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BY

J. WALTER FEWKES

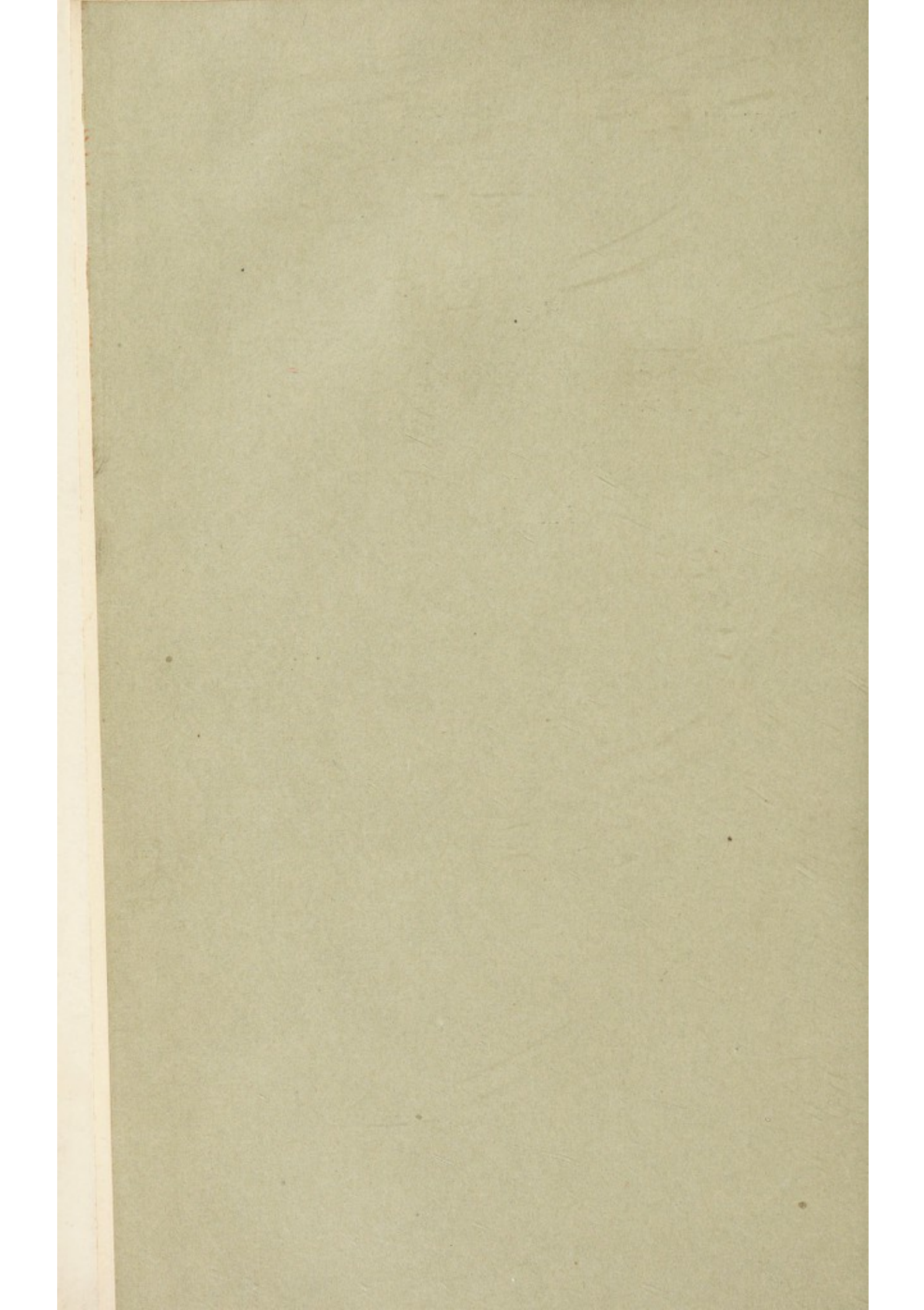
Chief, Bureau of American Ethnology

FROM THE SMITHSONIAN REPORT FOR 1918, PAGES 493-526
(WITH 11 PLATES)



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So far as can be judged from ceremonies, the Hopi religion, so called, is materialistic, and the object of the rites is to secure food and material blessings. There may be another and deeper meaning, but this is of no concern at this time; the object of this article is to discuss their sun worship from an exoteric point of view.

The Hopi are an agricultural people, their main food supply being maize, or Indian corn. The rain, snow, and hail which water the earth fall from the sky; without moisture the corn withers and yields no harvest. The power that causes rain to fall is elemental and regarded as supernatural.

The seed corn must be planted, for it does not grow save in the earth. There is a power in the earth that makes corn sprout, but this power is connected with that of the sky. In other words, there are two cosmic agencies that appeal to the farmers—the sky and the earth. These are magic powers to which are assigned sex, male and female, and the Indian, knowing that to a union of sexes he owes the birth of his own life, ascribes the origin of all life to the same powers.

The essential necessities in the life of an agricultural people are that the sun may warm their farms and the rain may adequately moisten them; that seeds committed to the earth may sprout and grow until the harvest. Maize being the national food of the aboriginal inhabitants of Hopiland, their life depending on the success of their crop of corn, it was early recognized by these people that the force which fertilized and watered the growing corn was the sky. These powers were not understood; each was a mystery; imagination conventionalized them and made them supernatural. It would certainly be logical to ascribe growth and fructification of crops to rain, since when water failed the growing plants withered and yielded no harvest. The heat of the sun was naturally associated with fructification, for the seed buried in the earth would not grow without a warm earth, and the sun warmed the earth. What more natural than to suppose that the analogy of the birth of life from male and female elements existed in all nature, and to associate sex with these

two great magic powers of nature—the sun with the male and the earth with the female element. With this fundamental idea firmly fixed in the human mind, in time myths would cluster about these conceptions; the imagination through poetry would define them objectively until science should lead to rational explanations. When once symbolized or conventionalized they became more and more complicated and took a strong hold on the primitive mind. In the absence of realism a knowledge of causation due to direct observation was of slow growth. The magic powers of earth and sky were personated, and when once personated the possibility of man influencing these personations arose in the human mind, and with it the belief that man could control them by a more powerful magic. Influenced by this belief, he invented many ceremonies, which as time went on also became more and more complicated. These ceremonies not only increased in complication but also derived much from myth, surviving in modified form even into an epoch when changed culture has rendered them little else than folklore. Stripped of the incrustations of time and modifications due to locality, two great objects stand out prominently in the Hopi religion, viz, growth of crops, by which is understood the fertilization of the seed, and abundant water and warmth to make the plants grow to maturity.

Climate is then the all-important factor in religious beliefs and practices of the Hopi. They recognized its connection with the sun's motions and devised a method of determining accurately by observations of the position of the sun on the horizon, the time for planting and the period of the rainy season. This constant observation of the sun naturally led them to what is ordinarily called sun worship. The sun itself is not worshiped, but in their minds became a symbol, a representative of powers back of the sun controlling meteorological phenomena. This power when personated by an anthropomorphic symbolism is called by various names as the "Heart of the sky," or the magic power of the sky. There clusters about this conception of primitive man many other secondary ideas, some of which are incomprehensible to the civilized mind with a more exact knowledge of cause and effect.

We know that rain in clouds is water evaporated from the earth, falling on account of changes of temperature in the air. The primitive man did not know this. Our scientific explanation of lightning is that it is the result of electrical difference in tension. The mind of primitive man had no such idea. The primitive agriculturist ascribed forces of sky and earth to supernatural magic powers, and from their influence upon the life of the agriculturist these powers are regarded as above all others; sky and earth are considered parents of all life. It is not possible for scientific men of our century to analyze all the conceptions of the Sky god in the Hopi mind, but by

presenting instances of symbolic personations I shall endeavor to throw some light on the nature of sun worship as it now exists among the Hopi.

There are at least several kinds of data from which we can interpret primitive conceptions of worship, among which are current mythology, symbolism, and descriptive legends. For instance, when the Sky god is personated, he wears prescribed paraphernalia, as a mask painted with certain symbolic designs, and carries certain badges or other regalia. We can interpret his supposed character by his dramatic acts and relations to other supernatural beings when personated in ceremonials. In myths of the Sun god there have been passed down explanations of their rites by earlier devotees, which are crystallized by sacerdotal additions or philosophical definitions modified by the mentality of more modern thinkers.

It is evident that these mythological stories and ceremonial survivals among primitive people are based on symbolic and analogical rather than scientific conceptions, for in the growth of exact knowledge each generation somewhat modifies the myths of its predecessors, immediate or remote, to suit new conditions of life, evolved in the evolution of religious thought; consequently mythology, so called, is in a state of continual flux so far as explanation of ceremonies is concerned, and its present form may be unreliable as a means from which to determine the earliest or the characteristic ideas of antecedent primitive people.

One means of arriving at a knowledge of past beliefs is the survival of prehistoric ceremonies and cult objects handed down from the past. The rites of the people are subject to slow changes, and these modifications are not as rapid as the myths, mainly because of the secrecy surrounding them, augmented by the conservatism of an original priesthood which tends to preserve them in their purity. But myth and rite form the woof and the warp of religious development, and it is advantageous, on the very threshold of the study of sky worship among the Hopi, to measure the relative importance of mythological evidence and that of surviving rites. In the present article I have discussed the latter data.

The existing ritual of the Hopi Indians is a complex, composed of several units, possibly borrowed, but distinct from each other. The rites of different units are unlike in details, but have forms of nature worship and certain other cults in common. Sun worship is a common element in this mosaic ritual, but its character varies in complexity as well as in distinctive features in the component units. To comprehend the character of sun worship it may be well to refer to certain modifications in each component group.

Both myth and rite furnish evidences that the highest form of sun worship among the original Hopi was introduced by groups of peo-

ples from the South—virtually from southern Arizona. Legends say that these southern people, called the Patki, introduced into Hopiland the serpent sun cult, a higher form of religious symbolism than that previously existing.

The cult of the Snake people and other northern clans which settled the Hopi towns before the Patki came emphasizes ancestor worship, sky and earth playing a subordinate rôle in its ceremony. Their appeal to nature powers is through ancestral beings, represented by reptilian descendants of a culture-hero or heroine, brought into the town for that purpose in their great annual festival. Sky worship with them was secondary, or at least they have no symbolic personation of the Sky god. Among the southern clans agriculture had become the main occupation in the food quest long before they came to Hopiland, and with them prayers were made directly to the sky and earth as powers that cause the crops to grow. Both their myths and ritual deal more with cosmic powers, showing a high development of aboriginal worship.

Two positions of the sun on the horizon, at his solstitial rising and setting, the former at the end of June and the latter at the close of December, mark occasions of elaborate solar ceremonies. The time is determined by the Sun priests of the Patki people. It has been found that the former event is directly connected with the advent of the rainy season, and the latter marks when the sun reaches his most distant point to the south, at a time when the great cold intensifies the growing fear of the people that he is about to depart from the earth never to return. The departure of the being to whom the farmer owes his crops must be prevented, he must be compelled to turn back, or, as poetically expressed, the malign influences of the winter—personated by a hostile being—must be offset that the Sky god may return. In midsummer all known magic must be exerted to compel the Sky god to water the fields that the corn may grow and ripen. In both cases the sky power must be compelled¹ to aid the farmer. For want of a better term we call this process prayer, but it is more than a verbal entreaty, it is compulsion by sympathetic magic, and may be expressed in several ways, one of which is by mimetic representation called dramatization.

In rites performed at the two periods above mentioned a participant personates the sun, and others represent supernatural beings to whom the needs of the worshipers are addressed. The personators are clothed in the dress and carry the paraphernalia that in Hopi legends are associated with these supernaturals. They

¹ The word is used advisedly. A priest by magic may compel a supernatural to do what he wishes.

perform dramatic rites, which indicate what the priests want, and the accompanying songs or verbal prayers are those which are considered efficacious, having been passed down from a remote past for that end.

Let us take for illustration the elaborate sun rite that occurs at the winter solstice, near the end of December. The date of this celebration is determined by the Sun priests, who watch the course of the sun as it daily sets on the western horizon, retreating farther and farther south, as if to withdraw altogether. Each day its altitude at noon is less as its setting is more and more to the south; the sun is evidently slowly departing from the earth. When it reaches its most distant southern point and sets behind the San Francisco mountains in the notch at Eldon Mesa, an official announcement is made through the town crier that the sun has descended into his house in the west. This from experience they know is the time when a supreme effort must be made to offset the power which is driving him away from his children and then the priests must use all their magic medicine to cause the sun to return to his people. The sun's efforts to return are then most feeble, and must be augmented by all the supernal powers of which man is capable.

The most important rites connected with "calling back the sun" are held in secret, on which account they occur in a ceremonial chamber called a *kiva*, to which only the initiated have entrance. This room is occupied by men belonging to the Sun clans, and by others, mainly old men, called Sun priests. A detailed description of the altar (pl. 1) and other paraphernalia in the *kiva* at this dramatization need not be made, but a few general features may be mentioned. At one end of the room, near the ceremonial opening in the floor called the *sipapu*, there is erected an assemblage of objects which may be called an altar, composed of an elaborate framework, to which are attached painted circular disks made of gourds, representing flowers. These symbols form a screen,¹ behind which some of the actors conceal themselves.

