

NOTES ON HOPI CEREMONIES IN THEIR
INITIATORY FORM IN 1927-1928

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None of the three regular winter ceremonies of the Hopi of First Mesa has been fully described—Wöwöchim, Soyala (Winter solstice ceremony), Powamu (the Kachina ceremony)—in its long or initiatory form. Wöwöchim is the tribal ceremony into which every youth is initiated. The year this initiation is held the ceremony is extended, as are also the following Winter solstice ceremony and the Powamu ceremony. In the winter of 1891-1892 the extended ceremonies were held, and Alexander M. Stephen described¹ the Wöwöchim (Naashnaiya), but failed to see the initiatory rituals. The Winter solstice ceremony of this year Stephen does not describe excepting the dramatization which occurs the final night in Chief kiva.² As for the Powamu of 1892 only part of the ritual which occurs on the last day—the extra day of the extended form—is described by Stephen.³ The whipping of the children in the kiva he did not see.

After 1891-2 it is not known when the initiatory forms were observed, if at all,⁴ until the year 1927-1928. When I was on First Mesa in 1920, observing the Wöwöchim in its non-initiatory form,⁵ I was told that Hani (Lesma), the Singers society chief, who is chief of the Wöwöchim ceremony, was too old to conduct the long ceremony and that he had not trained any kinsman as assistant. Two or three years later, Hani died; in 1925 I was told that a successor was found and that the following year, 1926, the extended ceremonies would take place. Actually, they took place a year later, and Dr. Julian H. Steward of the University of California visited First Mesa in February, saw parts of Powamu, and got accounts of what he did not see, as well as of the preceding ceremonies. His notes follow.

E. C. PARSONS

WÖWÖCHIM

THE ceremony is announced by the Crier chief during the first quarter of the Kele (sparrow hawk, novice) moon (November). Hoñi of the Snake clan is still Crier, but being blind,⁶ he has as a substitute his brother, Harry

¹ J. W. Fewkes and A. M. Stephen, *The Nāácnaiya: A Tusayan Initiation Ceremony*. JAFI, 5: 189-220, 1892.

² *Hopi Journal* (in proof).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ In 1916, when Dr. Lowie visited First Mesa, he learned nothing definite about dates of celebration in extended form. I surmise that after 1916, perhaps for some time before, no such celebration was made.

⁵ E. C. Parsons, *The Hopi Wöwöchim Ceremony in 1920*. AA, 25: 156-187, 1923.

⁶ Cf. E. C. Parsons, *A Pueblo Indian Journal*. AAA-M, 32: 97, 116, 1925.

Supela. Námuki, Hani's sister's son,⁷ or sister's daughter's son,⁸ is now Singers' chief.

In Chief kiva the new fire was made with the fire drill by Dewówüna, of the Kokop clan (Cedarwood-Coyote-Masaú clan, referred to in English as the Fire clan).⁹ The fire is carried to all the kivas, where it must not be allowed to go out during the subsequent ceremonial.

New details¹⁰ were given about the trips for soap-weed and greasewood undertaken by the novices. The novices of Singers, Wówöchim, and the Horn society with a leader referred to as "Alosaka" together descend the mesa to the south. Alosaka draws a line of corn meal, which is to be the starting line. As the boys come up, he asks, "What is your name?" Each boy tells his name. He then says, "Now boys, if you catch me before we get to that mountain, Sistávatekwi (á butte twenty miles or so to the south), we shall come back again. If you do not catch me, we will run all the way there. You must stay here until I get to that point." And he indicates a point about a mile and a quarter away.

Alosaka departs, and when he reaches the point indicated the boys start in pursuit. Usually he is overtaken within ten or fifteen miles. As each boy overtakes him, he is seized and held until the others arrive. Alosaka may say, however, that he was just practicing and in that event another short race takes place. If he is soon overtaken the second time, he generally yields and they stop. At this time they have a light lunch of sweet corn meal dough which one of the boys has carried. A man on horseback has brought them water.

After eating they turn back to the mesa. All must run, picking soap-weed as they go. The boys must continue to run, even though exhausted. Each is accompanied, however, by two men, usually his father and uncle who care for him. As the boy picks the soap-weed he hands it to his father or uncle, who rolls it up and returns it to him to tie around his waist. The boys may not all arrive at the mesa before sundown.

At the line of the start each has deposited his ritual corn ear and the place has been left in the charge of some old man. When the boys return, they pick out their ritual ears from the pile and proceed to the mesa and

⁷ Hopi Journal.

⁸ R. H. Lowie, Notes on Hopi Clans. AMNH-AP, 30: 314, 1929.

⁹ Fire is made by two Agaves and two Horns (Fewkes and Stephen, 194-5).

¹⁰ Dr. Steward was also given an account of the initiation ritual proper which was described as like that of Powamu with a kachina sand painting and whipping by the Tunwub kachina. The account seems to me questionable as at this season kachina do not appear in Walpi.—E.C.P.

back to their kivas. No one may eat, however, until all have returned. Then the boys may go to their own houses for an ear of white corn and bring it back to the kiva to eat, kernel by kernel.

That night each boy has his hair washed by his "father" with the soapweed brought in. While this is being done the boy stands on a sand painting of clouds.¹¹ He is not allowed to fall asleep until each boy in the kiva has had his hair washed. That night all the women in Walpi must leave the town and find lodging in Sichumovi or Tewa. After the boys have had their hair washed, they leave their kivas and walk about Walpi "talking to bring them good luck." Two boys impersonate whirlpools and whirl their bodies around as they walk. All night the boys must continue to walk through the village, taking short rests, however, at intervals.

The following day the "fathers" of the boys who have been in the race commence to make moccasins for them.

While the novices of the Singers, Wöwöchim, and Horn societies have been racing, the Agave novices in Goat kiva have been required to remain in kiva all day. There they must sit against the wall, legs drawn up close to the stomach and arms flexed over the chest, wrapped tightly in a blanket. All day they must sit in this position and only when all of the racers have returned are they permitted to stand up and stretch themselves, when they are rubbed.

Two days after the racing trip for soapweed, the Agave novices have a race. This is to secure wood. Below the mesa on the east side is drawn the meal line. This time the boys are to be pursued by the old members of the Agave society. Each boy is held by his "father" until the signal to start. All start together. It is said that if some of the boys are good runners they may run fifteen or twenty miles before all are caught.

