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M. Wright Gill.

Snake Dance at Mishioginovi

Plate 7, LV

NOTES ON TUSAYAN, SNAKE, AND FLUTE CEREMONIES

BY JESSE WALTER FEWKES

INTRODUCTION

The Hopi or so-called Moqui Indians of Arizona are among the few surviving tribes of American aborigines which still retain an ancient ritual that is apparently unmodified by the Christian religion. This ritual is of a very complicated nature and is composed of monthly ceremonies the recurrence of which is precise as to time and place.

It must be remembered that these ceremonies are not performed at irregular intervals by well-to-do Hopi to cure sickness of themselves or their families. Among other Indians this motive is often the keynote of their rites, but while among the Hopi there are ceremonials which are directed to that end, and all the regularly recurring ceremonials are regarded as efficacious in healing bodily ills, they have primarily another purpose. Whether they originated as a preventive of disease, and in their primitive condition had the same intent as the rites of the Navaho shamans, is beyond the scope of this memoir. At present the ritual is performed for the purpose of bringing abundant rains and successful crops.

Two most important summer ceremonies in this elaborate ritual are the Snake dance and the Flute observance, and the former, from the startling fact that venomous reptiles are carried in the mouths of the participants, has achieved world-wide celebrity. It is thought by some white men to be the most important ceremony in the calendar, but anyone familiar with the Hopi ritual will recognize that these Indians have several other ceremonies more complicated, though far less sensational. Only the bare outlines of many of these ceremonies have yet been described, but enough is known to cause due appreciation of their importance in the Hopi system of religion. The Flute ceremony is one of these, and as it is closely connected with the Snake dance it is naturally considered in this connection.

With the accompanying description of the Snake dance at Mishongnovi the author completes his account of the general features of this ceremony in the five Tusayan pueblos in which it takes place, but this additional knowledge of the externals of the observance has by

no means exhausted the subject, as the translation of songs and prayers is yet to be made.

The existence of a Snake dance among the Hopi villages was called to the attention of ethnologists about fifteen years ago, and in late years it has been repeatedly witnessed and described in detail by many observers, but it is hoped that the additional light thrown on the subject by the present studies may further advance our knowledge and prove an aid to more important discoveries.

The present paper has been prepared from notes made at the Hopi pueblos in the summers of 1896 and 1897. At the time these studies were made the author was in charge of an archaeological expedition sent out by the Bureau of American Ethnology, and could give but little of his time to ethnologic investigations. It was impossible to follow the complicated secret rites of the ceremonies through their entire course, consequently this account is limited to those portions which are most obscure. The author studied with care the Snake dance at Mishongnovi and the Flute observance in the same pueblo, of which little was known save the altars. Studies of the latter were conducted in 1896 and of the former in 1897. Certain comparisons with the Walpi Flute ceremony, and new data obtained in 1896, are likewise introduced.

SNAKE DANCE AT MISHONGNOVI IN 1897

A detailed preliminary account of the Snake dance at Walpi in 1891 and 1893 has been given elsewhere,¹ and the general features of that at Shipaulovi, Shumopovi, and Oraibi, as observed in 1896, are also recorded in a previous publication.²

The Snake dance covers a period of at least sixteen days, nine of which are days of active ceremonies, secret or open. These nine days bear the following names: 1, Yuñya; 2, Custala; 3, Luclala; 4, Paic-tala; 5, Naluclala; 6, Sockahimû; 7, Komoktotokya; 8, Totokya;³ 9, Tihuni.³

The author arrived at Mishongnovi on August 16 of the year named, on Totokya, the day preceding that on which the final dance occurred, and saw the public Antelope ceremony performed. He likewise witnessed the Snake race on the morning of the ninth day (Tihuni), and studied the altar of the Antelope priests, and certain of their sacred rites. The only kiva rite of the Snake priests which was witnessed was the snake washing on the afternoon of the last day.⁴

¹Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology, vol. iv.

²Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

³The author was present at Mishongnovi on these days.

⁴Other members of the party were Dr Walter Hough, of the National Museum, and Mr F. W. Hodge, of the Bureau of American Ethnology. It was found convenient to camp at the small spring to the east of the Middle mesa on the trail to Walpi. As this spring can be readily approached by wagons it is recommended as a suitable place for visitors who do not desire to remain in the pueblos overnight.

This article is a record only of what was seen, and lays no claim to completeness, introducing no rites which were not studied, even when there is ample proof of their existence (and the same may be said of the previously cited accounts of the Snake dances at Oraibi and the Middle mesa). Like the preceding accounts, it is simply a preliminary record to aid investigators in future studies until enough material has been accumulated to adequately fathom the meaning of the rites.

The portions of the Snake ceremony to which special attention was given were the altars, the washing of the reptiles, and the public Antelope and Snake dances. There still remain to be investigated several important episodes, such as the rites and songs about the altar. It is expected that this and other fragmentary contributions to the subject will lead to an exhaustive account of the Hopi Snake dance, which the author has had in preparation for the last eight years.

The only known description of the Snake dance at Mishongnovi (plate XLV) was published in *Science* in 1886, by Mr Cosmos Mindeleff, who witnessed the festival at the pueblo named on August 16, 1885, and saw the presentation at Walpi on the following day. He found the two performances "essentially the same, the only difference being in the greater number of performers at Walpi, and in the painting of the body." In a general way this is true, but there are important differences in the kiva paraphernalia and performances, which are characteristic and instructive in comparative studies of the dance. Mr Mindeleff noticed the sand altar, and gave a brief description of it without illustration. He confused the two kivas used, for he speaks of a sand altar in the "Snake kiva proper," or "easternmost kiva." The room where the Snake priests meet and where the reptiles are confined has no altar, which in Mishongnovi is always made in a neighboring room, the Antelope kiva. While observations on the public dance agree with Mindeleff's descriptions, there are significant differences in interpretation, due to enlarged acquaintance with the Hopi ritual. "The Snake gens," he writes, "has nothing to do with the dance, and contrary to the opinion of Captain Bourke it is not referable, I think, to ancestor worship, at least not directly." On the contrary, no one can now doubt that the Snake dance was primarily a part of the ritual of the Snake clan, and that ancestor worship is very prominent in it. We need only look to the clan relation of the majority of priests in the celebration to show its intimate connection with the Snake clan, for the Snake chief, the Antelope chief, and all the adult men of the Snake family participate in it. The reverence with which the ancestor, and particularly the ancestress, of the Snake clan, viz, Teüamana, is regarded, and the personation of these beings in kiva rites, certainly gives strong support to a theory of totemistic ancestor worship.

The reptiles used in the dance are collected on four successive days; the Antelope and Snake races, as well as several other episodes of the Mishongnovi ceremonial, are known to conform essentially to those at Walpi, before described.

THE MISHONGNOVI ANTELOPE ALTAR

The two kivas at Mishongnovi occupied by the Antelope and Snake societies lie not far apart, on the side of the village facing west. The one to the left, as one looks at them from the housetops, was occupied by the Snake priests; that to the right by the Antelope priests. Like all Tusayan kivas, these chambers are separated from the houses, and are rectangular in shape. They are subterranean, with an interior arrangement quite like those of Walpi. The Antelope and the Snake kivas are the only ones in Mishongnovi which the author visited, but Mr Victor Mindeleff mentions the names of five, and Mr Cosmos Mindeleff speaks of three. Evidently, if these enumerations be correct, some of the chambers have been abandoned within a recent period.

The Antelope altar at Mishongnovi (plate XLVI) resembles that at Walpi,¹ Oraibi, Shipaulovi, and Shumopovi² in its essential features, but there are differences in detail. There was no altar in the kiva used by the Snake priests in this pueblo, and this was also true in the other Hopi pueblos, except Walpi. The dual wooden images of Püükoñ and the female counterpart in the Oraibi³ Snake kiva are not in themselves an indication of an altar; for the essential object in a Snake altar is the Snake palladium, or tiponi, which does not exist in this pueblo, and, indeed, is found only at Walpi.

The number of tiponis, or chieftain's badges, which are placed on the altars of the Antelope priests varies in the Hopi pueblos. Walpi and Oraibi have two; Shipaulovi and Shumopovi, one each. There are two tiponis on the Antelope altar at Mishongnovi, both of which are carried by Antelope chiefs in the public dances. Neither of these corresponds with the Snake tiponi of the Walpi chief, who has the only known Snake tiponi. The position of the two tiponis on the altar is characteristic, for they stand one on each of the rear corners of the sand picture, and not midway in the length of the rear margin, as at Oraibi and Walpi.

The sand picture of the Antelope altar at Mishongnovi resembles that of the other Antelope societies. Its border is composed of four bands of differently colored sand—yellow, green, red, and white—arranged in the order given from within outward. These marginal bands correspond with the cardinal points and are separated

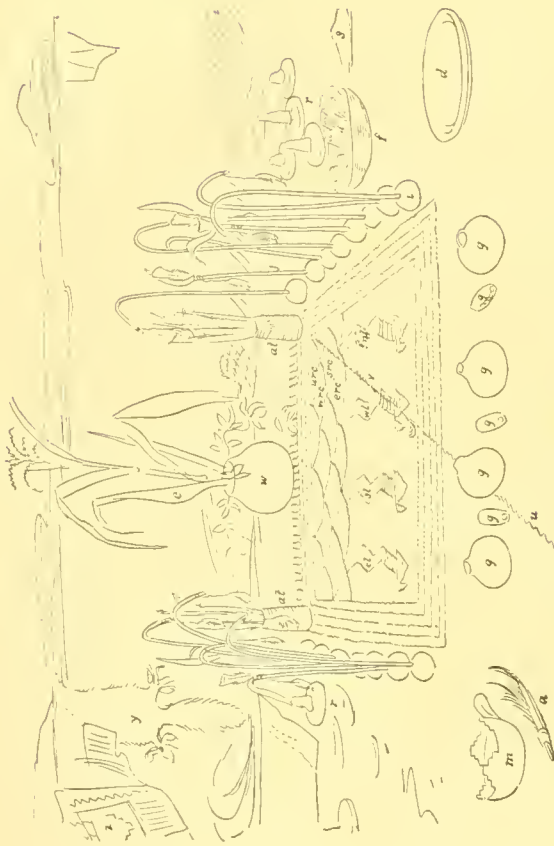
¹Snake ceremonials at Walpi, Journ. Amer. Eth. and Arch., vol. IV.

²Tusayan Snake ceremonies, Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

³On certain years an altar is said to be introduced in initiations.



ANTELOPE ALTAR AT MISHONGNOVI



Antelope altar at Mishongnovi (key to plate XLVI.)

- a, Aspergill.
- at, Antelope tiponi.
- c, Corn stalks.
- d, Tray of prayer-meal.
- f, Basket full of prayer-sticks.
- g, Four water gourds, with three ears of corn.
- i, Clay pedestals.
- j, Crooks (ceremonial bows).
- m, Medicine bowl.
- r, Rattles of Antelope priests.
- s, Pile of sand for spittle.
- t, Meal pathway.
- z, Feather attached to a string.
- ze, Vase containing corn and bean stalks.
- zr, Fox skin worn by Antelope priest.
- z, Kilt worn by Antelope priest.
- zcc, North rain-cloud figure.
- zcc', South rain-cloud figure.
- zcc'', West rain-cloud figure.
- zcc''', East rain-cloud figure.
- zd, North lightning-snake figure.
- zdc, West lightning-snake figure.
- zdc', South lightning-snake figure.
- zdc'', East lightning-snake figure.

by black lines. In the inclosed field, which is white, there are four sets of semicircles of the same colors, each with four members also separated by black lines, and on the border there are a number of short parallel lines. These semicircles represent rain-clouds, and the parallel lines, falling rain.

The semicircular figures occupy about one-third of the inclosed field, and in the remainder there are four zigzag designs representing lightning, as snakes, colored yellow, green, red, and white, with black rims. Each lightning symbol has a triangular head, with two dots for eyes and parallel marks for a necklace. Appended to the head of each is a horn.

On each side of the sand picture a row of sticks are set upright in clay pedestals. These sticks, like those at Oraibi, are straight, and not crooked at the end, as at Walpi. On the last day of the ceremony it is customary for the Antelope priests to hang the bundles of feathers which they wear on their heads on these sticks, as is shown in the picture of the Walpi altar (plate LIII). The straight sticks probably represent arrows, and possibly, when curved at the end, primitive implements of war, allied to bows, for the propulsion of arrow-like weapons.¹

Back of the sand painting, about midway in the length of the rear margin, and slightly removed from it, was a small vase containing cornstalks and gourd vines. This vase is called a "patue" and corresponds with that which the Snake-girl at Walpi holds in her hand during the dramatizations of the Snake legend, elsewhere described. Unfortunately there is nothing known of the part this vase plays in the secret exercises in any pueblo but Walpi; yet it probably has a similar rôle in all. It may be said, in passing, that a similar vase is found on all Antelope altars, even the simplest; and there is no known Antelope altar where cornstalks and vines are absent on the last days of the ceremony.

Four spherical netted gourds were placed at equal intervals along the front margin of the sand picture. These gourds, which were later carried by the Antelope priests in the public dance, are represented at Oraibi by a row of similar objects on each side of the altar. Between each pair of these gourds there was an ear of corn, as is shown in the plate. The author's studies have not proceeded far enough to enable him to connect these ears of corn with those of novices, which,

¹The author's illustration of the Oraibi altar is faulty in representing these sticks crooked at the end. They are straight in this pueblo as well as at Shipaulovi, as was stated in the descriptive text in the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 279. In the Oraibi Snake (not Antelope) dance the priests do not carry these rods from the altar. The left hands of all, with the exception of the man who carried an ear of corn, of the chief, who had his *tiponi*, and of the asperger, who bore the medicine-bowl and aspergill, were empty. Thirteen of the sticks were counted on the left side of the altar, and there were probably an equal number on the right side. There were no stone images of animals on this altar, and the stone "teamahins" which are so conspicuous in the Walpi altar between the clay pedestals and the border of the sand picture were likewise absent. There were no sticks along the front of the sand picture as at Walpi, where, by their distribution spaces or gateways are left in the altar.



ENTRANCE TO MISHONGNOVI SNAKE KIVA

at Walpi, are generally placed on a basket tray near the altar. It is possible that they belong to novices, but their fate when the altar was destroyed was not noticed. Four netted gourds were carried by the Antelope priests in the public dance.

In the public dance at Oraibi each Antelope priest carried one of these water gourds, while in the other pueblos, where the number of participants is smaller, only one or two priests bear these objects. At Walpi, for instance, the Antelope chief has one of the water gourds which is not conspicuous in the public ceremony. At the Middle mesa several gourds are used, while at Oraibi they form an important feature of the ceremonial paraphernalia, and it is probable that the conditions at Oraibi are nearer the ancient than at Walpi in this particular. A number of basket trays containing prayer-sticks occupied the whole space of the floor between the altar and the fireplace. This is similar to what is found at Shipaulovi, as shown in a figure of the altar of that pueblo.¹

There is good evidence that the Walpi custom of making prayer-sticks of different lengths, corresponding to the length of finger joints, and of prescribing the days of their manufacture and the distance of the shrines in which they are deposited, is not followed at Shipaulovi, Oraibi, and Mishongnovi.

While there is a general similarity between the pahos made by the Antelope societies in all the Tusayan pueblos, there are differences in detail. One of the component sticks is provided with a flat facet, on which is painted eyes and mouth, forming a rude representation of a face. While this facet is absent from the Walpi Snake and Antelope pahos, the two sticks which compose the prayer-offering are regarded as male and female.

SNAKE WHIPS

On entering the Mishongnovi Snake kiva all the snake whips were found to be arranged in a row against a banquette at the end of the room. A similar arrangement has also been noticed in the Snake kiva at Shipaulovi, but there was no evidence of an altar or sand picture in the Snake chamber in either of the pueblos named. The snake whips are composed of two shafts, instead of one, with a corn-husk packet of meal tied about the middle. This would seem to indicate that the whips were regarded as prayer-sticks, and indeed this name (paho) is applied to them. During the ceremony of washing the reptiles a small "breath feather" of the eagle, stained red, is tied to the scalplock, but later this feather is detached and fastened by one of the priests to the end of his whip.

¹ Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, plate LXXI.

SNAKE-HUNTING IMPLEMENTS

It is customary for the Snake priests on the four snake hunts to dig out the reptiles from their holes with sticks and hoes. These implements are left on the kiva roof overnight, or while the priests are in the pueblos, and must not be carried to the homes of the owners until the close of the dance. There were noted at Mishongnovi many Hopi planting sticks, a number of American hoes, several old Mexican mattocks, and flat iron knives, also of Mexican manufacture, tied to sticks. At Walpi, Mexican implements have almost wholly passed out of use, but in the Middle mesa villages and at Oraibi they are still employed. The Snake chief would not part with one of these hoes during the ceremony, but had no objection to selling one or more of them after the festival.

WASHING THE REPTILES

One of the weirdest of the many features of the Snake ceremony in the Hopi pueblos is the washing of the reptiles used by the priests. This occurs in all the villages just after noon of the ninth day, and is preparatory to bringing the snakes to the public plaza, from which they are later taken and carried by members of the Snake society in the presence of spectators. The details of this rite, as performed at Walpi, have been described, but no one has yet recorded the variants of snake washing in the other four Hopi villages where it is celebrated.

In order to gather information in regard to snake washing in the other pueblos, the author attended the performance of this rite at Mishongnovi on August 17, 1897. The snake washing at Oraibi and on the Middle mesa pueblos is greatly modified by the absence of a sand altar such as exists at Walpi. In considering the reason for the absence of the Snake altars in these villages, a corresponding absence of a Snake tiponi or badge of chieftaincy is to be noted. Walpi, on the East mesa, is the only Hopi village that has a Snake tiponi.