In the middle of this screen there is left an opening through which protrudes a head of a serpent effigy. On the floor in front of it are arranged various objects, the most conspicuous of which is a stack of corn ears, future seed, neatly arranged in a pile. Here are also certain emblems and paraphernalia belonging to the priests, among which may be mentioned a badge or palladium of the Patki priesthoods, their medicine bowl, a prayer meal basket or tray, and various fetishes. Before the screen stand masked men representing certain supernaturals, and along the sides of the room sits the chorus

¹ The Winter Solstice Ceremony at Walpi. Amer. Anthropologist, n. s., Vol. XI, pl. 1, 1898.

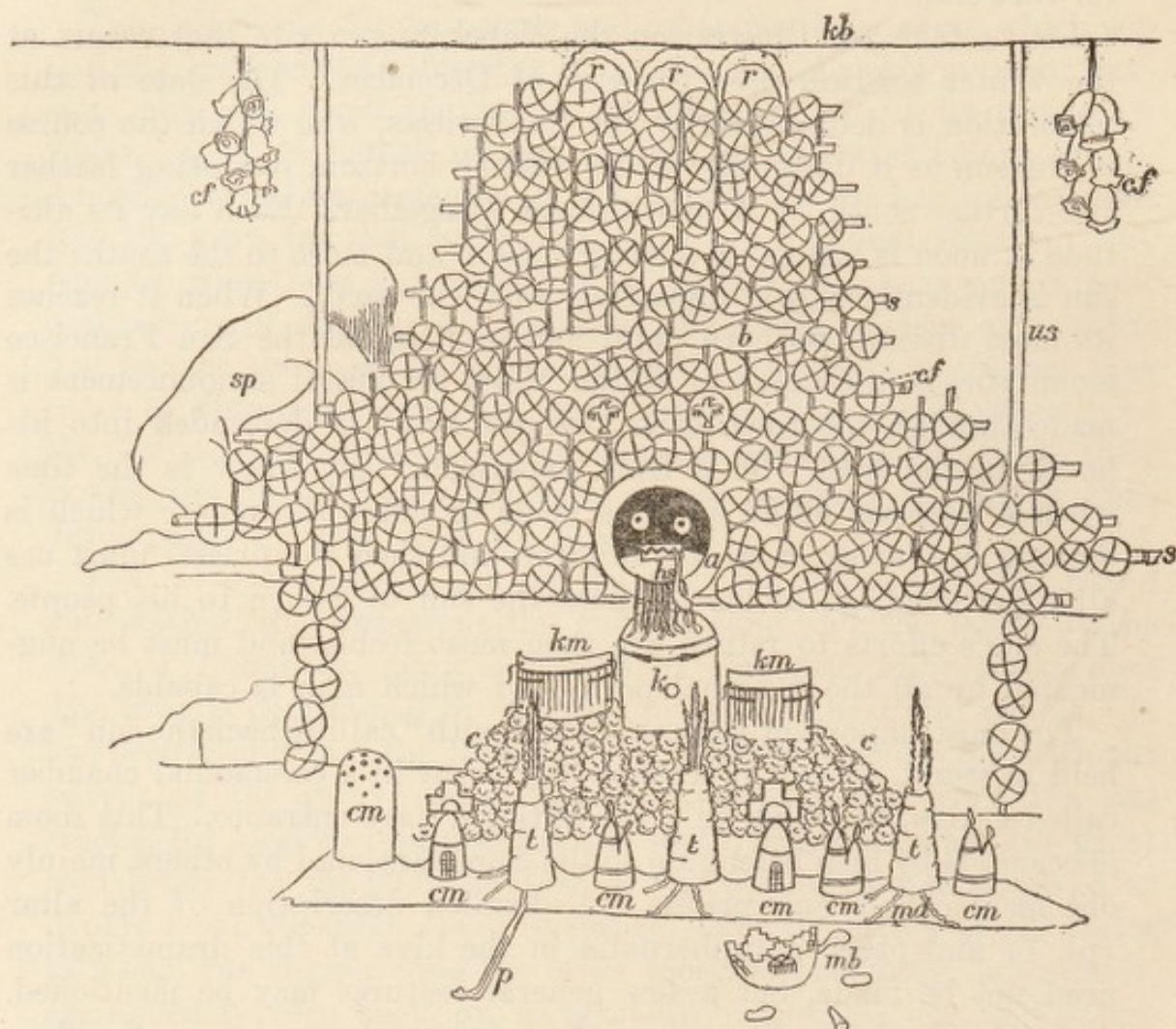


PLATE I. ALTAR OF THE WINTER SOLSTICE CEREMONY AT WALPI.

- a*, Disk through which great serpent effigy protrudes.
- b*, Bird fetish.
- c*, Bank of seed corn later distributed to clans.
- cf*, Flowers of vegetation, corn, melons, and squashes.
- cm*, Corn mounds or germ fetishes. One, at left, has holes for corn flower symbols.
- hs*, Head of Horned Serpent.
- k*, Mask of Sun god or Sun kateina.
- kb*, Kiva roof beams.
- km*, Masquettes of Corn maids.
- mb*, Medicine bowl.
- p*, Line of meal along which blessings pass to village.
- r*, Rain cloud symbols.
- s*, Lateral framework supporting the altar screen.
- sp*, Man blowing trumpet, imitating roar of Horned Serpent.
- t*, Tiponis or badges of chiefs of the ceremony.
- us*, Upright beam supporting the altar screen.



ALTAR OF THE WINTER SOLSTICE CEREMONY AT WALPI.

who sing songs to the accompaniment of rattles and say the appropriate prayers as the occasion requires.

The ceremony or drama before this altar opens with a formal smoke by the chiefs, in which, with due reverence, a lighted tobacco pipe is passed with great solemnity from one priest to another, seated about the fireplace, after which steps are heard on the roof of the room, indicating an important arrival. Soon a small ball of sacred meal thrown through the hatchway of the roof lands on the floor by the side of the fireplace, by which the arrival of the god is formally announced. The visitor is invited to enter. Cries of the eagle have been imitated for a long time by a man seated in one corner of the room blowing through a bone whistle into a bowl of medicine. These cries or calls to the Sky god now become louder than ever, and soon the visitor appears in the hatchway and descends the ladder through the roof. He is welcomed into the room and is seen to represent a large bird, wearing on his head a bunch of feathers attached to a leather helmet made in imitation of a bird's head. The disguise is not limited to the head, for his body is daubed in spots with piñon pitch, to which are attached feathers, while across his shoulders is stretched a string to which are tied rows of feathers in imitation of wings which he flaps up and down, mimicking the motions of a bird. Thus appareled he struts around the room, imitating a bird in gait and in the movements of his wings, at times emitting calls like those of a hawk or eagle. This personation represents the Sky god, whose advent is the return of that supernatural.

In one corner of the room, at the right of the altar, sits a maiden apart from all others, who represents the Earth maid. On the floor in front of her there is a pile of sand a few inches high, in which are stuck a few short sticks like arrows. After the Sky god has made several circuits about the room, during which he is the recipient of many prayers from the assembled priests, he halts and squats directly in front of the girl. Bending down his body almost to the mound, he takes from it in each hand an arrow, and then raising his body with a cry, throws them back into the pile of sand. Having made another circuit of the room, always sinistral in direction, he returns to the girl, repeating the act several times. The meaning of this performance is not hard to discern; it represents the fertilization of the earth, as symbolized by the girl, by the lightning as symbolized by the arrows. The act is a declaration that man desires the god to fructify the earth and thus to bless them with abundant harvest.

The object of this winter solstice ceremony is not only to draw back the sun, the arrival of whom, as we have seen, is dramatized in the rite just described, but likewise to impart new life to all

nature, to fertilize the earth, that the Germ god may vitalize not only the crops, the seeds of which are piled below the altar, but also all game, domestic animals, and human beings—material resources of all kinds. The winter solstice rite is a complex prayer to the Sky god to return and renew life.

The horned or plumed serpent is a symbol of the Sky god and this being brought to Hopi by southern colonists is consequently symbolized in the winter solstice ceremony introduced by them. It occupies a prominent place in the rite in which the return of the Sun god is dramatized, and its idol or effigy is the most conspicuous feature on the above mentioned altar. Directly after the celebration of the arrival of the Bird god each worshiper says his prayer to the serpent idol, the head of which occupies the opening in the screen of flowers, and sprinkles it with sacred meal, as is customary in prayers. They regard this serpent effigy as a personation of the Sky god, or as the renewer of life, as the bird man whose actions have already been described represents the sun.

But to study this element of sky worship in its more elaborate drama we should visit the kivas at the vernal equinox, near the planting time, when there takes place perhaps the most remarkable ceremony yet described among the Hopi or any aboriginal tribe of North America.

The description given above indicates the character of the Sky cult by one component of the Hopi in the winter solstice ceremony at Walpi, but the fertilization ceremony with very significant variations occurs at other Hopi pueblos. We have observations of this rite at Oraibi, where the intention is identical with that at Walpi, although the horned serpent effigy is not introduced. Here elaborate sun ceremonies, in which the Bird man plays a prominent part, are duplicated, although modified in details. In addition, there are certain rites performed at this time at Oraibi which appear in a modified form at Walpi. The most significant of these is the introduction of a portable screen, on which is painted the counterpart of the sun, the Germ god, before which are performed ceremonies for the fertilization of corn. The screen used at this time is a rectangular frame, over which is stretched a cotton cloth bearing other designs in addition to the figure representing the Germ god (Alosaka). The lower part of this screen under the figure is covered with corn seeds. On one side of the central figure is a design representing the sun; on the other a picture of the moon, above which is a well-painted corn plant. To the top of the screen are attached semi-circular hoops covered with cotton wool, symbolic of the clouds.

The ceremonies about this screen are too elaborate to be described in detail, but their main object is the fertilization of corn, represented by the kernels attached to its lower part. In the progress of the rite

these seeds are scraped from their attachment to be used in future planting. During the songs an invocation is sung to the Great Snake, although no effigy or other representation of him is used at that time. Shortly after this rite, absent at Walpi, there appears in the kiva a personation of the Sky god wearing on his head a star with four points, the "heart" of the sky. He carries in his hand a disk upon which is painted the sun emblem, to the back of which is tied a planting stick. At the most solemn time in the rite this personator twirls the sun emblem in his hand, pointing it in succession toward the cardinal points.

In reviewing these rites with a view to interpretation and comparison with the Walpi variant, it appears that the main object is the same as the rites in which the effigy of the snake is used, or fertilization of the seed. The Sky god, symbolized by both sun and horned serpent, is the beneficent Sky god who fertilizes the seed, brings the rain, and causes the crops to grow. It thus appears that the functions of the Great Serpent and the Sky god are intimately connected in Hopi philosophy, the difference of personation in dramatization being largely due to modification in the different pueblos, possibly from the predominance of different clans.

It is evident that there are two essential features or two elements involved; first, the fertilization of the earth and, second, the renewal of life, especially of the food plant, corn. The production of rain is not the striking motive in this complex ritual, but rather the procuring of the needed warmth and moisture upon the seeds to cause growth and furnish a food supply. From one point of view the falling rain fertilizes the earth and makes the crops grow, so that we may say there is only one object in these rites, namely, that of fertilization.¹ The Sun and Great Serpent, symbolic forms of the Sky god, impart the principle of life, as in many other ceremonies among the Hopi.

The Zuñi have an equivalent of the Hopi horned serpent, whose effigy, mechanically attached to tablets on which rain clouds are depicted, is brought into the town and carried to the entrance of each kiva. The head of this effigy is held over the kiva hatchway, while water with seeds are poured through the body, emerging from the mouth into receptacles held up to receive them—an act symbolic of water and seeds for the coming planting time, the gifts which the Great Serpent brings to the Zuñi. To still further show that the Hopi serpent effigy is a god of fertilization it may be mentioned that attached to the backbone of its body there is a quartz crystal, symbol of the sun, and specimens of all the different kinds of seeds known to the Hopi. The intention of the Great Serpent worship in both pueblos

¹ cf. H. K. Haberlein, *The idea of fertilization in the culture of the Pueblo Indians*. Mem. Anthropol. Assoc., Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 1-55.

is practically the same; it refers to the Sky god symbolized with minor differences in paraphernalia but introduced for an identical purpose. The Hopi, like the aborigines of Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies, revered the Great Serpent and worshiped the supernatural he represents as a beneficent being, who brings life, much needed rain, and other blessings. The serpent with them was not a devil or a personation of moral evil.

Shortly after the close of the act that celebrates the arrival of the Sky god there occurs at Walpi a dramatic representation of a conflict of supernatural beings, supposed to be hostile. This takes the form of a realistic fight between men appropriately clothed to personate these beings, lined up on each side of the room, while a man representing a supernatural being stands in the middle of the kiva before the altar. As his opponents, ranged in two rows, one on each side, surge up against him, a spirited song is sung by a chorus, beginning with a low-intoned chant, that gradually rises in intensity until it becomes a war cry. Each participant has depicted on the shield he carries a figure of the being he represents. The man before the altar carries a shield with a picture of the Germ god (pl. 2); his opponents, various other designs. The contest begins by one of the attacking party pressing forward against him, as if endeavoring to overcome him. Back and forth for a considerable time the combatants surge, each endeavoring to overthrow his opponent. Finally the attacking man falls to the floor overcome by sheer exhaustion, and in that condition is carried out of the room. A second opponent then advances and he, too, is overcome. This is repeated until all the opponents have been overthrown, some being removed from the room in an exhausted condition. The man bearing the shield is victorious over his enemies. During this combat there is much shouting and what appears to be great excitement prevails, much of which is, of course, feigned. At the close, the triumphant man, holding his shield high above his head, says a prayer, the purport of which is a declaration of victory over all comers, or a taunt to any others who question that claim. As the excitement subsides, he leaves the room.