When all have been overtaken, they start back. On the return all walk, the boys picking up greasewood, which they carry on their backs. When they arrive at the mesa, they ascend by way of Tewa and proceed directly to Goat kiva.

The last night of the ceremony there is a fire dance in the court by the Agaves. Wood has been collected from each house for the fire. After sundown, as dusk¹² is approaching, the Agaves come out to dance. Their dance starts in the kiva, where they first stand in a circle, each man interlocking fingers with the man next to him. They must take great care not to lose their hold lest they have bad luck. In this way they proceed slowly up the

¹¹ Not observed by Stephen. See Fewkes and Stephen, 206.

¹² Dawn (Hopi Journal).

kiva ladder, to the plaza, and around the fire four times. They continue with interlocked fingers. They must proceed with great caution lest any man lose his grasp of his neighbor's hand. The dance is slow and deliberate and it is nearly dawn when the men are back in kiva.

Early the following morning the novices are taken by their ceremonial fathers to his (the "father's") mother's or sister's home. His mother and sisters wash the boy's hair and put corn meal on their own faces. They give the boy a *kömi* (a cake about 18.6x2 inches of sweet corn meal ground fine and made into dough). They also present him with a blanket or shirt, pants, etc., place the *kömi* on his back, and take him home to his own parents.

At this time the boy's mother must commence to grind blue corn into meal. When she has ground the equivalent of a tubful, packed solid, this is put into a container or tub and a pot is buried within the meal. This is returned to the "father's" mother and sisters, who have given the boy presents.

WINTER SOLSTICE CEREMONY

Auhalani, the *kachina* of the Patki clan who appears in this ceremony, a ceremony in charge of the Patki clan, was impersonated by Mauwa.¹³ When he died his nephew, Givina, was too young to take his place, so Givina's father, Náto of the Denyo (Pine) clan,¹⁴ has been substituting for him since 1924.

The blue corn ears in the basket trays carried by Auhalani's sisters in their public dance are given to Güya¹⁵ and Yuna¹⁶ of the Patki clan (Corn lineage). They place the ears on top of the corn store in their own houses "to bring the people good luck."

POWAMU

Although the Powamu ceremony is regarded as commencing with the first appearance of the new moon in the latter part of January or the first part of February, it is anticipated some time before this,—at approximately

¹³ Or Mawa. Patki clansman, and Sun chief or watcher. He died in 1924 (A Pueblo Indian Journal, 14). His uncle was Sikyaustiwa, who impersonated Auhalani in his day except when he was lame, when his son impersonated for him. So here we see in this impersonation of Auhalani at different periods a son impersonating for his father and a father impersonating for his son, both impersonations of course falling outside of the clan—temporarily.

¹⁴ A lineage of the Tewa Bear clan.

¹⁵ Lalakon chief, daughter of Koyanumka, daughter of Kwumawunsi. (Hopi Journal.) According to Lowie, 316, she is an adoptive daughter, actually of the Greasewood lineage of the Reed clan.

¹⁶ Lalakon chief. Another granddaughter of Kwumawunsi. (Hopi Journal.)

the preceding full moon. At this time Dalauwine,¹⁷ the Kachina chief, plants a box of corn¹⁸ in Chief kiva. This corn is to be carefully tended¹⁹ and is for Ahül kachina to distribute during his "rising" several days after the beginning of the ceremony.

January 22. On this day the new moon appeared. Kachina chief looked for it, but was unable to see it on account of clouds. He must actually see it.

January 23. The Kachina chief looked again for the moon and was successful in seeing it. This day²⁰ is not counted as part of the ceremony. The following day is the first day.

January 24. 1st day. On this day the chiefs have their hair washed and then enter Chief kiva, where they are to stay and take their meals during the following sixteen days. Among those who enter Chief kiva are Kála, Kachina chief, and Daláuwine, the brother who substitutes for him, Hó'oni, Crier chief and chief of Snake clan, and Harry Supela, his brother (cousin), who substitutes for him as Hó'oni is blind, Aña, the Sun watcher,²¹ Námuki, Singers chief, Múkto, head of Horn kiva, Lé'eteo,²² impersonator of Ahül kachina.

Prayer-stick Making Ritual

At night is performed the "raising up of the sun" in Chief kiva.²³ The part of Ahül, the Sun kachina, is taken by Lé'eto of the Rabbit clan. Ahül lies down late in the evening and then slowly commences to raise himself, singing as he is doing so, and putting on his mask. It takes all night for him to rise.

¹⁷ The office of Kachina chief, i.e., chief of the Kachina or Powamu society, is filled by the chief of the Kachina clan. Siwanekála or Kála is actual head of the Kachina clan and should therefore hold this position, but, as he is blind, the active duties are performed by his brother, Daláuwine. According to my informant the brother has preference over the nephew in matters of substitution and succession.

¹⁸ Beans. The corn is planted in the house of the Kachina clan mother. (Hopi Journal.)

¹⁹ Presumably the growth is an omen of the coming season. (See A Pueblo Indian Journal, 34.)

²⁰ In the evening, the smoke talk which in 1893 was in the maternal house, not of the Kachina chief, but in that of the Town chief (Horn clan chief and chief of the Flute society). (Hopi Journal.)

²¹ Patki clansman, older brother and successor to Mawa, after 1924. In 1920 Anga was referred to as a rain chief, performing a secret undescribed ritual with the chief of the Wintersolstice ceremony, also a Patki clansman. (See A Pueblo Indian Journal, 81, 87, 88, 89.)

²² Presumably Letaiyo, Tobacco (Rabbit) clansman, son of Intiwa formerly Kachina chief. (Hopi Journal.)

²³ Not observed by Stephen.

January 25. 2nd day. At daybreak Ahül kachina is accompanied by Daláuwine, Kachina chief, to the Gap north of Tewa. Here he dons his mask again and lies back against a rock facing toward the rising sun. As the sun comes up, he slowly raises his body, so that by the time the sun is above the horizon he is standing erect.

