Serpents used in ceremonials formerly kept. (1167) (See Fewkes, 1906, p. 355.)

75. Tuma - beyond Hukyatuwi in northeastern range, source of white pigment for katcina, home of Antelope supernatural. (1167)

76. Tuveskya - spring shrine on west side of First Mesa. (1167)

77. Tuwu bontumsiki - shrine southeast of early site of Walpi. (1167)

78. Tuwanashabi - "Sand Center" - shrine on edge of southwest sand dunes 1/2 mile south from Walpi. This shrine bears name of traditional ancestral Walpi pueblo west of Oraibi. The shrine is to a sky supernatural similar to that of Christian concept and prayer offerings at this shrine sometimes are spoken of to white as "Jesus pahos." (1167) (Fewkes, 1906, p. 367)

79. Ushtuikabi - spring shrine in valley southeast of First Mesa. (1167)

80. Wala - The Gap, the great break in First Mesa north of Tewa. Shrine, etc. (1168) (See also Fewkes, 1906, p. 359.)

81. Wĩnava - Standing Water, spring shrine beyond Sikyatki in east valley. (1168)

82. Wipho - 5 springs in west valley about 3 miles north of Walpi, shrine, peach orchards, cotton growing, etc. Only a short distance north of Kanelba. Ruins of houses and terraced gardens. (1168) (See Fewkes, 1906, p. 371.)

83. Yovotki - Scalp house shrine, crevice on 4th terrace of southwest point of First Mesa. (1169)

84. Wĩnpa - dry spring a few miles north of Sikyatki near ruin once occupied by the katcina people. Shrine. (Fewkes, 1906, p. 371.)

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