The explanation of this event is not wholly obvious, but the combat suggests the conflict of hostile nature powers, and recalls certain rites among the ancient Aztec people.

It should be borne in mind that these events take place at night in a closed room, from which the people are debarred. There remains to be considered an event that occurs at dawn the next day, when the arrival of the Sun is dramatically represented in the presence of the people. At sunrise there enters the pueblo a masked person bearing symbolic paraphernalia ascribed to the sun, accompanied by two men dressed as women, each bringing a flat basket tray in which ears of corn set on end are arranged in a circle in-



ALOSAKA (GERM GOD) ON SUN SHIELD IN WINTER SOLSTICE CEREMONY.

Horsehair stained red generally found on the periphery of sun shields is here omitted.

closing symbols of sprouting vegetation. As this trio passes through the village these symbols are distributed to the head of each clan. Many rites in addition to those above mentioned are performed, but those described illustrate the more important phase of the drama—the combined efforts of the Sun worshipers to overcome hostile powers, to halt his departure, and to renew life, thereby insuring the growth of the corn.

The rôle that sun serpent worship plays among the Hopi may be more clearly understood by an examination of another celebration of the Patki clans occurring at the end of March, near the vernal equinox. So close is this to a theatrical exhibition that it is difficult to determine whether it is a religious or a secular observance. Originally, probably, it was the former, but the personations in it are so striking that it has been modified into a secular performance. A special article¹ has already been devoted to the different acts, six in number, which last from sunset to sunrise the next day.

The setting of the horned serpent scenario at the vernal equinox at Walpi is quite different from that at the winter solstice, although the effigies of this monster are identical in both ceremonies. During this celebration we have a succession of dramatic performances, each of which crudely represents some cultural episode in the history of the tribe.

The events about to be described occurred consecutively in sacred rooms or kivas which at the time were occupied by spectators, the performers passing from one room to another performing simultaneously different acts in the rooms. Each room at that time had a different audience, determined by clan affiliations, crowded in the spectators' section or the raised part of the floor at one end of the chamber. The ceremonial region of the room was unoccupied save by the performers, who came and left before and after each act. During the performance the kiva chief, who controls the rites, sits near the fireplace at the base of the ladder, and feeds the fire with greasewood, the flames of which furnish the only light to illuminate the chamber. The performers bring their own paraphernalia, which they set up in the dark, the fire tender allowing the flame to go down meanwhile or covering it with a blanket that the preparations for the successive acts may not be witnessed by spectators. In the several acts that form this primitive drama many episodes in the culture history of the tribe were dramatized, but I shall consider only those in which the horned snake cult was introduced.

The first act, in some respects, is similar to the so-called screen drama of the winter solstice and is one of the most instructive. The spectators having assembled, the kiva chief takes his seat on the floor

¹ A theatrical performance at Walpi. *Proc. Wash. Academy of Science*, Vol. II, pp. 605-629, 1900.

by the fireplace and soon a ball of meal thrown into the room from above lands on the floor, tramping of human feet being heard on the kiva roof. The chief calls out to those on the roof to enter, at the same time covering the smoldering fire with an old blanket to shut out the light, after which the forms of men are seen descending the ladder. As they enter the room with the customary salutation they make their way to its unoccupied part and in the dim light put their screen in place and arrange their paraphernalia on the floor. At a signal from them that they are ready to begin, the chief removes the covering from the fireplace and before the astonished gaze of the audience there appears stretched across the rear of the room a cloth screen (pl. 3) upon which are painted various symbolic devices with figures representing Corn maids, Germ god, and symbolic rain clouds, lightning, and other designs. The most prominent of these are six circular disks arranged in line across the middle of the screen to which each is attached. On each of these disks is painted a symbolic picture of the sun. The screen is held upright by poles, each supported by a man, whose naked body is daubed with clay and who wears on his head a helmet covered with projections like wens. These men are the so-called Mudheads, Delight Makers, or the clowns. On the floor before the screen is arranged a miniature field of corn, each hill a clay cone, supporting a corn plant that has been grown in the kiva. Prominent among the actors before the screen is a man dressed as a woman who represents the Earth woman; there are several men with masks on which are wens or knobs representing eyes, mouth, and ears. Others similarly appareled are squatted by this screen along the sides of the room. Behind it are men who manipulate the serpent effigies soon to be described.

The effigies of the horned serpent used in this rite are like that of the winter solstice ceremony; a few words regarding their construction may be instructive. Each serpent has a head and body; the former a gourd, the latter made of cloth appropriately painted and stretched over rings, the size of which increases from the head backward. The so-called backbone to which the head is attached is a stick by which the idol is manipulated. It has a ferrule just back of the neck, to which are attached a bag with seeds of various kinds, a quartz crystal, and other objects. The head is made of a gourd painted black, in which the mouth and teeth are cut, the lips being painted red; from the mouth there protrudes a strip of red painted leather representing a tongue. The eyes are bundles of seeds done up in buckskin protruding like goggles from the top of the head, to which is also tied a bundle of feathers and a short curved horn. As the rite begins, this effigy is manipulated by a man stationed behind the screen, and is slowly protruded through the opening

covered by the sun disk, until it projects 3 or 4 feet in front of the screen.

The act opens with a song by the chorus, and as it progresses the six disks bearing the sun emblems, which are seen to be hung by a hinge on one side, swing open from below. As they do this there protrudes through the openings the blackened heads of six effigies of the great serpent, one of which, larger than the others, has udders and is called the "mother serpent." As the songs begin, these effigies move their heads back and forth, darting at each other as if attempting to bite their neighbors, while from the rear of the screen issue sounds made by concealed actors imitating the fancied roar of the horned serpent. As this continues, the song rises higher and higher, and the attacks of the serpent effigies on their fellows become more and more vicious. Suddenly the head of the mother serpent sweeps down to the floor of the room over the imitation field of corn, overthrowing the hills and scattering them right and left. These realistic movements of the snake effigies are caused by men concealed behind the screen, who handle their charges by means of a stick called the "backbone." After the field of corn has been overturned and the serpent effigies raise their heads, there passes before them the man dressed as the Earth woman, who offers prayer meal as food to the enraged serpent, after which the effigies are withdrawn, the disks fall back in place, and the chief gathers up the scattered clay cones with the sprouting corn plants and distributes them among the audience.¹

The kiva chief stirs the greasewood fagots in the fire until the flame again lights up the kiva, and all is ready for the advent of another group of actors fresh from a performance in another kiva.

After a long wait another act is performed, the arrival of the actors being announced in the same manner as before described. In this act a masked man, representing the Sky god, stands in the middle of the kiva, holding in his hands the effigy of a serpent about 5 feet long. When the song that accompanies the rite begins, the snake effigy appears to crawl around the man's neck, twisting its body or darting out its head in a most realistic manner. In this proceeding the serpent is the servant of the man; it is evident that the effigy is controlled by the manipulator. Near the close of the act, when there is great excitement among the spectators and many loud cries, the effigy is made to sweep down on the floor over a miniature field of corn, skillfully arranged on the floor in the same manner as in the preceding act.

An examination of the mechanism by which these movements of the effigy are produced reveals the fact that what appears to be

¹ The Horned Serpent is here the agent of the Sky god. The act may dramatically represent the fertilization of the corn by the Sky god.

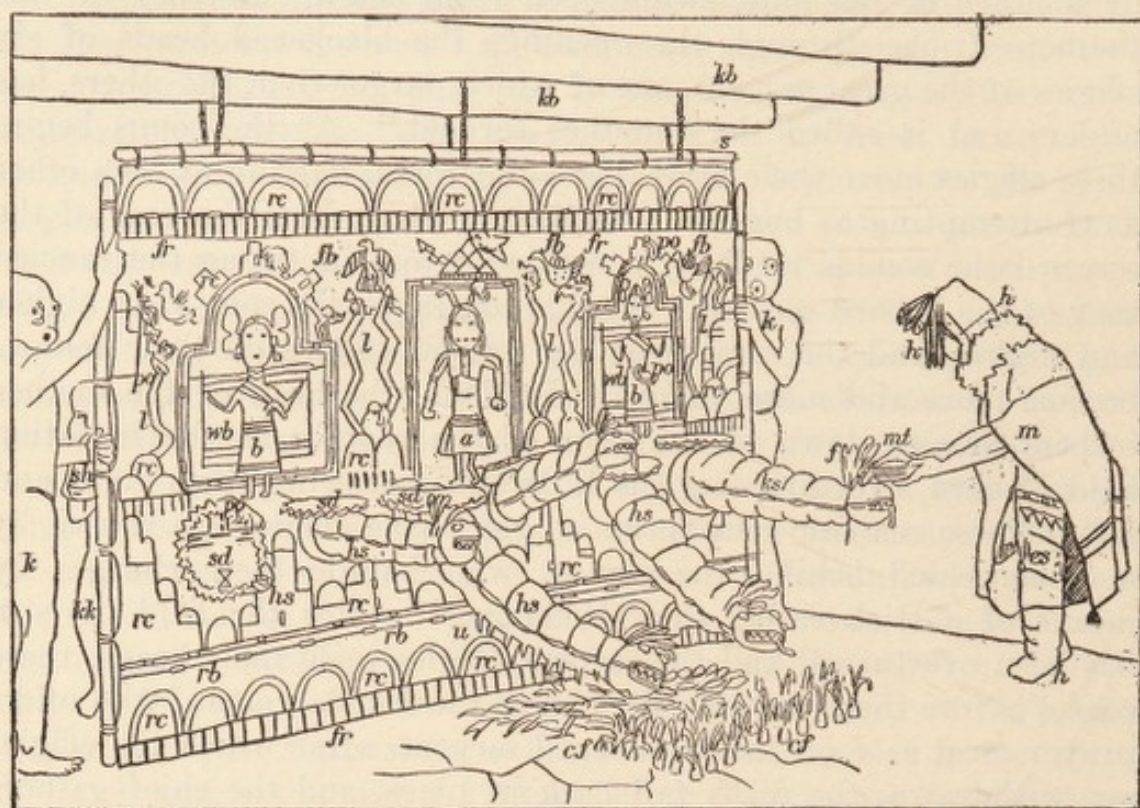
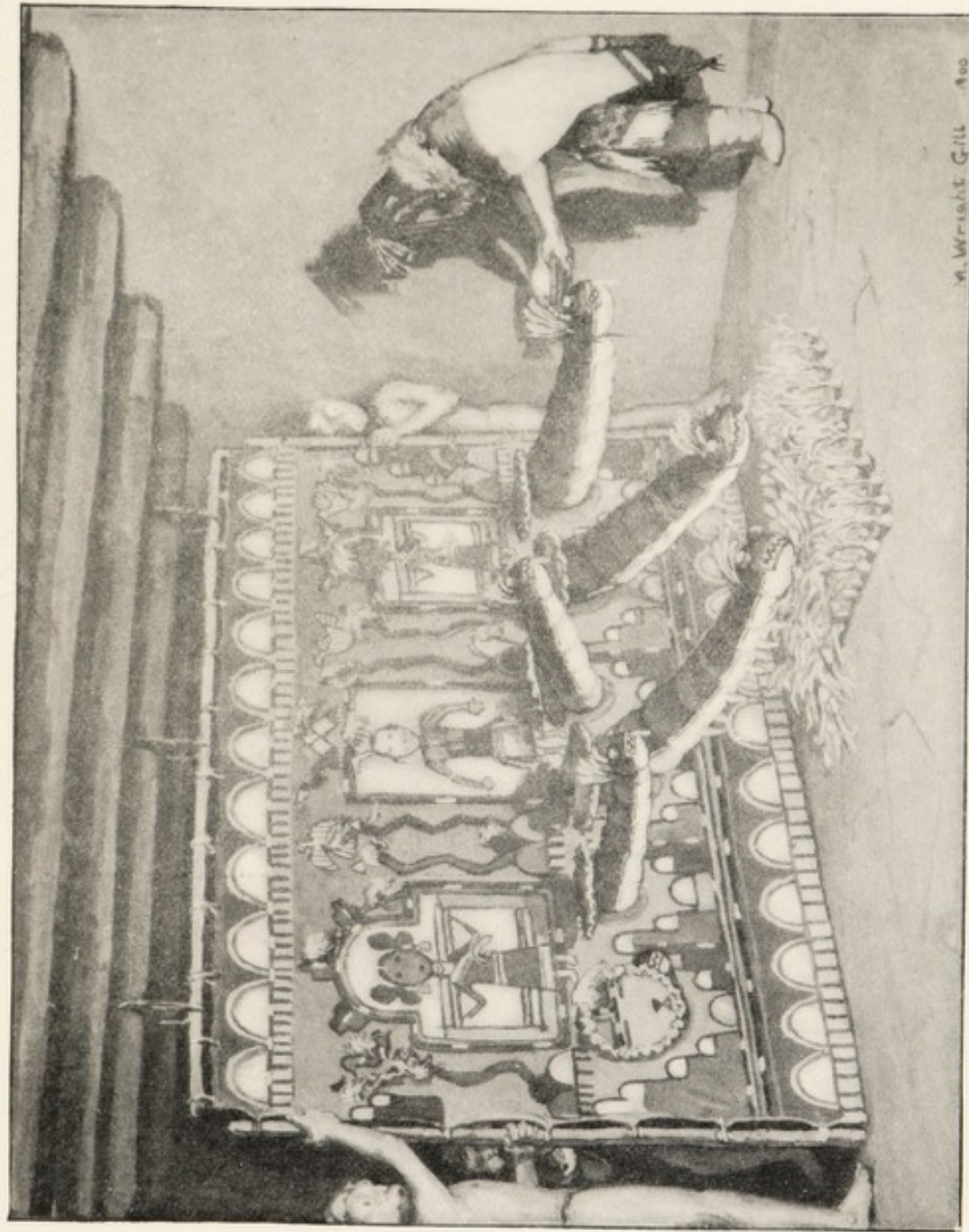


PLATE 3. SERPENT SCREEN AT WALPI.