Considerable time was spent before the snake washing began in getting the reptiles out of the four canteens in which they were kept when not moving about freely in the kiva. These canteens are of baked clay similar to those in which the women carry water on their backs to the pueblos from the springs at the base of the mesa. A hole is punched in the middle of the convex side, and both this and the opening at the neck are closed with corncobs. The reptiles were transferred with difficulty from these vessels to cloth bags, and were laid on the floor near the fireplace. A considerable quantity of sand was brought into the room and spread on the floor on one side of the kiva. A board was placed on a stone seat along the edge of this sand, down the middle of the kiva, and upon this board the Snake priests seated themselves, facing the sanded floor. They were closely



PHOTOGRAPH BY MA. E. ASU JAMES

PLATOON OF ANELOPO PRIESTS AT MISHONGNOVI

crowded together, completely surrounding the sand, save on one side, which was formed by the kiva wall (see figure 42). Three boys—novices—stood behind the line of seated priests, and if any of the reptiles escaped between the men while being released, they were promptly captured and returned to the sand by the lads.

The bodies of all the participants were naked and were stained red with iron oxide, and each man wore a small red feather in his hair. Before taking their seats they hung bandoliers over their shoulders and tied one to the ladder pole. One of their number tied a white buckskin over his arm, and added other paraphernalia characteristic

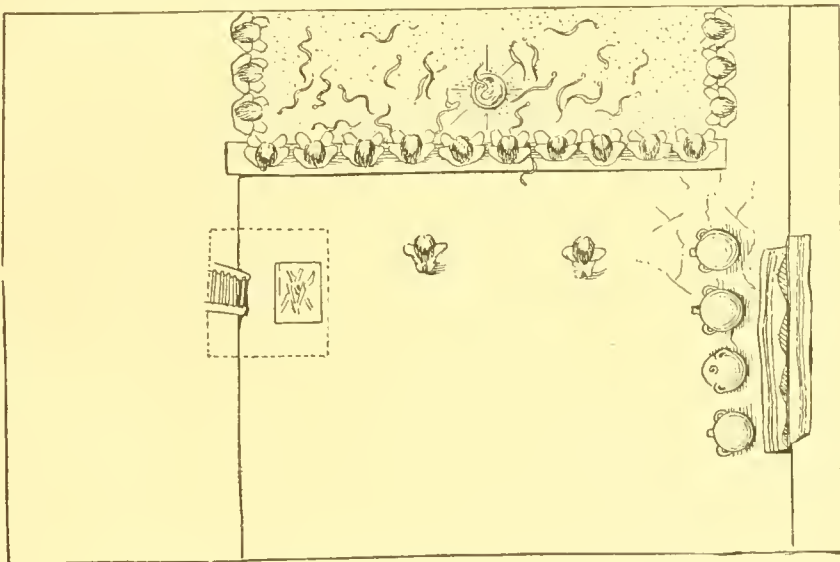


FIG. 42.—Diagram of positions of celebrants in the snake washing.

of a *kalektaka* or warrior. It may be here noted that this personification does not appear in the Walpi snake washing.

Two Snake kilts were spread on the banquette at the end of the kiva, and leaning against one of these was a row of snake whips. One of these kilts was decorated with a complete figure of the Great Snake. Ordinarily the head is omitted from figures of this serpent on Snake kilts, but the Snake priest at the Keres pueblo of Sia, as represented in Mrs Stevenson's instructive memoir, wears a kilt decorated with a complete figure of the Great Serpent. The figure of the zigzag body of the Great Snake on the kilts at the Middle mesa and Oraibi has two parallel bars extending entirely across the design; in the Snake kilts used in Walpi these lines do not join the border, but are parallel with it.

The chief sat in the middle of the line and a man dressed as a warrior was at his side. The former first drew with meal on the sand before

him six short radiating lines corresponding to the six cardinal points recognized by the Hopi, and at their junction he placed a large earthenware basin similar to the kind used in washing the head. Into this bowl the chief poured liquid from a large gourd six times, each time making a pass in sequence to one of the cardinal directions. The remaining liquid was then emptied into the bowl so that it was about two-thirds full. Some object, an herb or root, which was not plainly seen, was next put into the liquid.

A formal ceremonial smoke followed, during which terms of relationship were interchanged among the men. When this had ceased prayers were offered by several of the priests, beginning with the Snake chief. The Snake men then took their snake whips and began a quick song resembling that of the Walpi society during a similar rite, and the priests took the reptiles from the bags and transferred them, three or four at a time, to the liquid. They were then laid on the sand, but were not thrown across the room, as at the Walpi snake washing. The object of placing the reptiles on the sand was simply to dry them, and they were left there for some time after their transference from the bowl of liquid. At the close of the rite the priests resumed the preparation of their dance paraphernalia, painting their kilts, and decorating their bandoliers with the shells which had been given them by the author.

The participants, even when the reptiles were free in the kiva, were not restrained by many of the prescribed rules of conduct which are so rigidly adhered to at Walpi. Members of the society did not lower their voices in conversation, and even loud talking was engaged in during the snake washing. No one at that time speaks above a whisper in the Walpi kiva, and loud conversation is never heard.

The wearing of their bandoliers by the Snake priests during the snake washing seems to be a survival of a primitive custom that has disappeared at Walpi, and the personation of a warrior by one of their number may have a similar explanation. It is interesting in this connection to note that in the Walpi celebration a similar warrior personator accompanies the Antelope priests, among whom he is conspicuous, but he does not appear associated with them in variants of the Snake dances which have been studied in other Hopi pueblos. In the Walpi snake washing, when the Snake chief deposits on the sand the bowl in which the reptiles are washed, he makes four rain-cloud symbols. At Mishongnovi the chief simply draws six radiating lines of meal, but it would seem that the intent was the same in both instances, the Middle mesa practice being perhaps more ancient. At Mishongnovi it was not noticed whether a bandolier¹ was placed under the basin in which the snakes were washed, as is the case at Walpi.

¹ Many of the bandoliers were decorated with rows of small cones, the spines of shells identical with specimens which are occasionally dug from ruins along Little Colorado river. The conus shell, from which these are made, is found in ruins along the Gila, and was used as an ornament, or, fastened with others to a stick, served as a rattle to beat time in rhythm with sacred songs.



THE KALEKTAKA AT WALPI

The idea which underlies the washing of the reptiles in the Snake dance is that of bodily purification or lustration, and probably sprang from a belief in a totemic relationship between reptiles and the Snake clan. It can be explained on the theory that the reptiles, as "elder brothers" and members of the same Snake clan, need purification by water as an essential act in preparation for the ceremonials in which they later participate.

On the morning of the ninth day of the Snake dance all priests of the Snake society and all members of the Snake clan bathe their heads in preparation for the ceremony. The reptiles, or elder members of the same clan, have been gathered from the fields and brought to the pueblo to participate in this the great festival of their family, and it is both fitting and necessary that their heads, like those of the priests, should be washed on this day. The ceremonial washing of the reptiles is therefore perfectly logical on the theory of totemic worship.

A few days after the snake washing at Mishongnovi, the author attended for the fourth time the snake washing at Walpi, finding that the rites presented no marked variation from those of previous years. The exercises at the Middle mesa, and probably at Oraibi, lack the dash of those of the East mesa, and are simpler in character.

The Snake priests of Walpi found it necessary to station one of their number at the hatchway, as a tyler, to prevent the intrusion of the uninitiated during the snake washing, and this will probably become a custom in future dances.

PUBLIC ANTELOPE AND SNAKE DANCES

The public Snake dance at Mishongnovi (plate XLV) has been well described by Mr Cosmos Mindeleff.¹ It closely resembles that at Walpi, which it generally precedes,² and, next to that at Walpi, it is the most spirited performance of this ceremony among the Hopi. On account of their similarity it is hardly necessary to describe both the Antelope and the Snake dance, and consequently this account is limited to the latter, or to details in which differences exist.

A conical structure made of cottonwood boughs, and called a kisi (brush-house), was erected in the plaza near a central, permanent shrine of stone. The kisi served as a receptacle for the reptiles until they were needed, and was made in the following way: holes were dug in the ground at intervals in the form of a circle, and several good size, newly cut but untrimmed, green cottonwood boughs were planted therein. The upper ends of the boughs were bound together with ropes and straps, and a cloth was tied on one side covering an entrance into the inclosure. Smaller cottonwood branches were inserted between the larger ones, making a dense bower amply suffi-

¹ Science, vol. VII, number 174, 1886.

² In 1891, 1893, and 1895 it was celebrated the day before the Walpi dance, and in 1885, according to Mindeleff, the same relative day was chosen.

cient to conceal whatever was placed within. Shortly before the dance began a sack containing all the reptiles was deposited in the *kisi* by two Snake priests.

The public ceremony was ushered in by the appearance of the line of Antelope priests, headed by their chief, who carried his *tiponi* on his left arm. There were twenty persons in this procession, the rear of which consisted of four small boys. Next to the chief came an albino, likewise bearing a *tiponi* on his arm. The Antelope priests were dressed and painted as are those of Walpi, but the four small boys who closed the line wore very small kilts. In the 1885 celebration, according to Mindeleff, there were but ten Antelope priests in line. The increase in number is in accord with what has been observed at Walpi, where the number of participants has also increased in late years.

Each Antelope priest, except one to be presently noticed, carried two rattles, one in each hand, which is characteristic of two of the Middle mesa pueblos, but different from the custom at Walpi and Oraibi, where each Antelope priest carries one rattle only.

The third man in the line bore a medicine-bowl and an aspergill; he wore a fillet of cottonwood leaves, and was comparable with the asperger of the Walpi and other variants. He dipped his feathered aspergill into the medicine-bowl as he entered and left the plaza, and asperged to world-quarters and upon the Snake priests. Before the snake dance began, this man called out an invocation to warriors.

In an account of the Oraibi dance it has been noted that the words of this invocation, which have long been recognized as foreign to the Hopi language, were also used in Keresan songs at Sia pueblo. In the course of these new investigations direct inquiries were made in regard to the meaning of the words, and the identity of the personation by the man who utters them. The man who makes this invocation is believed to represent the Acoma relatives of the Snake people. There are several songs in Hopi secret rites, the words of which resemble closely certain terms of the Keresan language, in addition to the vocables common to sacred songs of all American Indians.

The line of Antelope priests made four circuits about the plaza, and as each member passed the shrine in the middle of the plaza, he dropped a pinch of meal upon it. The same act of prayer was repeated before the *kisi* when the priest stamped violently on a plank as he dropped the sacred meal. The Antelopes then formed a platoon at the *kisi* and awaited the Snake priests, who soon appeared, headed by the Snake chief.

When the Antelope priests had formed in a platoon in front of the *kisi* (plate XLIII), it was noticed that the line was continuous and not broken into two divisions, a right and a left, as at Walpi. The first four men and the ninth man in line, counting from the left, were



PHOTOGRAPH BY MAUDE AND JAMES

WIKI, ANTELOPE CHIEF

barefoot, but all the remainder wore moccasins. There was some variation in the colors of the feathers on their heads, which can be interpreted in the same way as similar variations at Walpi, later considered; but it was noticed that certain of the priests failed to have the white zigzag markings on their bodies, so conspicuous in the Walpi celebration.

The entrance of the Snake priests into the plaza was not so animated as at Walpi under the leadership of Kopeli, but their circuits were the same, and their dress and adornment was quite similar in the two pueblos. The Snake priests filed about the plaza four times, stamped on the plank in the ground before the kisi as they passed it, and took their positions facing the Antelope priests. The ceremonies at the kisi began with a swaying movement of their bodies in unison with the song of the Antelopes, and, as it continued, the Snake priests locked arms, and, bending over, shook their whips at the ground with a quivering motion as if brushing a vicious snake from a coiled posture. These preliminary songs, with attendant steps, lasted about a quarter of an hour, at the close of which time the startling feature of the ceremony—the carrying of the reptiles about the plaza—began. This was one of the best presentations of the Snake dance ever seen in the Hopi pueblos.

One of the most conspicuous men in the line of Snake priests personified a warrior (*kalektaka*), who wore on his head a close-fitting, open-mesh, cotton skull-cap, which represents the ancient war-bonnet.¹ This warrior-personation entered the kisi, and there, concealed from view, held the neck of the bag in which the reptiles were confined to the entrance of the kisi, and as the imprisoned snakes were needed he drew or forced them from the bag to be taken by those outside.

The Snake priests divided into groups of three, each group consisting of a "carrier" who held the reptile in his mouth, a "lugger" who placed his left hand on the right shoulder of the carrier, whom he accompanied in his circuit about the plaza, and the "gatherer," who collected and carried the snakes after they were dropped. The reptiles were not handed to the Antelope priests to hold during the dance. As the priests circled about with the snakes in their mouths, two platoons of women sprinkled them with sacred meal from trays which they held as a prayer-offering. The Antelopes remained in line by the kisi, singing and shaking their rattles as the rite progressed.

At the close of the dance the chief made a ring of meal on the ground, in which he drew six radial lines corresponding to the cardinal points, and all the reptiles were placed within this circle. At a signal after a prayer the Snake priests rushed at the struggling mass, and seizing

¹ The wooden image, in the Oraibi Snake kiva, representing Püüköñ, has on its head the representation of one of these war-bonnets. The head of the female idol with the War-god has the terraced rain-cloud so common on female idols.

all the snakes they could carry darted down to the mesa side and distributed them to the cardinal points. A shower of spittle from the assembled spectators followed them, much to the discomfort of those who did not happen to be on the housetops. This habit of expectorating after those bearing important prayers is also noticeable in the *Niman-kateina*, or Departure of the *Kateinas*, and may be considered as a form of prayer for benefits desired. Before the reptiles which had been thrown into this ring of meal had been seized by the priests they crawled together and the girls and women threw what meal remained in their plaques upon the writhing mass. Some of the spectators were likewise observed to throw pinches of meal in that direction. This is a symbolic prayer which will later be discussed. After the reptiles had been seized by the Snake men and carried down the mesa, one or two persons, among others a Navaho woman, scraped up some of this meal from the ground. About sixty reptiles were used, of which more than a half were rattlesnakes.

The reptiles are carried in the mouths of the Snake priests at *Mishongnovi* in the same manner as at *Walpi*, hence the descriptions of the functions of carrier, hugger, and gatherer in the *Walpi* variant will serve very well for the same personages at *Mishongnovi*. With minor differences in ceremonial paraphernalia and symbolism, the public Antelope and Snake dances in the largest pueblo of the Middle mesa and at *Walpi* are identical.

One of the Snake priests did not obtain any of the snakes in the rush for them as they lay on the ground. He seized, however, a large snake which a fellow priest held and for a moment there was a mild struggle for the possession of it, with apparently some ill feeling. But at last he gave it up, and after his companions had departed he made several circuits of the plaza alone, each time stamping on the plank before the *kisi*, and then marched off. In an account of the termination of the *Shumopovi* Snake dance of 1896, a similar failure of Snake men to obtain reptiles at the final *mêlée* is mentioned. It is apparently not regarded an honor to depart from the *kisi* at the close of the dance without a snake, and in both instances some merriment was expressed by the native spectators at the man who had left the plaza empty-handed.

After the reptiles had been deposited in the fields the Snake men returned to the pueblo, took the "emetic," vomited (plate LI), and partook of the great feast with which the Snake dance in the Hopi pueblos always closes.

SNAKE DANCE AT WALPI IN 1897

Several of the more important features of the *Walpi* Snake dance were witnessed in 1897, and a few new facts were discovered regarding obscure parts of this variant. In the year named, the author sought



PHOTOGRAPH BY WAUDE AND JAMES

PARTICIPANTS TAKING THE EMETIC AT WALPI

especially to notice any innovations or variations from the presentations in 1891, 1893, and 1895, which might result from deaths in the ranks of the celebrants and the increase in the number of white spectators.

The kiva exhibitions were found to remain practically unchanged, and notes made in 1891 might serve equally well as a description of the rite in 1897, although the participants had changed. The mortality among the Antelope priests since the dance was first studied in 1891 has been great, among those who died being Hahawe, Nasyuñweve, Masiumtiwa, and Intiwa—practically all the older members except Wiki. This has led in some instances to the introduction of lads to fill out the complement of numbers, and with them has come some loss of seriousness in the kiva exercises. For an unknown reason Hoñyi took the part of a Snake priest, and old Teoshoniwû (Teino), after several years of absence, resumed his rôle of asperger of the kisi. With the death of the older men of this society much ancient lore concerning the Snake-dance legend has been lost, for the boys who have taken their places are too young to understand or indeed to care much for the ceremony, even if its significance could be explained to them. Wiki, the Antelope chief (plate L), is so deaf that it is next to impossible to communicate with him on the subject, so that much of the Walpi Snake lore is lost forever.

WASHING THE REPTILES

The exercises in the Snake kiva during the washing of the snakes were practically identical with those elsewhere described, and therefore need not be repeated: but an exceptional event occurred at the end of the rite: One of the reptiles had crawled up the side of the room above the spectators' part and had hidden in a hole in the roof, so that only a small part of the scaly body could be seen. An attempt was first made to dig the snake out from the inside of the room, but as that was not successful some of the men went outside on the roof, and were obliged to remove some of the stones before the reptile was captured. It was finally brought down the ladder and washed with the others.

Supela was followed out of the kiva in order to note more in detail than hitherto what was done with the liquid in which the snakes had been bathed, and with the altar sand in which they had been dried (plate LI). He went through the western court of Walpi to the end of the mesa, and, standing on the edge of the cliff, poured a little of the water over it in four places. Although his explanation of this act was not very lucid, the rite is undoubtedly connected in some way with world-quarters worship. The bowl in which the snakes had been washed was later deposited, with the jars in which they had been kept,

in a crypt on the northern side of the mesa. As these jars must not be profaned by any secular use, they are deposited in a special cave, as is the figurine of Talatunsi used in the New-fire rites.

