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THE USE OF IDOLS IN HOPI WORSHIP.

By J. WALTER FEWKES,

*Chief, Bureau of American Ethnology.*¹

[With 6 plates.]

INTRODUCTION.

Very little has been published on the forms, distribution, uses, and ethnological significance of idols among North American Indians. This poverty of our knowledge evidently either is due to a neglect to study these objects by ethnologists or may reflect the relatively small number of Indian tribes in which elaborate idol worship formerly flourished or still survives.

The early accounts of the southern Indians of the Mississippi Valley contain descriptions of the employment of idols in religious rites, and many archeological collections from that region contain stone or clay images that may have served for idols. As we approach the Mexican border, in the Southwest, the relative number of these images increases. Early writings on Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies contain frequent references to idolatry, and many idols existing in Mexican collections have been found in prehistoric mounds. There are only a few localities in the United States where both ethnologists and archeologists find these evidences of idolatry plentiful. One of these is the pueblo region, or, as generally called, the Southwest. The living Indians of this region are survivors of a peculiar culture in which stone idols were abundant and the archeologist has recorded a large number of these images as found in this area. It is instructive to remember that the ancient pueblo cult was continued into modern times and in some instances old idols are heirlooms and are regarded reverently in modern times. It is very generally stated by Hopi priests that idols, like other cult objects, came from the underworld and were inherited by their ancestors from the earliest men who emerged from that place.

¹This article is the fourth of a series on the Hopi religion published in successive annual reports of the Smithsonian Institution. The following have already appeared: (1) Sun Worship of the Hopi Indians (1918); (2) Fire Worship of the Hopi Indians (1920); (3) Ancestor Worship of the Hopi Indians (1921).

The survival of ancient objects into modern times among the pueblos is a fortunate condition for one who desires to interpret them, as it enables him, through comparative studies, to learn their meaning and interpret the rites performed with idols of similar form in ancient times. These indications point to the conclusion that there is no break in the cultural sequence of cliff dwellers and pueblos. There has been a shifting of population by migration, union, or disintegration of clans or social units and extinction of ceremonies by death of clans, but no essential difference can be detected between ancient and modern pueblos. There is a continuous growth in culture with no great break in character from the ancient into the early historic life.

For several years the use of idols in Hopi worship has been a subject of investigation by ethnologists, and we have better material from this tribe than from any other pueblos. It is also worthy of note that several idols are peculiar to certain clans (Snake and others) and that those Walpi idols that were reputed to have been brought from the north are identical with idols of the cliff dwellers. We may interpret this similarity as one more evidence, supporting many others, that the ancestors of certain clans of the Hopi were cliff dwellers.

The places where idols are most commonly found are in shrines or on altars erected at the time of great ceremonials. A shrine (pl. 1, figs. 1 and 3) is a house (*pahoki*) where a prayer stick is deposited to a god and is spoken of as the prayer-stick house of a supernatural being, and often there stands in it an idol representing that being. Cliff dwellers' shrines are difficult to recognize, but those of prehistoric pueblos have repeatedly been discovered. Up to last summer (1922) shrines had not been recognized on the Mesa Verde, but elsewhere, as at Zuñi and Walpi, they are well known, the latter having been enumerated and described by the author in an elaborate article. As is well known, shrines to the world quarters are found near most pueblos, ancient or modern, and have a general similarity in form, being a small cairn or stone inclosure, sometimes with a flat stone roof but generally open to the east. The Sun shrine at Zuñi is a good example of a simple shrine still used. The Alosaka shrine at Awatobi² is a shallow depression in a rock with a wall before it. Sometimes the door of a shrine is closed and a stone slab luted in place with adobe and opened only when a ceremony is about to be performed. The idol of Talatumsi belongs to the group of closed

² Notwithstanding the fact that the Hopi pueblo Awatobi became a ruin in 1700, this shrine was used up to about 1889, when the two idols of Alosaka which had stood in it many years were taken away and carried to another shrine at the Middle Mesa. The incident connected with their removal is referred to in the author's account of the excavations at Awatobi in 1895. (See 17th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.)

shrines. In the New Fire ceremony it is carried up the mesa and placed on top of the different kivas to receive the prayers of the faithful. The late excavations on the Mesa Verde National Park have revealed several shrines and idols. Three shrines have been discovered outside a ruin in the Mummy Lake cluster of mounds. One of these, at a ruin called Pipe Shrine House,³ is attached to the outer northeast corner of the ruin, another is situated a few feet south of the south wall, while a third lies in the cedar forest some distance south of the ruin. The shrine on the northeast corner contained a slab of stone on which a circle was cut like that in the Zuñi Sun shrine. In the south shrine there stood a mountain lion idol surrounded by many waterworn stones. In the Sun shrine there were many waterworn stones, a meteorite, and numerous other objects.

When one enters a Hopi house where there are children one's attention may be attracted by bright-colored images carved out of wood hanging from the rafters of the dwelling. It was said by Bourke that these objects, after having done duty as idols, were used as dolls; but it is now known, as elsewhere pointed out, that they were made for dolls and presented to the little girls at the great spring festival called the Powamû. They are, however, made and decorated with symbolic designs to represent the different clan ancients or *Katcinas*, and now they serve to indicate the distinctive symbolism of these beings as elsewhere⁴ pointed out in an account of some of their more common forms.

The Hopi idols are distinguished from fetishes or small stone figurines of animals so common in former years. These fetishes appear to be more abundant at the New Mexican pueblo, Zuñi, and are rarely found among the Hopi, where the priesthood of the Bow or Warrior fraternity is less powerful. It is difficult always to determine a line of demarcation between idols and fetishes, but the former are generally larger than the latter and have animal or human forms, being rather family than personal images and more racial in character.

Many of the idols have anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms among the Hopi. They commonly have a string tied about their necks, to which are attached feathers or personal prayer offerings. These objective prayers or symbolic wishes for blessings are especially common at the winter solstice ceremony.

There is reason to believe that in old times the use of stone idols among the Hopi was very general and that the older the idol the

³ The kiva of this ruin has a shrine which served also as a fireplace, marked out on its floor, but no idol was found in it. See *Explorations and Field Work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1922*, *Smithsonian Misc. Coll.*, vol. 74, no. 5, 1923.

⁴ Vide "Dolls of the Tusayan Indians," *International Archiv.*, 1893. Of late years there has been a considerable activity in the manufacture of Hopi dolls, stimulated in part by commercial considerations, so that many more kinds are now made than formerly. The work quoted contains only a fraction of the number of different kinds of dolls made as early as 1890.

cruder it was made. They occur in all forms, from simple fossil logs (pl. 1, fig. 2) of petrified wood and waterworn stones to elaborately carved and painted images, human or animal in form, with elaborate symbolism. The more realistic images do not date far back in time, and it is doubtful if many of them antedate the arrival of the Spanish padres. It is not improbable that church santos served as models in their manufacture and may have inspired the elaboration of the more realistic images. The painted stone and wooden slabs bearing symbols of rain clouds, the sun, and various animals, especially those loving water, often forming a reredos for these idols, are here treated as symbols, although there may have been imparted to them something of the same power as to idols. Many of these bear zigzag figures, symbols of lightning, or, in case of wooden sticks, have human heads cut upon one end.

It is difficult to believe that there ever lived any great number of American Indians who worshiped a stone or a wooden or clay image, or any object which they had themselves manufactured. There have been individuals so lacking in intelligence or so sluggish in mentality that they may have been hypnotized into the belief that an idol representing a supernatural being had the power of the god. Some Indians may have confused cause and effect so hopelessly that they ascribed to a waterworn stone the power to bring water or believed that a water-frequenting plant or animal caused rain to fall, but we have yet to learn that psychologically even these people have gone any farther than to ascribe power to such objects. It is quite a different thing to worship the power expressed by certain symbols and the symbol itself. Having exchanged ideas with those who personate supernatural beings in their ceremonies, the author has come to the conclusion that primitive men do not worship idols, but use them as symbols to express by tangible objects well-grounded beliefs current in their philosophy.

A fundamental belief among the Hopi is that men, animals, material objects, sky, earth, fire, water, everything, organic or inorganic, possesses magical powers which are the objective elements of primitive religion. It is believed by most savages that there exists a power beyond that of man which controls the universe and that this power of nature wherever found can be associated with that of man and used by him for material or spiritual advantage. Idols likewise share this power with other objects; by some persons supernatural beings are believed to reside in these images, but few intelligent men believe that the idol is the supernatural it represents.

Worship is not considered the best term to use in speaking of the relation of the powers of supernatural beings and man, but it is the effort of man to be in harmony with the power behind nature, and the idea seems to be that man by a union of his own power with that

personified in natural objects may bring about certain greatly needed material help.

One of the perplexing aspects of the study of individual idols is the multiplicity of names which many of them bear. This has been commented on by many authors and may be due to the composite nature of the Hopi people, different groups of people among a composite tribe like the Hopi having different names for the same god.

Many facts seem to indicate that the Hopi hold a belief in a future existence beyond the grave, which antedates the advent of Europeans. The belief that on death the Hopi descend to the underworld is very old. The breath body or spirit is supposed to lead a life in this place not greatly unlike that on earth. The defunct preserved its kinship with the living members of the same clan and held communication through an opening in the floor of the kiva with those members of the clan that remained behind.

The ancestors of Pueblos, whether cliff dwellers or inhabitants of stone houses in the open, were accustomed to deposit bowls of food and jars of water, ornaments, effigies, and other objects at the graves of the dead, as is generally done by people who believe in a future life. The spirit food is supposed to be consumed by the spirit before its departure for the underworld. The material food decays or is consumed by animals.

In considering any tribe of men among whom idols exist we are continually meeting a great predominance of symbolism. It would seem that a primitive religion dealing with belief, generally symbolizes its conceptions by means of material objects—images, pictures, and concrete representations of other kinds. The relation of the object to the belief is variously stated. For instance, the belief is current that the image is the home or the residence, the place of abode, of an essence or breath body. In more refined civilization this breath body is given the name spirit. It must be remembered, however, that the term spirit originated at the dawn of language and simply meant a breath, having the same material existence as air in the mind of primitive men. In the course of development of men's interpretation of this breath power it has taken on several phases, implying as many differences in meaning. The spirit is sometimes spoken of as a double, and in the Hopi conception every individual has a double, or what might be called a power to accomplish results, or what we would call a vital force, and a mortal body that dies and disappears. The Hopi shaman holds to a belief that by certain incantations, prayers, songs, and association of material objects a magic power that can be used to influence the spirits of other objects can be intensified; for instance, by the use of certain words addressed to certain symbols representing the rain clouds a priest can compel the rain clouds to bring the rain. It is not exactly a response to a petition, but rather a compelling of magic power to act by the use

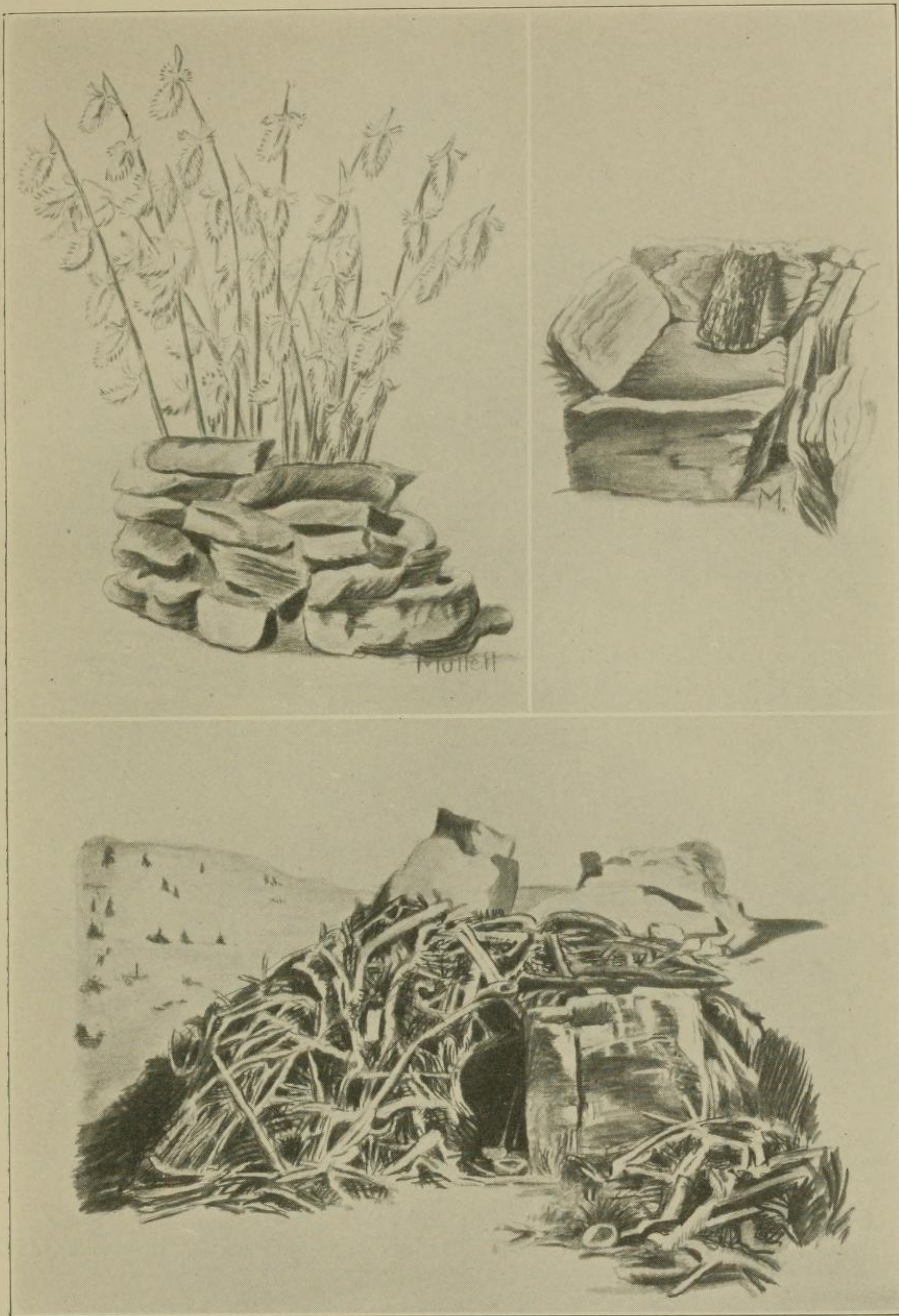
of a higher and more potent magic in order to accomplish the desired end. Religion among primitive men may be regarded from the point of view of symbolism, and in order to use this effectively they are accustomed to present the powers of nature by symbolic means, representing them either in the form of figures or as engraved images to which the name idol is commonly given. An idol, in other words, is an image made of wood, clay, or stone, in the form of a human or animal shape, supposed from its antiquity, form, or symbolism to possess the power of the god it represents and capable of being used for the bringing about of desired results.

Formerly it was not unusual to see a stone image or idol in every Pueblo dwelling room. This domestic idol (pl. 2, fig. 2) was often of crude construction, in the form of an animalistic or anthropomorphic being. In the house of Intiwa, the Katsina chief,⁵ there formerly stood a stone idol of the war god, and there was an idol of the mountain lion in the house of the Sun priest. At the present time there are few of these domestic idols remaining, for zealous collectors from eastern museums have purchased them or they have been hidden away by the owners in some remote corner of the household. Formerly these idols were not only at times sprinkled with prayer meal but also daily worshiped by the members of the household and prayer feathers tied around their necks. Food was generally found clinging to their lips, indicating that there survived into modern times the custom of feeding them which was practiced before the coming of the whites.

Idols in shrines.—The idols found in shrines near Walpi are generally more archaic than those used on altars in kivas and are made of stone, rarely of wood and clay. They are sometimes simply strangely formed waterworn stones, more like fetishes.

There is a well-made idol near the stairway trail on the east side of the mesa, which is called *Talatumsi* (the Elder Sister of the Dawn, planet Venus). This shrine is a rude excavation made by man in a boulder, its opening being closed by a flat slab of rock that serves as a door, which is ordinarily luted in place with clay. This door is removed in November every fourth year, when the idol in the shrine is taken out and carried, with considerable ceremony, to the top of the mesa; here it is placed on the kiva hatches and rites performed near it. This idol of *Talatumsi* is a wooden image dressed in a white ceremonial blanket, with an embroidered sash about her waist, in which are put the wooden prayer offerings that are every four years made to her (pl. 2, fig. 1). At the close of rites around the kiva entrance the image is carried back to her shrine and the door luted in place, awaiting the next quadrennial emergence. As this image is very sacred, it is rarely exhibited, and no one save the initiated is supposed to be acquainted with her shrine.

⁵ When the author last visited Walpi this house was deserted and falling into ruins.



3

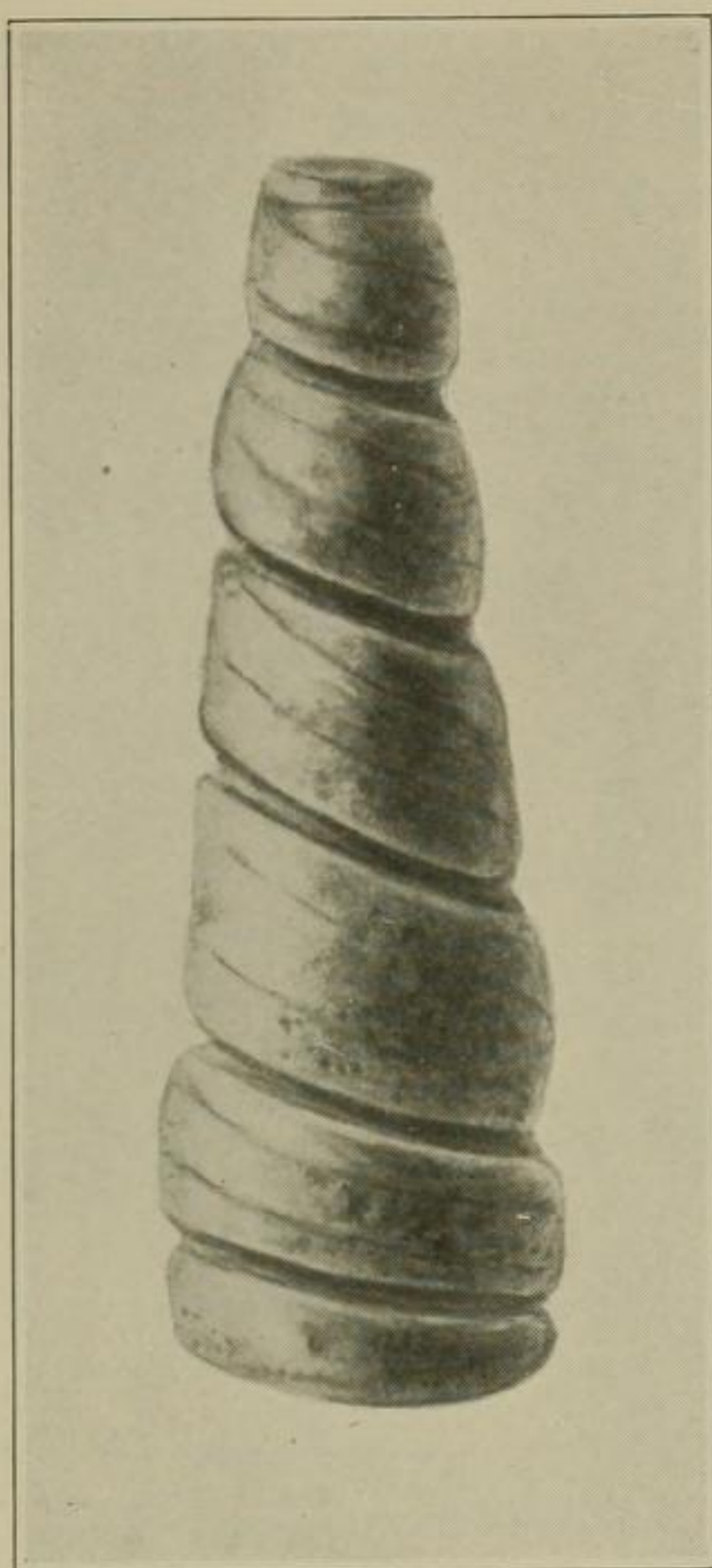
1. SHRINE OF THE SUN NEAR WALPI. THE STICKS WITH PRAYER FEATHERS ARE MADE IN GREAT NUMBERS AT THE WINTER SOLSTICE CEREMONY AND ARE OFFERINGS TO THE SUN FOR INCREASE OF ALL BLESSINGS DESIRED BY THE HOPI.
2. SHRINE WITH FOSSIL LOG. VISITED AT THE NEW FIRE CEREMONY AT WALPI. ON LEFT OF THE TRAIL FROM EAST TO MIDDLE MESA.
3. SHRINE OF THE FIRE GOD MASAUWU, SITUATED IN THE PLAIN WEST OF WALPI. MEN RETURNING WITH FAGOTS ON THEIR BACKS THROW A BOUGH ON THIS SHRINE. SMALL POTTERY DISHES ALSO DEPOSITED IN IT.