Daláuwine then conducts Ahül through the mesa, going ahead of him and sprinkling corn meal on the ground from a plaque. Ahül carries a fox-skin bag filled with corn meal, a hooked cane (because he is supposed to be very old), and the corn (and beans), which were planted in the middle of January.²⁴

These two proceed up the road from the Gap to Tewa. The places visited²⁵ are as follows:

1. Pendete (the corner kiva, Tewa).
2. Bear clan house, Tewa (where Satéle, Tewa Town chief lives).
3. Corn clan house, Tewa (owned by Námpañö, a woman).
4. Tobacco clan house, Tewa (owned by Ókan, a woman).
5. Kisuŋ or Court kiva, Tewa.
6. Corn clan house (owned by Hé'le, sister of Alan²⁶).
7. Bear clan house, Tewa (owned by a young woman²⁷).
8. Cloud clan house, Tewa (owned by Boléhuŋka, sister of Sa'ípa,²⁸ a man).
9. Stove kiva, Sichumovi.
10. Butterfly kiva, Sichumovi.
11. To a rock at the south end of Sichumovi.
12. Goat kiva (this and the following in Walpi).
13. Horn kiva.
14. Horn clan house.²⁹
15. Nasava³⁰ kiva.
16. Wikwalvi'³¹ kiva.
17. Chief kiva.

Ahül performs rites at each kiva and house visited. At Corner kiva of Tewa, the first visited, he climbs to the roof. Standing to the east of the

²⁴ Compare J. W. Fewkes, Hopi Katchinas, BAE-R, pls. 7 and 21; A Pueblo Indian Journal, fig. 16.

²⁵ Aside from the kivas, these are the houses in which the society tiponi or supreme fetiches are kept, the maternal houses of the society chiefs. Compare list of places visited in 1920 (A Pueblo Indian Journal, 47-48).

²⁶ In 1920 Corn clan chief and chief of Court kiva (A Pueblo Indian Journal, 113). In 1893 prayer-stick making for the Tewa clown society was held here. (Hopi Journal.)

²⁷ Here is kept the Bear kachina mask, the old man (wöye) of the Bear clan. (A Pueblo Indian Journal, 47.)

²⁸ Probably K'elang, chief of the Sumaikoli society. (*Ibid.*)

²⁹ Maternal house of Tü'ünó^e, the Town chief and chief of the Flute society.

hatch facing the opening, he bows down four times very slowly, saying "ha oooooooooo" in a falsetto which lasts to the limit of his breath. After this he takes a handful of the finely ground white corn meal from his sack and, bending down, pastes it on the lower side of the hatch. The kiva chief then comes out and sprinkles corn meal toward him four times, gives him four prayer-sticks, which the men in the kiva have made for him, and receives one of the nine bundles of corn (and beans) carried by Ahül.

This ritual is repeated at each kiva. Where, however, there is a Tobacco clan man in the kiva, he comes forth with the chief of the kiva and, standing in front of Ahül with a pipe, blows smoke toward him four times. At Corner kiva there is no Tobacco clan man. Both Corn and Tobacco clans, however, are represented at Court kiva, and also at Stove kiva, Sichumovi, so that the double ritual is performed at these kivas. At Corn clan house, the owner of the house sprinkles corn meal on Ahül four times, and at Tobacco clan house a man blows smoke toward him four times.

At each house Ahül pastes corn meal on the door, taking it in the palm of his hand and rubbing it from near the bottom of the door upward. The owner of the house then sprinkles corn meal on him, presents him with one prayer-stick, and thanks him. After Ahül has left, the corn meal is removed from the door and each householder rubs some of it on his face "for long life."

When Ahül arrives at his eleventh stop, the rock at the southern end of Sichumovi, he bows four times and sprinkles corn meal as he has done at each house. This is for the houses to the north, in Sichumovi, from which the people then come to sprinkle corn meal on him and to present him with prayer-sticks.

At the house of Tü'üno^o, Walpi Town chief, corn meal is sprinkled on Ahül and smoke blown toward him from a pipe, as there is always a Tobacco clan man in this house.

At Chief kiva, Ahül makes his final stop and performs the same ritual as at other kivas. First the Kachina chief, Kála, comes out of the kiva with the vessel of medicine water, which he sprinkles to the east, south, west, north, zenith, and nadir. Then Námuki, Singers chief,³⁰ comes out and blows smoke toward Ahül as has been done at other places visited where a Tobacco clan man is present. After this, Ahül is given four of the prayer-sticks which the chiefs have made on the first day in Chief kiva. The remainder are buried in the corn fields the following day, excepting four sticks kept permanently by Kachina chief which he repaints black each year.

³⁰ This ritual is performed by Námuki, not as Singers chief, but as Tobacco-Rabbit clan chief.

His tour of the mesa thus completed, Ahül descends to Kuwáwaimuvek³¹, where he bows four times toward the sun and places the prayer-sticks on the shrine with the prayer: "Give my children good luck, long life, happiness, health, good crops, etc."

On this day the planting of the beans commences. Every member of each kiva plants his own box of beans. These represent the corn fields and are omens for the coming crops. In order that those who are away at this time or for any reason are unable to plant may have the opportunity to do so, a period of four days of planting is allowed.

Pots, boxes, tin cans, or any convenient small containers are used. The sand for the purpose is procured from a sand slope, which now supports a small orchard of peach trees, east of Tewa just below the wagon road which ascends to the mesa. The beans are covered with one half to one inch of soil, watered regularly morning and evening, and carefully tended. Each man cares for his own beans, but all fetch wood, as the fire must be kept up to keep the kiva continuously warm.

On this day the chiefs in Chief kiva take the prayer-sticks made on the first day which are not already disposed of and bury them in their corn fields.

Many of the kiva members may now commence to weave, making kilts, sashes, and girdles for costumes to be worn in the kachina dances.

January 26-28. Beans may be planted.

February 1. 9th day. On this day (which is eight days after the beans have first been planted), Hahái'i wuqti³² and the Natá'aska³³ kachinas go around.

Daláuwine, acting Kachina chief, announces on this day that four days hence the children are to be whipped in their initiation to the kachinas.

The members of all the kivas commence to practice their songs and dances for the "Bean dance," Powamu kachina dance, which is to be held during the last night. The dancing is in the nature of a rehearsal and is done without masks.

The kiva members also commence to work on the presents—figurines, rattles, moccasins, etc.—which are to be distributed to the children on the morning of the final day.