INFLUENCE OF WHITE SPECTATORS

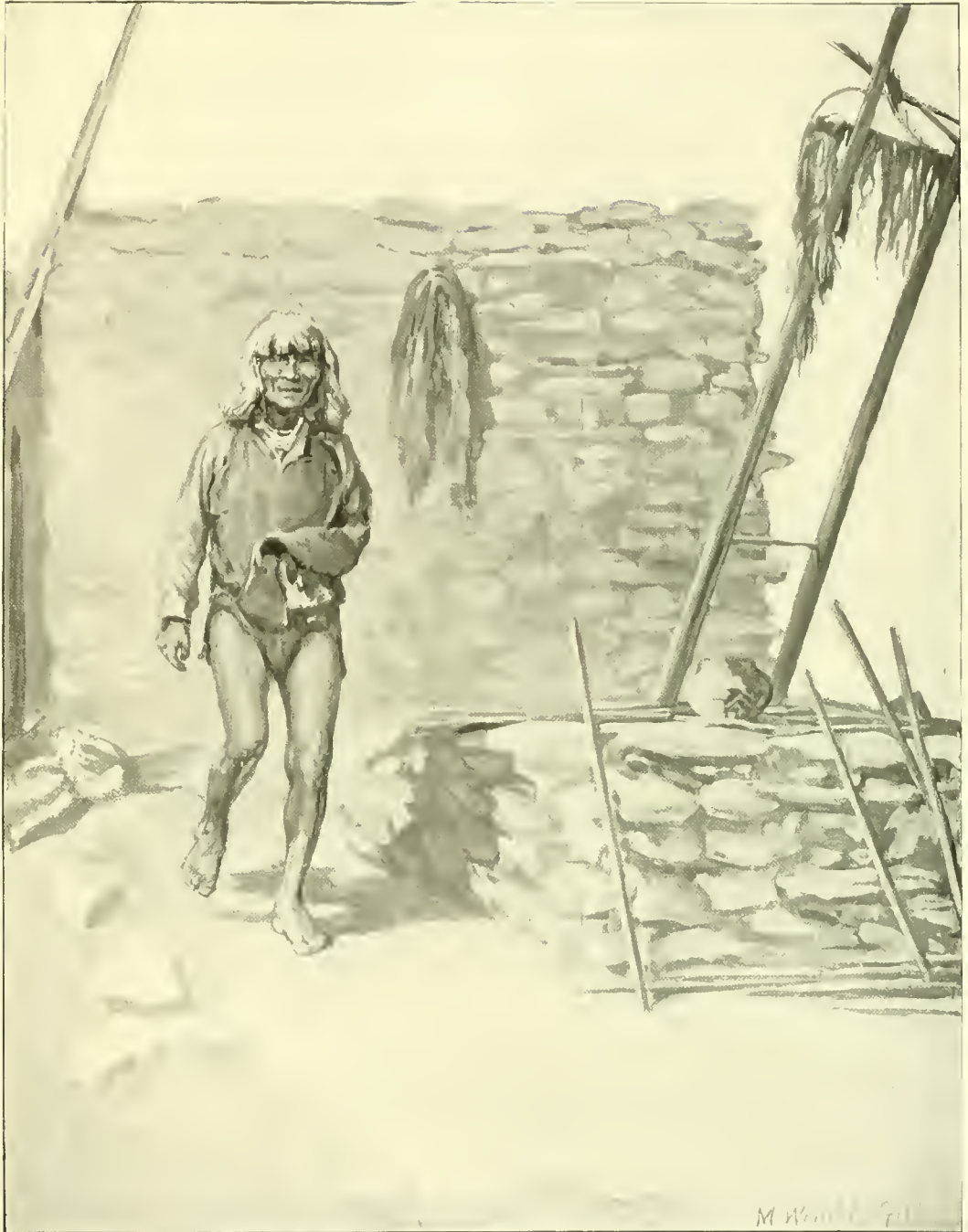
The number of white spectators of the Walpi Snake dance in 1897 was more than double that during any previous dance, and probably two hundred would not be far from the actual enumeration. An audience of this size, with the addition of various Navaho and the residents of Walpi and neighboring pueblos, is too large for the size of the plaza, and it became a matter of grave concern to those who are familiar with the mode of construction of the walls and roofs of the pueblo whether they would support the great weight which they were called upon to bear (plate LV). Happily these fears proved to be groundless, but if the spectators increase in number in the next presentations as rapidly as in the past, it will hardly be possible for the pueblo to accommodate them.

The influx of white spectators has had its influence on the native performers, for, when gazed upon by so many strangers, some of the Snake men appeared to be more nervous, and did not handle the reptiles in the fearless manner which marked earlier performances. The older members of the fraternity maintained the same earnestness, but the more youthful glanced so often at the spectators that their thoughts seemed to be on other subjects than the solemn duty before them, and they dodged the fallen reptiles in a way not before seen at Walpi. A proposition to perform the dance at Albuquerque, New Mexico, in 1897, was entertained by the young men, but was promptly refused by the chiefs. Germs of a degeneration of the religious character of the Walpi Snake dance have thus begun to develop. When the old men pass away it may be that an attempt to induce the Snake priests to perform their dance for gain will be successful; but when that time comes the Snake dance will cease to be a religious ceremony, the secret rites will disappear, and nothing remain but a spectacular show.

UNUSUAL FEATURES

During the public exhibition of the Walpi Snake dance in 1897 several of the priests carried a tiny snake with the head protruding from the mouth like a cigar. Kopeli explained this by saying that he had found a brood of young snakes, but that they were not put in the cottonwood bower on account of their small size and the consequent difficulty in finding them. They were therefore held in the performers' mouths from the time they left their kiva.

The author's attention was called by one or two of the spectators to the fact that one of the Snake priests was bitten during the dance, but when the chief was asked for the name of the man bitten no information



SUPELA AT ENTRANCE TO WALPI SNAKE KIVA

in that respect could be elicited; he declared that no one had been bitten during the exhibition. One of the writer's party says that he saw one of the Snake priests with a small frog in his mouth, which is apropos of a statement by a responsible Indian that in former times other animals than snakes were carried by the priests in their mouths. Subsequent interrogations of the chief failed to make known the man who carried the frog in the way indicated.

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS

An enumeration of the participants in the last four performances of the Walpi Snake dance shows that the number is gradually increasing. The Snake society has become a very popular one, possibly on account of the increase in the number of visitors. Several young men of Walpi wish to join, and a man at the Middle Mesa declared that while he did not care to become a member of the Snake society of his own pueblo he would much like to be enrolled among the followers of Kopeli. The gradual increase in the number of participants certainly does not show a decline in the popularity of the Snake dance, or that it is likely soon to be abandoned. The religious element, in which the ethnologist has the greatest interest, will be the first to disappear. In all the Tusayan pueblos, save Walpi, the number of Antelope priests is about the same as that of Snake priests; but at Walpi there are over twice as many Snake as Antelope priests. It is evident that this predominance is due to the popularity of the society (since the clan is no larger in Walpi than in the other pueblos), and may be traced directly to the influx of visitors to witness the spectacular performance; but while the number of Antelope priests at Walpi has diminished, that of the Snake priests has steadily increased.¹

WOMEN MEMBERS OF THE SNAKE SOCIETY

The women members of the Snake society are so numerous that Kopeli did not pretend to count them or to be able to mention their names. They never take part in the public Snake dance, except by sprinkling meal on the participants, but join the society and offer their children for initiation as a protection against rattlesnake bites and for the additional benefit of the invocations in the kiva performances. There are also women members of the Antelope society, but they are not so numerous as in the Snake society. These women belong to several clans, and the membership of women in both societies is a survival of ancient times when all members (females as well as males) of the Horn and Snake clans were members of the Antelope and Snake societies.

¹ A count of the Snake priests in 1891 indicated 41, and there were 4 novices that year. The author omitted to note the number of novices in 1893, 1895, and 1897, but counted 50 Snake priests in 1897.

PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE WALPI SNAKE DANCE

During the last five performances the Snake dances in the Hopi pueblos have been photographed again and again, with varying success. Although the conditions of light at the time of the dance are poor, there has been a steady improvement at each successive presentation, and fine views can now be purchased from various photographers. The author has made a collection of these views, most of which were presented by the photographers, and has selected some of the more instructive for illustration in this article.

THE WALPI ANTELOPE ALTAR

The accompanying illustration (plate LIII) shows the Antelope altar at Walpi on the ninth day of the Snake dance. It was based on an excellent photograph made by Mr George Wharton James, who has kindly allowed me to make use of his photographic work. The plate differs from the photograph in several respects, for on the day (Totokya) on which the latter was taken several objects, as the two tiponis, were absent, and the sand mosaic was imperfectly represented. These two features are restored in the illustration.

TIPONIS

Of all objects on a Hopi altar perhaps the most important and constant is the badge of office or palladium, known as the tiponi, of the religious society which celebrates the rites about it. The Antelope altar has for the first seven days two tiponis, the Snake and Antelope. When the Snake altar is constructed the Snake tiponi is taken from the Antelope kiva to the Snake kiva, where it forms the essential object of the new altar. The two tiponis are shown in plate LIII at the middle of the side of the altar, on the border of the sand picture next to the kiva wall. The two tiponis are separated by a stone fetish of the mountain lion. These two objects of the societies, called "mothers," are the most sacred objects which the altars contain, and their presence shows that the altars are the legitimate ones. Each is deposited on a small mound of sand upon which six radiating lines of sacred meal are drawn by the chief.

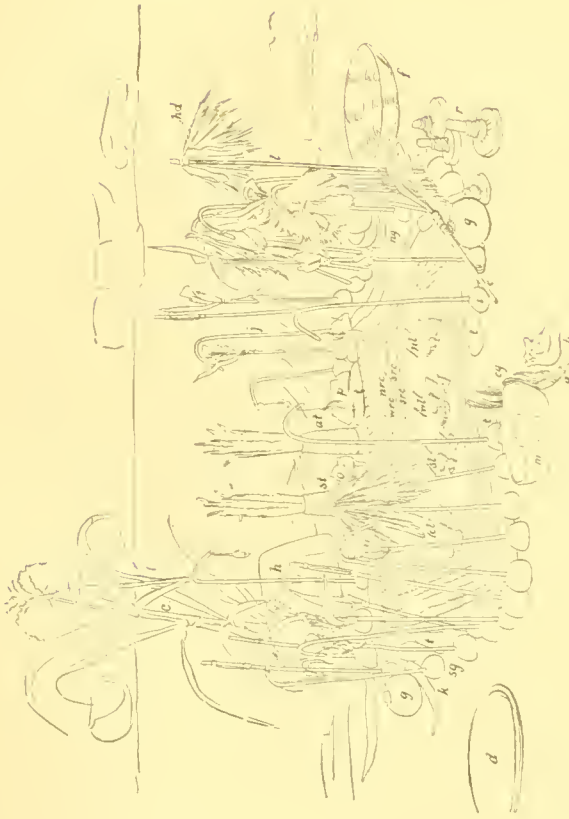
STONE IMAGES OF ANIMALS

There were several stone images of animals on the Antelope altar at Walpi, which were distributed as follows on the western border of the sand mosaic near the tiponis: the largest, representing a mountain lion, stood between the two palladia of the society. It was upon this fetish that Wiki rested his conical pipe when he made the great rain-cloud smoke after the eighth song in the sixteen-songs ceremony, as elsewhere¹ fully described.

¹Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology, vol. IV.



ANTELOPE ALTAR AT WALPI



Antelope altar at Walpi (key to plate LIII)

- a*, Asherigill.
ad, Antelope tiponi.
b, Tobacco pouch.
c, Corn stalks.
d, Tray of prayer-meal.
e, Snake prayer-stick.
f, Basket for prayer-sticks.
g, Water gourd.
h, Butterfly mud stone.
i, Clay pedestals.
j, Crooks (ceremonial bows).
k, Corn husk with pollen.
l, Ceremonial arrow.
m, Medicine bowl.
mp, Armbands.
n, Pouch of mountain lion.
o, King crab (*Loxotles polyphemus*).
p, Rattles of Antelope priests.
st, Snake tiponi.
t, Temmahia.
mcc, North rain-cloud figure.
ssc, South rain cloud figure.
wp, West rain-cloud figure.
ep, East rain-cloud figure.
nl, North lightning-snake figure.
wl, West lightning-snake figure.
sl, South lightning-snake figure.
el, East lightning-snake figure.
ng, North gate.
eg, East gate.
sg, South gate.
ld, bunch of leathers worn by an Antelope priest.

There were also three smaller stone animals, which belonged to Wiki, in a row by the side of the Antelope tiponi; and an equal number, the property of the Snake chief, placed in a similar way by the side of his tiponi. When the Snake chief makes his altar in the Snake kiva he takes his three animal fetishes and his tiponi from the Antelope altar and deposits them on his own altar.

TCAMAHIA

The row of flat stone implements called teamahia was arranged around the border of the sand picture, there being on each of three sides a midway opening called a gate. There were eighteen of these objects. They were of smooth light-brown stone, similar to those often excavated from ancient Arizona ruins. Those on the northern and southern sides were regarded as male, the eastern and western ones as female teamahia. They were looked upon as ancient weapons, representing the Warrior or Puma clan of the Snake phratry.

The displaced teamahia on the right side of the sand picture, near a gap or gateway in the row of pedestals on that side, was the stone implement which Kakapti used in rapping on the floor as an accompaniment to one of the sixteen songs, as has been elsewhere described.¹

It should be noted that the name of these ancient stone objects is identical with the opening words of the invocation which the asperger utters before the kisi in the public Snake dance. These words are Keresan, and are used in ceremonies of the Sia,² but their signification was not divulged by the Hopi priests. It is probable that we have here, as often happens in ancient customs, a designation of stone implements by the name applied to them by the people who originally used them.

STICKS ABOUT THE SAND MOSAIC

The sticks which are placed about the sand picture are of two kinds, some having a crook at the end, the others being straight throughout. The arrangement of these sticks may be seen in the accompanying plate LIII, where they are shown placed in clay pedestals on the outer margin of the sand mosaic.

The sticks provided with a crook have attached to them a string with a breast feather of an eagle, stained red. The straight sticks, called arrows, have more complicated appendages, for to their upper ends are attached a packet of meal, a feather, and a dried corn leaf. The bundles of feathers represented in the plate as fastened to the ends of these sticks are those which the priests wear on their heads during the public dances. These bundles are not found on the sticks

¹ Snake ceremonials at Walpi, *Journal American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. IV, p. 34.

² Mrs. M. C. Stevenson, *The Sin*, Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. Mrs. Stevenson mentions similar words used in invocations to the warriors of the cardinal points.



PHOTOGRAPH BY MAUDE AND JAMES

KAKAPTI AT ENTRANCE TO WALPI ANTELOPE KIVA

during the first days of the ceremony; they are not essential to the efficacy of the altar, but are hung as indicated because of the sacred influence which is supposed to be imparted to them through this association. For the same reason there are placed on the altar the several rattles seen on the right-hand corner, as well as the netted water gourds which appear here only on the last two days of the Snake ceremony, in the public dances of which they are used. Two objects to the right of the tiponi, on the rear margin of the sand mosaic, have been added to the altar fetishes since the celebration of 1891. They occupied the position named during the 1893, 1895, and 1897 celebrations. One of these is the cephalothorax of a king crab (*Limulus polyphemus*), the other a fragment of water-worn wood. Both of these were gifts from the author to Wiki, the Antelope chief, in 1893.

MEDICINE BOWL AND ASPERGILL

The medicine bowl and aspergill are shown in the illustration near the front margin of the altar, to the right of the eastern "gateway", or passage through the row of crooks on that side. The aspergill consists of two feathers tied by a leather thong. By its side is a bag of tobacco. The two whizzers are flat slats of wood with rain-cloud terraces cut in the end.

OTHER OBJECTS ON THE ALTAR

On the right side of the altar, near a netted gourd, there were two corn husks, one of which contained corn meal, the other pollen for the use of the priests who sat on this side of the altar. On the same side, back of the altar, is seen the slab called the Hókona-mana or Butterfly-virgin slab, upon which are depicted butterflies, rain clouds, falling rain, and tadpoles, as has been described in a previous memoir.¹ Near the "gateway" or passage between the crooks, on the right side of the altar, is a rattle upon which two wristlets made of bark are laid. The pointed stick leaning upon a water gourd to the left of the opening through the row of crooks, in front of the altar, is a Snake paho, or prayer-stick, to one end of which are attached a dried corn leaf, a twig of sagebrush, feathers, and a corn-husk packet of sacred meal. The four markings which encircle the corn husk at its attachment to the stick are well shown in the illustration. The flat Havasupai basket to the right of the altar is the one in which the prayer-sticks are placed during the singing of the sixteen songs. The basket was empty when the photograph of the altar was made, for the prayer sticks had just been delivered to Kakapti to carry to the four world-quarter shrines.

¹Journal of American Ethnology and Archeology, vol. iv.

ANTELOPE PRIESTS IN THE PUBLIC DANCE

Twelve Antelope priests lined up near the kisi in the Walpi Snake dance of 1897 (plate LV). Eight of these stood on the same side of the cottonwood bower at the Snake rock, while four were on the opposite side. All the former were adults, and three of the latter were boys. It will at once be noticed that there is a difference in the adornment and bodily markings of the adult Antelope priests. This variation is believed to be of significance, probably being connected with the clans to which the participants belong.