- a*, Alosaka, or God of Germs.
b, Corn maids.
cf, Miniature cornfield, made of sprouted corn set in clay pedestals.
cs, Embroidered katsina sash.
f, Hawk feathers.
fb, Unidentified bird.
fr, Rain symbol.
h, Hahaiwuqti, mother of living beings; Earth goddess.
hs, Horned Serpent effigies.
k, Mud heads, personations of ancients.
kb, Beam of kiva roof.
kk, Man blowing trumpet to imitate roar of Horned Serpent.
ks, Extended serpent effigy being fed by mother of gods.
l, Lightning symbols.
m, White ceremonial blanket.
mt, Tray of prayer meal.
po, Prayer offerings.
rb, Rainbow symbols.
rc, Rain cloud symbols.
s, Frame supporting screen of the serpents.
sd, Symbol of Sun.
sh, Shell or gourd trumpet used to imitate roar of the Horned Serpent.
u, Udders of the mother Horned Serpent.
wb, Ceremonial blanket



M. Wright Giff. Aug

SERPENT SCREEN AT WALPI.

the left arm of the man apparently hanging naturally at his side is a false one, the man's real arm being extended into the body of the serpent through a slit in its back; his hand grasps a stick which forms the backbone of the reptile. The signification of the proceeding is evident. The personator is the Sky god with his servant the lightning.

In another act in the series performed at the vernal equinox in Walpi we have the episode of the "Mudheads" struggling with a serpent effigy protruded through an opening closed by a disk on which is depicted the sun symbol. The performance is shown in plate 4.

If not too tiresome we may consider another act in this series of weird dramatizations. It is recorded in legends that at one time the Great Serpent rose in the middle of the court of an ancient village until his head projected to the clouds. As this monster emerged from the earth he drew after him an overflow of water that covered the whole land, and drove the inhabitants to the mountains. When a flood covered the earth, the chief of the village, speaking to the serpent, whose head was in the zenith, said "Why do you thus destroy my people?" The snake replied, "You have a bad man, or wizard, in your number who bewitches you. I will not return to earth until you sacrifice to me your son." Sorrowfully the chief followed this demand for the relief of his people and threw his son into the water, and the serpent sank into the earth, dragging after him the flood that he had brought. Upon this legend is based the act of the Hopi drama at the spring equinox, which is dramatized as follows:

After the same preliminaries that precede other acts, while the room is dark, a new set of actors descend the ladder and place on the floor near the ceremonial opening two pottery vessels (pl. 5), on the sides of which are painted pointed star emblems, symbolizing the sky god. The openings of these jars are closed with semicircular flaps, four in number, attached to the rims of the vessels. The chorus, seated around these vessels, are the clowns who wear hideous masks covered with clay balls; they are supposed to represent archaic men who peopled the earth before the advent of the present race. This act, like the others, is accompanied throughout with song; and as the singing rises in volume there emerges from each jar the head of a serpent effigy, which mounts to the roof of the kiva, dragging its body behind it until its whole length is visible.

They do not leave the bowls, being attached to the rims. They begin to twist their bodies together and appear to bite at each other as if angry. They even bend down and sweep over a miniature field of corn arranged on the floor, after which they slowly sink back into

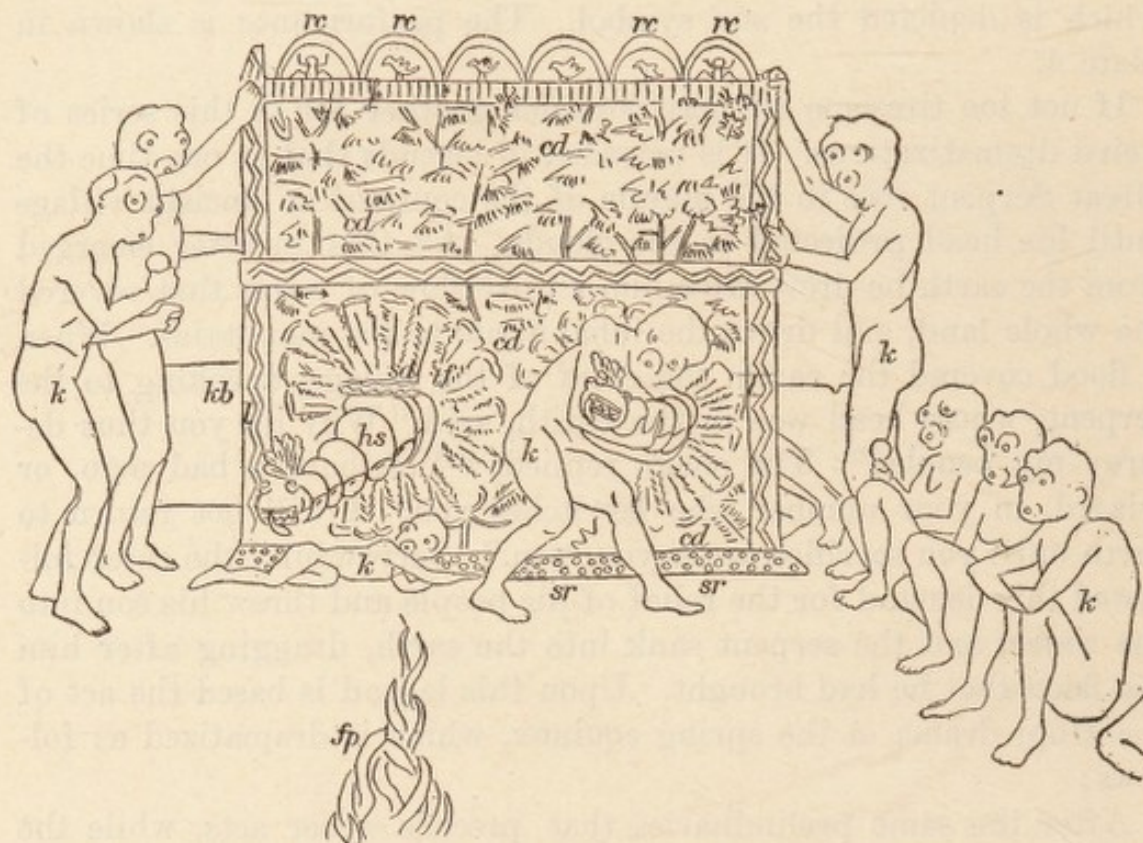


PLATE 4. STRUGGLE OF SERPENTS AND MUDHEADS.

cd, Cedar boughs concealing the man who manipulates the serpent effigies.

fp, Flame from fireplace.

hs, Horned Serpent effigies.

k, Mudheads; ancients (man and boy).

kb, Banquette of the kiva.

l, Symbol of lightning.

rc, Symbols of rain clouds.

sd, Sun symbol raised to horizontal position.

sr, Ridge of sand for supporting the screen.

tf, Turkey feathers.



STRUGGLE OF SERPENTS AND MUDHEADS.

the vases from which they have emerged. The means by which this is done cannot be discovered in the darkened room, but invisible horsehair or other strings attached to the heads and bodies of the effigies pass over the beams of the kiva roof, and down to the hand of the singers. While with one hand these men shake their rattles in accompaniment to their songs, with the other they manipulate the serpent in realistic movements. It is apparent that this act represents the serpent destroying the planted field, possibly by a great flood, as recounted in the legend given above.

The episode represents in a more or less complete form a myth which is said to have originated in the far south, and which is still current in modified form among the Pima and Papago, supposed to be descendants of the ancients who once peopled the massive walled ruins, of which Casa Grande is the recognized type. The horned snake represents among the Pima as among the Hopi, the Sun god, called Tcuhu ("Montezuma"), who taught mankind how to irrigate fields for cultivation and to build ditches to distribute the water of the Gila over their thirsty farms. It is said that this being controlled the waters of the Gila, and that he was worshiped. A story recounts how he took a hair from his head and drawing it through his mouth laid it on the ground so that one end touched the channel through which the river now flows. He took another hair or feather and drew it through his mouth and laid it parallel to the first, and so on until he had marked out the land in sections. When that had been accomplished he spoke a word and each of these hairs or feathers became a serpent, and later an irrigating ditch. The channel of the river itself became the great serpent, "and that is why," added the narrator, "we worship the river in the form of a serpent, and on this account we make frequent sacrifices on the banks of irrigating ditches." When this cult was transported into the arid mountains of Hopi, where rivers are unknown, except in the rainy season, it still persisted, but, like many survivals, the environment and object of the worship was changed; the serpent became the rain god, or the agent of the sky, in causing rain to fall on the crops. This myth is perpetuated in the dramatic festival at the vernal equinox.

The cult of the Zuñi horned serpent, Kolowissi, has a close resemblance to that of the Hopi, suggesting that it was probably derived from the same source, or the former inhabitants of villages now in ruins along the Little Colorado. We owe to Mrs. Stevenson a description of the rites observed when the effigy of this being is carried to the Zuñi kivas, from which it looks as if the Zuñi horned serpent, like the Hopi, is an incarnation of the Sky god and has the same function. At certain times in these rites the Zuñi effigy is made to vomit water and all kinds of seed at the command of the Sky god. The Zuñi drama of the advent of the horned serpent occurs at the

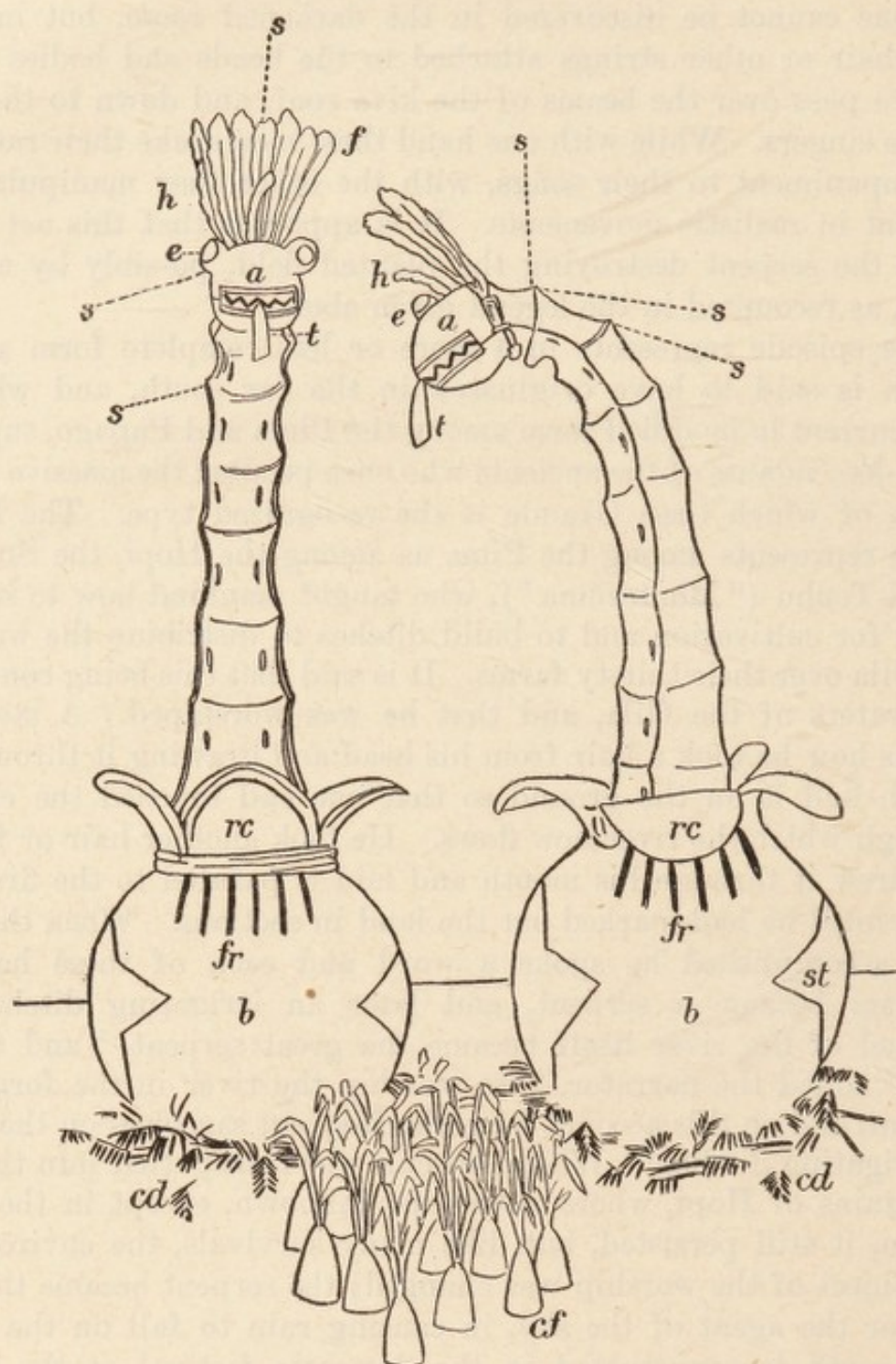


PLATE 5.—SERPENT EFFIGIES RISING FROM JARS.

a, Head of effigy of Horned Serpent.

b, Vases, receptacles for effigies.

cd, Cedar boughs.

cf, Miniature field of corn made of sprouted corn plants in clay pedestals.

e, Eyes.

f, Feathers of hawk.

fr, Falling rain painted on jars.

h, Horn of Horned Serpent.

rc, Symbols of rain clouds.

s, Strings used in manipulating snake effigies.

st, Star symbol.

t, Tongue of Horned Serpent.