Sufficient wood is now brought into the kivas to last until the end of the ceremony.

The children are taken into the kivas by their ceremonial fathers about

³¹ Shrine at the southwest point of mesa.

³² Compare Fewkes, pl. 7; A Pueblo Indian Journal, fig. 18.

³³ Compare Fewkes, pl. 9; A Pueblo Indian Journal, fig. 19.

three or four o'clock in the afternoon. The "father" is a man in any clan other than those of the child's true mother and father, to whom the child is "given" by his mother. The same "father" sponsors him in the Wöwöchim ceremony.

The "father" goes first to the boy's house and takes him to his own. Here he has made a small prayer-stick of four feathers tied to the end of a stick. He next selects a perfect ear of corn, to the end of which he fastens the prayer-stick. This is given to the child to carry. They now proceed to Chief kiva, where the chiefs have assembled.

As the children descend the ladder, a man stationed at its foot grasps them under the arms before they step on the ground; taking them in his arms, he passes them to a man at his right. In this manner they are passed along the western wall of the kiva to its southern end, and across the southern wall to the southeast corner. Here they are placed sitting on the floor in a row along the wall. When there is no more room along the southern wall, they are set along the western wall from south to north.

In the center of the dance space of the kiva is a sand painting of Dü'mas³⁴ kachina and her two sons, Duñwup³⁵ kachinas. This is surrounded by a rainbow in the shape of an arc. In front of the sand painting is a square pot of medicine made of hóñ'api roots.

Meanwhile three men who are to impersonate Dü'mas and Duñwup kachinas have descended to Kuwáwaimüvek'⁶, where they dress.³⁶ The Duñwup kachinas each carry willow switches in their right hands. Dü'mas kachina carries a plaque of corn meal. When they are ready, Dü'mas kachina calls to her children in a loud voice that may be heard on top of the mesa, "We are going up on top of the mesa to see our people. We are going to the kiva to see the children who do not obey their parents." Dü'mas kachina now walks rapidly, followed by her two sons who trot with short steps. When they arrive at Chief kiva, they go around it four times clockwise, and then enter. Inside the kiva they make a circuit four times in the same direction. The fourth time around, Dü'mas kachina stops at the ladder "so that nobody will run out."

When Dü'mas and Duñwup kachinas come to a stop (the latter, however, continuing their trot as a sort of mark-time), Kachina chief asks them why they have come. Dü'mas kachina motions toward the children and says, "They do not obey their mothers and fathers. We are going to help you old people so that they will mind you." Kachina chief replies, "Of course they

³⁴ Compare Fewkes, pl. 7; *A Pueblo Indian Journal*, fig. 21.

³⁵ Compare Fewkes, pl. 7; *A Pueblo Indian Journal*, fig. 22.

³⁶ These parts are taken by any members of Chief kiva.

do not mind us. But I would rather be on my own children's side than on your side. They do not mind us, but I will take care of my children." Dū'mas kachina insists, however, that the children must be made to obey, and Kachina chief yields. But he asks them not to use the willows to whip the children. The kachinas consent to this and yucca blades, which have already been brought to the kiva for the purpose, are substituted. Kachina chief then says, "They do not mind us, so we will let you try to make them obey. We will let you force them to keep these things a secret [i.e., the initiation]. But you have to whip me before you can do it to my children." Kachina chief now steps to the middle of the sand painting and faces toward the north. One Duṇwup kachina stands in front of him, the other behind him. He bows and the one to the south strikes him on the back four times with the yucca whip, whirling the whip above his head after each blow. The Duṇwup kachinas then change places, and the other whips him in this manner.

The whipping of the children now commences. The first child to enter the kiva, i.e., the one sitting in the southeast corner, is taken first. He steps to the painting and faces toward the north. His "father" stands in front of him and as the child bows, his "father" leans over him and grasps him around the body under the arms. The Duṇwup kachina standing behind the child, to the south, now whips him four times, whirling the whip after each blow. Each time he is whipped, his "mother"³⁷ sprinkles corn meal toward him. As the Duṇwup kachinas change around, the "father" takes the child's place and is whipped four times by the other Duṇwup. Kachina chief then comes forward and gives the neophyte four drinks of hóṇlapi in a scallop shell. The neophyte now returns to his seat on the floor and the next child steps forward to be whipped.

After the last child has been whipped, four or six Goyemshi kachinas come out of a door in the southwest corner of the kiva. They have gone in there before the ritual commenced and remained hidden throughout. The Goyemshi carry corn tied into bundles of four. One bundle is given to each child.

Kachina chief now takes the whip from the Duṇwup kachinas and says, "This is the way we initiate to the kachinas. You children must not tell how this thing is done to other children who have not been initiated. If you do tell, these kachinas will come around to you and whip you until they cut your flesh." The children have been well frightened and never tell.

The "father" of each neophyte now takes one of the four feathers from the ritual ear and stick which the child still holds and ties the feather to the

³⁷ His "father's" wife.

top of his head. Kachina chief tells them that they may not eat salt for four days. Early in the morning of each of the next four days the initiate takes one of the feathers, together with some corn meal, and goes to the shrine at the head of the trail leading down the mesa from Sichumovi. The corn meal is held close to the mouth and addressed: "Give me long life so that I may become very old. Give me happiness. Always keep sickness from me." The corn meal is then placed on the shrine. The feather which was tied in the hair is also deposited, and the child runs back to his house. Another feather is then taken from the ritual ear and stick, and tied on his head. This performance is repeated at dawn for four mornings. As the last morning is the one before the "Bean" dance, the child must make his offerings and prayer to the shrine before the kachinas appear to distribute presents.

Henceforth the boys may take part in the kiva activities and impersonate kachinas.

After the whipping of the children, Kachina chief gives Dü'mas and Duṇwup kachinas each a handful of turkey feathers, which he tells them are clouds and requests them to "take these home to their people and ask them to send rain and good crops." The kachinas take the feathers and leave the kiva, circling it four times, the Duṇwup kachina still trotting (which they have continued throughout the performance), and then go down to Kuwá-waimuvek⁶. When they arrive, Dü'mas kachina places the feathers on the shrine and addresses a prayer to the Clouds: "Here, we have brought you these feathers which our fathers handed to us to ask you to bring rain to the crops and make them grow." The Duṇwup kachinas then place their feathers on the shrine and say the same prayer. These three kachinas now disrobe, wrap their costumes and masks in blankets, and return with them to Chief kiva.