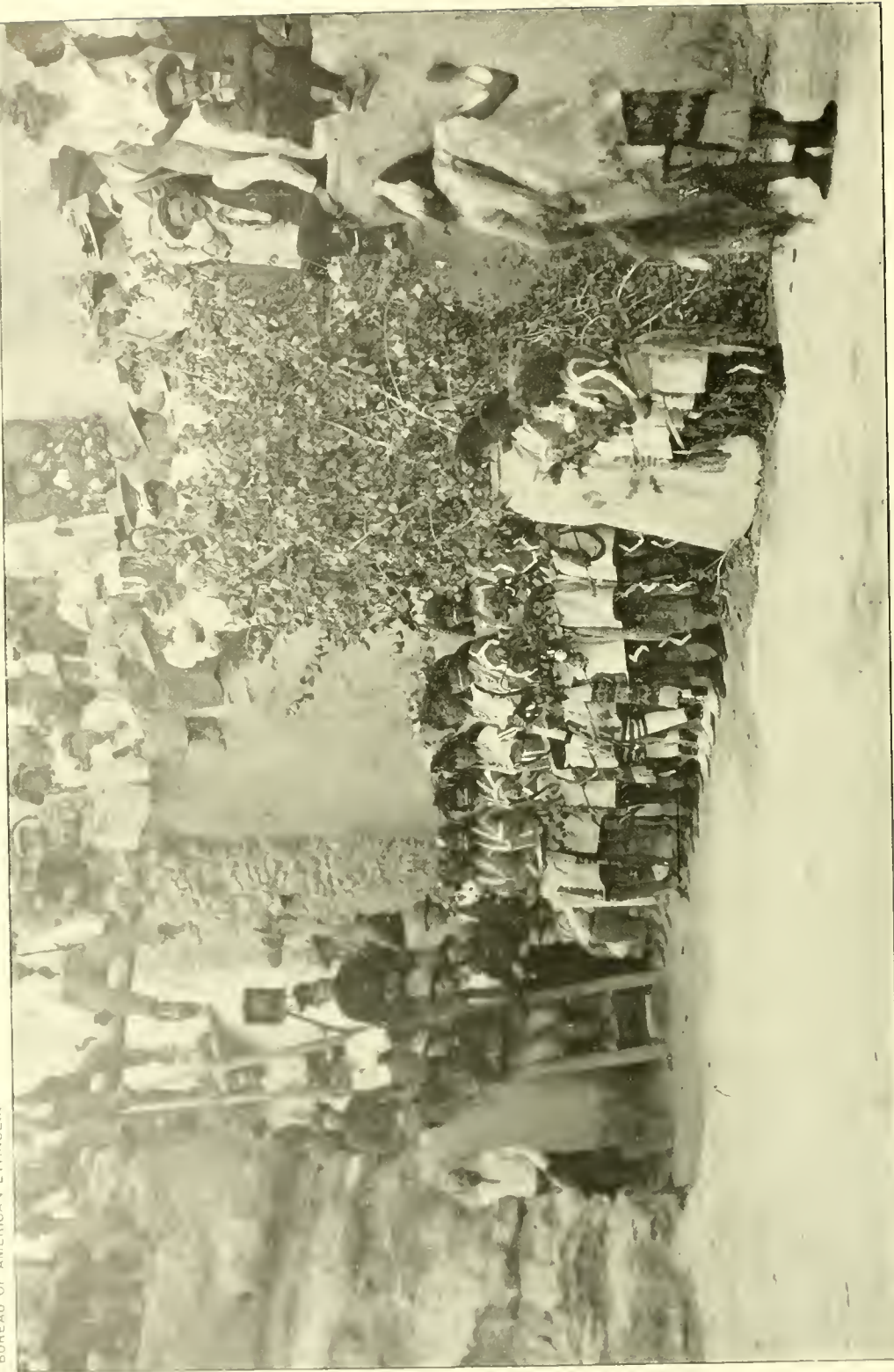
Following are the names of the Antelope priests who took part in the public dance:

1. Teoshoniwû (Teino). This man acted as the asperger, calling out the foreign word "teamahia" at the kisi. He wore on his head a fillet of green cottonwood leaves and a white ceremonial kilt bound about his waist with a knotted cord. His face was not painted, nor was his chin blackened; and the white marginal line from the upper lip to the ears, so typical of the Antelope priests, did not appear. He carried a medicine bowl and an aspergill, but no rattle. His body was not decorated with zigzag lines, which are so conspicuous on the chest, back, arms, and legs of the Antelope chief. Teoshoniwû took no part in the secret rites of either the Antelope or the Snake priests, and he appeared only in the public exhibitions. He belongs to the Patki (Water-house) clan.

2. Wiki stood next in line, and as he is the Antelope chief his dress and bodily decoration were typical of the priests of that society. He wore on his head a small white feather, and his chin was painted black with a bordering white line from the ears to the upper lip. He wore a white ceremonial kilt with a knotted sash, and also moccasins and armlets. On both breasts down to the abdomen, and on his back, arms, thighs, and legs were zigzag lines in white. He carried a rattle in his right hand, a basket tray of sacred meal in his left, and on his left arm rested the Antelope palladium, or Teüb-tiponi. Wiki belongs to the Snake clan and is an uncle of Kopeli, the Snake chief.

3. Katei: The bodily decoration of this priest was like that of the Antelope chief, except that he wore a bunch of variegated feathers in his hair. He carried a stick in the left and a rattle in the right hand, and wore armlets in which cottonwood boughs were inserted. Katei is chief of the Kokop, or Firewood, clan.

4, 5. Pontima and Kwaa: The faces of these two men were painted differently from those of Wiki or Katei; their chins were not blackened, nor was a white line painted from the upper lip to the ears. Their chests were decorated with two parallel white bands, instead of zigzag lines characteristic of Antelope priests. Their forearms and legs were painted white, but not in zigzag designs. They wore embroidered anklets, but were without moccasins. Bunches of varie-



ANTELOPE PRIESTS AT WALPI

gated feathers were attached to their scalps. Each carried a paho in the left hand and a rattle in the right hand, and wore a white buckskin across the shoulders. Four hanks of yarn were tied about their left knees. Pontima belongs to the Ala (Horn); Kwaa to the Patki (Water-house).

6. Kakapti: The dress and bodily decoration of Kakapti resembled those of Katei, but he had a bowstring guard on his left wrist. Kakapti belongs to the Tüwa, or Sand, clan.

7, 8. ———: These men, as well as the three boys who stood on the left of the kisi, were dressed and painted like Kakapti. They carried similar objects in their hands.

9. Wikyatiwa: This man was clothed and painted differently from any other Antelope priest. He wore a white ceremonial kilt and sash; over his shoulder hung a buckskin and a quiver with bow and arrows. From the back of his head there was suspended a bundle of feathers tied to a bone spearpoint by a leather thong. He bore in his left hand two whizzers and at times twirled one of these with his right arm. He also carried in his left hand the so-called awata-natei, a bow with appended horsehair and feathers, which hung on the ladder during the secret rites in the Antelope kiva (plate XLIX). Upon each cheek there was a daub of white pigment, and a mark on each forearm, thigh, and leg. Wikyatiwa personated a kalektaka, or warrior, or Püükoñ, the cultus hero of the Kalektaka society or Priesthood of the Bow.

The objective symbolism of Teoshoniwû, or Teino, the asperger, led me to suppose that he personated the ancestral Teamahia, the ancient people who parted from the Snake clans at Wukoki and whose descendants are said to live at Acoma.

Pontima and Kwaa, who were adorned and clothed unlike Wiki, the typical Antelope priest, show later symbolism due to contact with other than Snake clans, and suggest kateina influences. Pontima took the place of Habawe (Ala clan), who was similarly painted in 1891 but who died in 1893.

An examination of the platoon of Antelope priests, as they lined up at Oraibi and Mishongnovi, failed to reveal any persons dressed similarly to the priests numbered 4 and 5 of the Walpi line. It appears, therefore, that we must regard this as a significant difference in the public exercises in the different Tusayan pueblos. It will also be borne in mind that in the Oraibi Snake dance the asperger, like all the other Antelopes, has white zigzag lines on his chest, and that none of the Antelope priests in the dance at Oraibi were observed to have armlets with inserted cottonwood boughs. There is, however, a close resemblance in the dress and bodily decoration of all the Antelope priests in all the pueblos except Walpi, a fact which tells in favor of the idea that the more primitive form of the ceremony is found at Oraibi and in the Middle mesa villages.

THE MOST PRIMITIVE SNAKE DANCE

We have now sufficient data regarding the five variants of the Hopi Snake dance to enable us to consider the question which one of them is most primitive or more nearly like the ancestral performance. There is no doubt which is the largest and most complex, for the Walpi performance easily holds that position; and there is no other pueblo where the influence of white men is so pronounced, especially in the paraphernalia of the participants in the public dance. To these innovations the prosperity of the East mesa people, due to their intercourse with civilization, has contributed largely. The three pueblos on the East mesa are, or have been, more frequently visited, and, as a rule, their inhabitants are more liberally disposed to improvements of all kinds than are those of Oraibi and the Middle mesa. As a result we should expect the Walpi ritual to be more greatly modified than that of any other Hopi village, and we may therefore suppose that the Snake dances of Oraibi and the Middle Mesa are nearer to the ancestral form.

It is not alone that the white man's civilization has acted more profoundly on Walpi than on more isolated Oraibi; the former pueblo is nearer Zuñi and the other New Mexican villages, and was naturally more greatly affected by outside contact before the advent of white men. The Hopi population gained many increments from the Rio Grande before the white man's influence began.

The coming of the Tanoan class of Hano exerted a liberalizing tendency on the adjacent pueblos, for their ancestors came to Tusayan with a more intimate knowledge of white people than the Hopi could have gained at that time. These Tewa received the Americans more hospitably than did the true Hopi. Men of Hano moved down from the mesa to the foothills and the plain when urged by governmental officials, braving the threats and superstitious forebodings of the more conservative people of Walpi. They have for the last twenty years exerted a liberalizing influence on Hopi relations with the United States, and that ever-growing influence has greatly reduced the conservatism of Walpi and Sichumovi.¹ Such an influence has not existed to the same extent at Oraibi and among the Middle Mesa villages. One needs but visit the three clusters of Hopi pueblos and note their present condition to see that the inhabitants of those on the East mesa are far ahead of the others in the adoption of new secular customs, and this influence can be seen in their ritual, leading to the belief that the oldest variants of ceremonies persist at Oraibi and the Middle mesa.

¹In 1890 there were only two houses in the foothills under the East mesa and these were inhabited by Tewa families. There was not a single house at the base of the Middle mesa and Oraibi. At the present writing the foothills and plains are dotted with new houses of the white man's type.



CRYPT IN WHICH SNAKE JARS ARE KEPT AT MISHONGNOVI

FLUTE CEREMONY AT MISHONGNOVI IN 1896

The Leñya or Flute ceremony is one of the most complicated in the Hopi ritual, and one of the most important in the calendar. It occurs in five pueblos, not being celebrated at Sichmnovi or at Hano. The ceremony was first described by the author in an article¹ in which the public rites or "dance" at Walpi were briefly noted and their relation to the Snake dance was first recognized. When this paper was published the author was unaware that the Flute ceremony was of nine days' duration, for in 1890, when the description was written, the existence of nine days' ceremonies among the Hopi was unknown. A more extended study of the Hopi ritual in the following year (1891) revealed the fact that a Flute ceremony, similar to that at Walpi, occurred likewise in the four other Hopi pueblos which celebrate the complete ritual, and in 1892 the author described the last two days of the Flute rite at Shipaulovi. In the course of these studies it was recognized that this ceremony lasted nine days, that it was performed by two divisions of Flute priests, and that each division had an elaborate altar about which secret rites were performed.

The author was the first to recognize that several of the great Hopi ceremonies, as the Lalakoñti, Mamzrauti, Flute, and others, extend through nine days, and that the Snake ceremony has the same duration. Whether or not the other pueblo rituals have similar time limits to individual ceremonies is not clear from the fragmentary descriptions which have been published.

The increased knowledge of the intricate character of the Flute ceremony led to a detailed study of the Walpi variant, and with the aid of the late A. M. Stephen the author was enabled to publish² a number of new facts on the Flute ceremony at Walpi in 1892. The only account of the Oraibi variant of the Flute ceremony that has been given is a description of the altars, which appeared in 1895,³ being a record of observations made on a limited visit to that pueblo in the summer of the year named. In the following year this account was supplemented by a memoir on the Flute altars of Mishongnovi.

It will thus be seen that there exist published accounts of the Flute altars of all the Hopi pueblos except Shmnoповi, and fragmentary descriptions of the secret and public exercises in two pueblos, Walpi and Shipaulovi. The following description of the Flute exercises at Mishongnovi supplement those already given and add to our knowledge of the rites of the Flute society in the largest village of the Middle mesa. It will be noticed, by a comparison of these rites, that at Mishongnovi they are more complicated than similar ceremonies

¹Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. IV, number 13.

²Op. cit., vol. VII, number 26.

³Op. cit., number 31.

at Walpi and Shipaulovi, but less so than those at Oraibi. No complete account of the observance of this ceremony at Oraibi and Shumopovi has been published, although it has been witnessed in the former pueblo by many Americans.

FLUTE ROOMS

It is a significant fact that none of the secret rites of the Flute priests in any of the pueblos are, so far as is known, performed in kivas, but occur in ancestral rooms of the Flute clan. Although this is unusual in Hopi secret rites, it is not exceptional, for there are at least two other very important secret rites on the East mesa which are not performed in kivas. Since it is true, therefore, that at present a kiva is not the essential or necessarily prescribed place in which secret rites are performed, and as the ceremonies observed in living rooms are also said to be ancient, this fact may explain the absence of kivas in many Arizona ruins. Whatever the explanation, it shows that the absence of a kiva, or room set apart for secret rites, does not prove the nonexistence of an elaborate ritual.

Possibly these facts may shed light on the relative antiquity of circular and rectangular sacred rooms, or kivas, the former of which do not exist in Tusayan. Mindeleff says that "there is no doubt that the circular form is the most primitive, and was formerly used by some tribes which now have only the rectangular form." This may be true of some parts of the Pueblo area, especially in New Mexico, from San Juan river southward, where circular kivas are a marked architectural feature; but in Arizona, from Utah to the Mexican boundary, no circular kiva has been found. There is nothing to lead us to suppose that circular kivas in the former region antedated those of rectangular shape, or that New Mexican clans once had them. It seems more likely that the secret rites were once performed in ordinary rectangular rooms, or dwelling chambers, of the same shape as those now called kivas, which ultimately were given up wholly to ceremonial purposes. The Flute rooms are believed to be survivals of a time before this differentiation, which was brought about by the enlargement of the religious society by the initiation of men of other clans, through which means the fraternity outgrew the ancestral dwelling.

CEREMONIAL DAYS OF THE RITE

There are nine active days of the Flute ceremony, which are designated by the names given in the following list. The author has studied the proceedings of the last day, called Tihune, the day of personation.

August 7, Yuñya.	August 12, Soskahimu.
August 8, Cusñala.	August 13, Komoktotokya.
August 9, Luñtala.	August 14, Totokya.
August 10, Pañtala.	August 15, Tihune.
August 11, Natuñtala.	

THE MISHONGNOVI FLUTE ALTARS

There were two Flute altars at Mishongnovi, one called the Cakwaleñya (Blue Flute), the other Macileñya (Drab Flute). The chief of the Cakwaleñya had a tiponi on his altar, but although the chief of the Drab Flute had one of these sacred palladia in the room, it was not in its customary position on the altar. The author noticing this fact, asked to see his tiponi. The chief showed it, unwinding its wrappings, but failed to explain satisfactorily why he did not set it in its proper place. The only explanation of this failure is a theoretical one, that the tiponi was not a true Drab Flute palladium. Walpi has, as is known, no Drab Flute tiponi, and as there is close resemblance between ceremonies at Walpi and Mishongnovi, it would not be strange if the same were true of the latter pueblo. Both Oraibi and Shipaulovi have this badge, which will probably likewise be found in Shumopovi. It would seem that subordinate societies may celebrate their part of a rite without a chieftain's badge, but the celebration is on that account lacking in ardor. This is the case with the Snake dance in Tusayan, which is nowhere celebrated with so much fervor as at Walpi; for in all the five villages which hold this festival there is but one Snake tiponi, that of the Snake chief at Walpi.

The reredos of the Macileñya altar (figure 43) consisted of two uprights supporting a flat wooden arch. The uprights were incised with three rows of concave depressions arranged vertically. The transverse portion, or arch, bore four figures of rain clouds outlined by black borders, from which depended a row of parallel black lines representing falling rain. The lower third of the arch had two rows of concavities, similar to those on the uprights. The reredos stood in front of a bank of maize stacked at the end of the room, a feature common to all Flute altars, but not shown in the accompanying illustration. The parts of the altar were tied together with yucca shreds, and were held in place with wooden pegs. On the floor at the right-hand side of the altar, leaning against the wall, there were two rectangular tiles, each of which was decorated with rain-cloud symbols and dragonflies.