SERPENT EFFIGIES RISING FROM JARS.

same time the sun ceremonies are celebrated among the Hopi, and sun symbolism is prominent on the paraphernalia used at that time.

The horned serpent called Avanyu is the main idol in the winter solstice altars¹ of the Tewa pueblo, Hano, two of which are manufactured each year of clay and laid on the floor back of the sand paintings (pl. 6). Dramatic rites are performed before this altar and the sun is suggested by the stick called sun ladder (pl. 11) in the rear of the altar.

The Tewa Avanyu, like the Hopi horned serpent, represents the great power of the Sky, the male fructifying element, father of all life, personated by a clay image. The six horned serpents of the Tewa, ascribed by some authors to the different cardinal points, is a parallel conception with the six horned serpents of the Hopi. They are not different beings, but the same Sky god localized.

The worship of the power of the sky as symbolized among the Pueblos by a great plumed or horned serpent sheds a light on the reverence which the Mayas and other Central American cultures of prehistoric times paid the power they personated as the plumed serpent (Kukulkan and Quetzalcoatl) whose many representations occur on prehistoric buildings devoted to worship in Mexico and Central America. There figures of the great serpent symbolize the same great male power of nature as the rude figurines of the Hopi. Prof. E. B. Tylor has shown that Quetzalcoatl represents the sun, but the meaning of his cultus is much deeper. Quetzalcoatl symbolizes the same conception as the plumed serpent of the Hopi, not the sun alone but the great father of all life, the male fructifying power of nature of which the sun is a visible representative of an attribute.

In some of the Hopi festivals the worship of the horned serpent seems to be hopelessly entangled with another characteristic of a less highly developed culture. I refer, of course, to the flute festival and its relation to the well-known snake dance of the Hopi. This entanglement is due to mutual acculturation of the Horn, Snake, and Flute peoples, the latter of which came from the same region as the Patki people who introduced into Hopiland the plumed serpent worship. The confusion is increased by the introduction of living reptile worship in the snake dance. It is well, therefore, to consider this relationship.

There are at Walpi two great midsummer ceremonials unconnected with the great serpent cult which alternate in August each year—one, the snake dance, occurring in odd years; the other the flute dance, that is performed in even years. The former shows few objective evidences of Sky serpent worship; the latter contains many personations and symbols of that cult, due to an ancient association of the Horn and Snake clans; the union of the former with the flute clans antedating the separation of Snake and Horn people.

¹ Winter solstice altars at Hano. Amer. Anthropol., n. s., Vol. I, 1899.

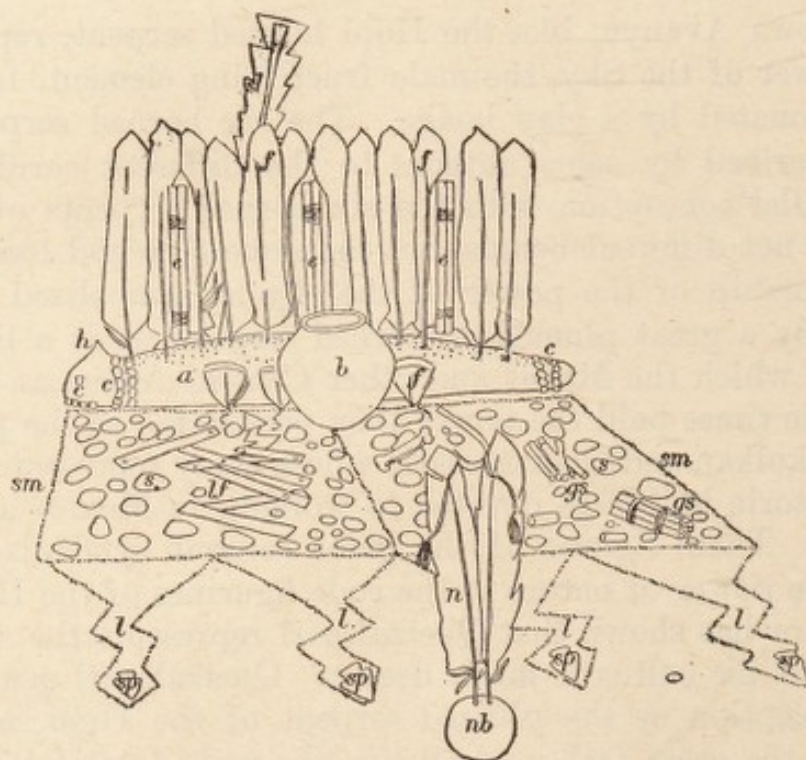
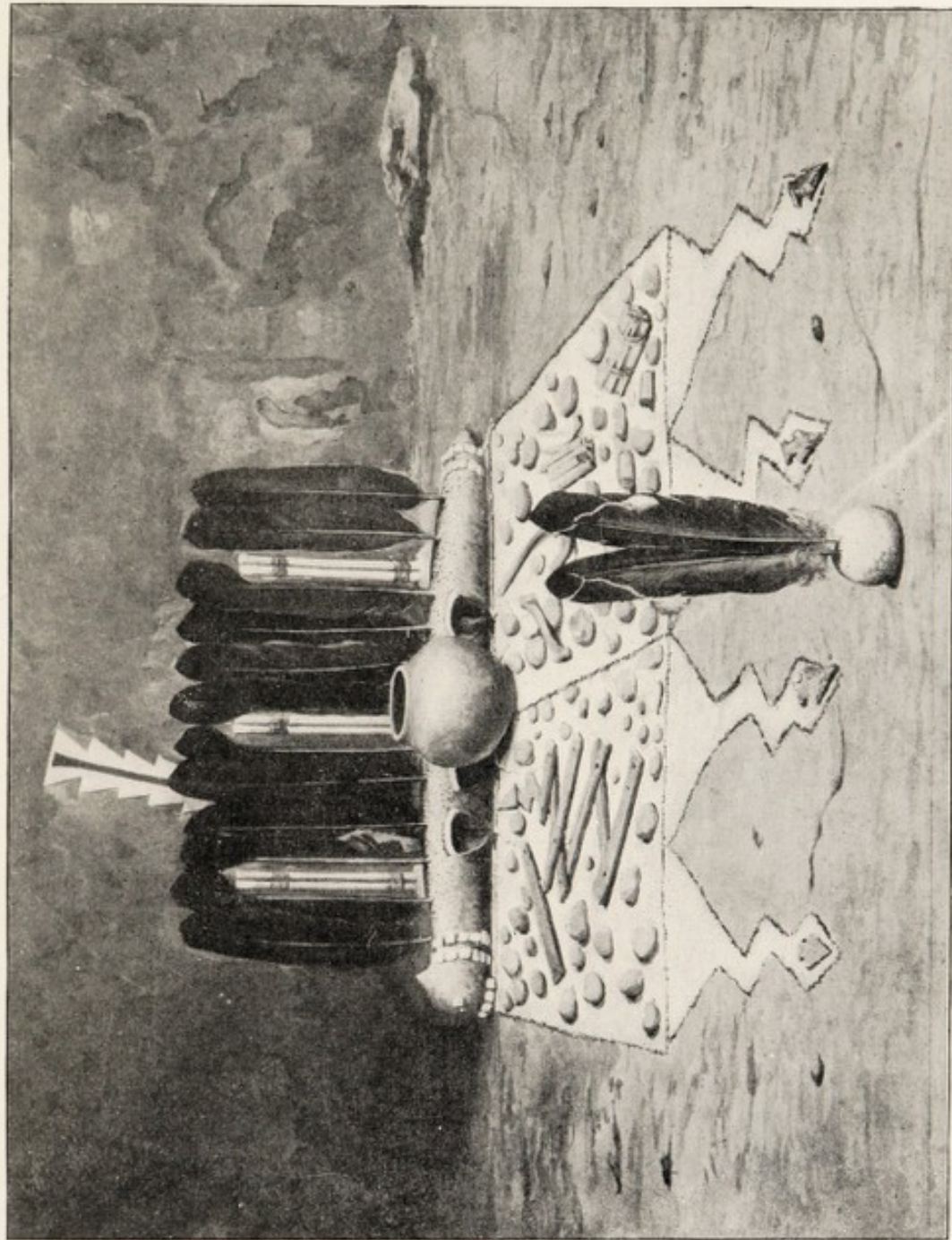


PLATE 6. WINTER SOLSTICE ALTAR OF HANO.

- a*, Clay image of the Tewa Horned Serpent.
- b*, Medicine vase.
- c*, Necklace and teeth made of corn kernels.
- e*, Symbolic cornstalks.
- f*, Turkey feathers.
- gs*, Gaming reeds.
- h*, Horn of Horned Serpent.
- l*, Lightning symbol made of sand on floor.
- lf*, Lightning framework made of wooden slats.
- n*, Eagle feathers placed at entrance to the kiva to warn away the uninitiated.
- nb*, Clay ball to support eagle feathers.
- s*, Waterworn stones used as fetishes.
- sl*, Symbol made of wood of sun ladder.
- sm*, Dry painting made of sand on the kiva floor.
- sp*, Spear or arrowhead of stone.



WINTER SOLSTICE ALTAR OF HANO.

In the preceding pages the essential elements of sun worship in the Hopi ceremonies ascribed to southern colonists and those of Hano and eastern extraction have been considered, and these may be said to represent forms of solar rites among these people; but there are still other forms of sun worship that are said to have been introduced by other people that make up the heterogeneous population. Among many others may be mentioned the so-called *Katcinas*, where we have a set of rites not as complex, but perhaps more primitive. These beings among the Hopi represent ancestral personages, or clan ancients. The sun is regarded as the father of both *Katcinas*, or those who have passed on, and men and women still living. As it is supposed that human beings that have died and now live in ghostly communities have greater powers to aid the living, they are appealed to and influenced by magical processes and they are conjured from time to time to return to the village and aid their descendants or living survivors. The occasion of their arrival is a great festival, at which, after having been prayed to, they depart for their home in the underworld, where the spirits of the dead are supposed to dwell. The dramatic representation of their advent and departure is celebrated by an elaborate dramatization, commonly called a dance, in which masked personations of these beings appear. At this time appears also a representation of the Sky god, who leads the *Katcinas* into the pueblo. As the dead are supposed to follow the setting sun to his home in the west, the entrance to the underworld, the *Katcina* departure is also dramatically represented when they leave the pueblo. The advent of the *Katcinas* is accompanied by a personation of the sun, their leader, just as on the departure of the personated dead from the village the sun accompanies them to his western home.

The representation of the arrival and departure of the sun and his followers occurs annually in February and July, the former naturally beginning before sunrise, the latter at sunset. In the celebration of the arrival of the Sun god¹ leading the clan ancients, or *Katcinas*, two men retire, early in the morning before sunrise, to a shrine situated east of the town at the head of the trail, to dress in an appropriate manner. One of these (pl. 7) arrays himself to represent the sun (the horned serpent symbolism is absent), while the other serves as his guide, which is practically necessary on account of the size of the mask which his companion wears. These two men time their entrance into the pueblo in such a way as to enter it when the sun rises. They proceed in turn to all *kivas* or sacred rooms and the houses of the foremost clans. The man personating the sun (pl. 7) carries in one hand a bundle of sprouting beans and

¹ Sky-God personations in Hopi Worship, *Journ. Amer. Folk Lore*, vol. 15, 1902. This article is limited to personations by men, whereas the present supplements it with representations by serpent effigies.



PLATE 7. THE SUN GOD OF THE KATCHINAS.

- a*, Personation of the returning Sun god of the Katchinas.
b, Woman standing in doorway of home blessed by departing Sun.
c, Shell tinklers on leggings of Sun god.
ch, Ceremonial blanket.
ck, Crook, symbol of the offering to the Sun god.
e, Sprouting beans and vines, symbols of fructification.
f, Feather.
fs, Fox skin.
g, Ceremonial kilt.
hs, Stained red horsehair, symbol of sun's rays.
k, Embroidered edge of ceremonial kilt showing rain cloud and falling rain symbols.
l, Ladder.
m, Wall of house.
n, Stone stairs to upper rooms.
o, Star symbol.
p, Symbol characteristic of Sun's disk.
s, Eagle beak characteristic of Sun's disk.
sf, Staff with symbols of old man, Sun.
tf, Eagle feathers.