In the evening the kiva members practice the various kachina dances, especially the maskless Powamu kachina. Two of the kivas, however, do masked kachina dances, dancing at each kiva.

It is said that when the kiva groups make the rounds to dance they are "visiting to see how the plants (i.e., the bean sprouts) are growing." When they arrive at each kiva, they may be heard talking and muttering in a falsetto. The head of the kiva then calls, yún̄ya-ai (come in) and is answered by "hu-hu-hu-hu" in a falsetto. As the dancers enter, they always pass around to the right, i.e., the west, of the ladder, where someone sprinkles corn meal after each man. The leader of the dancers presents to the head of each kiva a perfect ear of blue corn. These ears are kept by him for planting. As the dancers pass around the end of the kiva where the beans are growing, they shake their rattles just over the tops of the sprouts.

One group of dancers came from Kisun kiva³⁸ and impersonated Sio (Zuñi) Humis kachina.³⁹ There were no female impersonations. The dancers entered the kiva, filed around to the right of the ladder, and took their places around the wall in the dance space to await the signal to commence the dance. The signal was given by the leader, who stood in the middle of the row of dancers and shook his rattle vigorously. The step was executed in double time, the left foot being thrust out, the right foot lifted several inches above the floor. The dancers shook rattles carried in their right hands to the time of the music.

Another group of dancers from Horn kiva made the rounds of the mesa and impersonated Ma kachina.⁴⁰ The masks of Ma kachina had white faces with "rabbit sticks" in the form of a black crescent on each cheek. The dancers carried a rattle in the right hand and a bow and arrow in the left. There were fourteen or fifteen of these dancers who formed a single straight row the length of the kiva in the middle of the dance space. The step was like that described for Powamu kachina below, and the dancers faced about at short intervals.

February 5. 13th day. At dawn the children who have been initiated to the kachinas must take a feather and corn meal to the shrine as described above.

In addition to the practice for the Powamu kachina dance, two more kivas made the rounds on the evening of this day: Horn kiva danced Navaho kachina⁴¹ and Chief kiva danced Mountain sheep kachina.⁴² The Navaho kachina, upon entering the kiva, passed around to the right of the ladder, stamping the right foot three times, then the left foot, until all were in place, when the leader shook his rattle as a signal to commence the dance. The step was like that described below for the Powamu kachina. There were female impersonations.

In Mountain sheep kachina, each carried a stick, which was used as a cane when entering. The step was executed in double time. While dancing, they moved the hands back and forth across the chest: the right hand with the stick was raised when the left heel was lifted.

February 6. 14th day. The children again went to the shrines at dawn.

Only one kachina dance was given on this evening. Wikwalvi⁴³ kiva gave Aña (Long hair) kachina.⁴³ As these dancers entered the kivas, they

³⁸ From now on Dr. Steward is eye-witness.

³⁹ Compare Fewkes, pl. 5.

⁴⁰ This is the "Hunt" kachina. Compare Fewkes, pl. 49.

⁴¹ Compare Fewkes, pls. 27, 36; A Pueblo Indian Journal, fig. 34.

⁴² Compare Fewkes, pl. 40.

⁴³ Compare Fewkes, pl. 32; A Pueblo Indian Journal, fig. 26.

passed around to the right of the ladder and as soon as each had stepped down to the dance space, he stamped his right foot three times, then his left one as he moved on to take his position preparatory to dancing. The male impersonations were followed by six female impersonations, carrying a spruce twig in each hand. All danced in a single straight row the length of the kiva and without drum.

February 7. 15th day. The children make their third offering to the shrines at dawn.

Wikwalvi⁴¹ kiva again performed in the evening, dancing Chaqwáina kachina. This dance was similar to that described for Navaho kachina. Each dancer carried a rattle in his right hand and a bow and arrows in his left with which he motioned while dancing.⁴⁴

February 8. 16th day. At dawn the children who have been initiated to the kachinas make their fourth and last trip to the shrines. They return quickly to their houses and soon after the sun has risen, the kachinas who are to distribute presents may be seen running or hobbling about the mesa. Among these kachinas were Huhuwa,⁴⁵ who runs cross-legged, Kwívi,⁴⁶ the "sport," so named because he wears a great deal of silver, Héhe⁴⁷, who carries a rope which he whirls as he goes, Hu, Bear, and Pañwu⁴⁸, Mountain sheep.

The presents carried by the kachinas to the children are kachina dolls, highly colored rattles with turkey feathers, moccasins, and bundles of bean sprouts. The beans growing in the kivas have been cut at dawn and done up into little bundles, one of which is given at each household with the presents. The beans have reached a good height and are regarded as a favorable omen of the coming crops. After being presented at the houses, they are cooked up and served for breakfast. I was served⁴⁸ with a savory mess of these sprouts cooked with an ear of white corn.

The kachinas continued to run or hobble up and down the mesa, their bells jingling or turtle shell rattles clicking until about breakfast time. About this time three men, naked but for breech clouts, appeared running wildly about the mesa, emitting loud whoops. These were three of the beggars, Soyukö, who were later to make the rounds of the mesa. They stopped for a moment at a puddle between Walpi and Sichumovi to break the ice and bathe and then ran tumultuously away.

⁴⁴ At midnight the beans are cut. Watching them in vaticination has ceased this afternoon. (A Pueblo Indian Journal, 51.)

⁴⁵ Compare Fewkes, pl. 21.

⁴⁶ Compare A Pueblo Indian Journal, fig. 35.

⁴⁷ Compare Fewkes, pl. 11; A Pueblo Indian Journal, fig. 20.

⁴⁸ I arrived on the Mesa late February 6; but I was not admitted to the kivas until February 8, and then only to the public performances.

All was quiet now until about ten o'clock in the morning, when the Soyukö appeared. These were Haha'i'wuqti and Nata'aska, accompanied by several other kachinas returning to the houses of the children "for the rabbits" which on the ninth day they had ordered the children to catch for them. The eleven Soyukö filed through the villages in the following order:

- Hahái'i wuqti, the "mother of the kachinas." (Fewkes, pl. 12.)
- Nata'aska, the "father of the kachinas." (Fewkes, pl. 12.)
- Nata'aska mána, the "sister of the kachinas." (Fewkes, pl. 12.)
- 2 Héhe'°.
- 3 Nata'aska kúmbi (black Nata'aska).
- 2 Nata'aska kócha (white Nata'aska).
- Nata'aska pála (red Nata'aska).