Two figurines were set on small heaps of sand in front of the reredos—one on the right, called the Flute youth; the other on the left, the Flute maid. These figurines were armless effigies, with prominent lateral appendages to the head in the place of ears. Each of these appendages was tipped with radiating rods connected by red yarn, and resembled a symbolic squash blossom. The cheeks bore triangular markings. Six feathers, three on each side, projected at right angles from the sides of the body, and a narrow painted band, consisting of alternate blocks of black and white, was made along the medial line, extending from a symbolic figure of a rain cloud upon which half an ear of maize was painted. These two figurines are similar in position and shape to the effigies on other Flute altars, as elsewhere described,

and have the same names. Just in front of the figurines, one on each side, were placed short, thick, upright sticks, rounded at the top and pierced with holes, from which, like pins from a cushion, projected small rods tipped with flaring ends painted in several colors, representing flowers. These sticks correspond to the mounds of sand, covered with meal, of other Flute altars, and are called *talastomos*. The mounds admit of the following explanation: In many stories of the origin of societies of priests which took place in the underworld, the first members are represented as erecting their altars before the "flower mound" of *Müiyiñwû*. This was the case of the Flute youth and

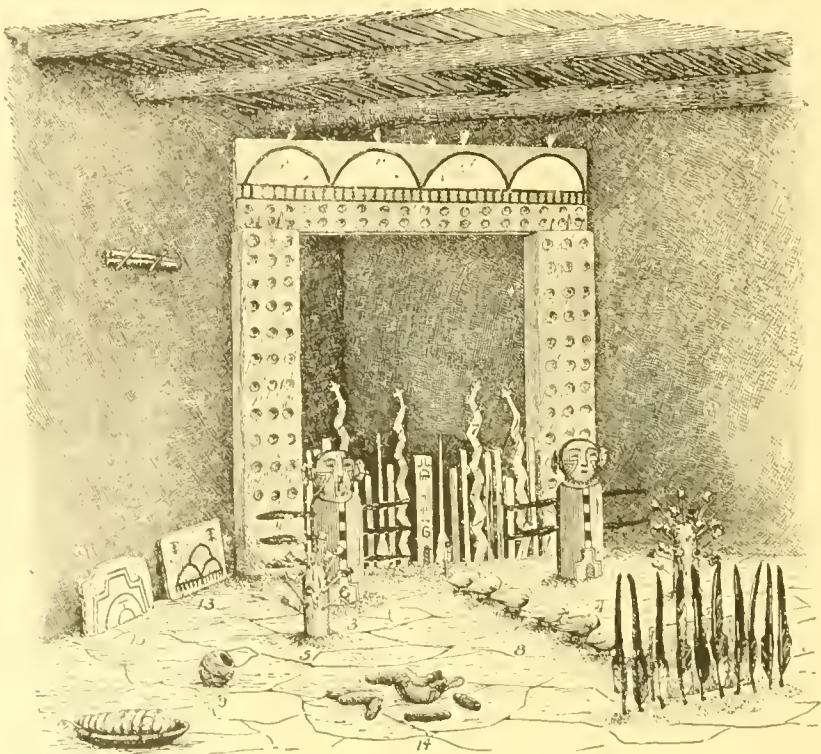


FIG. 43.—Altar of the *Macileñya* at *Mishongnovi*.

Flute maid, progenitors of the Flute Society. These mounds, now erected on earth before the figurine of *Müiyiñwû* in the Flute chambers, symbolize the ancestral mounds of the underworld, the wooden objects inserted in them representing flowers.

The interval between the uprights of the *reredos* was occupied by a number of zigzag sticks or rods (symbolic of lightning), cornstalks, and other objects.

These rods and sticks, as well as the uprights themselves, were held vertically by a ridge of sand on the floor. From the middle of this ridge, half way from each end and at right angles to the altar, there

was spread on the floor a zone of sand upon which meal had been sprinkled. This zone terminated at the end opposite the reredos with a short bank of sand at right angles to it, in which an upright row of eagle-wing feathers was set. Upon the zone of sand there was placed a row of rudely carved bird effigies, and at the extremity of this row, just before the eagle-wing feathers, stood a slab upon which was depicted half an ear of maize and two rain-cloud symbols, one of the latter being on each side. Between the first bird effigy and the slab was a medicine bowl, from which the nearest bird appeared to be

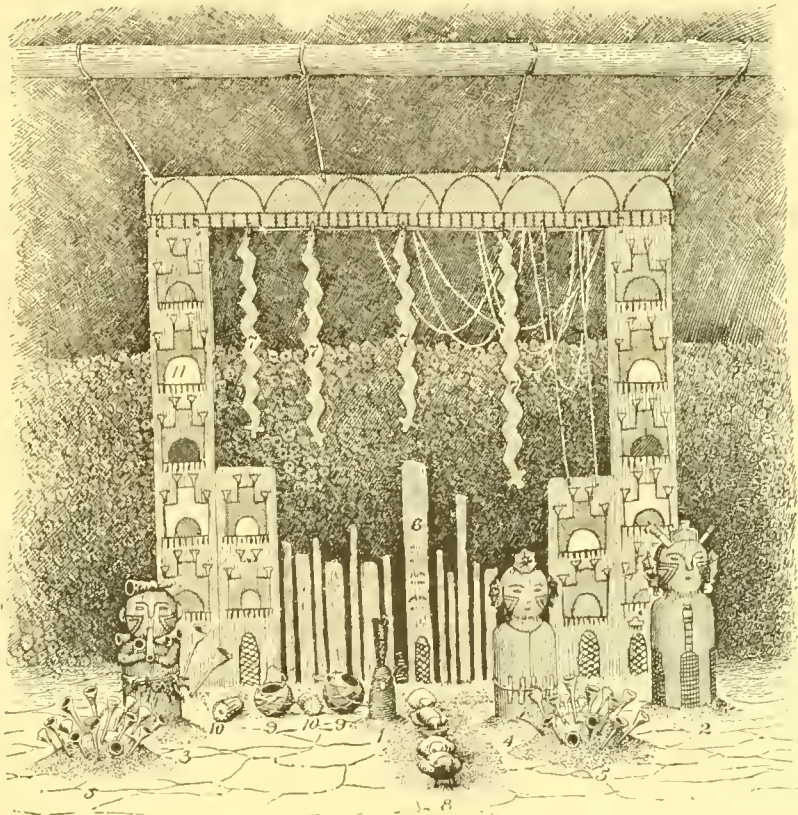


FIG. 44—Altar of the Cakwaleñya at Mishongnovi.

drinking. The bird effigies were eight in number, all facing from the altar. There were likewise on the floor other ceremonial paraphernalia common to all altars, among which may be mentioned the six-directions maize (corn of six colors used in a six-directions altar), rattles, a medicine bowl, a basket-tray of sacred meal, a honey pot, and similar objects. Their position on the floor by the altar is not significant.

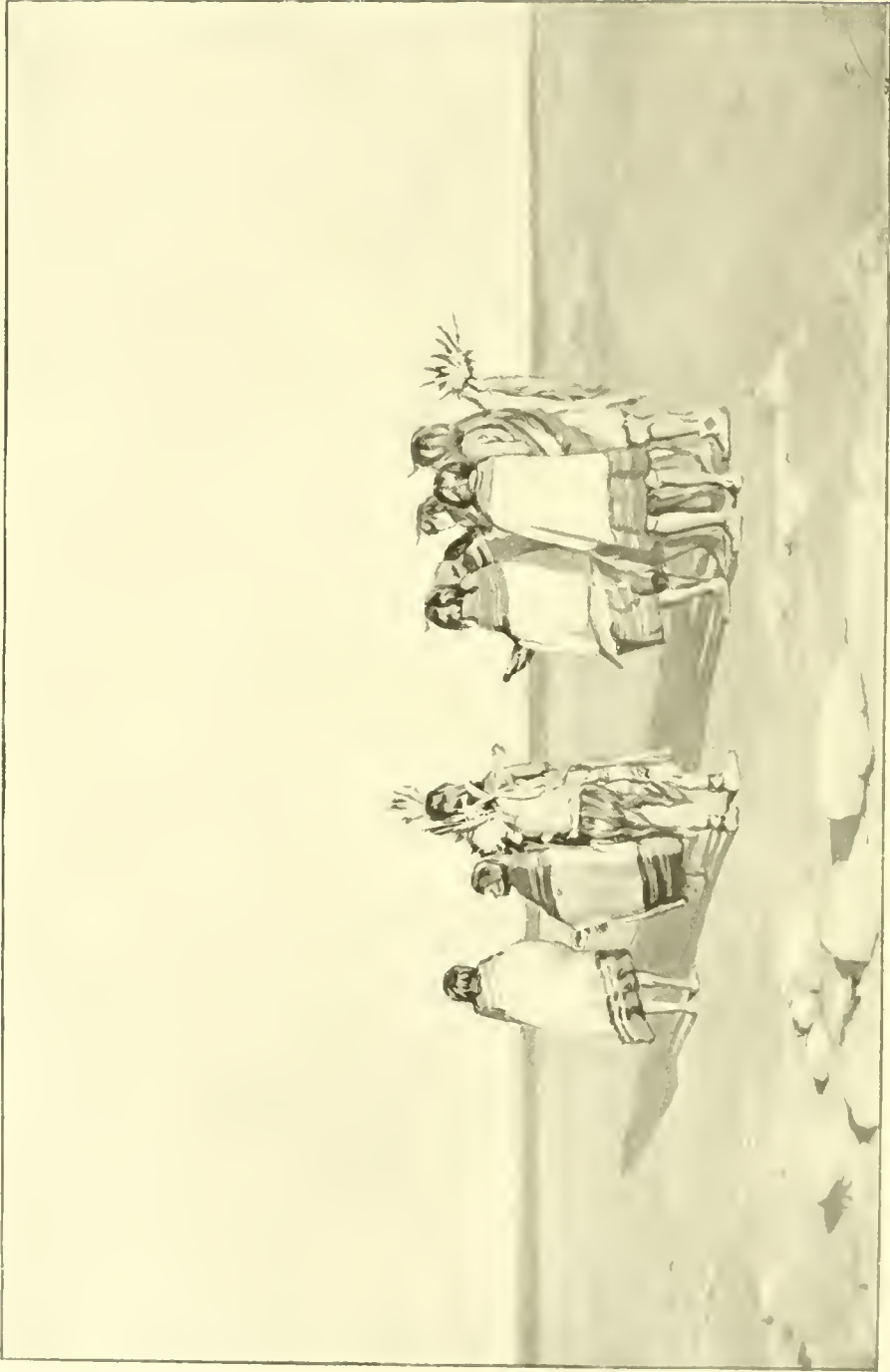
The altar of the Cakwaleñya society (figure 44) was even more complicated. Its reredos consisted of uprights and transverse slats of

wood, the former decorated with ten rain-cloud pictures, five on each side, one above the other. These symbols had square outlines, each angle decorated with a figure of a feather, and depending from each rain-cloud figure, parallel lines, representing falling rain, were painted. The transverse slat bore a row of nine rain-cloud figures of semicircular form. Four zigzag sticks, representing lightning, hung from the transverse slat between the vertical or lateral parts of the reredos. Two supplementary uprights were fastened to the main reredos, one on each side. These were decorated at their bases with symbolic pictures representing maize, surmounted by rain-cloud figures. The ridge of sand between the uprights of the altar supported many smaller rods and slats, the one in the middle being decorated with a picture of an ear of corn.

From the middle point of this ridge of sand a wide trail of sand, covered with meal, was drawn across the floor at right angles to the altar. This zone terminated abruptly, and upon it was placed a row of four bird effigies, all facing from the altar. Between the second and third bird was a small bowl. A *tiponi* stood at the left of the sand zone, looking toward the altar, and at the left of this were two water gourds alternating with ears of corn.

Three figurines stood before the altar, one on the left, and two on the right side. The figurine on the left represented the Flute youth, who held in both hands a miniature flute upon which he appeared to be playing. On his head was a corn-husk packet, and around his neck a necklace of artificial flowers. Of the two figurines on the other side, one represented the flute maid, the other *Müiyiñwû*. The latter had an ear of maize depicted on each of the four sides of the body. Upon her head were three rain-cloud symbols, and her cheeks were decorated with triangular markings. On the floor in front of the two smaller figurines were hillocks of sand, into which were inserted small rods with trumpet-like extremities variously colored.

Although the author did not witness the secret ceremonials of either of the Flute societies at *Mishongnovi*, for want of time, he saw from the nature of the prayer-sticks (*pahos*) that they probably resembled the rites at *Shipaulovi*. In addition to the prescribed Flute *pahos* he observed the manufacture of the two wooden slabs, decorated with corn figures, which were carried by the maidens in the public dance, and the balls of clay with small sticks, called the tadpoles, which are made in both the Flute and the Snake ceremonies at *Walpi*. There is close resemblance between the small *nateis*, or Flute *pahos*, tied to the ladder of each of the Flute houses, and the *awata-nateis*, or standards, with skins and red-stained horsehair, that are placed on the roofs of the chambers in which the altars are erected.



CAKWALEŇYA SOCIETY OF MISHONGNOVI

COMPARISON WITH THE WALPI FLUTE ALTAR

As has been already pointed out, there is but one Flute altar at Walpi, that of the Cakwaleñya, the Macileñya society having become extinct. The uprights of the reredos in the flute altars of both pueblos bear similar symbolic pictures of rain clouds, five in number, one above the other. The transverse slat, or the arch, of the Walpi Flute altar differs from that of the Mishongnovi in having a picture of Tawa (sun), with two semicircular rain-cloud figures on each side, in the interval between which is pictured a zigzag figure representing lightning. Both altars have images of the Flute youth, Flute maid, and Mũiyiñwû, and so far as is known they are the only Tusayan Flute altars which have an effigy of the personage last mentioned. The Walpi figurine of the Flute youth has no flute in his hand, and the slabs with figures of persons playing the flute, elsewhere described, which characterize the Walpi altar, are not found at Mishongnovi.

COMPARISON WITH THE ORAIBI FLUTE ALTARS¹

The uprights of the reredos of the Drab Flute altar at Oraibi have the same rows of concavities on their front surfaces as have those at Mishongnovi, and are without the rain-cloud symbols seen on the transverse slat; but instead of having a row of concave depressions on its lower half, the transverse part of the Oraibi reredos is in the form of a rain-cloud, ornamented with differently colored cloud symbols, one above another, with accompanying representations of lightning and figures of birds. No other Flute altar known to the author has a more elaborate reredos than that of the Macileñya at Oraibi. In common with the Drab Flute altar at Mishongnovi it has two effigies of the cultus heroes of the society, the Flute youth and the Flute maid; but the most remarkable statuette of the Oraibi altar was that of Cotokinnũwû, which stood with out-stretched arms in a conspicuous position. No other known Flute altar has a figurine of this personage, although it is possibly represented by the zigzag lightning-sticks hanging between the uprights of the reredos.

The so-called flower mounds, or hillocks of sand beset with artificial flowers, before the figures of the cultus heroes of the Oraibi altar differ in form from those at Mishongnovi, although they evidently have the same significance. At Oraibi these flowers are fastened to a common stalk, while at Mishongnovi their stems are inserted in a log of wood, and at Shipaulovi in a mound of sand.

Perhaps the most marked difference between the Drab Flute altar of Oraibi and that of Mishongnovi is the presence on the floor of the former of a mosaic made of kernels of maize of different colors representing a rain-cloud; in this feature it differs from all other

¹The Mishongnovi Drab Flute altar has certain likenesses to the Oraibi Flute altar elsewhere described. *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. VIII, number 31.

altars known to the author. This mosaic occupies the position of the zone of sand, and as a consequence the row of birds placed on this zone are, in Oraibi, found in two clusters, one on each side of the maize mosaic. There are several objects on the Oraibi Flute altar which are absent from that at Mishongnovi, among which may be noticed a bowl back of the *tiponi*, wooden objects, artificial flowers like those inserted into the mounds of sand, and *pampipe*-like objects. The two upright wooden cylindricals representing maize, the rain-cloud symbols between the uprights of the altar, and the statuette of *Cotokinuwû* appear to be characteristic of the Oraibi altar.

Markedly different as are the Drab Flute altars of Oraibi and Mishongnovi, those of the Blue Flute are even more divergent. In fact, they have little in common, and can not readily be compared. The Oraibi altar has no *reredos*, but paintings on the wall of the chamber serve the same purpose. The Oraibi altar is composed of a medicine-bowl, placed on the floor and surrounded by six differently-colored ears of maize laid in radiating positions (a six-directions altar), the whole inclosed by a rectangle composed of four banks of sand into which rows of eagle wing-feathers had been inserted.

The reason the Oraibi *Cakwaleñya* altar is so poor in fetishes would have been found to be paralleled in the *Walpi Macileñya* altar, now extinct, were we acquainted with its character. We shall never know what the nature of this altar was, notwithstanding the fact that it fell into disuse within the memory of a chief who died only a few years ago; but the author believes that one reason for its disappearance was that the *Macileñya* division of the Flute fraternity had no chieftain's badge, or *tiponi*.¹

No object corresponding with the bundle of aspergills tied to a rod and set upright in a pedestal, described in my account of the Oraibi Flute altar, was seen in either of the two Flute chambers at Mishongnovi, nor do I recall its homologue in *Walpi* or *Shipaulovi*. As the standard, or *awata-natei*,² stood in the Flute chamber, and not on the roof, when I saw the altar, it is possible that the aspergills belong with this object rather than to the altar itself.