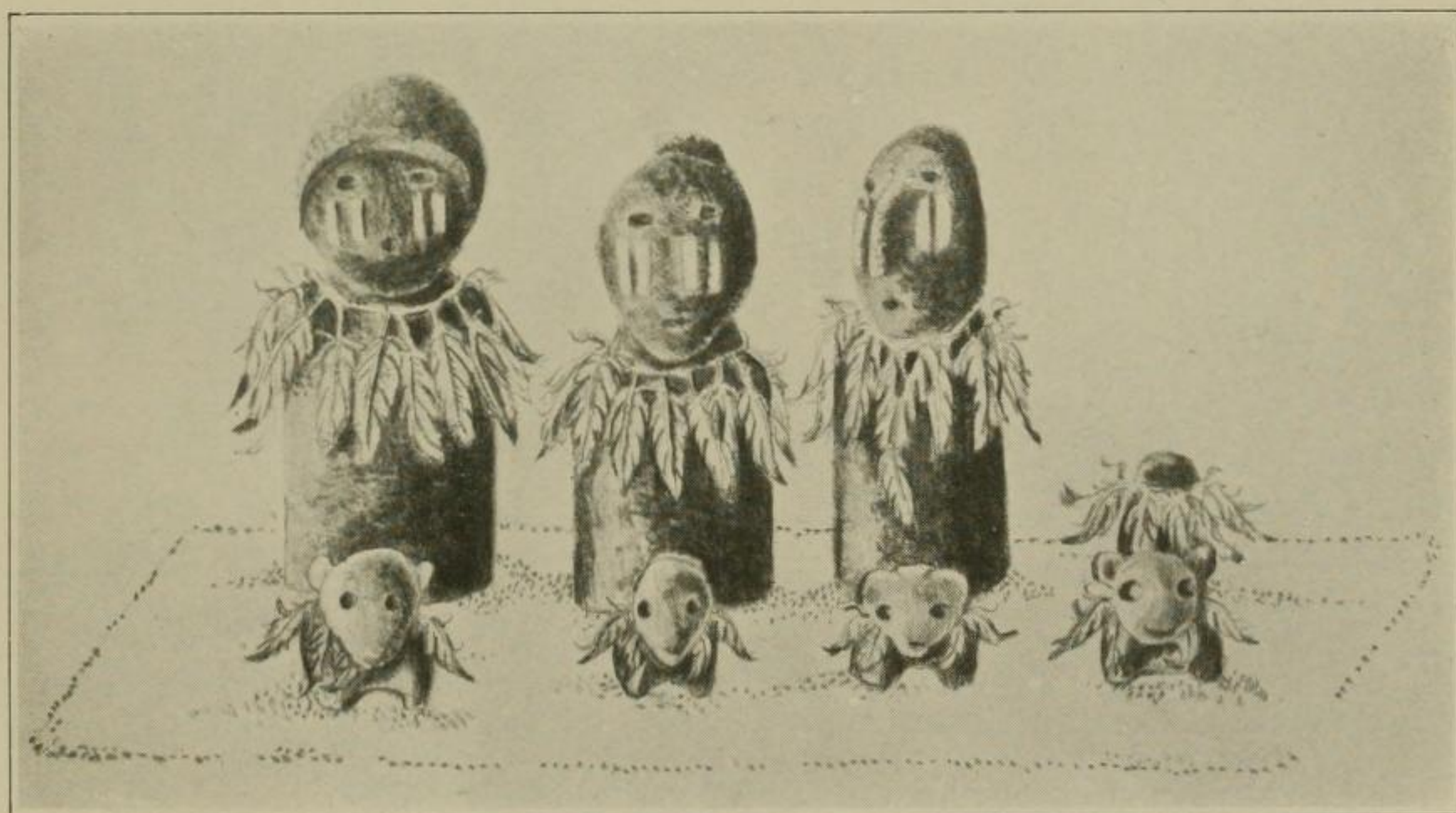
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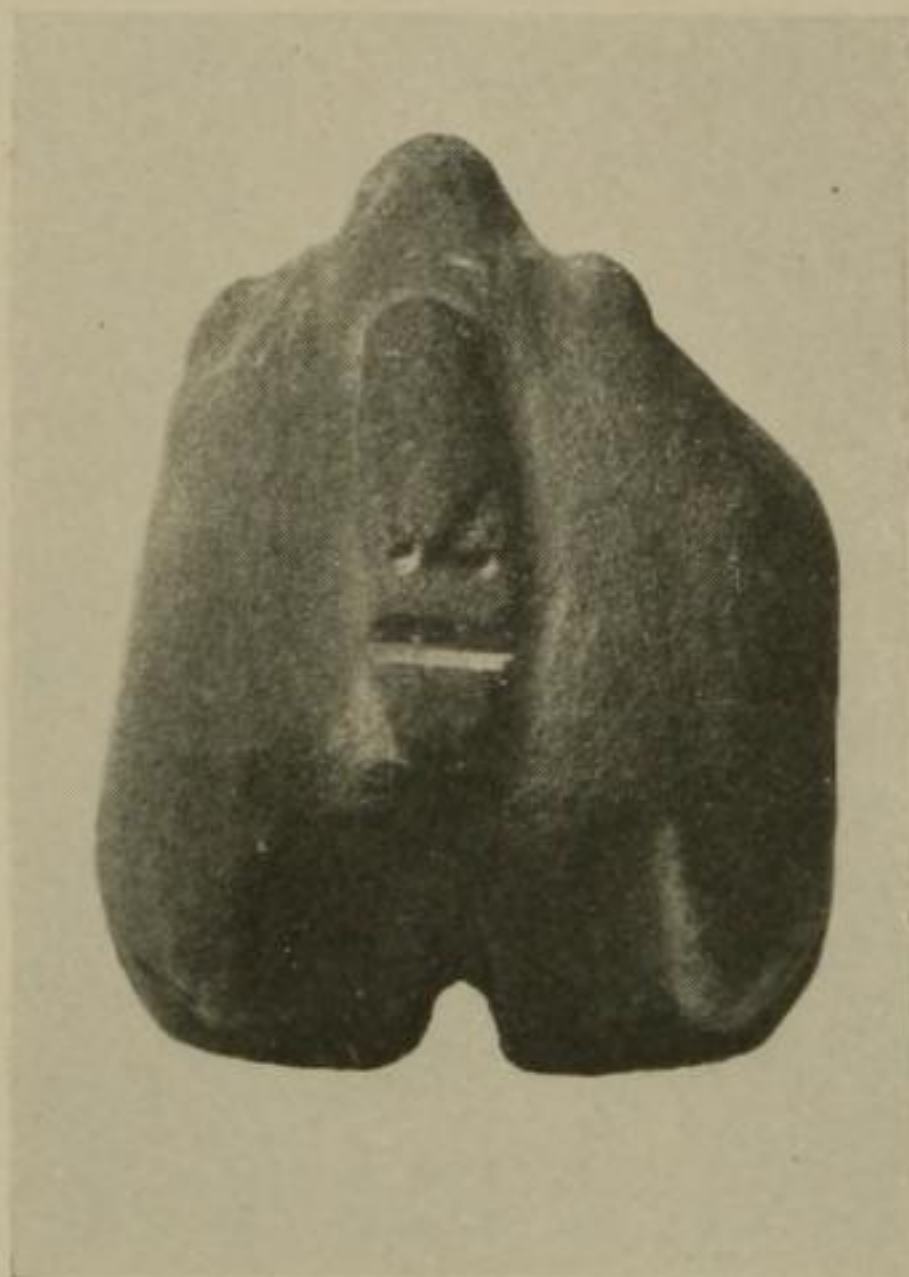
1. IDOL OF TALATUMSI REMOVED FROM HER SHRINE AT THE QUADRENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE NEW FIRE AND CARRIED TO THE TOP OF THE EAST MESA BY HER GUARDIANS, THE HORN PRIESTS.
2. HOUSE IDOL OF MOUNTAIN LION.
3. IDOL OF THE GERM GOD, MUYINWÛ. (SQUARE TOWER HOUSE.)
4. SIDE VIEW OF STONE IDOL OF PLUMED SERPENT (PIPE SHRINE HOUSE).



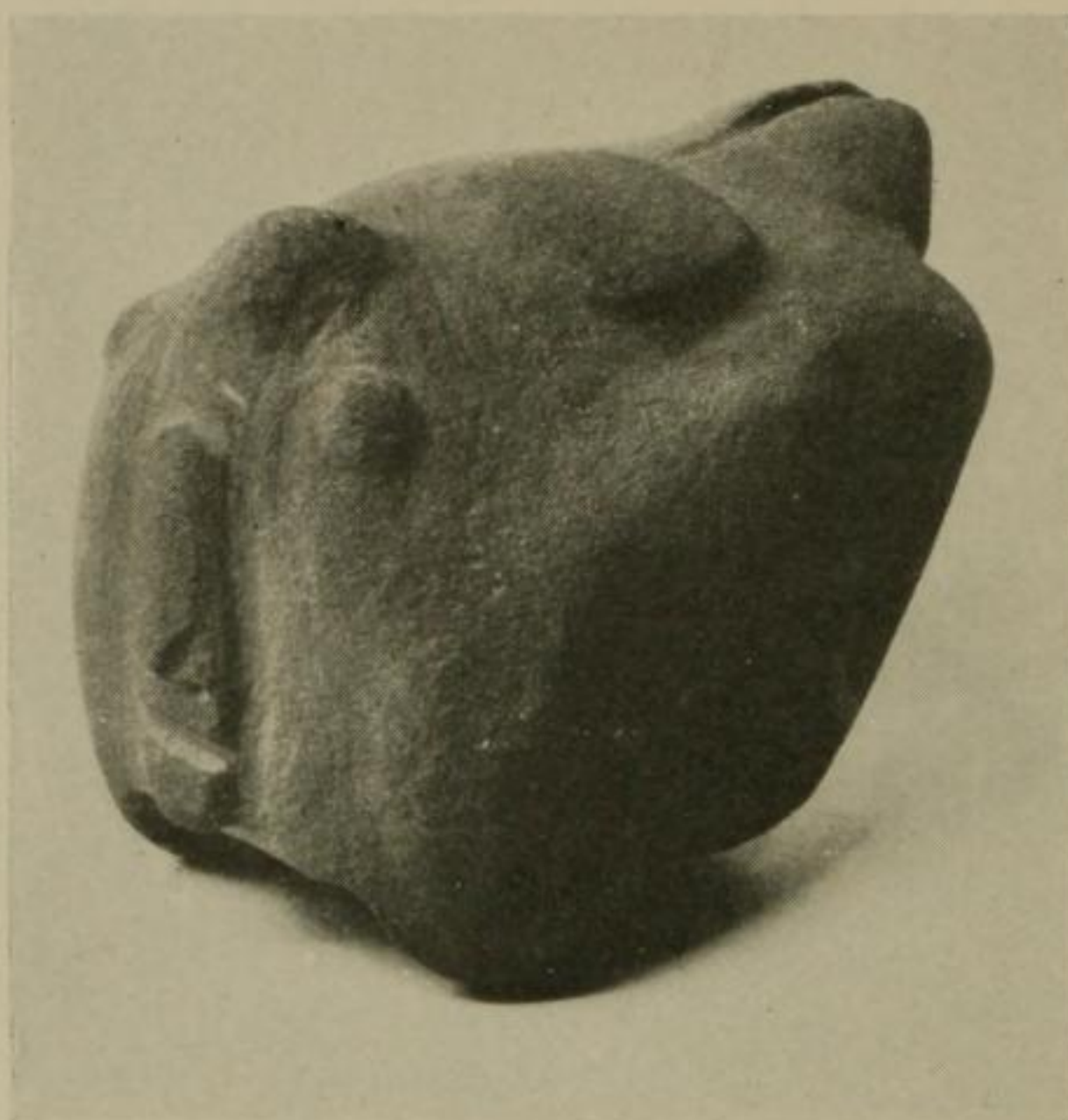
1. THE STONE IDOL OF THE TWISTER, USED IN THE MARAU CEREMONY AT AWATOBI, NOW A RUIN NEAR WALPI.



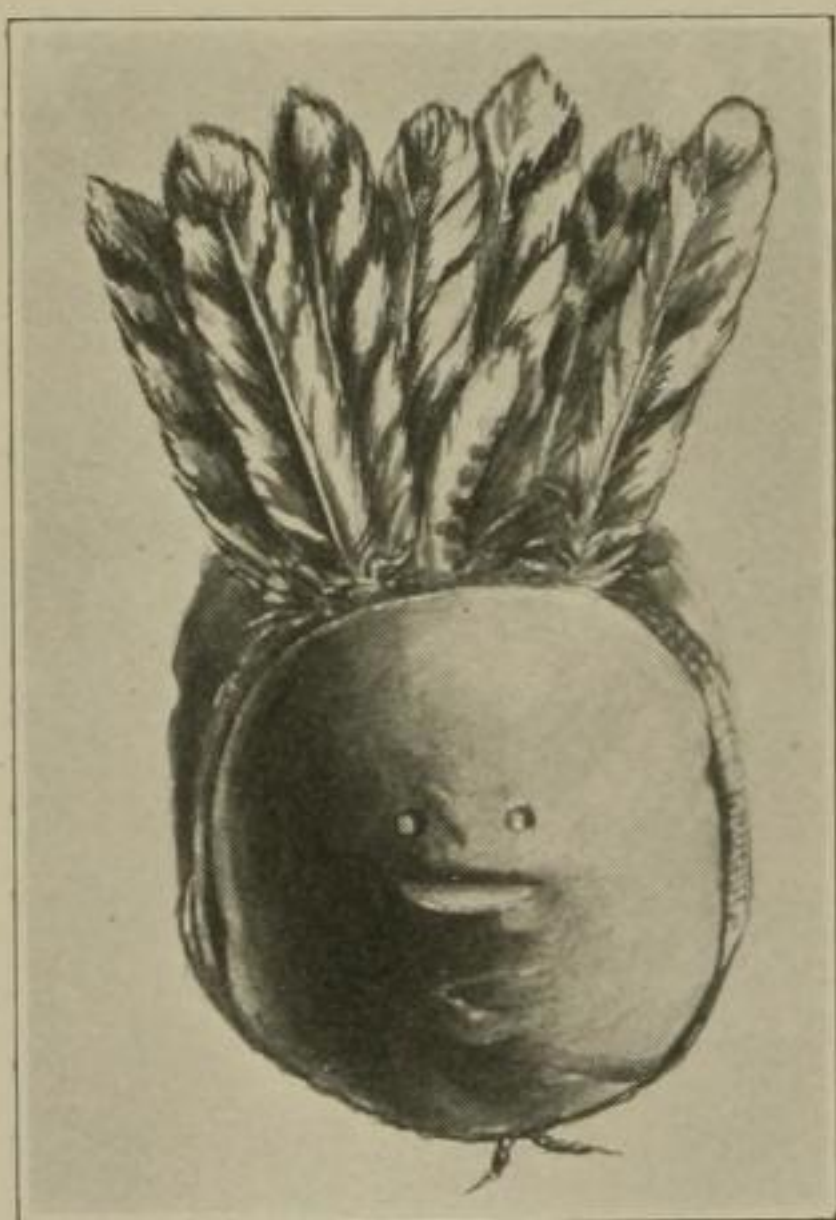
2. STONE IDOLS ON THE WARRIOR ALTAR AT HANO. THE THREE LARGER REPRESENT THE LITTLE GODS OF WAR; THE SMALLER ON THE RIGHT OF THE REAR ROW, THE SPIDER WOMAN, THEIR MOTHER. THE FOUR STONE IDOLS IN THE FRONT ROW ARE ANIMAL PETS OF THE IDOLS.



1



2



3



4

1, 2. FRONT AND SIDE VIEW OF A STONE BIRD IDOL, PIPE SHRINE HOUSE.
3. STONE IDOL OF PLUMED SNAKE. SAME SPECIMEN AS PL. 2, FIG. 4;
FRONT VIEW WITH FEATHERS RESTORED. PIPE SHRINE HOUSE.
4. STONE HEAD OF MOUNTAIN SHEEP, PIPE SHRINE HOUSE.

Talatumsi is related to one of two wooden idols called Alosaka (germ god) that were formerly worshiped by the inhabitants of Awatobi. Up to the year 1888 these stood in a little cave under the rim rock at that ruin and, although the pueblo was deserted in 1700, were objects of reverence; but on that year Navajos, not knowing that these images were still used by the Hopi, desecrated their shrine, carried away the idols, and sold them to Mr. Thomas Keam, who deposited them in his store in Keams Canyon, some 8 miles away. When the Hopi of the Middle Mesa heard of this act they appeared in force at the store, demanding the idols, which they held in great reverence. Mr. Keam, being a man of broad appreciation, delivered the images to the chiefs of the Middle Mesa, who made a broad trail of meal, reaching from his house to the Middle Mesa, over which the idols were carried to a new shrine near the village, where they are now kept in a small cave.

Before the coming of the white people there were several other shrines situated near by or a considerable distance from the pueblos, but of late all have been brought nearer the village in order to protect them from desecration by alien people, who have rifled many shrines for commercial purposes.⁶

A shrine in which were formerly kept the effigies of the Great Serpent is one of those which have been moved nearer to the mesa, and the serpent effigies when used are taken from their present receptacle, although in commemoration of their past history an offering is made and prayers are annually said at their original home.