THE SUN GOD OF THE KATCINAS.

corn, and in the other a badge of his office. He performs the following rites at each house: Approaching the doorway, he is met by the oldest woman in the house, who throws a pinch of sacred meal on him, uttering a prayer for desired benefits. The personator in response makes six silent bows, turning first to the rising sun and then to the woman, to whom he repeats the same, after which he hands to her several kernels of sprouting beans as a symbolic promise in answer to her prayer. He then makes with sacred meal four upright bands on the side of the doorway, after which he departs to repeat the same proceeding at the next house. This occurs at the door of every ancestral room throughout the pueblo and at all the kiva hatchways. Having done this he departs, and in time there enters the pueblo from the east a line of masked men representing the masked clan ancients or *Katcinas*, who perform an elaborate rhythmic dance. These clan ancients, led by the Sun god, are supposed to have now returned and remain in the neighborhood until July, when they depart, at which time an event called the farewell dance¹ is celebrated.

The celebration of the advent of the Sky god followed by *Katcinas* at the pueblo *Sichomovi* differs somewhat from that at *Walpi* above described, mainly because this pueblo is of *Zuñi* derivation, being modified by personators of bird gods from the neighboring pueblo, *Walpi*. The leader is here called *Pauatiwa* (*Zuñi* name) and represents the Sky god; the *Katcinas* that follow are known by *Zuñi* names and wear masks decorated with *Zuñi* symbols.

The well-known Snake dance of the Hopi, in which rattlesnakes, called the elder brothers of the Snake fraternity, are introduced, is quite different from the horned serpent and *Katcina* worship described in the preceding paragraphs. Its present survival in the Hopi region and its known existence at *Keresan* pueblos, *Sia*² and *Acoma*, in historic times, we may ascribe to colonists whose ancestors came from the same area. It is preeminently the cult of a mountainous region, or a northern canyon culture, which spread to the south where it survived into the historic epoch.

The two cults—that of the horned serpent and that of the Snake dance—are regarded as radically different. In the latter the incarnation of the Sky god in various forms, as birds or horned serpents, plays no important rôle, while in the former there is abundant symbolism indicating sun worship, so called. The Snake dance of the Hopi is not primarily a Sky god cult, but rather a form of ancestor worship, in which the mythic Snake maid and the Snake youth figure prominently. These have been identified as representa-

¹A Few Summer Ceremonies at the Tusayan Pueblos. *Journ. Amer. Eth. and Arch.*, Vol. II, pp. 69-108, 1892.

²Tusayan Snake Ceremonies. 16th Rept. Bur. Amer. Eth., p. 309, 1897.

tives of the Earth being, or Corn maid, and the Sky god, but the conception they express is radically different from what we find in the horned serpent cultus. In the Snake dance of the Hopi we have a family ceremony in which the reptiles as elder brothers are gathered from the fields to receive the prayers of their living descendants. They are prayed to as the offspring of ancestral beings, and are supposed to have more power, in influencing the gods who cause the crops to germinate and mature, than the living or human descendants of the same parents. Throughout the legend that explains the Snake dance both sky (sun) and earth play their parts; the former guides the Snake youth through the underworld, and over the sky; the latter is his mentor, the Spider woman.

The prayers at the time of the Snake dance always present the desire of the Hopis for rain to water their farms that corn may grow and yield abundant harvests. Nowhere throughout the rite do we find any idols of these two culture ancestors, but they are represented by a boy and girl in the dramatization of the Snake myth, as recorded in my account of the Snake ceremonies at Walpi.¹ Unlike the *Katcinas*, the participants do not wear masks and no representative of the Sky god leads them into the village.

Nowhere in the Hopi ritual do we find more instructive examples of solar and sky worship than in the so-called Flute dance,² which has been modified by elements of the Snake dance. It would be germane to this discussion to indicate the points of relation between the myths and rites of the Flute and Snake priests, but it would take one too far from the immediate subject in hand. The objective symbolism dealing with sky worship found on one of the altars of the Oraibi Flute festival is worthy of analysis.

The most important idol of one of the Oraibi Flute altars (pl. 8) is identified as the "Heart of the Sky," another name for the sky power. This idol bears a horn on the head resembling that appendage of the horned serpent effigies. Its lower limbs are decorated with zigzag figures that symbolize the lightning, and there are other symbols on this idol that suggest the Sky god. On the sides of this image are idols of the Flute youth and the Flute maid, to which the prayers of the Flute priests for rain and the fertilization of the farms for good harvest are especially directed. The symbol of the sun is worn on the back of a priest in their march (pl. 9) from the Sun spring to the pueblos on the last day³ of the Flute festival. In the myth of the Flute fraternity there are constant references to Sky and Earth god worship in the underworld, which are

¹ Snake Ceremonials at Walpi. *Journ. Amer. Ethnol. and Archaeol.*, Col. IV, 1894.

² The Walpi Flute Observance. A Study of Primitive Dramatization. *Journ. Amer. Folk Lore*, Vol. VII, No. 21, 1894. The Oraibi Flute Altar. *Journ. Amer. Folk Lore*, Vol. VIII, No. 31. The Miconinovi Flute Altar, *Journ. Amer. Folk Lore* Vol. IX, No. 35, 1896.

³ Tusayan Snake and Flute Ceremonies. 19th Rept. Bur. Amer. Eth. 1901.

rudely dramatized in the ceremonies, showing how important these nature powers are regarded. Although sky worship related to that of the horned serpent of the Patki clans appears in the Flute rite, mythologically and ceremonially, the Flute legend and rite resemble those of the Snake dance. These likenesses can be explained by legends that the Flute clans formerly lived with the Patki people and have mutually modified each other. It is instructive to note also that the Flute, like the Snake rite and that of the horned serpent, occurs in midsummer or near the summer solstice, which is a critical epoch in the calendar of all agricultural people.

There occur among the Hopi a few rites about sand pictures of the Sun made on the floors of the kivas. One of the most typical examples of these minor rites occurs in the pueblo Oraibi preceding the return of the Katcinas, or a few days before the advent of the personation of the Sky god which has been described above. The sand painting, a foot and a half in diameter, bounded by four concentric circles of different colored sand, incloses a central area in which is represented the prescribed symbol of the sun. On quadrants of this circular figure there are representations in sand of four arrowheads, each of the color corresponding to the direction of its quadrant, and also four parallel lines, symbols of feathers. After certain preliminary rites, as exchange of terms of relationship, ceremonial smoking and prayers, songs are sung during which the chief takes a flat bowl, perforated with small holes, and sprinkles the sand picture several times with "medicine," at the same time invoking the gods of the four cardinal points.

In the course of this rite a quartz crystal is deposited on the face of the sun represented in the sand picture, but before it is placed there one of the priests, mounting the ladder and standing at the entrance to the kiva, reflects a ray of sunlight upon the picture.

The object of the rite is to convey their desires to the Sky god by sympathetic magic. Instead of asking the Sun god to send the rain, the priests show by action and gestures what is desired, the reflected ray of light from the sun being the induction of the power of the Sky god into his image.

This throwing of the sun's ray into a medicine bowl by reflection from a rock crystal is repeated in other rites in the same way as mentioned above, even when there is no sand picture of the sun. For instance, it occurs in the rite around what is called the six-directions altar, constructed in the following way: After having spread out on the floor a layer of valley sand, the priest makes six converging lines of sacred meal, one of which represents the north, another the west, another the south, another the east, and two others the above and below. At the point of convergence of these lines is placed

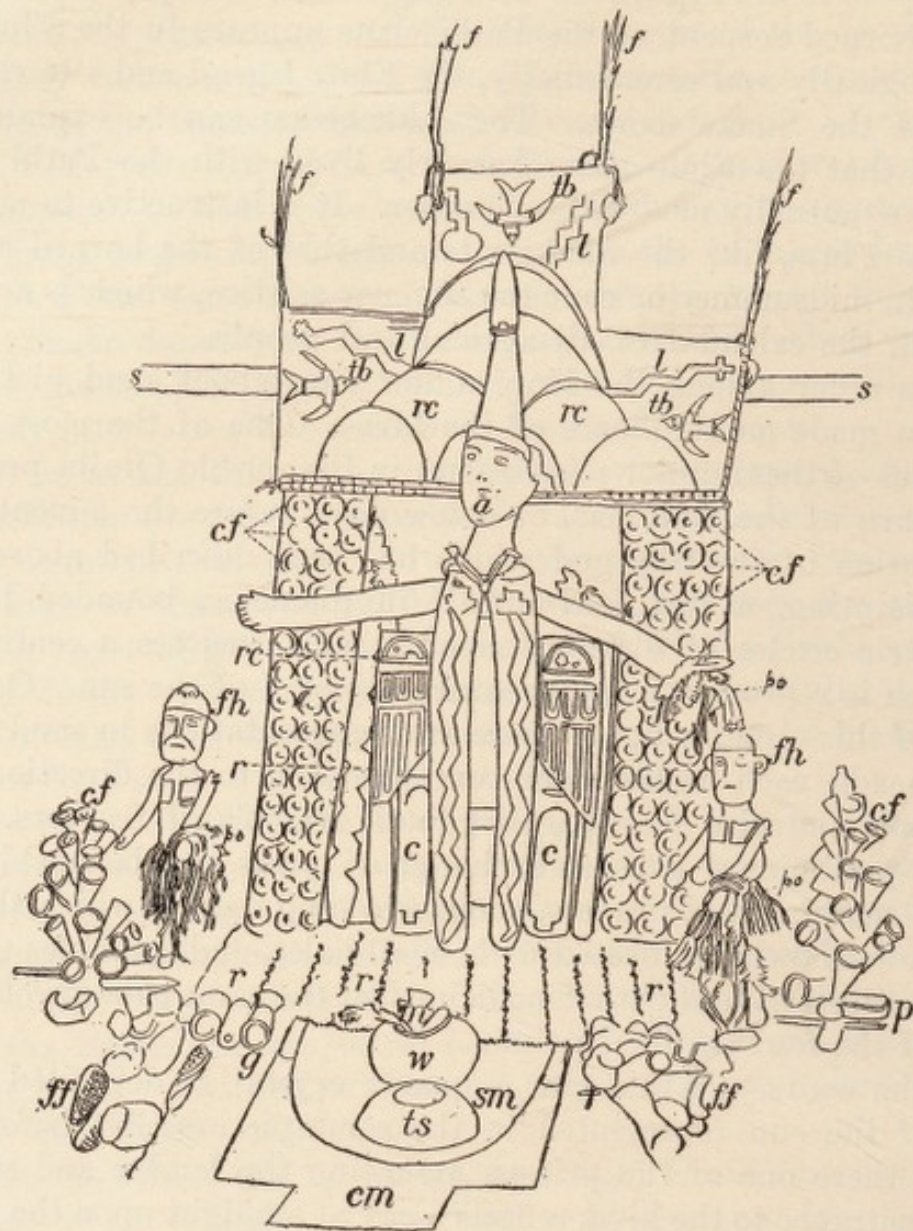


PLATE 8. ALTAR OF THE FLUTE (DRAB) AT ORAIBI.

- a*, Heart of the Sky; anthropomorphic form of Horned Serpent; the zigzag symbols represent lightning; cephalic horn; wings, *rc*; prayer emblem, *po*, breath feathers carried in left or ceremonial hand.
c, Corn slabs of wood.
cf, Corn flowers.
cm, Corn mosaic, made of kernels of corn.
f, Heads of grass seeds.
fh, Idol of Flute hero, offerings in left or ceremonial hand.
g, Unknown objects.
l, Lightning symbol.
m, Symbolic corn plant.
p, Wooden base of symbolic corn plant.
po, Prayer feathers.
r, Falling rain.
s, Wooden rod supporting altar framework.
sm, Sand mosaic.
tb, Bird.
ts, Mound of sand to support badge of flute chief, temporarily removed.
w, Medicine vase.



ALTAR OF THE FLUTE (DRAB) AT ORAIBI.

an earthenware bowl containing the "medicine." At the extremity of each line is an ear of corn of the color corresponding to the direction indicated by these lines; yellow corn for the north, blue or green corn for the west, red corn for the south, white corn for the east, speckled corn for the above, and black corn for the below. On each one of these ears of corn is laid a stone and a drop of honey. The object of the stone is to indicate that the worshipers wish the corn to be hard; that of the honey is to ask for sweet corn of the different colors.

In the course of the songs and prayers about the six-directions altar, petitions are made for abundance of maize, during which, in sequence, each ear is solemnly raised by the priest, dipped in the medicine, and the adhering drops shaken off in the direction indicated by the color of the corn, the stones being left in the medicine. At the conclusion of this rite the priest takes a quartz crystal, mounts to the entrance of the kiva in the roof, and reflects a ray of sunlight into the liquid contained in the medicine bowl.

There are here three different kinds of sun worship due to the northern, eastern, and southern components of the Hopi ritual, but what is said here must be very general in nature. The northern component is, of course, the cult with the living snakes or the famous Snake dance. There are no masked dancers in the Snake dance, no uprights to the altars unless the painted slat called the "butterfly tablet" be so regarded; no anthropomorphic idols except the two on the Snake altar at Oraibi; no prominent plumed serpent or Sky god worship. The cultus hero and heroine are personated by a boy and a girl. This cult is simple as compared with those from East and South.