COMPARISON WITH THE SHIPAULLOVI FLUTE ALTARS

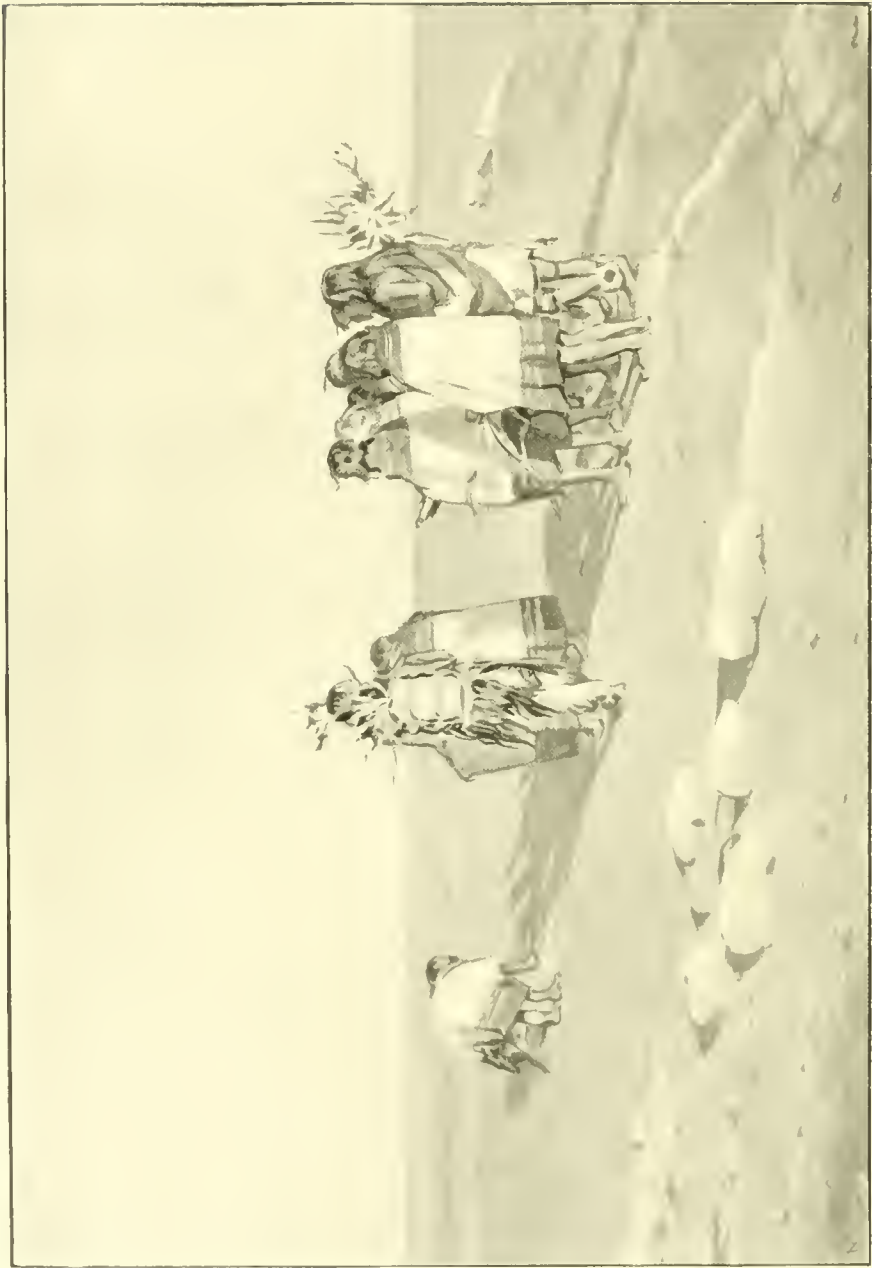
Both Flute altars at *Shipaulovi* are simpler than those at *Mishongnovi*, a feature due in part to the fact that *Shipaulovi* is a smaller pueblo and is of more modern origin.

The *reredos* of the Blue Flute altar³ is composed of a few upright

¹This sacred palladium ("mother") is, as has been repeatedly pointed out, the essential object of the altar, the great fetish of the society. A religious society destitute of it is weak, and rapidly deteriorates. Hence the want of virility of the Snake society at Oraibi and the pueblos of the Middle Mesa. Their chiefs have no *tiponi* and the cult is not vigorous.

²The staff is set on the roof to indicate that the altar is erected, and the secret rites in progress in the chamber below. The term *awata-natei*, 'bow upright,' is descriptive of the standard of the Snake and Ardeolepe ceremonies, when a bow and arrows are tied to the kiva ladders—plate XLVIII.

³See The Oraibi Flute Altar, *Journal American Ethnology and Archaeology*, vol. II.



MACILEÑA SOCIETY OF MISHONGNOVI

slats of wood without a transverse portion. Figurines of the Flute youth and the Flute maid are present, but there is no statuette of Mūiyiñwû as at Mishongnovi and Walpi. There are two tiponis and two talastcomos. The sand zone and row of birds are present, and a very characteristic row of rods stands vertically in front of the reredos, where the sticks of zigzag and other forms are found in known Flute altars. In the absence of an upper crosspiece to the reredos the four sticks representing lightning hang from the roof of the room.

The great modifications in the Shipaulovi¹ altar lead the writer to suspect that the altar is more nearly like that of Shumopovi than any other, but until something is known of the altars of the latter pueblo this suggestion may be regarded as tentative.

The altar Macileñya (Drab Flute) at Shipaulovi differs in many respects from that at Mishongnovi, but is in a way comparable with that at Oraibi. The reredos consists of several sticks, some cut into zigzag forms, symbolic of lightning, but there is no transverse slat, as at Mishongnovi and Oraibi. A flat stick upon which is painted a zigzag figure of a lightning snake, elsewhere figured,² is interesting in comparison with figures on the Antelope altar at Shumopovi. The four lightning symbols drawn in sand in the mosaic of this altar have horns on their heads, and depending from the angles of the zigzags of the body are triangular appendages, representing turkey feathers, similar to those which are depicted on the Flute slab to which reference is made above. Although the Antelope altar in the Shipaulovi Snake ceremony has no such appendages to the lightning symbols, it is interesting to find these characteristic appendages in symbolic figures used in related ceremonies, where their presence is one more evidence of close relationship between the two pueblos and of the late derivation of the ceremonials of Shipaulovi from Shumopovi.

The position of the image of Cotokinuñwû in the Oraibi Flute altar was occupied, in the Shipaulovi Macileñya altar, by a statuette of Taiowa. Studies of this figurine were not close enough to allow the author to decide whether Taiowa, as represented on the Shipaulovi altar, is the same as Cotokinuñwû, but it is highly probable that the two bear intimate relationship. This figurine is absent from the Oraibi altar, but the pathway or zone of sand, with the birds, the row of feathers, and the decorated slab before it on the Shipaulovi altar are comparable with like parts of a similar altar at Mishongnovi.

There remain undescribed the Flute altars of Shumopovi, the ritual

¹Shipaulovi, "High Peach Place," was founded after the advent of the Spaniards, probably later than 1700. Unlike Mishongnovi and Shumopovi, there is no ruin at the foot of the mesa which is claimed as the former home of the ancestors of this pueblo. Tenkubi, the nearest ruin, appears to have been deserted before the sixteenth century, and the adjacent Payupki was a Tewa pueblo whose inhabitants left it in a body in the middle of the eighteenth century, and are said to have settled at Sandia, on the Rio Grande.

²Journal American Ethnology and Archaeology, vol. II, p. 120.

of which pueblo is little known. These altars are erected in August of every odd year, and figures or descriptions of them would complete our knowledge of Hopi Flute altars.

PUBLIC FLUTE CEREMONY

The public dance of the Flute priests at Mishongnovi in 1896 occurred on August 15th, at about 5 p. m., and closely resembled that of Shipaulovi and Walpi. The preliminary exercises of that day at Toreva spring, which took place just before the march to the pueblo, were not witnessed, but the procession was followed from the time it reached the first terrace of the mesa below the pueblo until it entered the plaza. As a detailed account of the ceremonies at Toreva spring has been given in a description of the Shipaulovi Flute dance, it will not be necessary to repeat it here.

After the preliminary exercises at the spring a procession was formed which marched to the mesa top along the trail into the pueblo. This procession was aligned in two platoons about thirty feet apart, one called the Cakwaleñya, the other the Macileñya. The personnel of these platoons was as follows:

PERSONNEL OF CAKWALEÑYA SOCIETY.

The Cakwaleñya society formed the first platoon and was composed of the following personages:

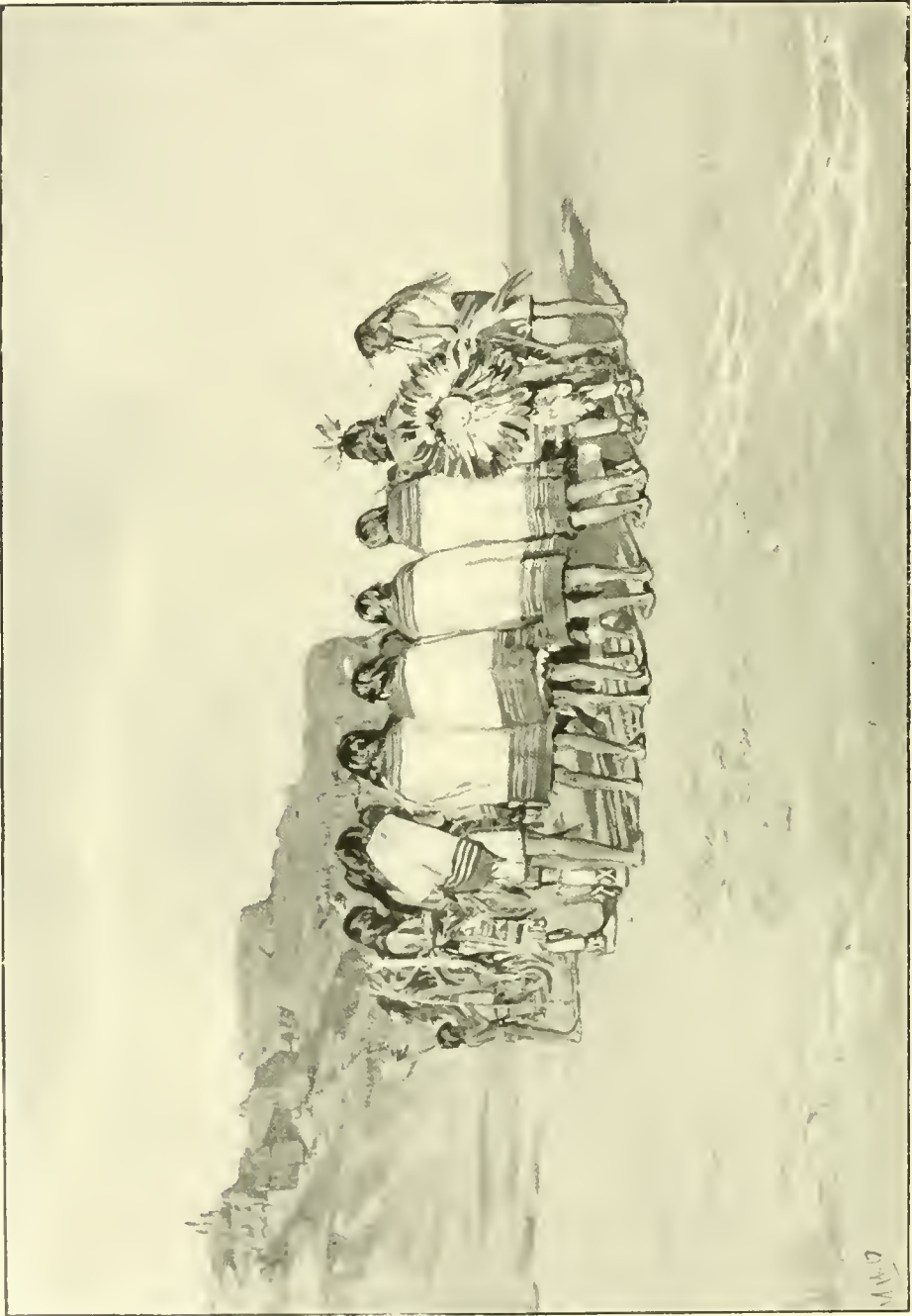
1. The chief.
2. A Flute boy.
3. Two Flute girls.
4. A man wearing a moisture tablet on his back.
5. Four men with white blankets.

The members of this division were arranged as follows: In advance of the procession walked the chief, and directly behind him was the Flute boy with a Flute girl on each side. The remaining members of the division formed the body of the platoon, flanked by the man with the moisture tablet on his back and a small boy with the Flute standard at his left (plate LVII).

PERSONNEL OF MACILEÑYA SOCIETY.

The Macileñya priests formed the second platoon, which consisted of the following persons:

1. The chief.
2. Flute boy.
3. Two Flute girls.
4. A man with the sun emblem on his back.
5. Men with cornstalks.
6. Five men with white blankets.
7. A naked boy with Flute standard.
8. A warrior.



MACILENYA SOCIETY OF MISHONGNOVI

The arrangement of this division was similar to that of the Cakwaleñya, but it will be noticed that the number of participants was larger. The five men with white blankets walked side by side, while the others, bearing cornstalks, and the man with the sun emblem, formed the left wing of the platoon. A naked boy with the Flute standard accompanied the Macileñya group (plates LVIII, LIX).

THE FLUTE CHIEFS

Each of the Flute chiefs carried his tiponi resting on his left arm, and had a basket-tray of meal in his left hand. He wore a white ceremonial garment, or kilt, with a knotted sash. The chief of the Cakwaleñya is not shown in the accompanying illustration (plate LVII), but the man next to the priest with the sun emblem is the Macileñya chief.

THE FLUTE GIRLS

There were four Flute girls, one on each side of the two Flute boys. They were all clothed alike and bore similar objects in their hands. Each wore a downy feather on the crown of her head, and her hair was tied with a string at the back of the neck. In her ears were square mosaic turquoise pendants, and several necklaces were also worn. The chin was painted black: a white line was drawn across the cheeks from ear to ear along the upper lip. Each girl wore two white blankets, one as a skirt fastened by a girdle having long white pendants knotted at the point of attachment. In her left hand she carried objects similar to those borne by the boy, and in the right a small amulet with a loop made of yucca fiber, by which it was slipped over the end of a stick (plate LXI). The dress and facial decoration of the Flute girls were identical with those of the Snake maid in the kiva during the dramatization about the Antelope altar at Walpi, and the two are supposed to be the same as the maids which are also represented by effigies on the Flute altars.

THE FLUTE BOYS

The Flute boys of the two Flute divisions were dressed alike, and were furnished with the same offerings. Each wore a feather in his hair and a white ceremonial kilt over his loins. The arms, body, and legs were naked, and each carried in his left hand a netted gourd with water from Toreva spring, and a wooden slat upon which was depicted an ear of corn to which a feather was tied. In his right hand he bore a small, black, painted stick about an inch long, with a yucca fiber loop, by which it was carried, slipped on the end of a stick not unlike those about the Antelope altars. His hair hung loosely down his back.

In all essential features the Flute boys were clothed and decorated in the same manner as the Snake youth in the kiva exercises of the

Walpi Antelope priests on the morning of the ninth day of the Snake ceremonies, with the exception that the boy personating the Snake youth carried a rattlesnake in one hand. These Flute boys represent the ancestral or cultus hero of the Flute society, and bear the same relationship to the priests that the Snake youth (*Teña tiyo*) bears to the Antelope-Snake fraternities.

STANDARD BEARERS

The small naked boys at the ends of the platoons carry the Flute standards, which consist of long sticks to the ends of which skins of mammals and feathers are tied, also a string to which red-stained horsehair is attached. The Flute standard corresponds to the Snake standard (*awata natei*), consisting of bows and arrows with appended objects, the most conspicuous of which is the string of red horsehair borne by *Wikyatiwa* in the Snake dance. This standard is set upright on the roof of the room in which the Flute ceremonies are held, just as the *awata nateis* are tied to the ladders of the Antelope and Snake *kivas*, as shown in plates XLVII and LIV.

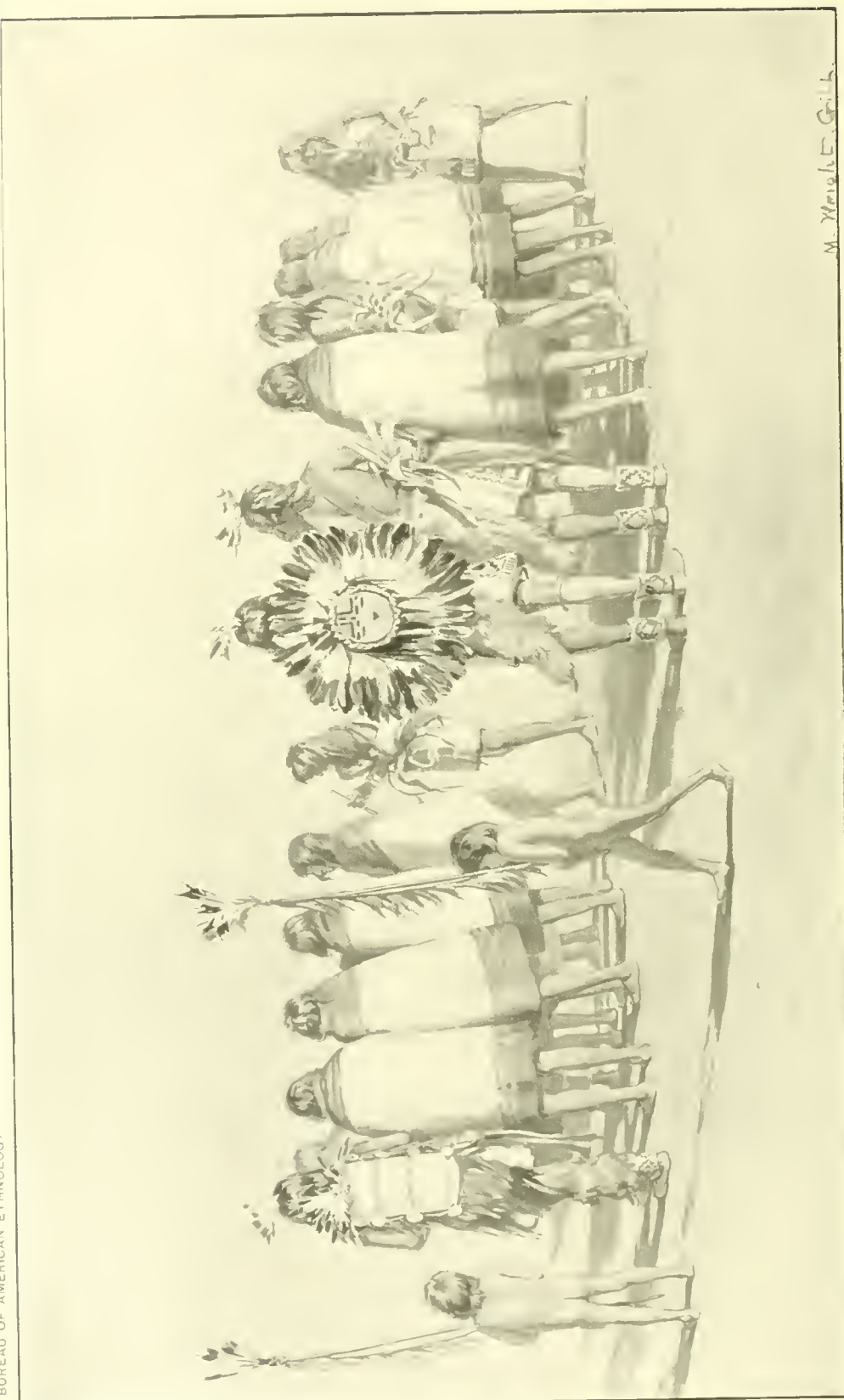
BEARER OF THE MOISTURE TABLET

One of the most conspicuous members of the first platoon was the man who bore on his back a rectangular framework over which was stretched a buckskin or cloth on which were painted, in bright colors, a number of parallel lines dividing it into rectangular fields, with borders of colored bands (plate LVIII). On the upper edge of the tablet, which covered the entire back of its bearer, was a bunch of feathers, and along each of the other three sides was stretched a cord, from which was suspended horsehair stained red. On the sides of the tablet were tied small round disks made of sections of gourd painted in colors, possibly representing cornflowers. A further description of one of these tablets, with an illustration, has been given elsewhere.¹

BEARER OF THE SUN EMBLEM

As previously stated, one of the *Macileña* bore on his back a disk representing the sun. It was made of buckskin stretched over a hoop which was strengthened by a framework of two sticks fastened at right angles. This disk, which was about a foot in diameter, was surrounded by a plaited border made of corn husks, into which eagle feathers and red-stained horsehair were inserted. The sun shield was attached to the back of the bearer by a cord over his shoulders. The body of the bearer was naked, save for a white ceremonial kilt with a pendent foxskin, and he had a tuft of feathers on the crown of his head. He carried a flute upon which he played, and wore moccasins

¹American Anthropologist, vol. v, number 3, pl. II.