A coiled or screw-like idol (pl. 3, fig. 1), called a "heart twister," occupies the central position in a line of images before the reredos of the altar of one of the basket dances. It is said by the Hopi shamans that in certain diseases the heart is twisted out of position, and by waving this object in a circle over the head of the sufferer the heart can be restored to its natural position.

These idols are known as "twisters" (pl. 3, fig. 1), one of which, found not far from the prehistoric pueblo, Awatobi, is now in the Ethnological Museum at Berlin, Germany. This idol is like a stone screw, about 1½ feet high. Around it is a spiral groove; white, red, and green bands run around it like stripes of the same colors on a barber's pole. This idol was probably used for the same purpose as the so-called "heart twister" on a modern Hopi altar, which legends declare a priestess saved in the massacre and introduced into Walpi from Awatobi, near which ill-fated pueblo this idol was found. On the wagon trail to Hano there is another of these "twisters," a coiled cast of a cephalopod shell that has for years stood in a shrine or rude cairn not far from the road, halfway to the top of the mesa from the plain.

⁶ The desecration of the Hopi shrines and abstraction of their idols have been much resented by the priests.

While the author was studying the rituals of the Hopi Indians he rented a room in Hano in which, unbeknown to him, the serpent effigies were kept. At one end of this room there was a raised banquette admirably adapted for a sleeping place, and upon it he spread his sheepskins and blankets and for months slept nightly upon it. On the opening night of the March drama, when the time came to procure the serpent effigies, a procession, headed by the chief, went to the room occupied by the writer and the priests began to scrape away the clay on top of the bench and brought to light four vases covered with a circular stone covering. In the vases were kept the serpent effigies, and unknowingly the author had slept on snake idols for several months without harm. Having procured the serpent effigies, the priests carried them to the Sun spring at the foot of the mesa and several weird rites, as yet never described, were performed about them. Formerly the idols of the horned serpent were kept in a cave some distance north of Hano, but that shrine was abandoned on



FIG. 1.—Side and front views of Plumed Serpent idol. Far View House, Mesa Verde National Park.

account of its exposure to persons of vandalistic tendencies. It is instructive to note that when a shrine has once been used as the receptacle for an idol and the idol removed, the priests do not neglect to say their prayers at the ancestral place. This feeling appears in another form when ancestral springs are visited for sacred water for ceremonials. For instance, in the snake dance priests go to old springs in the north for sacred water because when they lived in the cliffs the adjacent springs were used by them for sacred purposes.

In the work of excavation of Mesa Verde ruins last year (1922) stone idols of animals were discovered in shrines near Pipe Shrine House. These are crude images and considerably broken, but they are not unlike modern counterparts. One of the largest, the torso of the mountain lion⁷ above mentioned, found in an inclosure south of Pipe Shrine House, was left in place in the south shrine of this remarkable building. The head of an idol recalling the Great Serpent (pl. 2, fig. 4), likewise broken, was discovered at this ruin. Although attached feathers were absent, there is a groove around the neck of this idol where feathered strings were probably once tied.

⁷At Walpi, Hopi women sometimes wear a small stone fetish of a mountain lion attached to their belt.

It is worthy of mention that the Great Serpent figured in the Mesa Verde rituals, for set in the wall between the two doors in the south wall of Pipe Shrine House there is an inscribed rock on which is an incomplete spiral identified as the pictograph of the serpent, indicating that the worship of the Sun Serpent God was one of the purposes of that building. The snake idol shown in figure 1 was found near Far View House.

A bird idol (pl. 4, figs. 1 and 2) and a stone head identified as the head of the mountain sheep were likewise found in the dump removed from Pipe Shrine House, but the positions of the shrines which once housed these supernaturals were not discovered. The stone head of a mountain sheep idol (pl. 4, fig. 4) was found in the dump outside Pipe Shrine House on the Mesa Verde National Park. It appears that a larger number of stone idols were discovered in the excavations at Pipe Shrine House than in any other Mesa Verde ruin, and that they not only far outnumber those from any other ruin on the park but also in the San Juan Valley. No stone idols have yet been found in Mesa Verde cliff houses, as the shrines of the cliff dwellings are yet to be discovered.

Idols on altars.—The majority of idols are found on altars, and in order to get a better idea of their forms we will now consider a few of the great Hopi altars. These idols are often more elaborately made than those found in shrines and are generally of wood, or when very ancient are of stone.

The distribution of idols⁸ on Hopi altars is somewhat as follows:

Ceremony.	Idols.
1. New Fire Ceremony.....	1. Talatumsi, Alosaka, anthropomorphic idol of Germ God; (Elder Sister of the Dawn; the Morning Star, Warrior God.)
	2. Tuwapoñtumci. (Earth Altar Woman)
2. Winter Solstice.....	Germ God (stone cone).
	Plumed Serpent. (Effigy).
3. Momtcita.....	Püükong, War God.
	Kokyanwüqti, Spider Woman.
	Stone images of animals.
4. Powamû.....	Sun sand picture.
	Tungwup.
5. Palulukon.....	Plumed Snake. (Effigy).
6. Snake Dance.....	Human personations of snake maid and youth.
	Animal idols.
7. Flute.....	Images of Flute hero and Flute maid.
	Sky God, Germ God, birds.
8. Lalakonti.....	} Cultus hero and heroine, anthropomorphic idols.
9. Owakülti.....	
10. Mamzrauti.....	} Germ God (Muyinwu).
	} Stone cone.

⁸ There are several other idols in use at Walpi which are not included in this list.

The Oraibi Snake altar has two idols, differing from that at Walpi and the other Hopi pueblos. The rites about it have never been observed.⁹

The idols used by the Warrior priesthoods at Hano and Walpi are set up directly after the winter solstice ceremony and consist of shapely stone images of Spider Woman and her two offsprings, the Twin Gods of War (pl. 3, fig. 2). When not used these idols are in the keeping of the priesthood of the Bow, and the ceremony in which they are used is called the Momtcita.¹⁰

The secret rites of the Hopi priests are generally conducted in special rooms called kivas, of which there are five in Walpi. Modern kivas are generally situated in the courts separated from secular rooms, but several priesthoods use special rooms, not known as kivas, for ceremonials. These rooms are embedded in the house masses, generally the rooms of the clan that owns the idols, fetishes, or ceremonial paraphernalia of that family. For instance, the Flute room, where the Flute idols are kept and in which the Flute altar is erected, is a good example of such a type of ceremonial room. The chamber in which the Sun priests gather and erect their simple altar is another instance of a ceremonial room not a kiva. A third example of a chamber not a kiva is that in which the Warriors or Priesthood of the Bow annually assemble and hold their sacred gatherings. This room is seldom opened except on days of war rites, and idols are hidden in a recess in its walls. Here they are kept, and in midwinter they are taken from their receptacle and arranged as an altar.

This room (fig. 2) of the Warriors is situated in the second story of Walpi directly under the dwelling of the Pakab or Reed people, the chief of which inherited the tiponi or badge of office of the Warriors. It is entered by a hatchway and is without windows. It is rectangular in shape and the niche or sealed recess where the idols and other paraphernalia of the Warriors are customarily kept in its northeast corner. The length of this room is about double the width and its walls are oriented about east and west. The wall decoration of this chamber is interesting, corresponding with its use. Each wall is painted with a picture of a different animal characteristic of a cardinal point, and as these animals are realistic enough for identification we may conclude what animals are associated with the cardinal points.

⁹ A description of this altar by Voth was mainly derived from the author's description of the Snake altar of the Walpi ceremony. The view of the sand picture of the Snake altar at Oraibi by the same author is made from the Walpi altar, not from direct observation.

¹⁰ The ceremonies are described in the author's article, "Hopi Minor Ceremonials," *Amer. Anth.*, n. s., vol. v, no. iv.

On the north wall, facing west, there is a picture of the mountain lion, 3 feet long, of brown color. The eye of this animal is a glistening fragment of a pearly *Haliotis* shell; a line painted red represents the life line, extending from the mouth to the region of the heart. The tail extends forward above the back, a significant position in pictures of the mountain lion, the tail of which is generally represented as a ridge in relief extending longitudinally along the backbone; but in this connection it is instructive to call to mind

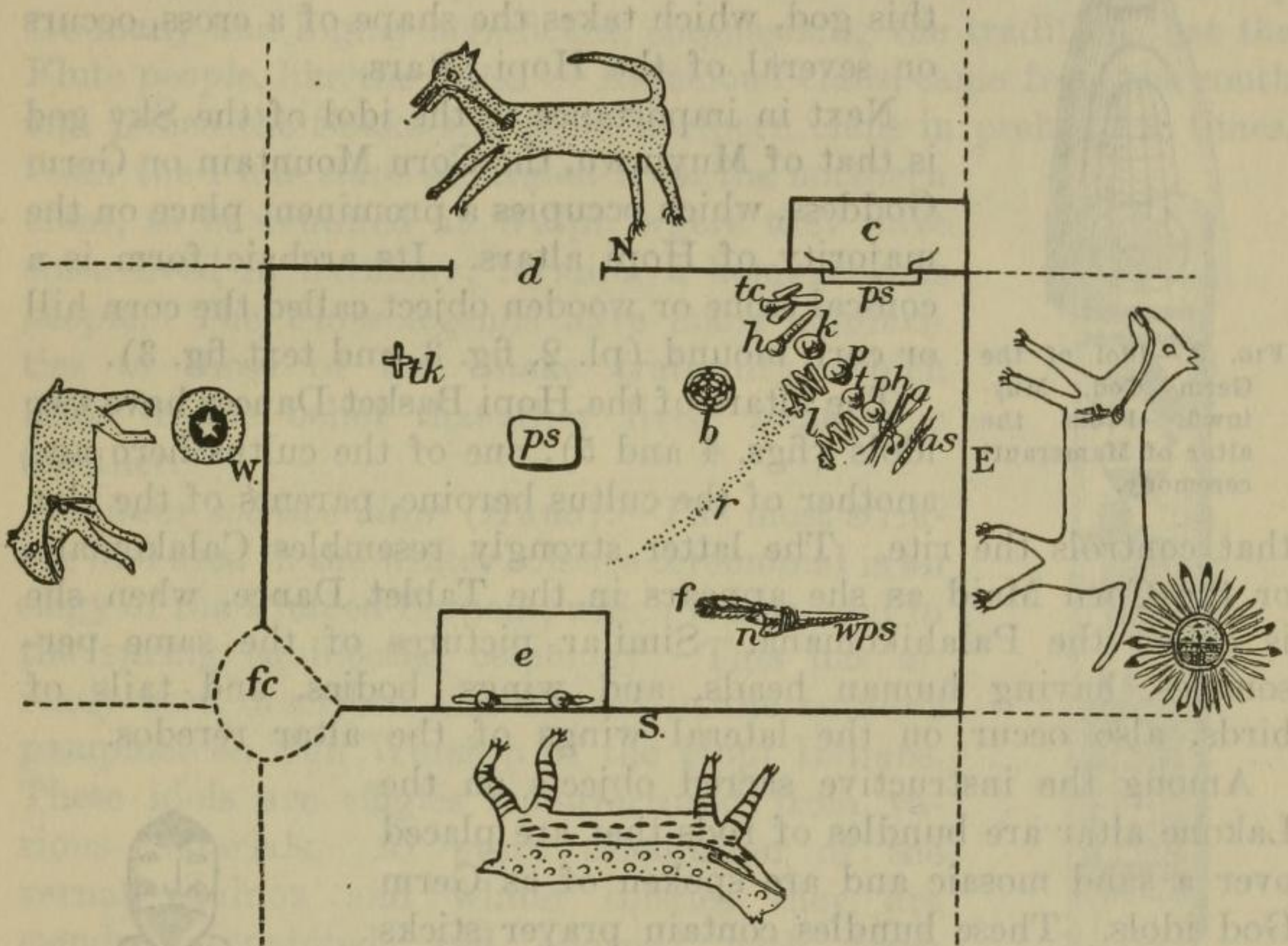


FIG. 2.—Diagram of Warrior room at Walpi; inner rectangle, floor of room; animals painted on walls. N. W. S. E. cardinal points; north, west, south, east: *as*, Aspergil; *b*, basket plaque; *c*, niche in which idols are kept, closed by stone paint slab (*ps*), on which paint is ground; *d*, door into next room; *e*, entrance to room from roof by ladder; *f*, eagle feather; *fc*, fireplace; *h*, ancient war club; *k*, spider woman idol; *l*, lightning framework; *n*, packet of prayer meal tied to prayer stick (*wps*); *p*, little war god; *ph*, little war god; *ps*, stone paint slab used as door to niche (*c*); *r*, pathway of blessings; *t*, Tiponi (warrior badge of office); *tc*, ancestral celts; *tk*, wooden cross, *tokpela*, representing sky god; *wps*, warrior prayer stick.

that the large so-called stone lions at Cochiti pueblo do not have the tail extended along the median dorsal line.

The figure painted on the east wall measures about 3 feet long and has an extended tail, just above which is a conventional sun symbol consisting of a circle from which radiate eight feathers arranged in four clusters of two each and intermediate lines representing the rays of the sun. The figure on the south wall represents the wild cat and that on the west a bear drawn above a five-pointed star.

The idols on the altars used by the Warrior priesthood at Walpi and Hano are practically representative of the same supernatural

beings, viz, the Spider Woman and her children, the Twin War Gods, and certain "pets" associated with them. These are represented in the accompanying figure (pl. 3, fig. 2) of the altar at Hano.

The most important idol of the Hopi is that of the Sun god, known in ceremonials as the Heart of the Sky. One of the best examples of this god, found on the Oraibi Flute altar, elsewhere figured,¹¹ should be especially mentioned, as it is the best Hopi idol. A symbol of this god, which takes the shape of a cross, occurs on several of the Hopi altars.

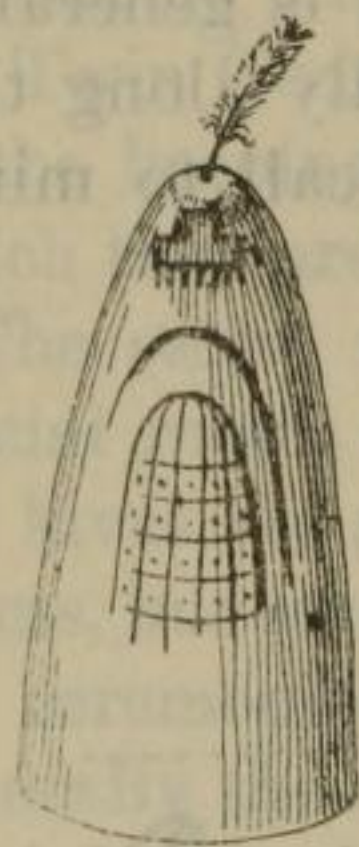


FIG. 3.—Idol of the Germ God, Mui-inwû. From the altar of Mamzrauti ceremony.

Next in importance to the idol of the Sky god is that of Mui-inwû, the Corn Mountain or Germ Goddess, which occupies a prominent place on the majority of Hopi altars. Its archaic form is a conical stone or wooden object called the corn hill or corn mound (pl. 2, fig. 3, and text fig. 3).

The altars of the Hopi Basket Dances have two idols (figs. 4 and 5), one of the cultus hero and another of the cultus heroine, parents of the clan that controls the rite. The latter strongly resembles Calakomana or the Corn Maid as she appears in the Tablet Dance, when she is called the Palahikomana. Similar pictures of the same personages, having human heads, and wings, bodies, and tails of birds, also occur on the lateral wings of the altar reredos.

Among the instructive sacred objects on the Lakone altar are bundles of rods that are placed over a sand mosaic and are spoken of as Germ God idols. These bundles contain prayer sticks and other fetishes,¹² and although described as idols, suggest the bundles of the plains tribes. They are regarded as very sacred objects, being sometimes sprinkled with sacred meal; it is commonly said that they represent "mothers," and they are held in great respect.

The Hopi dances, commonly called Katsinas, in which masked men representing ancients appear, have idols on the altars which are erected at the advent and departure of these beings, Powamû and Niman. One of these idols is called Tungwup (the sun); the other Pokema or Eototo, the earth god.

On several altars, as that of the Antelope in the snake dance, we find stone idols in the form of animals, which are rude and small, indicating a more archaic condition than the elaborate wooden figurines.



FIG. 4. — Idol of Marau Maid from Marau altar.

¹¹ Sun Worship of the Hopi Indians, Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1918.

¹² The contents of one of these bundles are enumerated in the author's account of the Lakone altar, Amer. Anth., 1892.

The author has already alluded to the idols on the altars of the Flute priests in his article on Sun Worship.¹² The Flute altars have anthropomorphic images representing the Flute Youth and Maid, as well as the Germ idol. The former are shown in the accompanying figure (pl. 5), one representing the Flute Youth, the other the Flute Maid. Wooden images of birds are frequently found on Hopi altars and likewise occur in ruins situated along the San Juan River.

Traces of sun worship in the numerous rites of the Flute ceremony are many and highly significant, emphasizing the tradition that the Flute people, like the Patki or Raincloud clans, came from the south and joined the Snake and other northern clans in prehistoric times. Later the Flute clans separated from the northern clans, to be reunited at Walpi, where they have since lived in harmony, forming a homogeneous people. The Flute legends have many similarities to those of the Snake fraternity, which leads to the belief that they lived some time together.¹³

Winter solstice altar (Hano).—The most striking idol used in the winter solstice ceremonial is an effigy of the Plumed Serpent, which is also used in the spring equinoctial ceremony. This has already been described and figured in the author's pamphlet on Sun Worship of the Hopi Indians. These idols are effigies manufactured from various materials. At every celebration of the vernal equinox and winter solstice they are mended, repainted, and adorned with fresh feathers.

One of the most archaic rites performed in the vernal equinox ceremony in March is the visit made by the guardians of these snakes to the Sun Spring, their home or shrine. They are laid on the bank of this spring with their heads reaching to the water, into which their tongues hang, and prayers are said to them before they are carried into the kivas.

Idols are not necessarily made of stone, clay, or wood, but may be effigies constructed of other materials. Each of these idols in the Walpi variant of the winter solstice ceremony is an effigy composed of a series of hoops over which is tied a buckskin or cloth cover representing the body of a serpent, while the head is made of a painted gourd, the whole decorated with symbolic markings.

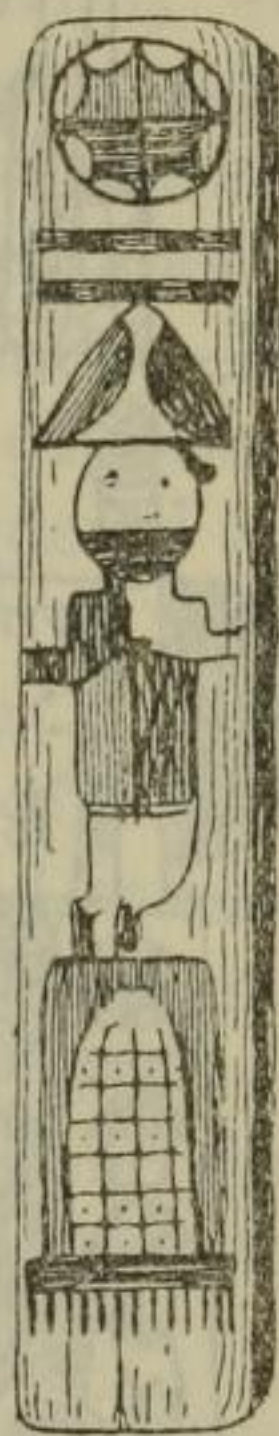


FIG. 5.—Idol of the Germ God, Mui-inwū. From wing of the reredos of Marau altar.