There were three groups of Soyukö, all the same and one from each village, but all in each group from the same kiva. The privilege of taking these parts rotates among the kivas in each village. This year Walpi was represented by Goat kiva; Sichumovi, by Butterfly kiva; and Tewa, by Pendete.

As the Soyukö went through the villages, they muttered and talked in falsetto voices. From house to house they went, and at each door Hahái'i woman addressed the child: "We have come for the rabbit which we told you to kill for us." It was said to have been customary for the children to bring forth a mouse on the end of a stick and say, "You did not come back when you said you would, so this is all we have left." Although I observed the Soyukö at many houses, I did not see any mice offered them. Hahái'i woman said: "We have come for you. You have been bad. You do not mind your parents. You are mean to other children and are always fighting." The child having cowered behind his mother or hidden in a corner at the first approach of the Soyukö now cringed away and cried with terror. The mother attempted to buy off the Soyukö with gifts. First a plaque of corn meal was offered, which the Soyukö accepted and turned over to the Héhe'°, who put it in a large sack carried for the purpose. Not satisfied with this, they continued to talk and threaten, and the two Héhe'° went into the house with their ropes after the child, often slipping the rope over his foot or around his waist and pretending to tug at it. The child screamed in terror and Hahái'i woman continued to mutter and threaten, and Nata'aska angrily to stamp his staff on the ground. Meanwhile the black Nata'aska, who stood in the background marched forward and backward, always muttering and dragging their saws on the ground. About this time the mother presented the Soyukö some waferbread, but, still unsatisfied, they continued their menacing attitude. Pieces of mutton, which were

turned over to Nata'aska maid to carry in the tin wash boiler which she held on her back generally appeased them and they departed, still mumbling and muttering, to the next house to repeat the performance. Frequently the Héhe^e lagged behind, stumbling with their sacks, tripping on their own ropes, or performing some clownish stunt.

After the houses of the villages had thus been accosted, the Soyukö carried their assault to the kivas. In Sichumovi they went first to Stove kiva. While the black Nata'aska remained on the ground, the others climbed to the roof and demanded food of the inmates of the kiva. These seemed defiant, and a long conversation followed, to the great amusement of the large crowd of villagers (mostly women) which had gathered to witness the proceedings. Only bit by bit did the kiva satisfy the requests of the Soyukö. Meanwhile the Héhe^e capered on the roof and tried to lasso every kiva occupant who dared thrust his head through the hatch.

Finally satisfied at Stove kiva, they went to Butterfly kiva—their own—which immediately adjoins the former. There they were told to wait and that some girls would be ready for them. They went away to a house in Sichumovi and soon returned to Butterfly kiva.

When the Soyukö returned, instead of girls, several young men were sent out of the kiva to greet them. This caused considerable mirth among the spectators. Then five young boys—ranging in age from approximately ten or twelve to sixteen—came out, with blackened faces and clad in dresses and girls' hats. A roar of laughter greeted this.

Everybody now went to the court in Sichumovi and here the five "girls" played basket ball⁴⁹ with the three Héhe^e. The referee wore a long beard and had a whistle hung around his neck. The game was spirited and boisterous and no attention whatever was paid either to the rules of the game or to the referee. The Héhe^e were full of buffoonery, and soon the game degenerated into a rough-and-tumble.

After the basket ball game the Soyukö returned to the kiva, followed by the crowd. Here the kiva members lined up and sang, accompanied by a drum, while the Héhe^e danced, "American" fashion, with the "negro girls," hopping about with a nondescript step. One "girl" took Nata'aska to dance, while one of the Héhe^e singled out a fat old woman from the crowd. The last two capered with great verve, but the woman was soon left panting and exhausted. She was rewarded with a leg of mutton from

⁴⁹ The American game, with baskets rigged up high at each end of the court. In 1893 the game played was *sünwúwĩñpa*, in which the ball is attached to a looped string, the player lying on his back, with the loop over his great toe, and slinging ball and loop high over his head. Played by kiva chief and two others against the Heheya. (Hopi Journal.)

the Soyukö collection of spoils. During the dance a Héhe^e tried to run away with one of the "girls"—the Héhe^e are believed to be very fond of girls—but was brought back by the headman of the kiva.

The dance was over about 5 P.M. and the dancers and the Soyukö retired to the kiva and the crowd dispersed.⁵⁰

After the Soyukö retired, all was quiet. The women cooked supper and the men prepared for the Powamu dance or "bean dance," which was to be held later in the evening.

About 9:30 I went into Kisun kiva in Tewa, where I found a dozen or more men, some sleeping or smoking, some practicing their songs or preparing their regalia. As the dancing was not to start until two or three o'clock in the morning, I lounged and watched preparations. As I waited, Satéle (Tewa Town chief) came in and addressed me as "grandson." I observed that at the south end of the kiva there were about fifteen boxes, pots, cans, etc., in which corn sprouts about one foot high were growing. These were to be cut the following morning, but in order to conceal them, as well as various kachina masks hanging on the wall at that end of the kiva, from the eyes of the uninitiated, a curtain was hung across the kiva.

Most of the members of each kiva participate in the Powamu kachina or "bean dance." Thus each kiva has usually twenty to thirty dancers. Each kiva, except Nasava^e kiva in Walpi, which has not sufficient members, sends out a group of dancers. Thus eight groups of dancers make the rounds of the mesa, dancing once in each kiva. A spectator remaining in one kiva therefore witnesses eight separate "acts."

The audience is made up almost entirely of women, who bring their children, even small babies. Men too old to dance, as well as the kiva head, who officiates as host during the dances, also attend. There are in addition usually a number of visitors,—Hopi from the other mesas, even Indians from other tribes. This year there were two Zuñi men and a woman, and a number of white visitors, mostly from the agency or school.

The dancers occupy the larger end of the kiva, while the spectators sit packed and huddled together on the raised portion to which the ladder descends,—usually the north, but in a few kivas the east, end.