M. Mearns E. Gill

PLATOONS OF FLUTE PRIESTS MARCHING FROM THE SPRING TO MISHONGNOVI

and anklets (see plate LX). The natural inference is that the man wearing the sun emblem in such a conspicuous way personated the sun.¹ It will be observed that one of the figurines on the Flute altar (figure 44) is represented with a flute to its mouth. The whole ceremony commemorates the advent of the Corn maids, called by the tutelary name of the society, the Flute maids, and just as the Sun is said to have drawn them to himself in ancient times, so now the descendants strive by the same method to tole the personators of the same maids into the pueblo.

THE WARRIOR

↓ A man clothed as a warrior, wearing a buckskin on his back and carrying a quiver of arrows over his shoulder, followed the procession. He carried a bow in one hand and in the other a whizzer or bullroarer, which he twirled at intervals. The bundle which he bore is the clothing of certain of his fellow-priests which they have doffed and given him to carry to the mesa top.

Most of the Flute priests had corn plants in their belts, and a few of them carried cornstalks in their hands. This accords with one of the main objects of the Flute ceremony—the growth of corn, the Hopi national food.

MARCH FROM TOREVA TO THE PUEBLO

After the two platoons had formed on the edge of Toreva the chief of the Cakwaleñya sprinkled a line of sacred meal, across which he made three rain-cloud symbols and three parallel lines representing falling rain. The Blue Flute boy and girls who stood at his side on the line facing the mesa (plate LXII) threw their offerings toward this figure—the former, the small stick of wood; the latter, the amulet made of twisted flag leaves. The chief picked up these objects and set them on the rain-cloud signs which he had drawn, and the three children, followed by the platoon of priests, advanced to the symbols, the men singing, accompanied by the flutists. The children bent over, and, inserting the ends of their sticks into the loops, raised the offerings and held them extended, as the whole platoon marched forward to another set of rain-cloud meal-symbols which the chief had made some distance from the first. The platoon of Macileñya followed, conducting the same performance as the Cakwaleñya. Thus along the trail from Toreva to the plaza the two platoons halted at intervals, repeating what has been described several times without variation, before they came to the pueblo. They halted three times and performed the same acts as they crossed the plaza until they stood before the

¹ The symbolism of the sun disk is illustrated in a memoir on Tusayan Kateinas in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. The emblem borne on the back of the Flute man, above mentioned, is identical with that described in the article cited, save that the latter is surrounded by radiating eagle feathers.

kisi, in front of which they sang for some time. After the first platoon had sung their songs before the kisi, they handed the offerings borne by the boy and the girls to a man within it,¹ and retired to the chamber where their altar stood. The second platoon followed, doing the same, after which they likewise retired and the ceremony closed with purification and the dismantling of the altar.

During the march to the pueblo, and later, before the kisi, the priests sang Flute songs, accompanied by the flutists. These songs are among the most melodious in Hopi ceremonies, and are worthy of special study. The songs at the kisi were especially pleasing, and as each division stood before the cottonwood bower and sang, it made a fine exhibit of aboriginal worship.

FLUTE CEREMONY AT WALPI IN 1896

The exercises of the Flute priests at Walpi in 1896 began on August 12 and continued until August 21, when they closed with the public dance. The author was able to witness the rites celebrated on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of the month, finding in them considerable variation from those performed on the same relative days of 1892.¹

The significance of these variations is not known, but as material for an ultimate explanation it has been deemed advisable to record them.

The secret observances of the Walpi Flute ceremony occur in a large house on the north side of the pueblo, about opposite the passageway opening northward from the plaza in which the Snake dance is celebrated. This house (figure 45), the ancestral Flute chamber, has

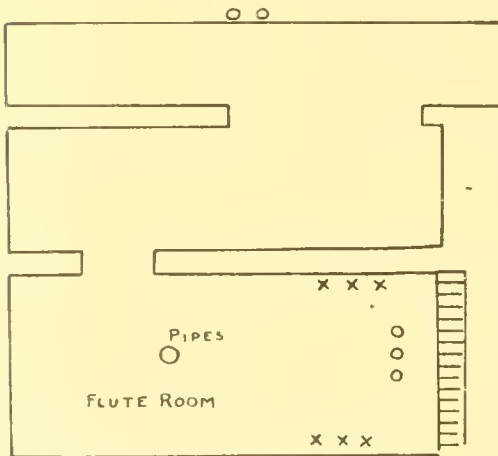


FIG. 45.—Plan of Flute room at Walpi.

an open balcony in front and exemplifies an ancient form of architecture which has well-nigh been abandoned on the East mesa. It was the first home of the Flute clan after it moved to the mesa summit, the ancient home of the Snake clan being just above the so-called Snake rock, which rises from the south end of the main plaza. The two houses

¹The Flute chief crawled into the kisi, and certain objects, as pahas, water gourds, and meal were passed in to him, but what occurred within was concealed from view. The small netted gourds of water which the boy and girls carried (plate LXIII) are the same as those used in the Snake dances.

²For an account of the Walpi Flute ceremony of 1892 see *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. VII, number 26.





LEŃYA FLUTE CHILDREN OF MISHONGNOVI

mentioned are separated by a court, and probably never adjoined. Other phratries, as the Patki and Honani, were formerly domiciled in houses separated from both the Snake and Flute dwellings, so that, originally, probably Walpi consisted of a number of small clusters of houses which, through later building, were in part consolidated into a compact pueblo.

There were present in the Flute chamber at about 10 o'clock on the assembly day (August 12) the following priests: Tu'noa, Flute chief; Hoñyi, speaker chief; Sikyabotima, courier, and another man. Later there came in Winuta, Hani, and one or two others who had been there earlier in the day. This was known from the fact that they did not make the customary offering of meal on their entrance. It is prescribed for a priest on entering a kiva for the first time to sprinkle with sacred meal any altar or fetishes which may be in place. An interesting altar had been erected in the Flute room, and as this altar is characteristic, a description of it will be desirable.

FIRST FLUTE ALTAR

There were two Flute altars at Walpi, but neither of these pertained to the Drab Flute society, for this society is extinct at that pueblo. On the first day the Walpi Flute society erected their altar on a ridge of sand just in front of the stack of corn which filled one end of the Flute chamber. The altar (plate LXIV) is called the first Flute altar¹ to distinguish it from the second or main altar. As the songs of the first three days were sung by priests before this altar, it appears to be an important accessory in the Flute worship.

A low ridge of valley sand was made before the stacked corn at one end of the Flute chamber, and in this ridge, at regular intervals, were placed three tiponis, those of Tu'noa, Winuta, and Hoñyi, respectively, beginning at the left. From Hoñyi's tiponi a line of meal extended across the floor toward the doorway, and over this line was stretched a string, to the extremity of which were fastened two feathers. The length of this string was measured from the finger tips of the outstretched arm to a point above the heart, and it was drawn through a handful of sacred meal before being laid in position. When each tiponi was ready to be set in place, the chief to whom it belonged first made six radiating lines on the sand ridge where it was to stand, and deposited half a handful of meal at their junction. On this the tiponi was placed.

On the floor in front of Tu'noa's tiponi, there was a basket-tray containing sacred meal; a similar tray containing stringed feathers made

¹Whether the other pueblos have a similar altar on the first day is unknown, since no one has fully studied the opening of the Flute ceremony in any other village. But probably it will be found that the societies in the other villages have an altar corresponding to this first Flute altar of Walpi

by members of the society stood before Winuta's lodge, and the medicine bowl was on the floor near Hoñyi's tiponi.

Two bullroarers or whizzers lay on the floor by the medicine bowl and paho basket, and when returned to their position after being used, were always so placed that the strings were at the end toward the altar. All the priests accompanied their songs on small gourd rattles, but Tu'noa had a "moisture rattle," or paaya, which has already been figured and described.¹

This altar is almost identical with that which is erected in the winter flute ceremony, and the same persons took part in almost identical rites about it.

THE SECOND FLUTE ALTAR

The second or elaborate flute altar was erected on the fourth day. This the author was unable to see, being obliged to go to the Middle mesa on the morning of that day to witness parts of the Mishonguovi Flute ceremony.² All the parts of the altar were, however, examined as they lay on the floor, and drawings were made of several of them early in the morning of the day named.

The symbolism on the reredos of the Walpi flute altar was exceptional. The designs on the uprights were typical of flute altars, representing rain clouds and falling rain. An exceptional figure was a representation of the sun in the middle of the transverse part of the reredos. This figure does not occur in any of the other flute altars which have thus far been studied.

Elsewhere there have been figured the four slabs which stand about the upright stick on the roof of the Flute house at Shipaulovi on the final days of the ceremony.³ As similar slabs, used for the same purpose at Walpi, have never been figured, for purposes of comparative study they are represented in the accompanying illustration (plate LXV). They are placed on the roof at the north, west, south, and east sides of the upright rod, or awati-matei, as is indicated by their respective colors—yellow, green, red, and white. During the morning of the fourth day they were all repainted.

FLUTE SONGS

The exercises about the first flute altar began by a ceremonial smoke, during which Sikyabotima acted as pipe lighter, passing the pipe first to Tu'noa with the greeting "Iuaa" ("My father"),⁴ to which the Flute

¹The Walpi Flute Observance, op. cit.

²It is next to impossible for one person to study thoroughly any great Tusayan ceremony during a single performance. Important rites are often being performed simultaneously in several rooms, while at the same time significant observances may take place in the plaza of the pueblo.

³Journal of American Ethnology and Archeology, vol. 11.

⁴These two men are of about the same age, or, if there is any difference, the Flute chief is younger than Sikyabotima. The designation "My father" refers to society precedence, not to the family relationship. I have heard a young man of twenty ceremonially called "grandfather" by an old man of sixty or more. The terms "father," "son," "elder brother," "younger brother," etc., used in passing to the pipe, are ceremonial, not family relationship terms.



LEÑYA (FLUTE) CHILDREN OF MISHONGNOVI

chief responded with "Itii" ("My son"). He then lighted a second pipe and handed it to Hoñyi with the word "Itupko" ("My elder brother"), to which the response "Iviva" ("My younger brother") was given. After Hoñyi had smoked he returned his pipe to Sikyabotima, and the Flute chief did the same. Tu'noa, Hoñyi, Winuta, and Sikyaustiwa then prayed in sequence.

At the close of the prayers the songs began, the priests all keeping time by beating or shaking their rattles, and the Flute chief holding the paaya, or "moisture rattle," previously referred to. During the songs an old man cast pinches of meal to the cardinal points in sinistral sequence, and Winuta asperged medicine water toward the same directions by means of a feather.

When the songs were about half finished Sikyabotima took the whizzers or bullroarers from the floor before the altar and twirled them several times, after which he went into an adjoining room and repeated the same action. Hani accompanied the songs with a flute.¹ When the singing came to an end, prayers followed, and a ceremonial smoke closed the exercises.

Four chiefs were in the room on the opening day, and each of these made four nakwa kwoci or stringed feathers. No prayer-sticks were made on this day, nor on the next two days, a feature at variance with what occurred in the 1892 ceremony. The sixteen nakwakwoci were arranged in a basket-tray in four clusters indicating four cardinal directions, and were placed before the tiponis as shown in the illustration (plate LXIV). These were later offered to the gods of the four world-quarters. Pahos were said to have been made on the day on which the main altar was erected.

UNWRAPPING THE FLUTE TIPONI

The unwrapping of the flute tiponi took place on the second day at about 1.30 p. m., the time consumed being somewhat over an hour.

On entering the room the author found a number of Flute priests assembled, Winuta squatting on a white buckskin which had been spread over a white woolen blanket, beneath which was a red Navaho blanket of ordinary pattern. He wore a ceremonial kilt and had a feather tied to his scalp lock; otherwise he was naked. On the buckskin before him were spread, in regular rows, feathers and strings, with other appendages of the tiponi, the core of which he held in his hand. This core consisted of a wooden cup-shape object, in the cavity of which was inserted an ear of white corn with four black painted

¹The so-called flute used in the flute ceremony is different from the instrument usually known by that name, in that the person using it does not blow across a hole in the side, but across a terminal opening, although producing the tone by the same mechanical principle. To the extremity of the instrument is attached a trumpet-like piece of gourd, which is sometimes painted in many colors. The operator fingers certain holes along the side of the flute while playing.

marks extending longitudinally (figure 46). The four quadrants of the cup were decorated on the exterior with symbols of corn and rain clouds, and on the base were two black lines crossing at right angles. There lay on the buckskin, at one side, another ear of corn, a quantity of cotton string, and many feathers which had been taken from the tiponi and rejected, for a new ear of corn was to replace the old, and new wrapping was to be added. The grains of corn from the old tiponi were later planted, and many of the feathers were placed in shrines.

In wrapping the tiponi the priest held the core in the left hand, and wound¹ the cotton string about it, inserting at times the feathers which protruded beyond the ear of corn. Suggestions were made in the course of the wrapping by several of those present, and many of the old feathers were replaced in the new bundle.

After the tiponi had been wrapped, and a string with attached shells added as a necklace, Winuta and Tu'noa, the young Flute chief, arose and stood on the blanket side by side, facing the east, Tu'noa being on the left. Both were naked save for a breechcloth, and Winuta held the tiponi in his right palm, grasping it midway of its length with his right hand. Winuta addressed a few words to Tu'noa, who responded "Antei" ("It is well"). Hoñyi then took Winuta's place and spoke in the same strain to the Flute chief, who remained standing. The tiponi,

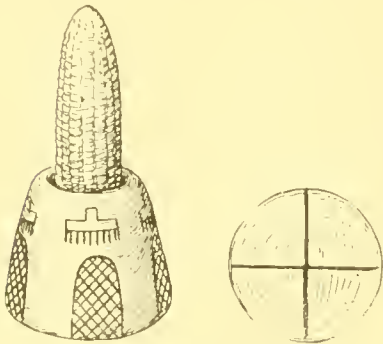


Fig. 46.—Core of Flute tiponi.

which had been passed by Winuta to Hoñyi, was transferred by the latter to Sikyaustiwa, who followed the actions of the others by handing it to Hani, who made a fervent appeal and passed it to Tu'noa. After the Flute chief Tu'noa had received the palladium he carried it to the altar, and made with sacred meal, on the mound of sand where it formerly stood, six radiating lines, placing the tiponi at their junction. He then returned to that part of the room where the blankets had been spread on the floor, and smoked in silence for a long time.

In a previous and fuller account of the renewal of the tiponi, in 1892, it was said to take place on the sixth day after the main altar had been erected. It is possible that this and other variations may in part be due to the death of the old Flute chief Cimo and the elevation of his younger successor Tu'noa.

¹As how and the tiponi he allowed the string to be drawn through his hand, which contained several feathers. The winding was always toward the left, or in the direction called the sinistral ceremony.



IVI. VINGHETI CHILDREN

The unwrapping of the tiponi has been witnessed in two Hopi ceremonies, the Flute and the Lalakonti. In these instances the contents of the palladium varied, but in both either kernels of corn or other seeds form essential parts. From chiefs of other societies it has been learned that their tiponis likewise contained corn either in grains or on the ear. Although from this information one is not justified in concluding that all tiponis contain corn, it is probably true with one or two exceptions. The tiponi is called the "mother," and an ear of corn given to a novice has the same name. There is nothing more precious to an agricultural people than seed, and we may well imagine that during the early Hopi migrations the danger of losing it may have led to every precaution for its safety. Thus it may have happened that it was wrapped in the tiponi and given to the chief to guard with all care as a most precious heritage. In this manner it became a mere symbol, and as such it persists to-day.