The cults of eastern and southern provenance have more in common; the Katcinas, derived from the East and South, personify clan ancestors led by the Sky god, both personated by masked men. The Katcinas have elaborate altars with idols, as in their equinoxial and solstitial worship the Patski people have elaborate effigies of the horned serpent, corn maids, germ gods, and the like. There are many minor differences, as presence of clowns, multitude of prayer sticks and the like, but cults of eastern and southern derivation are evidently higher in development, more varied or more differentiated, showing that the Snake dance bears every evidence of being not only a simpler form of worship, but also distinct in its geographical origin from the others, as the Hopi claim. We may call it the cult of the Teamahias or ancient people of the San Juan ruins, strongly represented in pueblos of ancient and surviving in pueblos of modern Keresan stock.

In many of the public sacred dances in Hopiland there appears among the participants a personage who bears on his back a shield

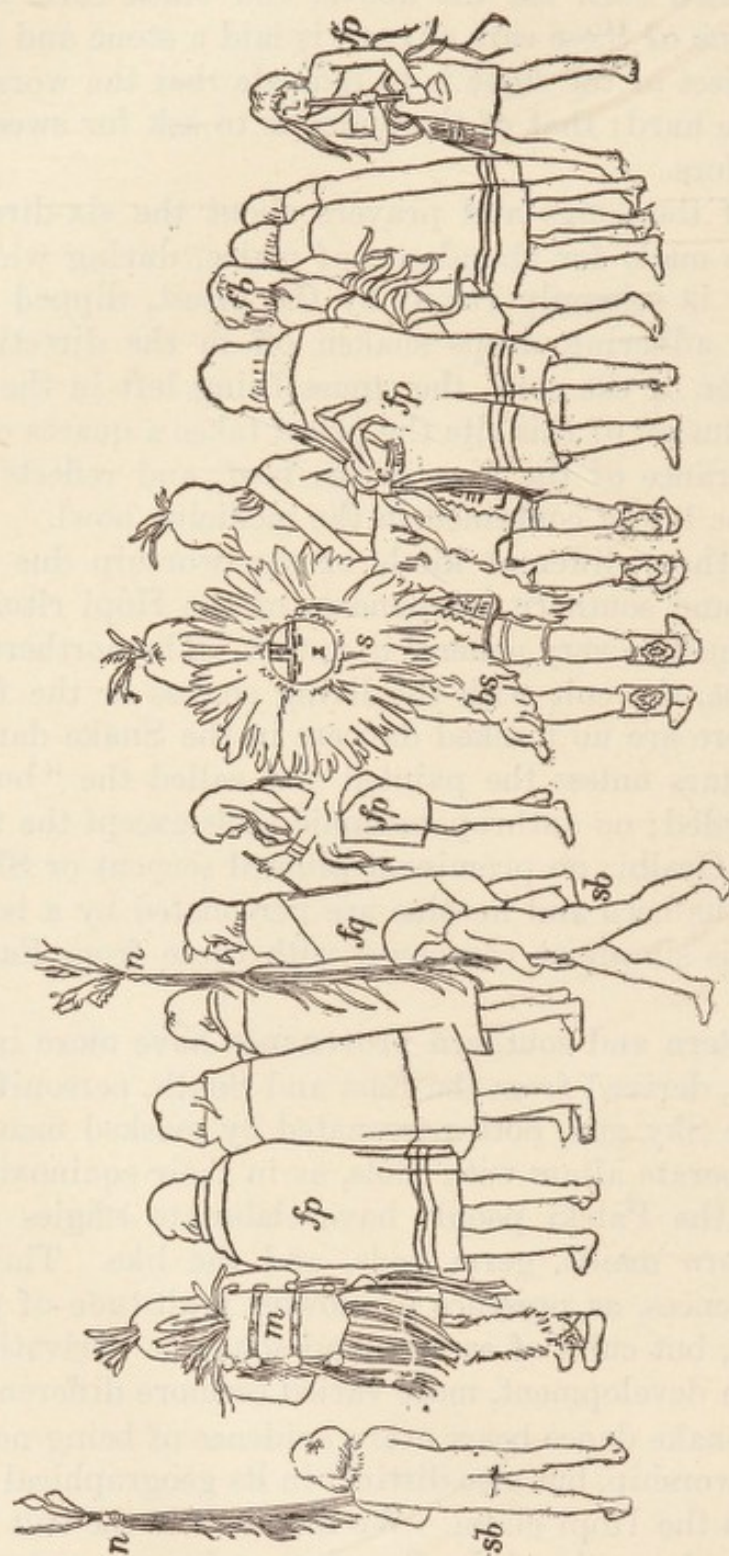


PLATE 9. MARCH OF THE FLUTE PRIESTS FROM SUN SPRING TO WALPI.

bs, Flute priest with sun symbol on his back.

c, Corn plants.

fb, Flute youth.

fp, Flute priests.

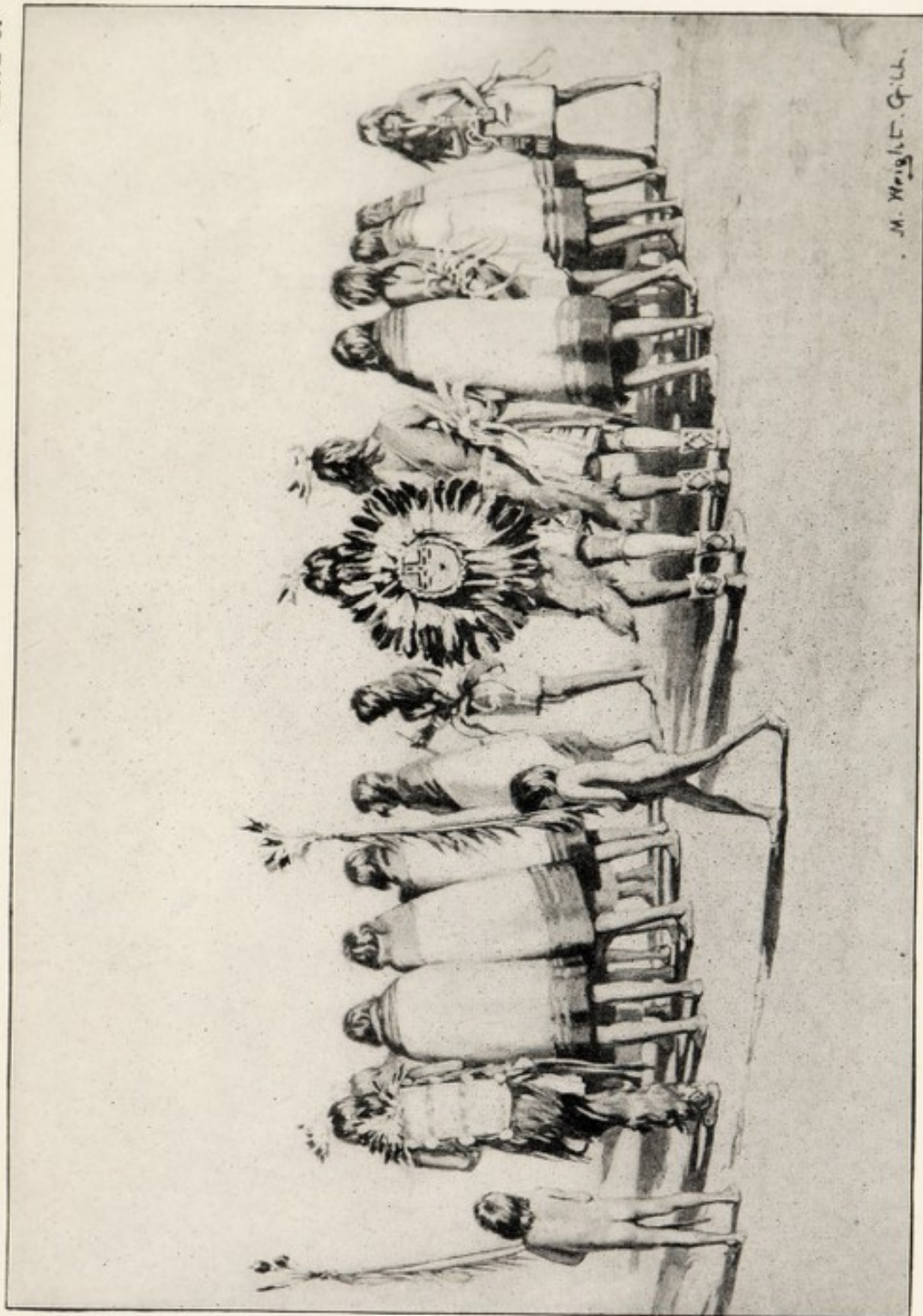
fg, Flute maid.

m, Moisture tablet symbolic of the earth fertilized.

n, Standard of the Flute Society.

s, Sun emblem.

sb, Standard bearers.



M. Wright, G. L.

MARCH OF THE FLUTE PRIESTS FROM SUN SPRING TO WALPI.

on which is depicted the sun emblem (fig. 1 and pl. 9). This appears in certain dances that are worn down to their essential features, having lost in the course of time subsidiary rites which legends declare formerly accompanied them. Take, for instance, the Buffalo dance. Buffalo hunting was common among some of the ancestors of clans that now live with the Hopi, but in the course of time these clans migrated into a region where the buffalo no longer ranged. Naturally, the buffalo cult declined and their great ceremony assumed a contracted form as compared with the original. It has, in fact, be-

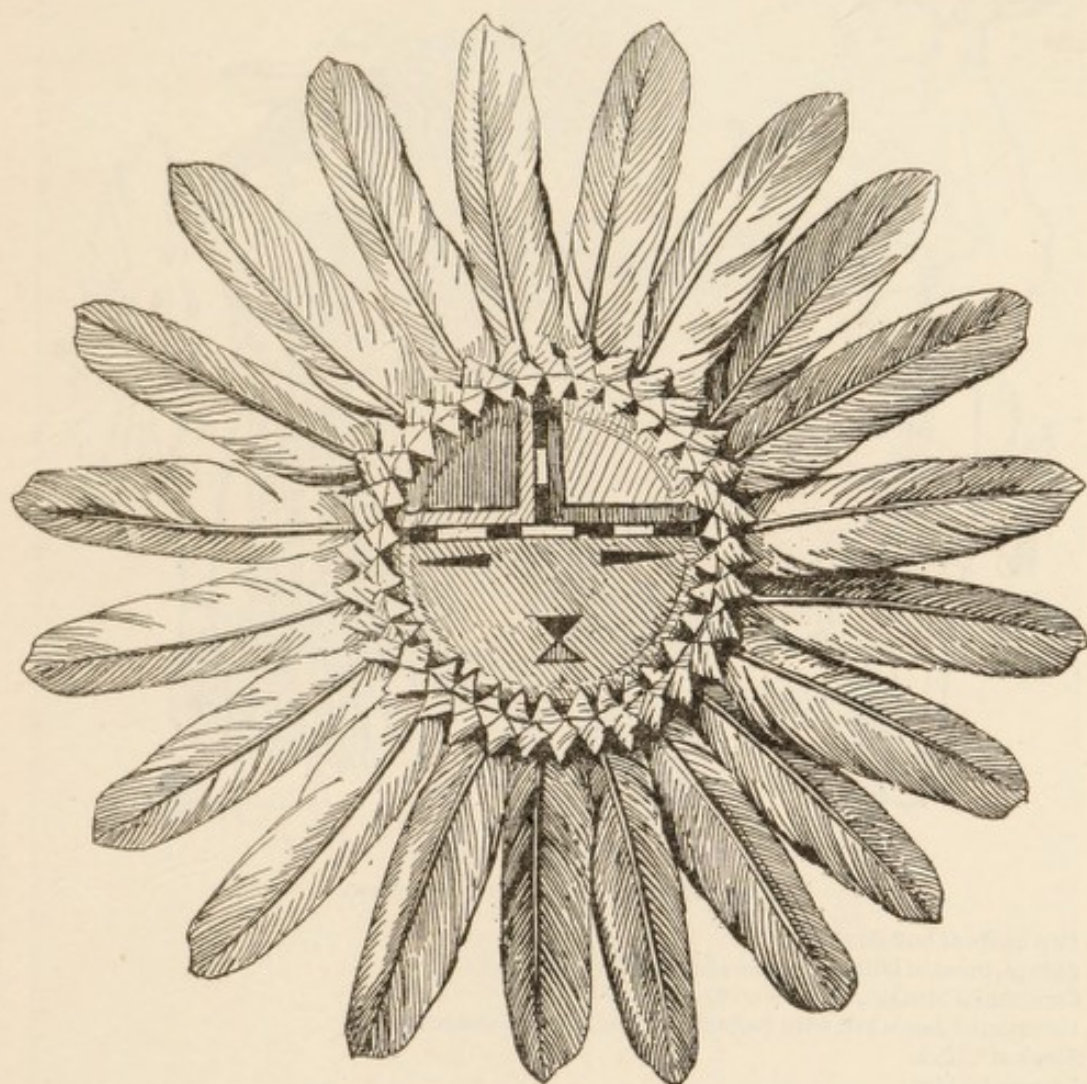


FIG. 1.—SUN EMBLEM (horsehair stained red omitted).

come a spectacular dance of one day's duration, in which appear a girl called the Buffalo Maid and a boy called the Buffalo Youth (pl. 10), the cultus heroine and hero of the Buffalo cult. On the back of the Buffalo Maid is an elaborately made symbol of the sun, while the youth carries a zigzag stick representing the lightning. The signification of these two symbols is apparent; the Buffalo Maid is the daughter of the Sun or the Sky god, and the Buffalo Youth the agent who wields the lightning that fertilizes the earth to produce buffaloes, a modified form of the elaborate drama already described.