¹² The contents of one of these bundles are enumerated in the author's account of the Lakone altar, Amer. Anth., 1892.

¹³ There is a ruin north of Walpi, said to have been their former habitation, called Leñanobi, the House of the Flutes.

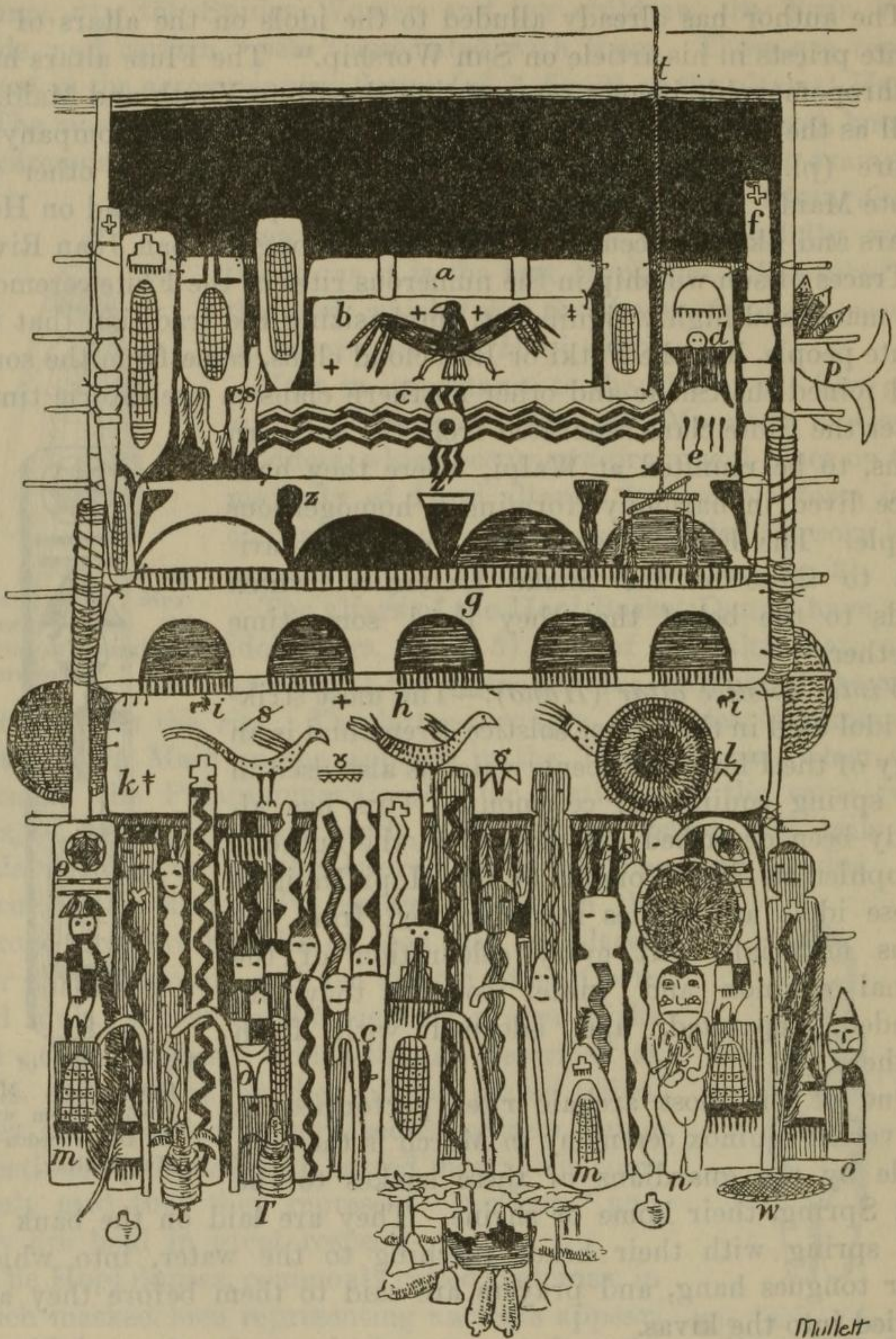


FIG. 6.—Altar of the Basket Dance, Owakülti, at Sitcomovi. This altar was erected in a kiva and consists largely of slats of wood decorated with symbols (*w*), tied together and held in place by upright and horizontal rods. Individual cult objects designated by the following letters: *a*, Sky band; *b*, Eagle of the Sun; *c*, Upper Sun with lightning; Lower Sun with rays of the four world quarters; *cs*, Corn symbol; *d*, Frog; *e*, Tadpoles; *f*, Star symbol; *g*, Rain clouds; *h*, Unknown birds; *i*, Rabbit; *k*, Dragon fly; *l*, Butterfly symbol; *m*, Germ God in form of corn mound; *n*, Germ Goddess; *o*, Little War God; *p*, Horns worn on head of Owakül Maid; *T*, Tiponi, badge of chief; *t*, Tokpela, sky god; *w*, Netted disk carried in hand of Owakül Maid; *o*, Tiponi, badge of chief; *z*, Lightning.

Through the middle of the body is a stick, called the backbone, by which the effigy is manipulated. This effigy is regarded by the priests in much the same way as a stone idol, prayers being offered to it with sacred meal in a similar way.

The Hano priests, however, in their winter solstice rite make each year a clay idol of the Plumed Serpent, *Avanyu*,¹⁴ which is laid on the floor back of their altar. A somewhat similar idol of stone (pl. 2, fig. 4; pl. 4, fig. 3; and text fig. 1), found at the Pipe Shrine House, Mesa Verde, was probably the recipient of prayers in the same way as the clay images of the Hano Winter Solstice altar and the effigy idol of the Walpi or Hopi variant.

Unworked stones of rare forms, fossils, or stones eroded by water, may also serve as idols, and we find them treated as such; for instance, a fossil log in a shrine near Walpi is used in the New Fire ceremony. The author found many and various waterworn stones, crystals, and Tertiary fossil shells in the shrines of Pipe Shrine House. There exists a rich chapter of folklore regarding the efficacy of strangely formed stones among the Hopi, which is not here considered lest it would swell this article to undue proportions.

The most widely known of all Hopi ceremonies is that called the Snake Dance, in which there are two altars. Neither of these has an anthropomorphic idol representing the cultus hero and heroine of the Snake-Antelope, but at the Antelope altar these ancestral supernaturals are personated by a boy and girl who stand back of the altar, as shown in plate 6. On the rear border of the sand picture that forms the greater part of this altar are a mountain lion fetish and several stone images of animals.

The related Flute ceremony has its altar idols (pl. 5) representing the Flute Hero and Heroine carved out of wood. In the march from the Sun Spring to the top of the mesa they are represented by a boy and two girls appareled like the Snake Maid and Antelope Youth of the Antelope altar (pl. 6).

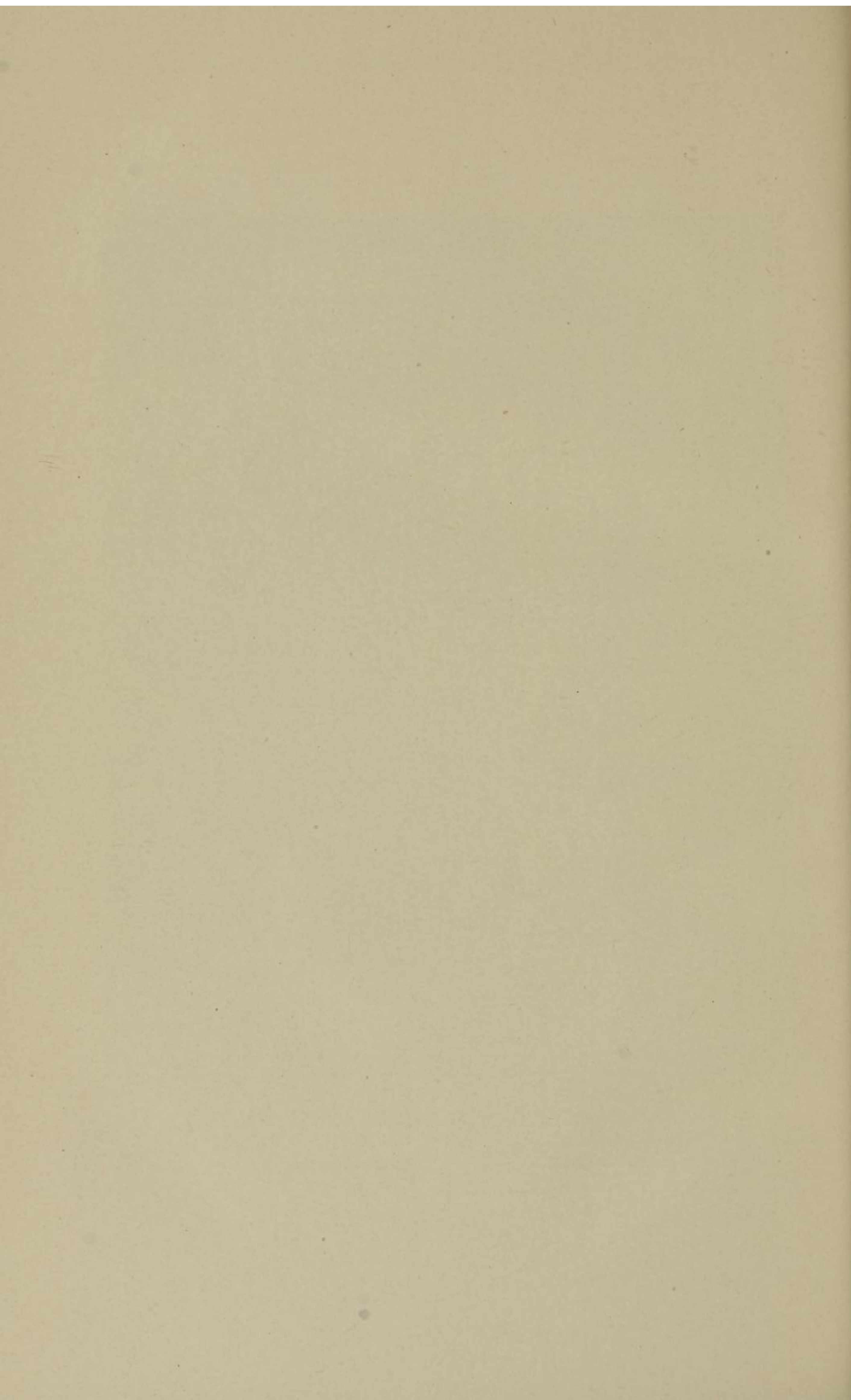
Cultus heroes and heroines are represented by wooden idols in the altars of the three great basket and tablet dances, known as the Lala-konti, Mamzrauti, and Owakulti. They are well fashioned and suggest recent manufacture, or later than those of stone used in the more archaic New Fire and Winter Solstice ceremonies.

In the accompanying illustration (pl. 6) the Antelope priests are represented as seated around the Antelope altar in a secret consecration of prayer sticks of the celebrated Snake Dance at Walpi. Although many hundred white people have witnessed the open Snake Dance, thus far only a very few have been admitted to the rites that take

¹⁴ A description of this idol may be found in *Hopi Minor Ceremonials*, Amer. Anth., Vol. IV, n. s.



BLUE FLUTE ALTAR AT MICONINOVİ, MIDDLE MESA.



place in the kivas or secret rooms at that time, and one may count on the fingers of one hand the descriptions of these rites of the Snake Dance that have been published. This illustration (pl. 6) has been made with care and accuracy to show the character of the altar and the posture of the priests gathered about to begin the dramatization and sing the 16 songs in the Walpi presentation. Having witnessed this rite in the five Hopi villages that celebrate the Snake rite, the author does not hesitate to say that the Walpi variant is one of the best in Hopi land.¹⁵

The earliest account of this altar and the songs about it appeared in the author's Snake Ceremonies at Walpi in 1894,¹⁶ based on a study of the Snake Dance at Walpi in 1891 and 1893. An accurate picture of the sand mosaic in color appeared in the year 1900.¹⁷

Let us briefly consider this rite. It is called the consecration of certain prayer emblems and is a rude dramatization of a rite mentioned in the Hopi Snake legend. The ceremony is supposed to have formerly been celebrated by the ancestors of the Snake people in the underworld, and to have been brought to the surface of the earth by a cultus hero known as the Antelope Youth. This youth, or cultus hero, visited the underworld where he married a daughter of the chief, and representations of him and his bride are standing back of the altar. The exact time in the rite chosen for illustration is midway in the songs when the pipe is passed to the Antelope Chief, Wiki,¹⁸ the signal for the beginning of the ceremony.

A large stone idol of the mountain lion stands on this altar back of the sand picture between two palladia or tiponis, one of which is now in place; the other is held on the left arm of the Antelope or Snake Hero. There are several smaller idols on the altar which are said to be heirlooms inherited from very old times.

Midway in the songs about this altar the chief of the Antelopes receives from the pipe lighter a lighted pipe or conical "cloud blower," and kneeling back of the mountain lion so that the pointed end rests between the ears of the idol, blows six whiffs of smoke through the cloud blower upon the sand picture.¹⁹ The ingredients smoked in this cloud blower are herbs gathered from the cardinal points, mixed with fragments of spruce leaves, the burning of which makes a pleasant smell in the room.

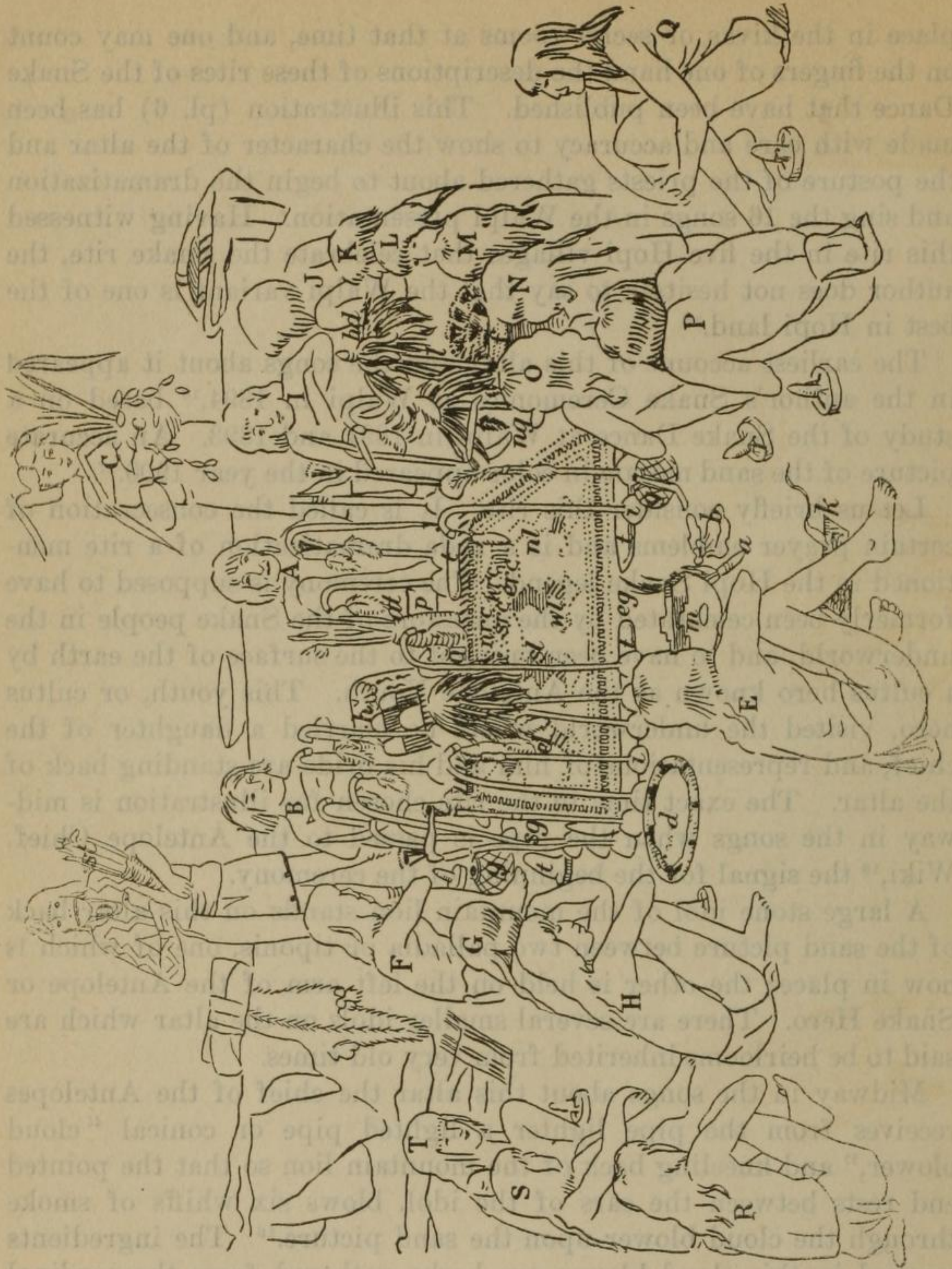
¹⁵ The Walpi Hopi claim that their variant is the most ancient and truthful of all and assert since the original palladium of the Snake priesthood is now in their possession that all others are imitations.

¹⁶ *Journal of Am. Ethn. and Arch.*, vol. IV, Boston, 1894.

¹⁷ *Tusayan Flute and Snake Ceremonial*, 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., 1900.

¹⁸ The rites, songs, and prayers at the consecration of the prayer emblems on this altar are described in Vol. IV A, *Journal of Am. Ethn. and Arch.*, Boston, 1894.

¹⁹ This and other straight-tubed pipes are known as cloud blowers. There are all gradations in form from a tobacco pipe with upturned bowl to a straight-tubed cloud blower.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE 6.

- A, Wiki, Antelope chief.
- B, Kopeli, Snake chief.
- C, Antelope (Snake) Maid.
- D, Antelope (Snake) Boy.
- E, Hahauwe, Smoke Chief.
- F, Kakapti, Sand Chief.
- G-Q, Antelope priests.
- R-T, Snake priests.
- a, Aspergill.
- at, Antelope tiponi.
- b, Tobacco pouch.
- c, Corn stalks.
- d, Tray of prayer meal.
- f, Basket for prayer sticks.
- g, Water gourd.
- h, Butterfly-maid stone.
- i, Clay pedestals.
- j, Crooks (ceremonial bows).
- k, Fireplace.
- l, Ceremonial arrow.
- m, Medicine bowl.
- ng, Armlets.
- o, Fetish of mountain lion.
- p, King crab (*Limulus polyphemus*).
- r, Rattles of Antelope priests.
- st, Snake tiponi.
- t, Tcamahia.
- nrc, North rain-cloud figure.
- src, South rain-cloud figure.
- wrc, West rain-cloud figure.
- erc, 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.
- hd, Bunch of feathers worn by an Antelope priest.