Seven of the kivas danced Powamu kachina.⁵¹ Horn kiva danced Flute

⁵⁰ When the Soyukö came to the house of my informant, his son who is quite proficient in speaking Navaho, was brought out of the closet where he had been hiding and told to answer them in Navaho: "I can't understand your language and do not know what you are talking about. So go away and don't bother me." This was taken by the Soyukö with a laugh, but they were none the less insistent and gave him rather more than his share of plugging.

⁵¹ Compare Fewkes, pls. 14, 22.

kachina.⁵² During the evening the men prepared their regalia and paint. The first stripped and painted themselves. The right shoulder and left forearm were painted bluish green; the left shoulder and right forearm, tan; and the remainder of the body above the waist, red. On each upper arm were painted two longitudinal stripes, one of bluish green, the other of tan, and two similar stripes were painted longitudinally on each side of the breast. The legs were also painted red with two stripes on each.

On the head were worn three "squash blossoms." These were made of corn husks and had three petals each, each petal painted red and green. Most of these had been prepared during the evening. The collar consisted of longitudinal sections of straw separated by pieces of black "leather (?)." A red bandoleer crossed from the right shoulder to the left hip. The common white cotton kilt was worn, and an embroidered sash hung over it from the right hip. Moccasins completed the dress. In addition to this, all available jewelry was utilized. Each man wore all the necklaces he could procure—turquoise and coral were most esteemed—and many bracelets. A rattle was carried in the right hand; the left hand was free.

Approximately half of each group of dancers were dressed in this way. The other half represented Powamu kachina maids, sisters of the Powamu kachina. Many of these were dressed in regulation woman's garb—dark dress, woman's girdle, blanket, moccasins, and wrapped leggings—and had their hair whorled. Some wore short skirts, hats, and high-heeled shoes, one even carrying a purse. Others merely slung blankets over their shoulders and did not even remove their riding-boots. Sombreros and cartridge belts with six-shooters hung about their waists outside the blankets completed the incongruity of several "maids." Each "maid" wore on his forehead a circular sunflower about four inches in diameter made of pleated paper and held a spruce twig in front of his face with his left hand.

Most of the groups of dancers had, among the Powamu kachina maids, one or two "women" with Hehe'e-like masks with long chins. These "women" were always raggedly attired in a miscellany of old clothes, and carried canes.

At about midnight a man entered Kisun kiva to announce that the kachina were ready and were coming. He returned at about one o'clock to make the same announcement, and again an hour later. Shortly before 3 A.M. the dancers, now in full regalia, performed their dance and left the kiva. The spectators crowded in.

Soon shouts and talking in falsetto voices could be heard from the roof, and the kiva chief who acted as host, as well as one or two other men with

⁵² Compare Fewkes, pl. 39.

him, set up a shout of "Yunya ai, yunya ai!" ("Come in, come in!") The Powamu male kachina entered first, followed by the female. Last of all came the females wearing the Hehe'e-like masks. They furnished the main comic element, stumbling down the ladder and joking with the spectators. A young man who had been standing near the ladder and gazing up at these "girls" as they descended received a severe tap on the head by one of them with "her" cane by way of chastisement.

As the dancers entered, they passed around to the right or west of the ladder, where a young girl tossed a pinch of corn meal after each one from a plaque she held in her lap. As the stove had been removed, the whole south end of the kiva was available for dancing. The dancers passed around the end of the kiva and along the eastern wall. When the dancers had taken their position, the chief of the kiva stepped up to the leader of the dancers and conversed for a few moments in a low tone. He then received an ear of black corn from him and retired to his seat near the ladder.

At a signal from the leader, the men commenced to shake their rattles, slowly at first, then increasing in speed until a lively cadence was reached and the dance began, accompanied by singing. The men sang naturally, the "women" in falsetto.

All but two of the groups were without drums (each of these two had an extra man, who was always last to enter and to leave the kiva, to carry and beat the drum). The dance consisted of short, light steps, the right foot being raised slightly higher than the left and stamped on the ground with each shake of the rattle.

At the south end of the kiva, a Powamu kachina male and "maid" joined hands and danced slowly toward the ladder. With the same step they danced backward to the south end again and then forward, when a second couple joined hands and followed them. When the first couple reached the ladder again, they held their joined hands aloft and separated, each taking his place at the end of his line. In this manner, the two files of dancers slowly moved toward the south end of the kiva.

Each kiva group danced in this way, and although each had a different song, most of the endings were substantially the same: he he he he ha ha ha.

The Hehe'e-like female masks furnished the comic element throughout. The dances each lasted about fifteen minutes, during which a falsetto muttering could be heard on the roof.

When the dance was over, the dancers filed out around the eastern side of the kiva, in the same order in which they had entered. In a few minutes talking on the roof announced the arrival of the next group of dancers, and they were invited to enter.

The body paint of the Flute kachina⁵³ from Horn kiva was the same as that of the Powamu kachina. The dress differed only in the lack of the red bandoleer and the addition of a rectangular plaque bordered with white zigzags and trimmed with red horsehair, which was worn on the back. In the center of this plaque were two perpendicular stripes, one red and one green, on each side of which were rows of dots. The decorations on two of the plaques differed from the others in that one had simply a rain symbol, while the other had a crescent moon, above which was a five-pointed star. These dancers wore no masks but had tied in their hair many short, cup-like flowers—"buttermilks"—and short, fluffy turkey feathers.

The dance step of Flute kachina was the same as that of Powamu kachina except that it was executed in double time. The mass movements of the dancers were the same as those of Powamu kachina except that the couples coming together did not join hands but both faced east and danced sideways to the north end of the kiva, then faced about to the west and danced back, and finally faced east and danced to the ladder again, when they separated and the next couple started out.

The dancing ended at about 6 A.M., and the audience left the kivas.

February 9. 17th day. The men now returned to their kivas after having had breakfast at home. Some, however, had remained in the kivas where they were brought food by the women. This food was "in payment" for the gifts given to the children on the preceding day.

Early in the morning the corn which had been growing in the kivas was cut and prepared for use in the ceremonies on this day. The men who were to impersonate kachinas got ready.