THE KISI

In no public ceremony of the Hopi is the cottonwood kisi introduced except in the Snake and Flute rites, in both of which its construction is identical. This brush-house is doubtless a survival from very ancient times, and is related with the history of the ceremony with which it is connected. A line of meal is sometimes drawn around it. It is stated by the Snake people that they were the original inhabitants of Walpi, and there is no doubt that the Bear, Snake, and Flute clans formed the nucleus of the ancient pueblo of which Walpi is the survivor. Equally emphatic is the claim of the Snake traditionists that their ancestors came from the north, and other evidence tends to substantiate the assertion. There is little difficulty in tracing a likeness between the kisis of the pueblos and the medicine-lodges of nomadic tribes, but thus far there is nothing to prove the derivation of one from another.

GENERAL REMARKS

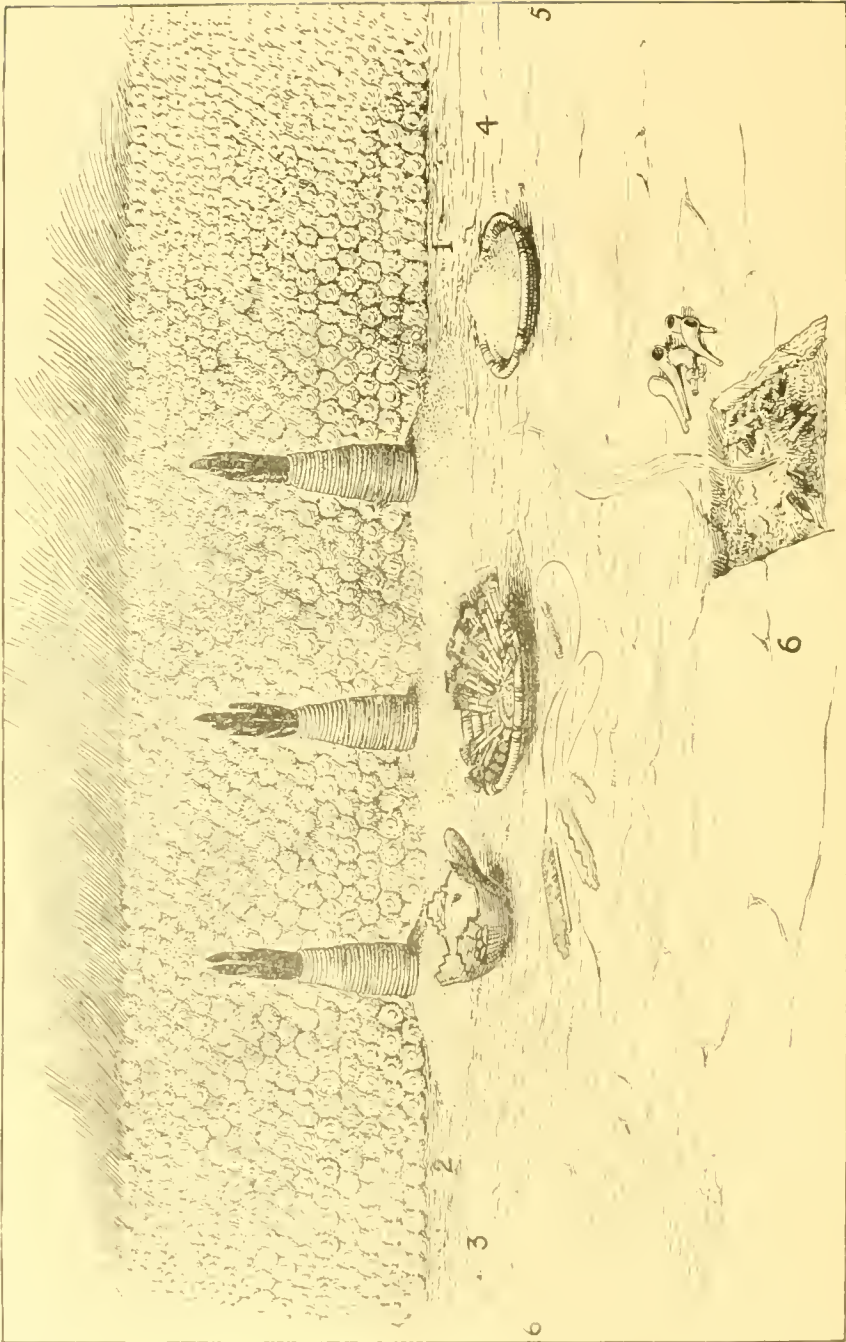
Three elements appear to be prominent in the Flute observance, viz, sun, rain, and corn worship, symbols of which are the most prominent on the altars and their accessories. The same is true of the Snake dance; but in both rites the cultus heroes and clan mothers are special deities to which the supplications for rain and corn are addressed. This is interpreted as a form of totemism in which the ancestors of the clan take precedence. The Sun as the father of all cultus heroes and the Earth as the mother of all gods, ancestral and otherwise, necessarily form an important part of the worship, which is traceable throughout both ceremonies.

RELATION OF SNAKE SOCIETY AND SNAKE CLAN

The Hopi ritual, or that part of it which pertains to communal worship, making up the yearly calendar, bears evidence of being composite, and we may suppose that it has become so for the same reasons that the social system of the Hopi is composite. It is composed of a collection of ceremonies which have come together, yet remain distinct. In the traditional account of the growth of Walpi, for instance, it is stated that families drifted to the site of the pueblo from different directions, and as they arrived certain sections of the village were assigned to them for their homes; these sections their descendants still occupy. By mutual consent each clan was allotted certain tracts of land in the plain for their farms, and these land holdings still remain in the clans. While the clans were living together, a community of interest developed and intermarriage broke down the limitation of sacerdotal societies to clans. Certain emergencies arose when clans were forced to act together. These influences resulted in an amalgamation of clans, and a new organization was effected. The clan languages were fused into a common speech, and a coalescence of the different arts and customs also occurred. The new organization retained much that was good in each of component clans.

The ritual developed along the same lines, but the religious sentiment being more conservative, the clan units have remained more apparent in the rites than elsewhere. When each new family joined the already established villagers, it brought its own mythology and ritual clustering about a special cultus hero and clan mother, or tutelary ancestral couple and, after the union with other clans continued to practice its own clan rites. The germ of that clan ancients worship was evidently ancestor worship. The Hopi ritual is thus a composite of several distinctive clan units.

The Snake dance and the Flute observance are two of these units—one the clan worship of the Snake clans, the other that of the Flute clans. Moreover, since these two clans were among the first to unite and form the nucleus of Walpi, their clan rites must necessarily have been practiced side by side for a longer time than those of most other clans. Hence we should expect to find mutual reaction and many pronounced similarities, which account for the ritualistic resemblances noted, and also afford a verification of the legend of the antiquity of the Snake and Flute ceremonies at Walpi; but there is nothing to show that they are older than the others, although good evidence exists that they have been observed at Walpi for a longer time than any other forms of clan worship. It would be interesting to know the sources and characteristics of the subsequent increments to the Walpi ritual, but the Snake and Flute clan rites are preeminently attractive to the ethnologist.



FIRST FLUTE ALTAR AT WALPI

A correct determination of the relationship between the clan and the sacerdotal society is important if we would gain a clear idea of the character and history of the Hopi ritual. There is no doubt that at present the sacerdotal society includes in its numbers members of several clans, and is not confined to any particular one. Consequently those who conclude that the two organizations are distinct at the present time are justified in that conclusion; but that does not prove that they always were distinct. Evidently in ancient times, when all the inhabitants of Walpi belonged to the Snake clans, the Snake priesthood was limited to that clan, and if the inhabitants of that ancestral pueblo celebrated the Snake dance it was, strictly speaking, a family affair. After the Flute, the Rain-cloud, Badger, and other groups of clans joined the Snake village, men from these clans became members of the Snake priesthood, giving the present composite personnel which intermarriage made inevitable. The retention of the Snake chieftaincy in the Snake clan in a matriarchal line of descent is one of the many survivals of the former limitation of the Snake priesthood to the Snake clans. A custom in passing the pipe in the ceremonial smoking is another survival. The terms "father," "grandfather," "son," "brother," "elder brother," "younger brother," which are exchanged at that time do not now indicate clan relationship, as hitherto explained, but are survivals of a time when they did. A youth of 18 may be called "grandfather" by a man of 60, and when Hahave passes the pipe to Wiki and calls him "my elder brother," and Wiki responds "my younger brother," neither of these priests means that the other is his clan relative—it is the relationship of the sacerdotal standing of one to the other that is indicated. The terms are survivals of a time when they meant blood kinship, for when the ceremony was limited to the clan, Wiki, the chief, was "elder brother," or "father," or "grandfather," to the man who thus addressed him. The formal address survives, although the man using it may now belong to a different clan from that of the chief.

RELATION OF THE FLUTE SOCIETY AND FLUTE CLAN

In the same way that the Snake and Antelope fraternities are or were directly related to, and were introduced into Walpi by, the Snake and Horn clans, so the Flute societies originated with the Flute clans and were added by them to the participants in the Hopi ritual when they joined preexisting families. Before the Flute clans came to Walpi, bringing their cultus, they had amalgamated with the Horn clans, which had earlier lived with the Snake clans at a place called Tokonabi. Naturally a result of this consolidation was a modification of the Flute ceremony, and the result of this influence was the likenesses between

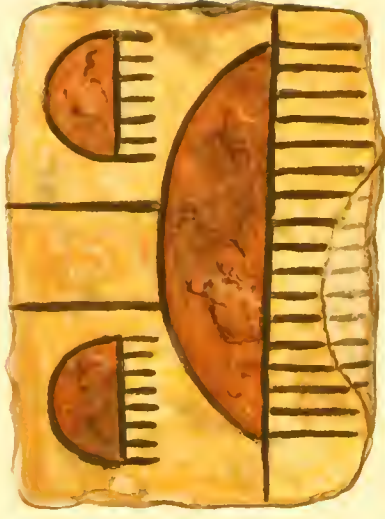
portions of the Snake dance and the Flute ceremony due to Horn clans common to the Horn-Snake and the Horn-Flute groups of clans.

There is good reason to believe that the Flute clans, and hence the Flute societies, came to Tusayan from the south, whereas the Horn and Snake clans came from the north, or Tokonabi.

OPIIOLATRY IN THE SNAKE DANCE

The Snake dance is a celebration or worship of the cultus hero and clan mother (Teñamana) of the Snake clan, but not of the Great Plumed Snake (Palülüköñ), which the legends say was introduced by the Patki clans from the south. These legends are supported by the fact that the effigies of the Plumed Snake are used in the Soyaluña and Palülüköñti ceremonies by the Patki and other southern clans, and not by the Snake society in its worship. No reference to Palülüköñ occurs in the legend of the Snake clans, but a figure of it is painted on the kilts of the Snake priests. These facts have led to the belief that the worship of a Great Snake was foreign to the ritual of Walpi when its population was composed only of Snake, Horn, and Flute clans; that it came to Walpi after the Snake clan was established in that pueblo, and hence presumably after the Snake dance had been introduced. The presence of reptiles in the Snake ceremony is generally supposed to show that this rite is a form of snake worship. It is rather a worship of the ancestors of the Snake clans, which are anthropo-zoöomorphic beings, called the Snake youth and the Snake maid; but neither of these represent the Great Snake, nor has their worship anything to do with that of this personage, who was introduced into Hopi mythology and ritual by the Rain-cloud clans. As personated in the Antelope kiva at Walpi, these ancestral beings have no reptilian characteristics, and the snakes which are introduced in the ceremonies are not worshiped, but are regarded as the "elder brothers" of the priests. It is not supposed that these reptiles have any more power to send rain than the "elder brothers" or shades of deceased members of any other society. They are intercessors between man and the rain gods, and if the proper ceremonies with them are performed in prescribed sequence and in traditional ways, the rains must come because they came in the ancient times in the house of the Snake maid. The idea of magic permeates the whole ceremony, which is not an appeal to a great Snake deity to grant any definite request, but a compulsion of the rain and growth supernaturals to perform their functions, which is brought about by the use of proper charms.

The Hopi conception of the rain gods involves no limitation of these supernaturals to definite numbers. There is no suggestion of a single anthropomorphic being which sends the rain, but Rain-cloud spirits are associated with the six cardinal points, and are regarded as ancestral beings.



CAK WALEŃYA ALTAR, LAPIS AT WALEHI

RELATIVE PLACE OF THE SNAKE DANCE IN PRIMITIVE WORSHIP

The present purpose of the Snake ceremony, which in many publications has been confounded with its original aim, is primarily, as has been elsewhere shown, to bring rain and thus to promote the growth of corn; in fact this desire, due to present environment, dominates all the rites of the Hopi ritual. It is believed, however, that this is not original meaning—back of it is a psychic element which the Hopi share with other primitive people whose myths and ritual have not been modified by an arid climate and an agricultural life. We must look more deeply into the subject in order to bring the Snake dance into harmony with the elements of religion in a more primitive mind.

It has been shown that in the Snake ceremony there is no worship of the Great Serpent, and the Snake priests scout the idea that this great deity belonged to their clan worship. In support of their claims it may be mentioned that Palūlūkoñ is not represented on their altars. The psychic element of religion in the Snake dance is totemic ancestor worship, which is fundamental in the whole Hopi ritual. The reptile is a society totem, the lineal survivor of a clan totem, and the totem ancestor, called the Snake maid, is, generally, like totemic ideas, an anthropo-zoöomorphic conception. Members of the society claim immunity from the bite of the snake because it is their totem, and the idea of possession of the shade or "breath-body" of the dead by the snake totem is in accord with universal totemic conceptions.

The Snake dance is simply a form of clan totemism having special modifications, due to environment, to fit the needs of the Hopi. It is a highly modified form of ancestor worship in which the Sun and the Earth, as parents of all, are worshiped, but in which the cultus hero and the ancestors of the clan are the special divinized personages represented in secret rites.

INTERPRETATION OF SNAKE AND FLUTE RITES

The main object of the majority of Hopi ceremonials is the production of rain and the growth of corn. The reason for individual rites must be sought in certain universal principles of religion common to all men. There are three primal elements which permeate all Hopi ceremonies—the gods, the worshiper, and the needs of the latter, or what he wishes to obtain from the former. Ceremony is largely, if not wholly, made up of the methods adopted by the worshiper, man, to influence the gods to grant his wishes, and is directly the outgrowth of prayer, which is a reflection of desire or want, which in turn is the outgrowth of climatic influences. Agriculturists desire rain and crops, and they pray to the gods especially for these things. There are

certain ways of expressing their prayers, which are known as ceremonies—the nature of the prayer being intimately connected with the conception of the nature of the gods and the understanding of the wants of the worshiper by himself.

There are several kinds of prayer, and there is varying development in the accompanying symbolism. The verbal prayer is one type, which is universal. In this the worshiper simply asks the gods in his own language for what he wants. This form of prayer originated at a time when the gods were regarded as zoö-morphic and anthropomorphic, and implies a god who speaks and who hears the desires of his worshiper. In the long process of evolution, however, the verbal prayer became something more than a simple request—the words came to have symbolic meanings and as such were media of communion with gods. They became expressions of religious feeling, but were not necessary to the existence of that feeling. Many worshipers were thus led to drop them and to preserve the feeling in silent prayers; others, reverencing the ancient forms, retained the words as symbolic aids. In the growth of religion it was early recognized that the gods had their own language and that possibly they were unable to understand that of men; hence, as has been shown by Powell, there arose and developed a religious gesture language, or an expression of prayer by dramatization. The worshiper in this type of prayer, which may be called dramatic prayer, showed the gods through action what he desired. He combined it with verbal prayer, with symbolic prayer, but the dramatic element was always most striking.⁵ Ceremony, in the main, but not wholly, is highly developed dramatic prayer, and the object of dramatic prayer is to show by acting what the worshiper desires.

In order to appeal to the gods in this gesture language, symbolism is largely employed in the paraphernalia used in worship. Let us apply this to the altars. The prayers of agriculturists in an arid environment are necessarily for rain and the growth of crops—in the case of the Hopi, of maize, their national food—and certainly no one, god or human, could look upon a Hopi altar without seeing symbols of these two things—rain clouds, falling rain, lightning, and corn and other seeds. On the altar are placed either the symbols of what is wanted or the objects themselves. To be sure, there are other objects, but these are supplementary, and vary, but rain symbols and corn symbols are universal.

Not only are the desired objects thus symbolically represented as silent prayers to convey the desire to the gods, but personations of ancestral gods, either in the form of idols or representations by human beings, are found on the same altars. These are not the gods—they are only symbols—temporary residences, if you wish, of the gods. Here we have a still more realistic evolution of the dramatic prayer.

The priest prays to this representation of the god by scattering meal upon it, and the god has but to look about him on the altar to know what is wanted. Observe how the pantomime of imitating falling rain is performed in this way. The priest dips his aspergill in the medicine and asperges in turn to the six cardinal points in representation of falling rain, and this is symbolic of what the priest wishes the gods of the six directions to do.

The priest at another time asperges on a sand-picture symbol of a rain-cloud for the same reason—he shows what he wishes the Rain gods to do, viz. to sprinkle the earth with rain.

Again, the priest pours water into his medicine bowl from six directions to show the gods that he desires them to send rain from the six directions of the known world. He blows an immense cloud of smoke on the altar because he wishes clouds to appear. The act has the same significance—it is a prayer for the rain-cloud which the Rain gods may understand. For this purpose also the priest sounds his whizzer—to imitate the thunder which accompanies the rain.

For this same purpose also the figures of aquatic animals—the tadpole and the frog—which supposedly bring the rain, are displayed because they are silent prayers for rain. Hence, also, the Antelope priests wear rain-cloud symbols on their kilts and zigzag lightning marks on their bodies and limbs.