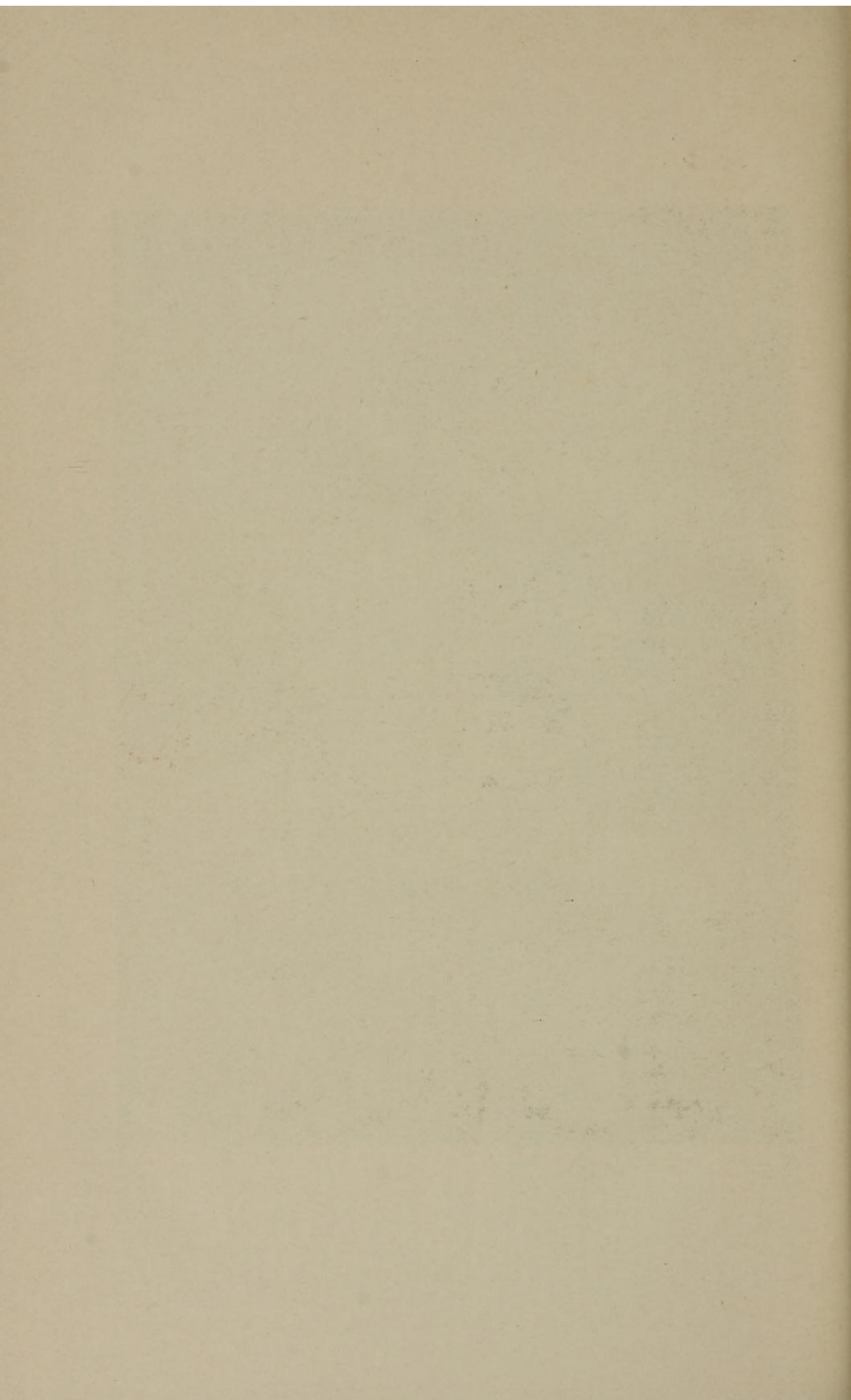


Mullett

ANTELOPE ALTAR OF THE HOPI SNAKE DANCE.

Interior of a Kiva at Walpi showing Antelope Priests Consecrating Prayer Offerings.

FOR EXPLANATION SEE PAGE 394.



This cloud of smoke, by sympathetic magic, is supposed by the priests to represent the raincloud, and the production of the smoke is one way of praying for rain that is often sorely needed for the parched fields of the Hopi. As the formal cloud blowing in the secret rites of the Antelope altar takes place midway in the progress of the songs it may be regarded as the culmination of the ceremony. The presence of the mountain lion idol is appropriate, because this fetish represents the Mountain Lion people, who formerly lived with the Hopi in their cliff houses on the San Juan.

One object that may be called a fetish is omitted in the picture of the Antelope altar. In the 1893 Snake Dance at Walpi the author gave Wiki, the Antelope priest, a specimen of the King crab (*Limulus polyphemus*) which he collected on the Atlantic coast. The Antelope chief had never seen a horseshoe crab and did not know what it was. After he and his fellow chiefs had examined it one of their number pronounced it a "Giant Tadpole" and placed it on the altar, after which all the priests sprinkled it with meal and prayed to it, as they believed it efficacious to bring rain. In other words, it was accepted as an idol,²⁰ although probably no one had ever seen one of these animals.

It will be noticed that the Antelope altar is largely horizontally placed, consisting of a sand picture and accompanying objects, none of which rise high above the floor. The only upright portion of this altar is a stone slab known as the Butterfly Maid,²¹ which stands back of the altar, making a very ancient form of reredos.

Prayers to idols.—The method of praying adopted by the Hopi is practically identical for all idols. When an altar is set up it is customary for a devout priest on entering the kiva to ask the chief, as he steps from the ladder, whether he is welcome or not, and, on being informed that he is, he approaches the altar with the fireplace always on his left hand. He then takes a little prayer meal from the flat basket tray on the floor, and, after raising it to his mouth and praying, sprinkles it upon the idols and other altar objects.²² The breath body of the prayer meal is supposed to communicate the wish of the worshiper to the god represented by the idol. When a priesthood prays as a body, or when an individual priest offers a more formal prayer in the form of a prayer stick, it is inserted in the girdle about the body of the idol. These prayer sticks are generally placed in a ridge of sand before the image. Another method of prayer is by the use of a stringed

²⁰ The last time the author saw the Antelope altar this animal was still in use.

²¹ The Butterfly clan is associated with Badger, Butterfly, and kindred families, who are said to have been among the latest introductions into the Hopi country.

²² Under prayers may be mentioned smoking tobacco fumes upon idols or asperging medicine over them, both of which are regarded as symbolic rain prayers.

feather, which is breathed upon and tied either about the neck or attached to the belt of an idol.

The mouths of domestic idols have fragments of food adhering to their lips, showing it was customary to offer nourishment or to feed them; but the habit of feeding Hopi idols is not now as common as formerly. It is true that there are very few idols now standing in the corners of living rooms, although in 1890 the author knew of several of these household images, which have gone the way of many other Hopi specimens; the museum collector has purchased and carried them off, thus transporting them from their natural environment to beautiful cases where they are exhibited, often without explanations of their significance.

Conclusions.—Do the preceding pages have any bearing on the questions so frequently asked: Who were the Hopi and whence did they originate? Does the character of their idols throw any light on Hopi history before they were discovered by Tobar in 1540?

On comparison of the simplest form of stone idols here considered with those from ruins along the San Juan River and its tributaries we find the resemblance close, almost identical; but we also find some of them have a close likeness to idols found in ruins south and east of the present site of Walpi. The difference in form of the idols can be in part explained by age but mainly from their geographical derivation. In this connection it is to be noted that the priesthoods that own these idols and control the rites about them claim they are related to clans that declare they migrated from the region inhabited by people that have closely related idols. In other words, archeology affords strong evidence of derivation of cult objects used in the religious system of the Hopi from different directions, thus supporting their migration legends. Relations of idols can be used to identify former homes of the separate components of the Walpi population. They furnish evidence that the Hopi are a composite race or that the population of Walpi is a blend or mixture of peoples that came to the East Mesa from different directions, as shown in an article on Tusayan Migration published elsewhere.²³

The forms, decorations, and material from which idols are manufactured, like secular portable utensils and implements, can be used by the archeologist as data bearing on prehistoric migrations of groups of Indians. One of the last objects an Indian priest would throw away as he migrated from place to place would be his idols. Other things he might leave behind, but his gods, never. So attached is he to localities once his home that he has often taken the trails back; he often visits ancestral springs to get water for religious pur-

²³ 19th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

poses; his idols he carries with him. The technique of these idols varies in different clans and furnishes important data in studies of clan migration.

In conclusion, it may be said that it is very difficult to accurately define the line of demarcation in the Hopi mind between what would ordinarily be called an idol and other sacred or cult material objects used in worship. We ordinarily confuse the terms fetish and idol but the latter generally has some anthropomorphic or zoomorphic form. The Hopi Snake Dance and attendant secret rites are regarded as the oldest in the ritual, a conclusion that comes out clearly in the archaic conditions of the altar and the character of objects on it. The Antelope altar is conspicuous by the absence of idols, whereas other great nine-days' ceremonies of the Hopi have well made wooden anthropomorphic images in addition to graven representations of nature power, sun gods, germ gods, and the like. These graven idols indicate a late cultus, pointing to a more recent development. But it is instructive to notice, in passing, that on the Antelope Snake altar the cult ancestors are represented by a boy and girl, indicating that, in this instance, the ancient way of representing the cult ancestors appears not to be by idols but by human beings personating them; on the other hand the idols on the Flute altars are so well made that they appear to be carved out with iron implements. In most respects, and especially traditionally, the Snake and Flute clans are related. The explanation would naturally be that the resemblances are due to a former life of the two clans together. It may be stated as a general law that in the composition of the Hopis those clans that came from the South had a much more complicated ritual and much more elaborate symbolism depicted on their idols than clans from the North or those that originally inhabited the cliff houses. The Hopi are the survivors of a prehistoric people on the line of fusion of two forms of culture, the pure pueblo of northern origin and the now kiva people of the Gila or the South. The earliest contact was practically along the Little Colorado valley, where the mixed population survived into historic times and whose best present survival is the well-known pueblo, Zuñi. Lower down the Little Colorado, the settlements were abandoned and their populations migrated northward and joined the kiva people or pure pueblos, and the mixture still survives as the Hopi Indians of Arizona.

The following text is generated from uncorrected OCR or manual transcriptions.

[Begin Page: Page 377]

THE
USE
OF
IDOLS
IN
HOPI
WORSHIP.

By
J.
Walter
Fewkks,

Chief,
Bureau
of
American
Ethnology.
1

[With
6
plates.]

INTRODUCTION.

Very
little
has
been
published
on
the
forms,
distribution,
uses,
and

ethnological

significance
of
idols
among
North
American
Indians.

This
poverty
of
our
knowledge
evidently
either
is
due
to
a
neglect

to
study
these
objects
by
ethnologists
or
may
reflect
the
relatively

small
number
of
Indian
tribes
in
which
elaborate
idol
worship
for-

merly
flourished
or
still
survives.

The
early
accounts
of
the
southern
Indians
of
the
Mississippi

Valley
contain
descriptions
of
the
employment
of
idols
in
religious

rites,
and
many
archeological
collections
from
that
region
contain

stone
or
clay
images
that
may
have
served
for
idols.
As
we
approach

the
Mexican
border,
in
the
Southwest,

the
relative
number
of
these

images
increases.
Early
writings
on
Mexico,
Central
America,
and

the
West
Indies
contain
frequent
references
to
idolatry,
and
many

idols
existing
in
Mexican
collections
have
been
found
in
prehistoric

mounds.
There
are
only
a
few
localities
in
the
United
States
where

both

ethnologists
and
archeologists
find
these
evidences
of
idolatry

plentiful.
One
of
these
is
the
pueblo
region,
or,
as
generally
called,

the
Southwest.
The
living
Indians
of
this
region
are
survivors
of
a

peculiar
culture
in
which
stone
idols
were
abundant
and
the
archeolo-

gist
has
recorded
a
large
number

of
these
images
as
found
in
this

area.
It
is
instructive
to
remember
that
the
ancient
pueblo
cult
was

continued
into
modern
times
and
in
some
instances
old
idols
are

heirlooms
and
are
regarded
reverently
in
modern
times.
It
is
very

generally
stated
by
Hopi
priests
that
idols,
like

other
cult
objects,

came
from
the
underworld
and
were
inherited
by
their
ancestors

from
the
earliest
men
who
emerged
from
that
place.

1
This
article
is
the
fourth
of
a
series
on
the
Hopi
religion
published
in
successive

annual
reports
of
the
Smithsonian
Institution.
The
following
have

already
appeared
:

(1)
Sun
Worship
of
the
Hopi
Indians
(1918)

;
(2)
Fire
Worship
of
the
Hopi
Indiana

(1920)

;
(3)
Ancestor
Worship
of
the
Hopi
Indians
(1921).

377

[Begin Page: Page 378]

378
ANNUAL
REPORT
SMITHSONIAN
INSTITUTION,
1922.

The
survival
of
ancient
objects
into
modern
times
among
the

pueblos
is
a
fortunate
condition
for
one
who
desires
to
interpret
them,

as
it
enables
him,
through
comparative
studies,
to
learn
their
meaning

and
interpret
the
rites
performed
with
idols
of
similar
form
in

ancient
times.
These
indications

point
to
the
conclusion
that
there

is
no
break
in
the
cultural
sequence
of
cliff
dwellers
and
pueblos.

There
has
been
a
shifting
of
population
by
migration,
union,
or

disintegration
of
clans
or
social
units
and
extinction
of
ceremonies

by
death
of
clans,
but
no
essential
difference
can
be

detected
between

ancient
and
modern
pueblos.
There
is
a
continuous
growth
in

culture
with
no
great
break
in
character
from
the
ancient
into
the

early
historic
life.

For
several
years
the
use
of
idols
in
Hopi
worship
has
been
a
sub-

ject
of
investigation
by

ethnologists,
and
we
have
better
material

from
this
tribe
than
from
any
other
pueblos.
It
is
also
worthy
of

note
that
several
idols
are
peculiar
to
certain
clans
(Snake
and

others)
and
that
those
Walpi
idols
that
were
reputed
to
have
been

brought
from
the
north
are
identical
with

idols
of
the
cliff
dwellers.

We
may
interpret
this
similarity
as
one
more
evidence,
supporting

many
others,
that
the
ancestors
of
certain
clans
of
the
Hopi
were

cliff
dwellers.

The
places
where
idols
are
most
commonly
found
are
in
shrines
or

on
altars
erected
at

the
time
of
great
ceremonials.

A
shrine
(pi.
1,

figs.
1
and
3)
is
a
house
(pahoki)
where
a
prayer
stick
is
deposited

to
a
god
and
is
spoken
of
as
the
prayer-stick
house
of
a
supernatural

being,
and
often
there
stands
in
it
an
idol
representing
that
being.

Cliff
dwellers'
shrines
are
difficult
to
recognize,
but
those
of
pre-

historic
pueblos
have
repeatedly
been
discovered.
Up
to
last
summer

(1922)
shrines
had
not
been
recognized
on
the
Mesa
Verde,
but
else-

where,
as
at
Zuni
and
Walpi,
they
are
well
known,
the
latter
having

been
enumerated
and

described
by
the
author
in
an
elaborate
article.

As
is
well
known,
shrines
to
the
world
quarters
are
found
near
most

pueblos,
ancient
or
modern,
and
have
a
general
similarity
in
form,

being
a
small
cairn
or
stone
inclosure,
sometimes
with
a
flat
stone

roof
but
generally
open
to

the
east.
The
Sun
shrine
at
Zuni
is
a

good
example
of
a
simple
shrine
still
used.
The
Alosaka
shrine
at

Awatobi
2
is
a
shallow
depression
in
a
rock
with
a
wall
before
it.

Sometimes
the
door
of
a
shrine
is
closed
and
a
stone
slab
luted
in

place
with
adobe
and
opened
only
when
a
ceremony
is
about
to

be
performed.
The
idol
of
Talatumsi
belongs
to
the
group
of
closed

2
Notwithstanding
the
fact
that
the
Hopi
pueblo
Awatobi
became
a
ruin
in
1700,
this

shrine
was
used
up
to
about
1889,
when
the
two

idols
of
Alosaka
which
had
stood
in
it

many
years
were
taken
away
and
carried
to
another
shrine
at
the
Middle
Mesa.
The
inci-

dent
connected
with
their
removal
is
referred
to
in
the
author's
account
of
the
excava-

tions
at
Awatobi
in
1895.
(See
17th
Ann.
Rept.
Bur.
Amer.
Ethn.)

[Begin Page: Page 379]

IDOLS
IN
HOPI
WORSHIP

—

FEWKES.
379

shrines.

In
the
New
Fire
ceremony
it
is
carried
up
the
mesa
and

placed
on
top
of
the
different
kivas
to
receive
the
prayers
of
the

faithful.
The
late
excavations
on
the

Mesa
Verde
National
Park

have
revealed
several
shrines
and
idols.
Three
shrines
have
been

discovered
outside
a
ruin
in
the
Mummy
Lake
cluster
of
mounds.

One
of
these,
at
a
ruin
called
Pipe
Shrine
House,
3
is
attached
to
the

outer
northeast
corner
of
the
ruin,
another
is
situated

a
few
feet

south
of
the
south
wall,
while
a
third
lies
in
the
cedar
forest
some

distance
south
of
the
ruin.
The
shrine
on
the
northeast
corner
con-

tained
a
slab
of
stone
on
which
a
circle
was
cut
like
that
in
the
Zufii

Sun
shrine.
In
the

south
shrine
there
stood
a
mountain
lion
idol

surrounded
by
many
waterworn
stones.
In
the
Sun
shrine
there

were
many
waterworn
stones,
a
meteorite,
and
numerous
other
objects.

When
one
enters
a
Hopi
house
where
there
are
children
one's

attention
may
be
attracted
by
bright-colored
images
carved

out
of

wood
hanging
from
the
rafters
of
the
dwelling.
It
was
said
by

Bourke
that
these
objects,
after
having
done
duty
as
idols,
were
used

as
dolls;
but
it
is
now
known,
as
elsewhere
pointed
out,
that
they

were
made
for
dolls
and
presented
to
the
little
girls

at
the
great

spring
festival
called
the
Powamu.
They
are,
however,
made
and

decorated
with
symbolic
designs
to
represent
the
different
clan

ancients
or
Kacinas,
and
now
they
serve
to
indicate
the
distinctive

symbolism
of
these
beings
as
elsewhere
4
pointed
out
in
an
account

of
some

of
their
more
common
forms.

The
Hopi
idols
are
distinguished
from
fetishes
or
small
stone

figurines
of
animals
so
common
in
former
years.
These
fetishes

appear
to
be
more
abundant
at
the
New
Mexican
pueblo,
Zufii,
and

are
rarely
found
among
the
Hopi,
where
the
priesthood
of

the
Bow

or
Warrior
fraternity
is
less
powerful.
It
is
difficult
always
to

determine
a
line
of
demarcation
between
idols
and
fetishes,
but
the

former
are
generally
larger
than
the
latter
and
have
animal
or

human
forms,
being
rather
family
than
personal
images
and
more

racial
in

character.