PLATE 10. BUFFALO YOUTH AND MAID.

bh, Cap made of buffalo skin.

bs, Skin, symbol of buffalo disguise, formerly a buffalo skin.

cb, Ceremonial blanket, embroidered.

dk, Ceremonial dance kilt with embroidered rain clouds and falling rain.

h, Horns of buffalo.

k, Ceremonial kilt.

l, Stick symbolically representing lightning.

m, Moccasins with fringe.

po, Prayer feathers.

rt, Rat's tail.

s, Symbol of the sun.

sl, Sun ladder, prayer stick.



Mary Wright Guller

BUFFALO YOUTH AND MAID.

One more fact might be mentioned in regard to this abbreviated Buffalo dance, namely, that the prayer offering (pl. 11) made after the dance at the Sun shrine has a very unusual form. It is, in fact, a miniature notched ladder about 6 inches long, adorned with feathers, in imitation of the prayer stick which is placed in the Sun shrine at the east. The recognized object of this strange offering is to aid, by sympathetic magic, the Sky god in rising, as recounted in an elaborate legend to which the legendists of certain clans refer when asked to account for this form of sun worship among the Hopi.

Studies of the idols of the great serpent, taken in connection with Hopi myths and modern ceremonial survivals and symbolism, lead to the conclusion that the great serpent effigy or idol on Hopi altars is the personation of the power we commonly call the Sky god. This power, or the fructifying principle of nature, becomes manifest to man as the lightning, but is visible also as the sun, which has its appropriate symbol and personation. Hence, Sun worship and great serpent worship are indissolubly connected and by some are thought to be identical. They are not the same, but regarded as different, being directed to attributes of the same supernatural being and therefore aspects of the same worship. This power is called by as many names as the personators assume.

When we analyze the meaning of the great serpent represented by God B of the Maya codices or horned serpent figures on shell and other objects from the Mound Builders¹ indicating a similar symbolism, we find evidences of the same conception of a great power sometimes called the Sky god, the great male power that creates, among other things, life and light.

The worship of sun or sky is pronounced in certain individual and secular customs of these people. If he visits any of the dwellings where there is a newly born baby a few days old, the observer will notice on the wall of the room near the fireplace a number of parallel scratches a few inches long made by the thumb-nail. Every day after birth the mother of the baby makes an additional scratch, until they are 20 in number. On the evening of this day begins the rite of consecrating the baby to the sun and giving him a name. In order to see this rite one should spend the night in the room, where he is always welcome, as many of the preliminary events occur before sunrise. About 4 o'clock in the morning the grandmother, or the oldest woman member of the family, prepares for the event. The room is carefully swept, the baby washed, its face covered with sacred meal, an ear of corn tied to its breast. This ear of corn is the symbolic mother of the child, and is carefully preserved through its life. Shortly before sunrise the father seats himself on the east side of the roof, completely muffled up in a blanket with only

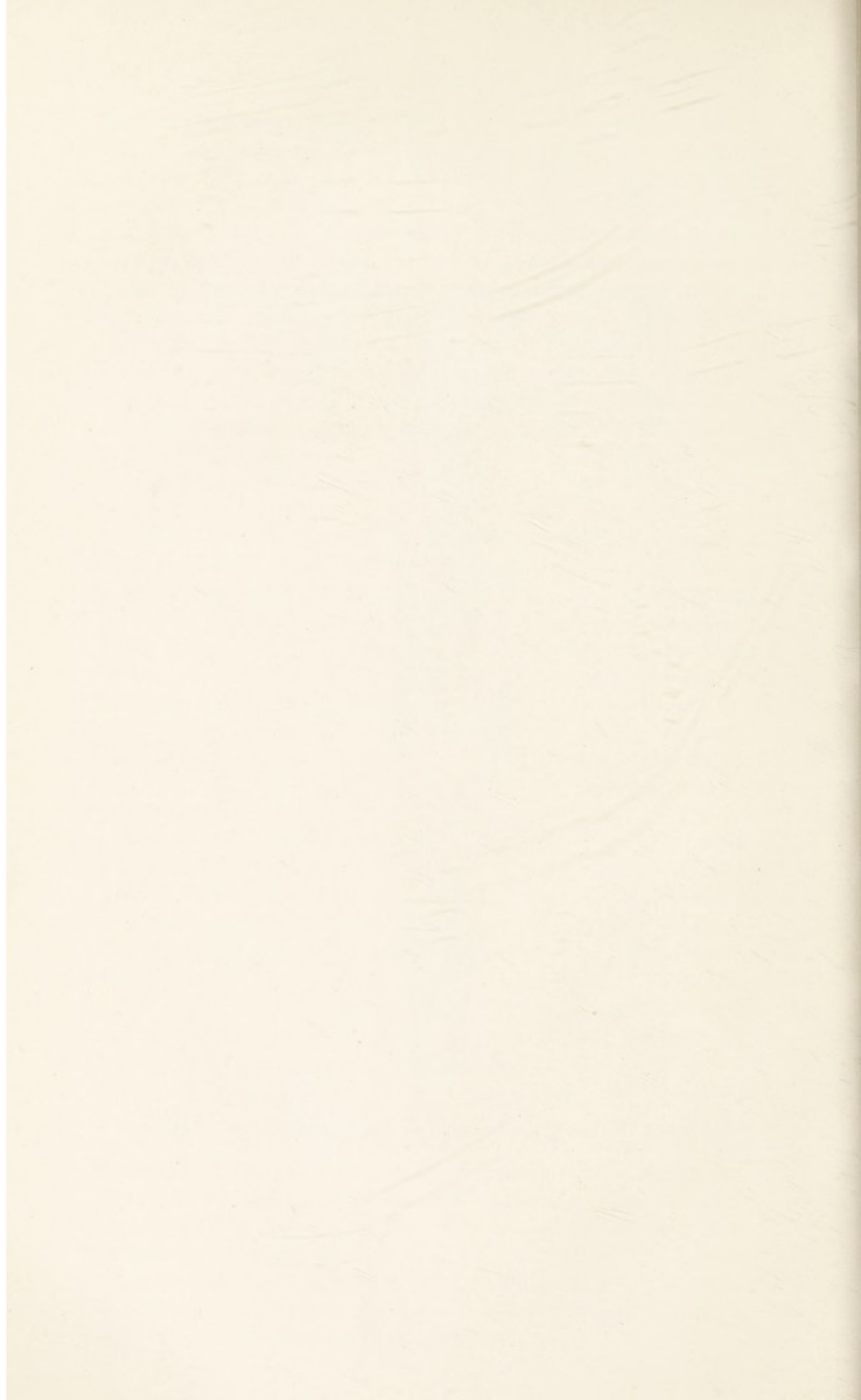
¹ Also the great serpent mound of Ohio.

his face showing. He carefully watches the point of sunrise, and as soon as he sees the light of the rising sun he gives the signal that the time has come for the dedication of the child. There then emerges from the room a procession, led by the mother of the child, and followed by the grandmother, or oldest woman of the clan, who carries the baby strapped to one of the primitive cradles characteristic of these people. The mother traces along the roof a line of sacred meal extending from the entrance of the room to the place where the father is seated. The grandmother follows her daughter holding the cradle in such a way that the head of the child will not diverge on one side or the other from this line, the purpose being that the life of the child may not be crooked, but morally follow the symbolic straight line drawn by the mother. The two women are attended by the other relatives of the family, mostly girls and women. As the head of the procession approaches the father, which is so timed that the sun has just appeared above the horizon, the grandmother holds the baby up to the sun, and the mother says a short prayer, dedicating her child to the being she regards, as do all pious Hopi, the father of all life, at the same time adding the name which she desires her child should bear. At the conclusion of this simple ceremony all return to the household, where a feast has been provided. The baby being the honored person, is placed at the head of the two lines around the bowls of food, but before anyone begins to eat the mother takes in her hand a pinch of every kind of food and throws it in the fire, with a prayer to the gods of the hearth. She then returns to the food bowls, takes a second pinch of all the different kinds of food provided in the feast, and carries it to the baby, placing it in its mouth. The signal is then given and all those present, augmented by many others who perhaps were led to the household for that purpose, begin the feast.

This dedication of the baby to the sun is the first of several rites which occur in the individual life of every Hopi. When the child arrives at years of discretion it is customary to impart to him the knowledge of his relationship to supernatural beings. In other words, up to that time children have been taught to believe that the personations of Katcinas are gods that from time to time perform their elaborate dramatization in ceremonial dances. It is deemed necessary to impart to youths the fact that the priests who personate these beings are their own relatives, but this knowledge must be obtained by a flogging, or by personal suffering. The rite of flogging the children is complicated, and has been elsewhere described, but it suffices our purpose here to mention the fact that the person who flogs the children represents the Sun god. The whole ceremony is explained by an ancient legend which is somewhat as follows, omitting details not germane to our subject.



SUN LADDER PRAYER STICK CARRIED BY THE BUFFALO MAID AT HANO.



In very old times, the legend states, before the seeds of corn and other food which form the diet of the Hopi were brought to mankind, thereby changing their cultural condition, the announcement of this gift was made to a gathering of people who sat around a large sacred stone bemoaning their lot. A voice issuing from beneath the stone, called to the bravest of them to go down into the bowels of the earth to meet the God of Germs. No one of their number dared to accept this invitation save a young man not yet of high standing in the priesthood. He replied to the voice, "What shall I do to enter the underworld?" and the voice replied, "Put your hand on the rock before you." The boy immediately did this and a cleft appeared, widening into a passageway through which he descended.

He passed into the underworld and there entered a beautiful room adorned with sea shells, turquoises, and other objects dear to the Hopi heart. In the middle of the room was the god resplendent in his costuming, wearing about his loins a girdle made of red horse-hair, holding in one hand the shield of the sun and in the other a whip made of the yucca. As the boy approached this being he was greeted with the words "You are welcome here, but you must endure much suffering before you depart. If you are brave of heart you will carry back to your people gifts of great value." Without hesitation the boy advanced and said, "I am ready for any ordeal." Immediately after, the god raised his whip, which, like a stroke of lightning, descended on the bare back of the youth. For some time this went on until the boy was almost exhausted with loss of blood, but he still kept his brave heart, and at the close the gods presented him with a prayer plume with the words "Annually you must plant this stick in my shrine in the upper world and I will bring you all the gifts of nature as a reward. You must perform this initiation ceremony with the youths of age in the village, dressed in the same way as the sun, and singing the same songs which you have here heard. As a proof that I will aid you, I give you here a bundle of seeds which you shall plant yearly. Put your hand upon the rock above you." As he obeyed this command, the rock opened a passageway and the boy passed out to his sorrowing friends. The passageway then closed, and the boy put his hand again on the rock, but it did not open, although the impression of that hand is still pointed out on a rock in the valley below. When he emerged from the underworld, he told the assembled men nothing of his adventure other than that every year the boys and girls of a certain age should gather together in the kivas and he would perform the mysteries of the initiation through which he had already passed in the underworld. "And that is why," added the narrator, "every year in February the personators of the Sun god flog our children

that they may be brave of heart, and that the Sun god in turn may bring his blessings of abundant crops and fertilizing rains."

The last ceremony in the individual life of a Hopi is also connected with the worship of the sky power, or his personation, the sun god. After death the deceased is mourned for a limited time by the relatives, during which there is placed over his face a wad of cotton batting called a mask, in which are pierced two openings for his eyes, and he is addressed as follows: "You have become a Katcina. Aid us in bringing the rain, and intercede with the gods to fertilize our farms." It will be noted that the dead is addressed by the same name as that given to the ancestral personations, which play such a prominent rôle in the worship and ceremonial dances of the Hopi. After other rites, which need not be mentioned at this time, the corpse is wrapped in blankets, in a contracted position, the knees brought to the chin; carried down the mesa by the oldest man of his clan, accompanied only by one or two male relatives, and deposited in a sitting posture in a rudely made grave among the rocks of the foothills. The corpse is placed looking toward the east, and for four days bowls of food and prayer offerings are placed over the grave, but the place of burial is known only to the intimate relations. It is the belief of the Hopi that the spirit of the dead remains in the grave four days, and that the "breath body" of the food placed there is for the consumption of the spirit, or "breath body" of the dead; but at sunrise on the fourth day it is thought to emerge from the grave, and is supposed to follow the sun in its course to his house in the west, which is situated beyond the horizon, indicated by a notch near the San Francisco Mountains, and on to the abode of the dead. The object of placing the dead facing the east is that he may see the sun when it rises and be able to emerge from the grave in time for the journey. Under guidance of the sun, the "breath body" enters the underworld, and is received by the ghostly inhabitants which people it, for this is the abode of the dead, and the Sky god is a ruler of that world, in the Hopi conception. It may be said incidentally that the occupations which the apotheosized pursue are practically identical, in their conception, with those of the quick in the upper world. They not only perform the same secular work as on earth, but also engage simultaneously in similar ceremonies, and at times communicate with them through a hole (sipapu) in the floor of the kiva, returning from time to time as already described in those dramatic dances known as the Katcinas. It will thus be seen that in individual rites from birth to death the worship of the Sky god, in the form of the Sun god, is always present in the Hopi mind, as well as in their great dramatic ceremonies.