Many
of
the
idols
have
anthropomorphic
and
zoomorphic
forms

among
the
Hopi.
They
commonly
have
a
string
tied
about
their

necks,
to
which
are
attached
feathers
or
personal
prayer
offerings.

These
objective
prayers
or
symbolic
wishes
for
blessings
are
espe-

cially
common
at
the

winter
solstice
ceremony.

There
is
reason
to
believe
that
in
old
times
the
use
of
stone
idols

among
the
Hopi
was
very
general
and
that
the
older
the
idol
the

3
The
kiva
of
this
ruin
has
a
shrine
which
served
also
as
a
fireplace,
marked
out

on
its

floor,
but
no
idol
was
found
in
it.
See
Explorations
and
Field
Work
of
the
Smithsonian

Institution
in
1922,
Smithsonian
Misc.
Coll.,
vol.
74,
no.
5,
1923.

'
Vide
"
Dolls
of
the
Tusayan
Indians,"
International
Archiv.,
1893.
Of
late
years

there
has
been
a

considerable
activity
in
the
manufacture
of
Hopi
dolls,
stimulated
in

part
by
commercial
considerations,
so
that
many
more
kinds
are
now
made
than
formerly.

The
work
quoted
contains
only
a
fraction
of
the
number
of
different
kinds
of
dolls
made

as
early
as
1890.

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ANNUAL
REPOKT
SMITHSONIAN
INSTITUTION,
1922.

cruder
it
was
made.
They
occur
in
all
forms,
from
simple
fossil

logs
(pi.
1,
fig.
2)
of
petrified
wood
and
waterworn
stones
to
elabo-

rately
carved
and
painted
images,
human
or
animal
in
form,
with

elaborate

symbolism.

The
more
realistic
images
do
not
date
far
back

in
time,
and
it
is
doubtful
if
many
of
them
antedate
the
arrival
of

the
Spanish
padres.
It
is
not
improbable
that
church
santos
served

as
models
in
their
manufacture
and
may
have
inspired
the
elabora-

tion
of
the

more
realistic
images.
The
painted
stone
and
wooden

slabs
bearing
symbols
of
rain
clouds,
the
sun,
and
various
animals,

especially
those
loving
water,
often
forming
a
reredos
for
these
idols,

are
here
treated
as
symbols,
although
there
may
have
been
imparted

to
them
something
of
the
same
power
as

to
idols.
Many
of
these

bear
zigzag
figures,
symbols
of
lightning,
or,
in
case
of
wooden

sticks,
have
human
heads
cut
upon
one
end.

It
is
difficult
to
believe
that
there
ever
lived
any
great
number
of

American
Indians
who
worshiped
a
stone
or
a
wooden
or

clay
image,

or
any
object
which
they
had
themselves
manufactured.
There

have
been
individuals
so
lacking
in
intelligence
or
so
sluggish
in

mentality
that
they
may
have
been
hypnotized
into
the
belief
that

an
idol
representing
a
supernatural
being
had
the
power
of
the
god.

Some
Indians

may
have
confused
cause
and
effect
so
hopelessly
that

they
ascribed
to
a
waterworn
stone
the
power
to
bring
water
or

believed
that
a
water-frequenting
plant
or
animal
caused
rain
to

fall,
but
Ave
have
yet
to
learn
that
psychologically
even
these
people

have
gone
any
farther
than
to

ascribe
power
to
such
objects.
It
is

quite
a
different
thing
to
worship
the
power
expressed
by
certain

symbols
and
the
symbol
itself.
Having
exchanged
ideas
with
those

who
personate
supernatural
beings
in
their
ceremonies,
the
author

has
come
to
the
conclusion
that
primitive
men
do
not
worship
idols,

but
use
them
as
symbols
to
express
by
tangible
objects
well-grounded

beliefs
current
in
their
philosophy.

A
fundamental
belief
among
the
Hopi
is
that
men,
animals,

material
objects,
sky,
earth,
fire,
water,
everything,
organic
or
inor-

ganic,
possesses
magical
powers
which
are
the
objective
elements

of

primitive
religion.

It
is
believed
by
most
savages
that
there
exists
a

power
beyond
that
of
man
which
controls
the
universe
and
that
this

power
of
nature
wherever
found
can
be
associated
with
that
of
man

and
used
by
him
for
material
or
spiritual
advantage.
Idols
like-

wise
share
this
power
with
other
objects;
by
some
persons
super-

natural
beings
are
believed
to
reside
in
these
images,
but
few
intel-

ligent
men
believe
that
the
idol
is
the
supernatural
it
represents.

Worship
is
not
considered
the
best
term
to
use
in
speaking
of
the

relation
of
the
powers
of
supernatural
beings
and
man,
but
it
is
the

effort
of
man
to
be
in
harmony
with
the
power
behind
nature,
and

the
idea
seems
to
be
that
man
by
a
union
of
his
own
power
with
that

IDOLS
IN
HOPI
WORSHIP
FEWKES.
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personified
in
natural
objects
may
bring
about
certain
greatly
needed

material
help.

One
of
the
perplexing
aspects
of
the
study
of
individual
idols
is

the
multiplicity
of
names
which
many
of
them
bear.
This
has
been

commented
on
by
many
authors
and
may
be
due
to
the
composite

nature
of
the
Hopi
people,
different
groups
of
people
among
a
com-

posite
tribe
like
the
Hopi
having
different
names
for
the
same
god.

Many
facts
seem
to
indicate
that
the
Hopi
hold
a
belief
in
a

future

existence
beyond
the
grave,
which
antedates
the
advent
of
Euro-

peans.
The
belief
that
on
death
the
Hopi
descend
to
the
under-

world
is
very
old.
The
breath
body
or
spirit
is
supposed
to
lead
a

life
in
this
place
not
greatly
unlike
that
on
earth.
The
defunct

preserved
its
kinship
with
the
living
members
of
the
same
clan
and

held
communication
through
an
opening
in
the
floor
of
the
kiva
with

those
members
of
the
clan
that
remained
behind.

The
ancestors
of
Pueblos,
whether
cliff
dwellers
or
inhabitants
of

stone
houses
in

the
open,
were
accustomed
to
deposit
bowls
of
food

and
jars
of
water,
ornaments,
effigies,
and
other
objects
at
the
graves

of
the
dead,
as
is
generally
done
by
people
who
believe
in
a
future

life.
The
spirit
food
is
supposed
to
be
consumed
by
the
spirit
before

its

departure
for
the
underworld.
The
material
food
decays
or
is

consumed
by
animals.

In
considering
any
tribe
of
men
among
whom
idols
exist
we
are

continually
meeting
a
great
predominance
of
symbolism.
It
would

seem
that
a
primitive
religion
dealing
with
belief,
generally
symbol-

izes

its
conceptions
by
means
of
material
objects

—
images,
pictures,

and
concrete
representations
of
other
kinds.
The
relation
of
the

object
to
the
belief
is
variously
stated.
For
instance,
the
belief
is

current
that
the
image
is
the
home
or
the
residence,
the
place
of
abode,

of
an
essence

or
breath
body.
In
more
refined
civilization
this
breath

body
is
given
the
name
spirit.
It
must
be
remembered,
however,

that
the
term
spirit
originated
at
the
dawn
of
language
and
simply

meant
a
breath,
having
the
same
material
existence
as
air
in
the

mind
of
primitive
men.
In

the
course
of
development
of
men's

interpretation
of
this
breath
power
it
has
taken
on
several
phases,

implying
as
many
differences
in
meaning.
The
spirit
is
sometimes

spoken
of
as
a
double,
and
in
the
Hopi
conception
every
individual

has
a
double,
or
what
might
be
called
a
power

to
accomplish
results,

or
what
we
would
call
a
vital
force,
and
a
mortal
body
that
dies
and

disappears.
The
Hopi
shaman
holds
to
a
belief
that
by
certain
in-

cantations,
prayers,
songs,
and
association
of
material
objects
a

magic
power
that
can
be
used
to
influence
the
spirits

of
other
objects

can
be
intensified
;
for
instance,
by
the
use
of
certain
words
addressed

to
certain
symbols
representing
the
rain
clouds
a
priest
can
compel

the
rain
clouds
to
bring
the
rain.
It
is
not
exactly
a
response
to
a

petition,
but
rather
a
compelling
of
magic

power
to
act
by
the
use

[Begin Page: Page 382]

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REPORT
SMITHSONIAN
INSTITUTION,
1922.

of
a
higher
and
more
potent
magic
in
order
to
accomplish
the
de-

sired
end.
Religion
among
primitive
men
may
be
regarded
from

the
point
of
view

of
symbolism,
and
in
order
to
use
this
effectively

they
are
accustomed
to
present
the
powers
of
nature
by
symbolic

means,
representing
them
either
in
the
form
of
figures
or
as
en-

graved
images
to
which
the
name
idol
is
commonly
given.
An
idol,

in
other
words,
is
an

image
made
of
wood,
clay,
or
stone,
in
the

form
of
a
human
or
animal
shape,
supposed
from
its
antiquity,
form,

or
symbolism
to
possess
the
power
of
the
god
it
represents
and

capable
of
being
used
for
the
bringing
about
of
desired
results.

Formerly
it
was

not
unusual
to
see
a
stone
image
or
idol
in
every

-Pueblo
dwelling
room.
This
domestic
idol
(pi.
2,
fig.
2)
was
often

of
crude
construction,
in
the
form
of
an
animalistic
or
anthropo-

morphic
being.
In
the
house
of
Intiwa,
the
Kacina
chief,
5
there
for-

merly
stood

a
stone
idol
of
the
war
god,
and
there
was
an
idol
of

the
mountain
lion
in
the
house
of
the
Sun
priest.
At
the
present

time
there
are
few
of
these
domestic
idols
remaining,
for
zealous

collectors
from
eastern
museums
have
purchased
them
or
they
have

been
hidden

away
by
the
owners
in
some
remote
corner
of
the
house-

hold.
Formerly
these
idols
were
not
only
at
times
sprinkled
with

prayer
meal
but
also
daily
worshiped
by
the
members
of
the
house-

hold
and
prayer
feathers
tied
around
their
necks.
Food
was
gener-

ally
found
clinging
to

their
lips,
indicating
that
there
survived
into

modern
times
the
custom
of
feeding
them
which
was
practiced
before

the
coming
of
the
whites.

Idols
in
shrines.

—
The
idols
found
in
shrines
near
Walpi
are
gen-

erally
more
archaic
than
those
used
on
altars
in
kivas
and

are
made

of
stone,
rarely
of
wood
and
clay.
They
are
sometimes
simply

strangely
formed
waterworn
stones,
more
like
fetishes.

There
is
a
well-made
idol
near
the
stairway
trail
on
the
east
side

of
the
mesa,
which
is
called
Talatumsi
(the
Elder
Sister
of
the
Dawn,

planet
Venus)

.
This
shrine
is
a
rude
excavation
made
by
man
in
a

boulder,
its
opening
being
closed
by
a
flat
slab
of
rock
that
serves
as

a
door,
which
is
ordinarily
luted
in
place
with
clay.
This
door
is

removed
in
November
every
fourth
year,
when
the
idol

in
the
shrine

is
taken
out
and
carried,
with
considerable
ceremony,
to
the
top
of

the
mesa
;
here
it
is
placed
on
the
kiva
hatches
and
rites
performed

near
it.
This
idol
of
Talatumsi
is
a
wooden
image
dressed
in
a
white

ceremonial
blanket,
with
an
embroidered
sash

about
her
waist,
in

which
are
put
the
wooden
prayer
offerings
that
are
every
four
years

made
to
her
(pi.
2,
fig.
1).
At
the
close
of
rites
around
the
kiva

entrance
the
image
is
carried
back
to
her
shrine
and
the
door
luted

in
place,
awaiting
the
next

quadrennial
emergence.
As
this
image

is
very
sacred,
it
is
rarely
exhibited,
and
no
one
save
the
initiated

is
supposed
to
be
acquainted
with
her
shrine.

*

When
the
author
last
visited
Walpi
this
house
was
deserted
and
falling
into
ruins.

[Begin Page: Plate 1]

Smithsonian
Report
1922.

—
Fewkes.

Plate
I.

1.
Shrine
of
the
Sun
Near
Walpi.
The
Sticks
with
Prayer
Feathers
are

Made
in
Great
Numbers
at
the
Winter
Solstice
Ceremony
and
are

Offerings
to
the
Sun
for
Increase
of
All
Blessings
Desired
by

the

Hopi.

2.
Shrine
with
Fossil
Log.
Visited
at
the
New
Fire
Ceremony
at
Walpi.

On
Left
of
the
Trail
from
East
to
Middle
Mesa.

3.
Shrine
of
the
Fire
God
Masauwu,
Situated
in
the
Plain
West
of

Walpi.
Men
Returning
with
Fagots

on
their
Backs
Throw
a
Bough

on
This
Shrine.
Small
Pottery
Dishes
also
Deposited
in
It.

[Begin Page: Plate 2]

Smithsonian
Report
1922.
—
Fewkes.

Plate
2.

I.
Idol
of
Talatumsi
Removed
from
Her
Shrine
at
the
Quadrennial

Celebration

of
the
New
Fire
and
Carried
to
the
Top
of
the
East
Mesa

by
Her
Guardians,
the
Horn
Priests.

'2.
House
Idol
of
Mountain
Lion.

3.
Idol
of
the
Germ
God,
Muyinwu.
(Square
Tower
House.)

4.
Side
View
of
Stone
Idol
of
Plumed
Serpent
(Pipe

Shrine
House).

[Begin Page: Plate 3]

Smithsonian
Report
1922.

—
Fewkes.

Plate
3.

I.
The
Stone
Idol
of

the
Twister,
Used
in

the
Marau
Ceremony

at
awatobi,
now
a

Ruin
Near
Walpi.

2.
Stone
Idols
on
the
Warrior
Altar
at
Hano.
The
Three
Larger

Represent
the
Little
Gods
of
War;
the
Smaller
on
the
Right
of
the

Rear
Row,
the
Spider
Woman,
Their
Mother.
The
Four
Stone
Idols

in
the
Front
Row
are
Animal
Pets
of
the
Idols.

[Begin Page: Plate 4]

Smithsonian
Report
1922.

—

Fewkes.

Plate
4.

1,
2.
FRONT
AND
SIDE
V.EW
OF
A
STONE
BIRD
IDOL,
PIPE
SHRINE
HOUSE.

3
STONE
IDOL
OF
PLUMED
SNAKE.
SAME
SPECIMEN
AS
PL.
2.
FIG.
4,

FRONT
V.EW
W.TH

FEATHERS
RESTORED.
PIPE
SHRINE
HOUSE.

4.
STONE
HEAD
OF
MOUNTAIN
SHEEP,
PIPE
SHRINE
HOUSE.

[Begin Page: Page 383]

IDOLS
m
HOPI
WORSHIP
—
FEWKES.
383

Talatumsi
is
related
to
one
of
two
wooden
idols
called
Alosaka

(germ
god)
that
were
formerly
worshiped
by

the
inhabitants
of

Awatobi.
Up
to
the
year
1888
these
stood
in
a
little
cave
under
the

rim
rock
at
that
ruin
and,
although
the
pueblo
was
deserted
in
1700,

were
objects
of
reverence;
but
on
that
year
Navajos,
not
knowing

that
these
images
were
still
used
by
the

Hopi,
desecrated
their
shrine,

carried
away
the
idols,
and
sold
them
to
Mr.
Thomas
Keam,
who

deposited
them
in
his
store
in
Keams
Canyon,
some
8
miles
away.

When
the
Hopi
of
the
Middle
Mesa
heard
of
this
act
they
appeared

in
force
at
the
store,
demanding
the
idols,

which
they
held
in
great

reverence.
Mr.
Keam,
being
a
man
of
broad
appreciation,
delivered

the
images
to
the
chiefs
of
the
Middle
Mesa,
who
made
a
broad
trail

of
meal,
reaching
from
his
house
to
the
Middle
Mesa,
over
which

the
idols
were
carried
to
a
new
shrine

near
the
village,
where
they

are
now
kept
in
a
small
cave.

Before
the
coming
of
the
white
people
there
were
several
other

shrines
situated
near
by
or
a
considerable
distance
from
the
pueblos,

but
of
late
all
have
been
brought
nearer
the
village
in
order
to

pro-

tect
them
from
desecration
by
alien
people,
who
have
rifled
many

shrines
for
commercial
purposes.
6

A
shrine
in
which
were
formerly
kept
the
effigies
of
the
Great

Serpent
is
one
of
those
which
have
been
moved
nearer
to
the
mesa,

and
the
serpent

effigies
when
used
are
taken
from
their
present

receptacle,
although
in
commemoration
of
their
past
history
an
offer-

ing
is
made
and
prayers
are
annually
said
at
their
original
home.

A
coiled
or
screw-like
idol
(pi.
3,
fig.
1),
called
a
"heart
twister,"

occupies
the
central
position

in
a
line
of
images
before
the
reredos
of

the
altar
of
one
of
the
basket
dances.
It
is
said
by
the
Hopi
shamans

that
in
certain
diseases
the
heart
is
twisted
out
of
position,
and
by

waving
this
object
in
a
circle
over
the
head
of
the
sufferer
the
heart

can
be
restored
to
its
natural
position.

These
idols
are
known
as
"twisters"
(pl.
3,
fig.
1),
one
of
which,

found
not
far
from
the
prehistoric
pueblo,
Awatobi,
is
now
in
the

Ethnological
Museum
at
Berlin,
Germany.
This
idol
is
like
a
stone

screw,
about

1£
feet
high.
Around
it
is
a
spiral
groove
;
white,
red,

and
green
bands
run
around
it
like
stripes
of
the
same
colors
on
a

barber's
pole.
This
idol
was
probably
used
for
the
same
purpose
as

the
so-called
"
heart
twister
"
on
a
modern
Hopi
altar,
which
legends

declare
a
priestess
saved
in
the
massacre
and
introduced
into
Walpi

from
Awatobi,
near
which
ill-fated
pueblo
this
idol
was
found.
On

the
wagon
trail
to
Hano
there
is
another
of
these
"
twisters,"
a
coiled

cast
of
a
cephalopod
shell
that
has
for
years
stood
in
a
shrine

or
rude

cairn
not
far
from
the
road,
halfway
to
the
top
of
the
mesa
from

the
plain.

8
The
desecration
of
the
Hopi
shrines
and
abstraction
of
their
idols
have
been
much

resented
by
the
priests.

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REPORT
SMITHSONIAN
INSTITUTION,
1922.

While
the
author
was
studying
the
rituals
of
the
Hopi
Indians,
he

rented
a
room
in
Hano
in
which,
unbeknown
to
him,
the
serpent

effigies
were
kept.
At
one
end
of
this
room
there
was
a
raised
ban-

quette
admirably
adapted
for
a
sleeping
place,
and
upon
it
he
spread

his
sheepskins
and
blankets
and
for
months
slept
nightly
upon
it.
On

the
opening
night
of
the
March
drama,
when
the
time
came
to
pro-

cure
the
serpent
effigies,
a
procession,
headed
by
the
chief,
went
to

the
room
occupied
by
the
writer
and
the
priests
began
to
scrape
away

the
clay
on
top
of
the
bench
and
brought
to
light
four
vases
covered

with
a
circular
stone
covering.
In
the
vases
were
kept
the
serpent

effigies,
and
unknowingly
the
author
had
slept
on
snake
idols

for
sev-

eral
months
without
harm.
Having
procured
the
serpent
effigies,
the

priests
carried
them
to
the
Sun
spring
at
the
foot
of
the
mesa
and

several
weird
rites,
as
yet
never
described,
were
performed
about

them.
Formerly
the
idols
of
the
horned
serpent
were
kept
in
a
cave

some
distance
north
of
Hano,
but
that
shrine
was
abandoned
on

Fia.
1.
—
Side
and
front
views
of
Plumed
Serpent
idol.
Far
View
House,
Mesa
Verde

National
Park.

account
of
its
exposure
to
persons
of
vandalistic
tendencies.
It
is

instructive

to
note
that
when
a
shrine
has
once
been
used
as
the

receptacle
for
an
idol
and
the
idol
removed,
the
priests
do
not
neglect

to
say
their
prayers
at
the
ancestral
place.
This
feeling
appears

in
another
form
when
ancestral
springs
are
visited
for
sacred
water

for
ceremonials.

For
instance,
in
the
snake
dance
priests
go
to
old

springs
in
the
north
for
sacred
water
because
when
they
lived
in
the

cliffs
the
adjacent
springs
Avere
used
by
them
for
sacred
purposes.

In
the
work
of
excavation
of
Mesa
Verde
ruins
last
year
(1922)

stone

idols
of
animals
were
discovered
in
shrines
near
Pipe
Shrine

House.
These
are
crude
images
and
considerably
broken,
but
they

are
not
unlike
modern
counterparts.
One
of
the
largest,
the
torso

of
the
mountain
lion
7
above
mentioned,
found
in
an
inclosure
south

of
Pipe
Shrine
House,
was
left

in
place
in
the
south
shrine
of
this

remarkable
building.
The
head
of
an
idol
recalling
the
Great
Ser-

pent
(pi.
2,
fig.
4),
likewise
broken,
was
discovered
at
this
ruin.

Although
attached
feathers
were
absent,
there
is
a
groove
around

the
neck
of
this
idol
where
feathered
strings

were
probably
once
tied.

7
At
Walpi,
Hopi
women
sometimes
wear
a
small
stone
fetish
of
a
mountain
lion

attached
to
their
belt.

[Begin Page: Page 385]

TDOLS
IN"
HOPI
WORSHIP
FEWKES.
385

It
is
worthy
of
mention
that
the
Great

Serpent
figured
in
the
Mesa

Verde
rituals,
for
set
in
the
wall
between
the
two
doors
in
the
south

wall
of
Pipe
Shrine
House
there
is
an
inscribed
rock
on
which
is

an
incomplete
spiral
identified
as
the
pictograph
of
the
serpent,
in-

dicating
that
the
worship
of
the

Sun
Serpent
God
was
one
of
the

purposes
of
that
building.
The
snake
idol
shown
in
figure
1
was

found
near
Far
View
House.

A
bird
idol
(pl.
4,
figs.
1
and
2)
and
a
stone
head
identified
as
the

head
of
the
mountain
sheep
were
likewise

found
in
the
dump
re-

moved
from
Pipe
Shrine
House,
but
the
positions
of
the
shrines

which
once
housed
these
supernaturals
were
not
discovered.
The

stone
head
of
a
mountain
sheep
idol
(pi.
4,
fig.
4)
was
found
in
the

dump
outside
Pipe
Shrine
House
on
the
Mesa
Verde

National
Park.

It
appears
that
a
larger
number
of
stone
idols
were
discovered
in
the

excavations
at
Pipe
Shrine
House
than
in
any
other
Mesa
Verde

ruin,
and
that
they
not
only
far
outnumber
those
from
any
other
ruin

on
the
park
but
also
in
the
San
Juan
Valley.

No
stone
idols
have

yet
been
found
in
Mesa
Verde
cliff
houses,
as
the
shrines
of
the
cliff

dwellings
are
yet
to
be
discovered.

Idols
on
altars.

—
The
majority
of
idols
are
found
on
altars,
and

in
order
to
get
a
better
idea
of
their
forms

we
will
now
consider
a

few
of
the
great
Hopi
altars.
These
idols
are
often
more
elab-

orately
made
than
those
found
in
shrines
and
are
generally
of
wood,

or
when
very
ancient
are
of
stone.

The
distribution
of
idols
8
on
Hopi
altars
is
somewhat
as

follows

:

Ceremony.

Idols.

1.

New

Fire

Ceremony

1.

Talatumsi,

Alosaka,

anthropomorphic

idol

of

Germ

God;

(Elder

Sister

of

the

Dawn;

the

Morning

Star,

Warrior

God.)

2.

Tuwapontumci.

(Earth

Altar

Woman)

2.

Winter

Solstice

Germ

God

(stone

cone).

Plumed
Serpent.
(Effigy).

3.
Momtcita
Puukong,
War
God.

Kokyanwiiqti,
Spider
Woman.

Stone
images
of
animals.

4.
Powamu
Sun
sand
picture.

Tungwup.

5.
Palulukon
Plumed
Snake.
(Effigy).

6.
Snake
Dance
Human
personations
of
snake
maid
and
youth.

Animal
idols.

7.
Flute
Images
of
Flute
hero
and
Flute
maid.

Sky
God,
Germ
God,
birds.

q'
q
a
u;if
[Cultus
hero
and
heroine,
anthropomorphic
idols.

10.

Mamzrauti
fe
erm
God
W[^]TM)-

[Stone
cone.

s
There
are
several
other
idols
in
use
at
Walpi
which
are
not
included
in
this
list.

[Begin Page: Page 386]

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1922.

The
Oraibi
Snake
altar
has

two
idols,
differing
from
that
at
Walpi

and
the
other
Hopi
pueblos.
The
rites
about
it
have
never
been

observed.
9

The
idols
used
by
the
Warrior
priesthoods
at
Hano
and
Walpi

are
set
up
directly
after
the
winter
solstice
ceremony
and
consist

of
shapely

stone
images
of
Spider
Woman
and
her
two
offsprings,

the
Twin
Gods
of
War
(pi.
3,
fig.
2).
When
not
used
these
idols
are

in
the
keeping
of
the
priesthood
of
the
Bow,
and
the
ceremony
in

which
they
are
used
is
called
the
Momtcita.
10

The

secret
rites
of
the
Hopi
priests
are
generally
conducted
in

special
rooms
called
kivas,
of
which
there
are
five
in
Walpi.
Mod-

ern
kivas
are
generally
situated
in
the
courts
separated
from
secular

rooms,
but
several
priesthoods
use
special
rooms,
not
known
as
kivas,

for
ceremonials.
These
rooms
are

embedded
in
the
house
masses,

generally
the
rooms
of
the
clan
that
owns
the
idols,
fetishes,
or
cere-

monial
paraphernalia
of
that
family.
For
instance,
the
Flute
room,

where
the
Flute
idols
are
kept
and
in
which
the
Flute
altar
is
erected,

is
a
good
example
of
such
a

type
of
ceremonial
room.
The
cham-

ber
in
which
the
Sun
priests
gather
and
erect
their
simple
altar
is

another
instance
of
a
ceremonial
room
not
a
kiva.
A
third
example

of
a
chamber
not
a
kiva
is
that
in
which
the
Warriors
or
Priesthood

of
the
Bow
annually

assemble
and
hold
their
sacred
gatherings.

This
room
is
seldom
opened
except
on
days
of
war
rites,
and
idols

are
hidden
in
a
recess
in
its
walls.
Here
they
are
kept,
and
in

midwinter
they
are
taken
from
their
receptacle
and
arranged
as

an
altar.

This
room
(fig.
2)
of
the
Warriors
is
situated
in
the
second
story

of
Walpi
directly
under
the
dwelling
of
the
Pakab
or
Reed
people,

the
chief
of
which
inherited
the
tiponi
or
badge
of
office
of
the

Warriors.
It
is
entered
by
a
hatchway
and
is
without
windows.
It

is
rectangular
in
shape
and
the
niche
or
sealed
recess
where
the

idols
and
other
paraphernalia
of
the
Warriors
are
customarily
kept

in
its
northeast
corner.
The
length
of
this
room
is
about
double
the

width
and
its
walls
are
oriented
about
east
and
west.
The
wall

decoration

of
this
chamber
is
interesting,
corresponding
with
its
use.

Each
wall
is
painted
with
a
picture
of
a
different
animal
charac-

teristic
of
a
cardinal
point,
and
as
these
animals
are
realistic
enough

for
identification
we
may
conclude
what
animals
are
associated
with

the
cardinal
points.

»
A
description
of
this
altar
by
Voth
was
mainly
derived
from
the
author's
description

of
the
Snake
altar
of
the
Walpi
ceremony.
The
view
of
the
sand
picture
of
the
Snake

altar
at
Oraibi
by
the
same
author
is
made
from
the
Walpi
altar,
not
from
direct

observation.

10
The
ceremonies
are
described
in
the
author's
article,
"
Hopi
Minor
Ceremonials,"

Amer.
Antb.,
n.
s.,
vol.
v,
no.
iv.

[Begin Page: Page 387]

IDOLS
IN
HOPI
WORSHIP
—
FEWKES.

387

On
the
north
wall,
facing
west,

there
is
a
picture
of
the
mountain

lion,
3
feet
long,
of
brown
color.
The
eye
of
this
animal
is
a
glis-

tening
fragment
of
a
pearly
Haliothis
shell;
a
line
painted
red
rep-

resents
the
life
line,
extending
from
the
mouth
to
the
region
of
the

heart.
The

tail
extends
forward
above
the
back,
a
significant
posi-

tion
in
pictures
of
the
mountain
lion,
the
tail
of
which
is
generally

represented
as
a
ridge
in
relief
extending
longitudinally
along
the

backbone;
but
in
this
connection
it
is
instructive
to
call
to
mind

Fig.
2.
—

Diagram
of
Warrior
room
at
Walpi
;
inner
rectangle,
floor
of
room
;
animals

 painted
on
walls.
N.
W.
S.
E.
cardinal
points
;
north,
west,
south,
east
:
as,
Aspergil
;

 b,
basket
plaque;
c,
niche
in
which
idols
are
kept,
closed
by
stone
paint
slab
(ps),
on

 which
paint

is
ground
;
d,
door
into
next
room
;
e,
entrance
to
room
from
roof
by

ladder
;
f,
eagle
feather
;
fc,
fireplace
;
h,
ancient
war
club
;
k,
spider
woman
idol
;

l,
lightning
framework;
n,
packet
of
prayer
meal
tied
to
prayer
stick
(wps)
;
p,
little

war
god
;
ph,
little
war
god
;
ps,
stone
paint
slab
used
as
door
to
niche
(c)
;
r,
path-

way
of
blessings
;
t,
Tiponi
(warrior
badge
of
office)
;
tc,
ancestral
celts
;
tk,
wooden

cross,
tokpela,
representing
sky
god
;
wps,
warrior
prayer
stick.

that

the
large
so-called
stone
lions
at
Cochiti
pueblo
do
not
have
the

tail
extended
along
the
median
dorsal
line.

The
figure
painted
on
the
east
wall
measures
about
3
feet
long

and
has
an
extended
tail,
just
above
which
is
a
conventional
sun
sym-

bol
consisting
of

a
circle
from
which
radiate
eight
feathers
arranged

in
four
clusters
of
two
each
and
intermediate
lines
representing
the

rays
of
the
sun.
The
figure
on
the
south
wall
represents
the
wild

cat
and
that
on
the
west
a
bear
drawn
above
a
five-pointed
star.

The
idols

on
the
altars
used
by
the
Warrior
priesthood
at
Walpi

and
Hano
are
practically
representative
of
the
same
supernatural

[Begin Page: Page 388]

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INSTITUTION,
1922.

Fig.
3.
—
Idol
of
the

Germ
God,
Muy-

inwu.
From
the

altar
of
Mamzrauti

ceremony.

beings,
viz,
the
Spider
Woman
and
her
children,
the
Twin
War

Gods,
and
certain
"

pets
"

associated
with
them.
These
are
repre-

sented
in
the
accompanying
figure
(pi.
3,
fig.
2)
of
the
altar
at
Hano.

The
most
important
idol
of
the
Hopi
is
that
of
the
Sun
god,
known

in
ceremonials
as
the
Heart
of
the
Sky.
One
of
the
best
examples

of
this
god,
found
on
the
Oraibi
Flute
altar,

elsewhere
figured,
11
should
be
especially
men-

tioned,
as
it
is

the
best
Hopi
idol.
A
symbol
of

this
god,
which
takes
the
shape
of
a
cross,
occurs

on
several
of
the
Hopi
altars.

Next
in
importance
to
the
idol
of
the
Sky
god

is
that
of
Muyinwu,
the
Corn
Mountain
or
Germ

Goddess,
which
occupies

a
prominent
place
on
the

majority
of
Hopi
altars.
Its
archaic
form
is
a

conical
stone
or
wooden
object
called
the
corn
hill

or
corn
mound
(pi.
2,
fig.
3,
and
text
fig.
3).

The
altars
of
the
Hopi
Basket
Dances
have
two

idols
(figs.

4
and
5),
one
of
the
cultus
hero
and

another
of
the
cultus
heroine,
parents
of
the
clan

that
controls
the
rite.
The
latter
strongly
resembles
Calakomana

or
the
Corn
Maid
as
she
appears
in
the
Tablet
Dance,
when
she

is
called
the
Palahikomana,
Similar
pictures
of
the
same

per-

sonages,
having
human
heads,
and
wings,
bodies,
and
tails
of

birds,
also
occur
on
the
lateral
wings
of
the
altar
reredos.

Among
the
instructive
sacred
objects
on
the

Lakone
altar
are
bundles
of
rods
that
are
placed

over
a
sand
mosaic
and
are
spoken

of
as
Germ

God
idols.
These
bundles
contain
praj^er
sticks

and
other
fetishes,
12
and
although
described
as

idols,
suggest
the
bundles
of
the
plains
tribes.

They
are
regarded
as
very
sacred
objects,
being

sometimes
sprinkled
with
sacred
meal;
it
is
com-

monly
said
that

they
represent
"
mothers,"
and

they
are
held
in
great
respect.

The
Hopi
dances,
commonly
called
Kacinas,
in

which
masked
men
representing
ancestors
appear,

have
idols
on
the
altars
which
are
erected
at
the

advent
and
departure
of
these
beings,
Powamu

and
Niman.

One
of
these
idols
is
called
Tungwup
(the
sun)
;

other
Pokema
or
Eototo,
the
earth
god.

On
several
altars,
as
that
of
the
Antelope
in
the
snake
dance,
we

find
stone
idols
in
the
form
of
animals,
which
are
rude
and
small,
in-

dicating
a

more
archaic
condition
than
the
elaborate
wooden
figurines.

11
Sun
Worship
of
the
Hopi
Indians,
Annual
Report
of
the
Smithsonian
Institution.
1918.

12
The
contents
of
one
of
these
bundles
are
enumerated
in
the
author's
account
of
the

I. akone
altar,
Amer.
Anth.,
1892.

Fig.
4.
—
Idol
of

Marau
Maid
from

Marau
altar.

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IDOLS
IN
HOPI
WORSHIP
—
FEWKES.

389

The
author
has
already
alluded
to
the
idols
on
the
altars
of
the

Flute
priests
in

his
article
on
Sun
Worship.
12
The
Flute
altars
have

anthropomorphic
images
representing
the
Flute
Youth
and
Maid,
as

well
as
the
Germ
idol.
The
former
are
shown
in
the
accompanying

figure
(pi.
5),
one
representing
the
Flute
Youth,
the
other
the

Flute
Maid.
Wooden
images
of
birds
are

frequently
found
on
Hopi

altars
and
likewise
occur
in
ruins
situated
along
the
San
Juan
River.

Traces
of
sun
worship
in
the
numerous
rites
of
the
Flute
ceremony

are
many
and
highly
significant,
emphasizing
the
tradition
that
the

Flute
people,
like
the
Patki
or
Raincloud
clans,
came

from
the
south

and
joined
the
Snake
and
other
northern
clans
in
prehistoric
times.

Later
the
Flute
clans
separated
from
the
northern

clans,
to
be
reunited
at
Walpi,
where
they
have

since
lived
in
harmony,
forming
a
homogeneous

people.
The
Flute
legends
have
many
similari-

ties
to
those
of
the
Snake
fraternity,
which

leads
to
the
belief
that
they
lived
some
time

Fig.
5.
—
Idol
of
the

Germ
God,
Muy-

inwu.
From
wing

of
the
reredos
of

Marau
altar.

together.
13

Winter
solstice
altar
(Hano).

—
The
most
strik-

ing
idol
used
in
the
winter
solstice
ceremonial
is
an

effigy
of
the
Plumed
Serpent,
which
is
also
used
in

the
spring
equinoctial
ceremon} 7

.
This
has
al-

ready
been
described
and
figured
in
the
author's

pamphlet
on
Sun
Worship
of
the
Hopi
Indians.

These
idols
are
effigies
manufactured
from
va-

rious
materials.
At
every
celebration
of
the

vernal
equinox
and
winter
solstice
they
are

mended,
repainted,
and
adorned
with
fresh

feathers.

One
of
the
most
archaic
rites
performed

in

the
vernal
equinox
ceremony
in
March
is
the
visit

made
by
the
guardians
of
these
snakes
to
the

Sun
Spring,
their
home
or
shrine.
They
are
laid
on
the
bank
of

this
spring
with
their
heads
reaching
to
the
water,
into
which

their
tongues
hang,
and

prayers
are
said
to
them
before
they
are

carried
into
the
kivas.

Idols
are
not
necessarily
made
of
stone,
clay,
or
wood,
but
may

be
effigies
constructed
of
other
materials.
Each
of
these
idols
in
the

Walpi
variant
of
the
winter
solstice
ceremony
is
an
effigy
composed

of
a
series
of
hoops
over
which
is
tied
a
buckskin
or
cloth
cover

representing
the
body
of
a
serpent,
while
the
head
is
made
of
a

painted
gourd,
the
whole
decorated
with
symbolic
markings.

12
The
contents
of
one
of
these
bundles
are
enumerated
in
the

author's
account
of
the

Lakone
altar,
Amer.
Anth.,
1892.

"There
is
a
ruin
north
of
Walpi,
said
to
have
been
their
former
habitation,
called

Lefianobi,
the
House
of
the
Flutes.

55379—24
26

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1922.

Fig.
6.

—
Altar
of
the
Basket
Dance,
OwakUlti,
at
Sitcomovi.
This
altar
was
erected
in
a

kiva
and
consists
largely
of
slats
of
wood
decorated
with
symbols
(m>),
tied
together

and
held
in
place
by
upright
and
horizontal
rods.
Individual
cult
objects
designated

by

the
following
letters

:

a,
Sky
band

;

o,
Eagle

of
the
Sun

;

c,
Upper
Sun

with
lightning

;

Lower
Sun
with
rays
of
the
four
world
quarters

;

cs,
Corn
symbol

;

d,
Frog

;

e,
Tad-

poles

;

/,
Star
symbol

;

g,
Rain
clouds

;

h.

Unknown
birds
;
i,
Rabbit
;
k,
Dragon
fly
;

l,
Butterfly
symbol
;
m,
Germ
God
in
form
of
corn
mound
;
n,
Germ
Goddess
;
o,
Little

War
God
;
p,
Horns
worn
on
head
of
Owakiil
Maid
;
T,
Tiponi,
badge
of
chief
;
*
,
Tok-

pela,
sky

god
;
to,
Netted
disk
carried
in
hand
of
Owakiil
Maid
;
as,
Tiponi,
badge
of

chief
;
Z,
Lightning,

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IDOLS
IN
HOPI
WORSHIP
—
FEWKES.
391

Through
the
middle
of
the
body
is
a
stick,
called
the
backbone,
by

which
the
effigy
is
manipulated.
This
effigy
is
regarded
by
the

priests
in
much
the
same
way
as
a
stone
idol,
prayers
being
offered

to
it
with
sacred
meal
in
a
similar
way.

The
Hano
priests,
however,
in
their
winter
solstice
rite
make
each

year
a

clay
idol
of
the
Plumed
Serpent,
Avanyu,
1
*

which
is
laid
on

the
floor
back
of
their
altar.
A
somewhat
similar
idol
of
stone

(pi.
2,
fig.
4;
pi.
4,
fig.
3;
and
text
fig.
1),
found
at
the
Pipe
Shrine

House,
Mesa
Verde,
was
probably
the
recipient
of
prayers

in
the

same
way
as
the
clay
images
of
the
Hano
Winter
Solstice
altar
and

the
effigy
idol
of
the
Walpi
or
Hopi
variant.

Unworked
stones
of
rare
forms,
fossils,
or
stones
eroded
by
water,

may
also
serve
as
idols,
and
we
find
them
treated
as
such

;
for
instance,

a
fossil
log
in
a
shrine
near
Walpi
is
used
in
the
New
Fire
ceremony.

The
author
found
many
and
various
waterworn
stones,
crystals,
and

Tertiary
fossil
shells
in
the
shrines
of
Pipe
Shrine
House.
There

exists
a
rich
chapter
of
folklore
regarding
the
efficacy
of

strangely

formed
stones
among
the
Hopi,
which
is
not
here
considered
lest
it

would
swell
this
article
to
undue
proportions.

The
most
widely
known
of
all
Hopi
ceremonies
is
that
called
the

Snake
Dance,
in
which
there
are
two
altars.
Neither
of
these
has

an

anthropomorphic
idol
representing
the
cultus
hero
and
heroine
of

the
Snake-Antelope,
but
at
the
Antelope
altar
these
ancestral
super-

naturals
are
personated
by
a
boy
and
girl
who
stand
back
of
the

altar,
as
shown
in
plate
6.
On
the
rear
border
of
the
sand
picture

that
forms
the

greater
part
of
this
altar
are
a
mountain
lion
fetish

and
several
stone
images
of
animals.

The
related
Flute
ceremony
has
its
altar
idols
(pi.
5)
representing

the
Flute
Hero
and
Heroine
carved
out
of
wood.
In
the
march
from

the
Sun
Spring
to
the
top
of

the
mesa
they
are
represented
by
a

boy
and
two
girls
appareled
like
the
Snake
Maid
and
Antelope

Youth
of
the
Antelope
altar
(pi.
6).

Cultus
heroes
and
heroines
are
represented
by
wooden
idols
in
the

altars
of
the
three
great
basket
and
tablet
dances,
known
as

the
Lala-

konti,
Mamzrauti,
and
Owakiilti.
They
are
well
fashioned
and
sug-

gest
recent
manufacture,
or
later
than
those
of
stone
used
in
the

more
archaic
New
Fire
and
Winter
Solstice
ceremonies.

In
the
accompanying
illustration
(pi.
6)
the
Antelope
priests
are
rep-

resented
as

seated
around
the
Antelope
altar
in
a
secret
consecration

of
prayer
sticks
of
the
celebrated
Snake
Dance
at
Walpi.
Although

many
hundred
white
people
have
witnessed
the
open
Snake
Dance,

thus
far
only
a
very
few
have
been
admitted
to
the
rites
that
take

14
A
description

of
this
idol
may
be
found
in
Hopi
Minor
Ceremonials,
Amer.
Arth.,

Vol.
IV,
n.
s.

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1922.

EXPLANATION
OF
PLATE
5
(BLUE
FLUTE
ALTAR).

Prayer
sticks
and
corn

husks.

Rafter
of
house
roof.

Gourd
rattle.

,
Rain
clouds,
square
and
semicircular.

Slab
of
stone
on
which
paint
is
ground.

Ladle
made
of
gourd.

Blanket.

Hanging
strings
(rain?).

Feathers,
blankets,
bags,
and
ceremonial

paraphernalia.

Cupboard.

Shelves.

Feather
symbols
indicated
by
triangles
on

gles
of
the
rectangular
rain
clouds.

[Begin Page: Plate 5]

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1922.

—
Fewkes.

Plate
5.

mullett

Blue

Flute
Altar
at
Miconinovi,
Middle
Mesa.

[Begin Page: Blank]

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IDOLS
IN
HOPI
WORSHIP
—
FEWKES.
393

place
in
the
kivas
or
secret
rooms
at
that
time,
and
one
may
count

on
the
fingers
of
one
hand
the
descriptions
of

these
rites
of
the
Snake

Dance
that
have
been
published.
This
illustration
(p.
6)
has
been

made
with
care
and
accuracy
to
show
the
character
of
the
altar
and

the
posture
of
the
priests
gathered
about
to
begin
the
dramatization

and
sing
the
16
songs
in
the
Walpi
presentation.

Having
witnessed

this
rite
in
the
five
Hopi
villages
that
celebrate
the
Snake
rite,
the

author
does
not
hesitate
to
say
that
the
Walpi
variant
is
one
of
the

best
in
Hopi
land.
15

The
earliest
account
of
this
altar
and
the
songs
about
it
appeared

in
the
author's
Snake
Ceremonies
at
Walpi
in
1894,
16
based
on
a

study
of
the
Snake
Dance
at
Walpi
in
1891
and
1893.
An
accurate

picture
of
the
sand
mosaic
in
color
appeared
in
the
year
1900.
17

Let
us
briefly
consider
this
rite.
It
is
called

the
consecration
of

certain
prayer
emblems
and
is
a
rude
dramatization
of
a
rite
men-

tioned
in
the
Hopi
Snake
legend.
The
ceremony
is
supposed
to
have

formerly
been
celebrated
by
the
ancestors
of
the
Snake
people
in
the

underworld,
and
to
have
been
brought
to
the
surface
of

the
earth
by

a
cultus
hero
known
as
the
Antelope
Youth.
This
youth,
or
cultus

hero,
visited
the
underworld
where
he
married
a
daughter
of
the

chief,
and
representations
of
him
and
his
bride
are
standing
back
of

the
altar.
The
exact
time
in
the
rite
chosen
for
illustration

is
mid-

way
in
the
songs
when
the
pipe
is
passed
to
the
Antelope
Chief,

Wild,
18
the
signal
for
the
beginning
of
the
ceremony.

A
large
stone
idol
of
the
mountain
lion
stands
on
this
altar
back

of
the
sand
picture
between
two
palladia
or
tiponis,

one
of
which
is

now
in
place;
the
other
is
held
on
the
left
arm
of
the
Antelope
or

Snake
Hero.
There
are
several
smaller
idols
on
the
altar
which
are

said
to
be
heirlooms
inherited
from
very
old
times.

Midway
in
the
songs
about
this
altar

the
chief
of
the
Antelopes

receives
from
the
pipe
lighter
a
lighted
pipe
or
conical
"
cloud

blower,"
and
kneeling
back
of
the
mountain
lion
so
that
the
pointed

end
rests
between
the
ears
of
the
idol,
blows
six
whiffs
of
smoke

through
the
cloud
blower
upon
the
sand

picture.
19
The
ingredients

smoked
in
this
cloud
blower
are
herbs
gathered
from
the
cardinal

points,
mixed
with
fragments
of
spruce
leaves,
the
burning
of
which

makes
a
pleasant
smell
in
the
room.

15
The
Walpi
Hopi
claim
that
their
variant
is
the
most
ancient
and
truthful

of
all

and
assert
since
the
original
palladium
of
the
Snake
priesthood
is
now
in
their
possession

that
all
others
are
imitations.

18
Journal
of
Am.
Ethn.
and
Arch.,
vol.
IV,
Boston,
1894.

17
Tusayan
Flute
and
Snake
Ceremonial,
19th
Ann.
Rept.
Bur.
Amer.
Ethn.,

1900.

18
The
rites,
songs,
and
prayers
at
the
consecration
of
the
prayer
emblems
on
this
altar

are
described
in
Vol.
IV
A,
Journal
of
Am.
Ethn.
and
Arch.,
Boston,
1894.

18
This
and
other
straight-tubed
pipes
are
known
as
cloud
blowers.
There
are
all

gradations
in
form
from
a
tobacco
pipe
with
upturned
bowl
to
a
straight-tubed
cloud

blower

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REPORT
SMITHSONIAN
INSTITUTION,
1922.

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[Begin Page: Page 395]

IDOLS
IN
HOPI
WOKSHIP
—
FEWKES.
395

This
cloud
of
smoke,

by
sympathetic
magic,
is
supposed
by
the

priests
to
represent
the
raincloud,
and
the
production
of
the
smoke

is
one
way
of
praying
for
rain
that
is
often
sorely
needed
for
the

parched
fields
of
the
Hopi.
As
the
formal
cloud
blowing
in
the

secret
rites
of
the
Antelope

altar
takes
place
midway
in
the
progress

of
the
songs
it
may
be
regarded
as
the
culmination
of
the
ceremony.

The
presence
of
the
mountain
lion
idol
is
appropriate,
because
this

fetish
represents
the
Mountain
Lion
people,
who
formerly
lived
with

the
Hopi
in
their
cliff
houses
on
the

San
Juan.

One
object
that
may
be
called
a
fetish
is
omitted
in
the
picture

of
the
Antelope
altar.
In
the
1893
Snake
Dance
at
Walpi
the

author
gave
Wiki,
the
Antelope
priest,
a
specimen
of
the
King

crab
(*Limulus
polyphemus*)
which
he
collected
on
the
Atlantic

coast.
The
Antelope
chief
had
never
seen
a
horseshoe
crab
and
did

not
know
what
it
was.
After
he
and
his
fellow
chiefs
had
examined

it
one
of
their
number
pronounced
it
a
"
Giant
Tadpole
"
and

placed
it
on
the
altar,
after
which
all
the
priests
sprinkled

it
with

meal
and
prayed
to
it,
as
they
believed
it
efficacious
to
bring
rain.

In
other
words,
it
was
accepted
as
an
idol,
20
although
probably
no

one
had
ever
seen
one
of
these
animals.

It
will
be
noticed
that
the
Antelope
altar
is
largely
horizontally

placed,
consisting
of
a
sand
picture
and
accompanying
objects,

none
of
which
rise
high
above
the
floor.
The
only
upright
portion

of
this
altar
is
a
stone
slab
known
as
the
Butterfly
Maid,
21
which

stands
back
of
the
altar,
making
a
very
ancient
form
of
reredos.

Prayers
to
idols.

—
The
method
of
praying
adopted
by
the
Hopi

is
practically
identical
for
all
idols.
When
an
altar
is
set
up
it

is
customary
for
a
devout
priest
on
entering
the
kiva
to
ask
the

chief,
as
he
steps
from
the
ladder,
whether
he
is
welcome

or
not,

and,
on
being
informed
that
he
is,
he
approaches
the
altar
with

the
fireplace
always
on
his
left
hand.
He
then
takes
a
little
prayer

meal
from
the
flat
basket
tray
on
the
floor,
and,
after
raising
it
to

his
mouth
and
praying,
sprinkles
it
upon
the

idols
and
other
altar

objects.
22
The
breath
body
of
the
prayer
meal
is
supposed
to

communicate
the
wish
of
the
worshiper
to
the
god
represented
by

the
idol.
When
a
priesthood
prays
as
a
body,
or
when
an
indi-

vidual
priest
offers
a
more
formal
prayer
in
the

form
of
a
prayer

stick,
it
is
inserted
in
the
girdle
about
the
body
of
the
idol.
These

prayer
sticks
are
generally
placed
in
a
ridge
of
sand
before
the

image.
Another
method
of
prayer
is
by
the
use
of
a
stringed

20
The
last
time
the

author
saw
the
Antelope
altar
this
animal
was
still
In
use.

a
The
Butterfly
clan
Is
associated
with
Badger,
Butterfly,
and
kindred
families,
who
are

said
to
have
been
among
the
latest
introductions
into
the
Hopi
country.

21
Under
prayers
may
be
mentioned
smoking
tobacco
fumes
upon

idols
or
asperging

medicine
over
them,
both
of
which
are
regarded
as
symbolic
rain
prayers.

[Begin Page: Page 396]

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REPORT
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1922.

feather,
which
is
breathed
upon
and
tied
either
about
the
neck
or

attached
to
the
belt
of
an

idol.

The
mouths
of
domestic
idols
have
fragments
of
food
adhering
to

their
lips,
showing
it
was
customary
to
offer
nourishment
or
to

feed
them;
but
the
habit
of
feeding
Hopi
idols
is
not
now
as
com-

mon
as
formerly.
It
is
true
that
there
are
very

few
idols
now
stand-

ing
in
the
corners
of
living
rooms,
although
in
1890
the
author
knew

of
several
of
these
household
images,
which
have
gone
the
way
of

many
other
Hopi
specimens;
the
museum
collector
has
purchased
and

carried
them
off,
thus
transporting
them
from
their
natural
en-

environment
to
beautiful
cases
where
they
are
exhibited,
often
without

explanations
of
their
significance.

Conclusions.

—
Do
the
preceding
pages
have
any
bearing
on
the

questions
so
frequently
asked:
Who
were
the
Hopi
and
whence
did

they
originate?
Does
the
character
of
their
idols
throw

any
light

on
Hopi
history
before
they
were
discovered
by
Tobar
in
1540?

On
comparison
of
the
simplest
form
of
stone
idols
here
considered

with
those
from
ruins
along
the
San
Juan
River
and
its
tributaries

we
find
the
resemblance
close,
almost
identical
;
but
we
also

find
some

of
them
have
a
close
likeness
to
idols
found
in
ruins
south
and
east

of
the
present
site
of
Walpi.
The
difference
in
form
of
the
idols
can

be
in
part
explained
by
age
but
mainly
from
their
geographical

derivation.
In
this
connection
it
is
to
be

noted
that
the
priesthoods

that
own
these
idols
and
control
the
rites
about
them
claim
they
are

related
to
clans
that
declare
they
migrated
from
the
region
inhabited

by
people
that
have
closely
related
idols.
In
other
words,
arche-

ology
affords
strong
evidence
of
derivation
of
cult
objects
used

in

the
religious
system
of
the
Hopi
from
different
directions,
thus
sup-

porting
their
migration
legends.
Relations
of
idols
can
be
used
to

ident
i
l'y
former
homes
of
the
separate
components
of
the
Walpi
popu-

lation.
They
furnish
evidence
that
the
Hopi
are
a
composite
race
or

that
the
population
of
Walpi
is
a
blend
or
mixture
of
peoples
that

came
to
the
East
Mesa
from
different
directions,
as
shown
in
an

article
on
Tusayan
Migration
published
elsewhere.
23

The
forms,
decorations,
and
material
from
which
idols
are
manu-

factured,
like
secular
portable

utensils
and
implements,
can
be
used

by
the
archeologist
as
data
bearing
on
prehistoric
migrations
of

groups
of
Indians.
One
of
the
last
objects
an
Indian
priest
would

throw
away
as
he
migrated
from
place
to
place
would
be
his
idols.

Other
things
he
might
leave
behind,
but
his

gods,
never.
So
attached

is
he
to
localities
once
his
home
that
he
has
often
taken
the
trails

back
;
he
often
visits
ancestral
springs
to
get
water
for
religious
pur-

"
19th
Aim.
Bept.
Bur.
Amer.
Ethu.

IDOI£
IN
HOPI
WORSHIP
—
FEWKES.
397

poses;
his
idols
he
carries
with
him.
The
technique
of
these
idols

varies
in
different
clans
and
furnishes
important
data
in
studies
of

clan
migration.

In
conclusion,
it
may
be
said
that
it
is
very
difficult
to
accurately

define
the
line
of
demarcation
in
the
Hopi
mind
between
what
would

ordinarily
be
called
an
idol
and
other
sacred
or
cult
material
objects

used
in
worship.
We
ordinarily
confuse
the
terms
fetish
and
idol

but
the
latter
generally
has
some
anthropomorphic
or
zoomor-

phic
form.
The

Hopi
Snake
Dance
and
attendant
secret
rites

are
regarded
as
the
oldest
in
the
ritual,
a
conclusion
that
comes
out

clearly
in
the
archaic
conditions
of
the
altar
and
the
character
of

objects
on
it.
The
Antelope
altar
is
conspicuous
by
the
absence
of

idols,
whereas
other
great
nine-days'

ceremonies
of
the
Hopi
have

well
made
wooden
anthropomorphic
images
in
addition
to
graven

representations
of
nature
power,
sun
gods,
germ
gods,
and
the
like.

These
graven
idols
indicate
a
late
cultus,
pointing
to
a
more
recent

development.
But
it
is
instructive
to
notice,
in
passing,
that
on
the

Antelope
Snake
altar
the
cult
ancestors
are
represented
by
a
boy
and

girl,
indicating
that,
in
this
instance,
the
ancient
way
of
represent-

ing
the
cult
ancestors
appears
not
to
be
by
idols
but
by
human
beings

personating
them
;
on
the
other
hand
the
idols
on
the
Flute

altars
are

so
well
made
that
they
appear
to
be
carved
out
with
iron
implements.

In
most
respects,
and
especially
traditionally,
the
Snake
and
Flute

clans
are
related.
The
explanation
would
naturally
be
that
the
re-

semblances
are
due
to
a
former
life
of
the
two
clans
together.
It

may
be
stated
as
a
general
law
that
in
the
composition
of
the
Hopis

those
clans
that
came
from
the
South
had
a
much
more
complicated

ritual
and
much
more
elaborate
symbolism
depicted
on
their
idols

than
clans
from
the
North
or
those
that
originally
inhabited
the
cliff

houses.
The
Hopi
are
the
survivors
of
a
prehistoric
people
on
the

line
of
fusion
of
two
forms
of
culture,
the
pure
pueblo
of
northern

origin
and
the
now
kiva
people
of
the
Gila
or
the
South.
The
earliest

contact
was
practically
along
the
Little
Colorado
valley,
where
the

mixed
population
survived
into
historic
times
and
whose
best
present

survival
is
the
well-known
pueblo,
Zuñi.
Lower
down
the
Little

Colorado,
the
settlements
were
abandoned
and
their
populations

migrated
northward
and
joined
the
kiva
people
or
pure
pueblos,
and

the
mixture
still
survives
as
the
Hopi
Indians
of

Arizona.

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