Two men from Chief kiva who were to impersonate Hé'e'e⁵⁴ and Éototo kachinas⁵⁵ now carried their regalia to Kuwáwaimovek^o, where they dressed. Hé'e'e wore a woman's dress. Only one side of his hair was whorled, for "when they were fixing it up a war started and he got excited so that they could not finish." Éototo was dressed entirely in white.

⁵³ Said to be a Laguna representation.

⁵⁴ Hé'e'e has been impersonated by Le'eteo since he was a boy. Any man from Chief kiva may impersonate Éototo. This year the part was taken by Jean La'pa. Le'eteo is La'pa's uncle, Rabbit clan. Compare Fewkes, pl. 11; A Pueblo Indian Journal, fig. 31.

⁵⁵ Éototo is a kachina of the Kokop clan and his mask is kept at the house of the chief of the Kokop clan, Mauhu—"Éototo stays at Mauhu's house." La'pa is the ceremonial father of Mauhu.—J. H. Steward.

As such he was no doubt appointed to Mauhu to impersonate Eototo. In 1892 and 1893 Kokop clansmen impersonated Éototo. The guardianship of Éototo entitles the Kokop clan chief or Éototo chief as he may be referred to, to place among the high chiefs. (Hopi Journal.)—E. C. Parsons.

Compare Fewkes, pl. 14; A Pueblo Indian Journal, fig. 40.

Hé'e'e now started up the trail to the mesa, singing as he went. His song was finished when he neared the top, and he returned to Kuwáwaimuvek'e. Éototo now started up the trail, also singing, and when he approached the top his song was finished and he returned. Hé'e'e now started out again, singing as before, but got all the way to the top of the mesa before he turned back. When he arrived at Kuwáwaimuvek'e, Éototo set forth again and went the same distance.

Lá'pa and Le'eteo were accompanied to Kuwáwaimuvek'e by Kála, Kachina chief, and Daláuwine (his brother substitute), Aṇa, and Máuhu (chief of the Kokop clan). While Éototo and He'e'e ascended and descended the trail to the mesa, these men remained at Kuwáwaimuvek'e and smoked as prayers for rain.

Thus Éototo and Hé'e'e alternated all day, going a little further each trip. The third time they reached the shrine at the top of the trail. The fourth trip they approached the edge of Walpi. The fifth trip they went to the top of the southernmost kivas in Walpi. On the sixth trip they reached the dance plaza. On the seventh trip they went to Chief kiva.

Meanwhile Kachina impersonators from every kiva had been going through the villages, all day. Among them were: Mountain sheep (who whipped people on the back with a yucca lash); Óhoho⁵⁶ (so-called from his cry); Cháhavio;⁵⁷ Lapúqtⁱ⁵⁸ (who "talks back"); Kó'kō (Prairie dog owl, who goes about all day saying "kuku, kuku"); Dachokt^u ("Ball-headed"); Kówiyemci⁵⁹ ("Mud head"); Telávai⁶⁰ ("Morning"); Ówa⁶¹ (who says "owa, owa"); Má'lo⁶² ("Canes"); Chósbushiyaka⁶³ (with a turquoise nose pendant); Kókopülü⁶⁴ (who "bends over"); two Wó'ǵ⁶⁵ (one with a drum, the other with a rattle, who went about dancing); Pü'ükon⁶⁶ (war god kachina); Wúpamu;⁶⁷ Hülülü;⁶⁸ Otótna; Flute; Kwásu kale taka;⁶⁹ Bükónya

⁵⁶ Compare A Pueblo Indian Journal, fig. 36.

⁵⁷ Compare Fewkes, pl. 13; A Pueblo Indian Journal, fig. 27.

⁵⁸ Compare Fewkes, pl. 25.

⁵⁹ Compare Fewkes, pls. 16, 45; A Pueblo Indian Journal, fig. 28. Generally identified with Dachokt^u.

⁶⁰ Compare Fewkes, pl. 20.

⁶¹ Compare Fewkes, pl. 20.

⁶² Compare Fewkes, pl. 21.

⁶³ Compare Fewkes, pl. 24.

⁶⁴ Compare Fewkes, pl. 25.

⁶⁵ Compare Fewkes, pl. 6.

⁶⁶ Compare Fewkes, pl. 29.

⁶⁷ Compare Fewkes, pl. 31.

⁶⁸ Compare Fewkes, pl. 6.

⁶⁹ Compare Fewkes, pl. 47.

(who carried and swung a bull roarer). There was one other kachina who carried a gourd, from which he poured water on people's heads. These kachinas are said to be all "brothers." From time to time they returned to their kivas to report Hé'e'e's whereabouts and were said to be "looking for Hé'e'e kachina." Eight Horn society members dressed in white and wearing large ram horns, marched up and down the mesa in single file.

Éototo made but seven trips to the mesa. Hé'e'e on his eighth trip went all the way to the southern end of the mesa beyond Walpi. From here he climbed to the highest point on the whole mesa, Wopákochovi, and then proceeded to Sísuwapakichovi, the house-top from which announcements are made. Here he whirled his quiver, east, south, west, and north, and then all the way around, crying, "Ooooooo." After this he returned to Kuwáwaimuvek'^e. All day neither Éototo nor Hé'e'e had eaten. At this time the six men at Kuwáwaimuvek'^e were permitted to eat, partaking of salt and meat, which none of them had been allowed for four days.

Hé'e'e made his last trip about five o'clock in the afternoon. Meanwhile Dü'mas kachina and her two sons, Duṅwup kachina, had dressed in Chief kiva and at Hé'e'e's seventh trip, had gone below the mesa on the western side to get Gwitok kachina, who had dressed there. Gwitok kachina⁷⁰ is said to live below the mesa on this side. Gwitok kachina wears a blanket of wild-cat skin and a mask with hair hanging down behind. One or two men accompanied him below the mesa to aid him in dressing.

When Hé'e'e mounted to Sísuwapakichovi, all the people had to go inside their houses and stay there, for at this time the corn was carried from the kivas to Kuwáwaimuvek'^e. Hé'e'e returned to Kuwáwaimuvek'^e and Dü'mas, the Duṅwup and Gwitok kachinas commenced to ascend to the mesa from the west. Dü'mas preceded and was followed by her two sons, and finally Gwitok kachina. As Dü'mas walked, she called in a falsetto voice to her sons, telling them to "keep up," and the boys replied that they were coming. On top of the mesa they walked around through Walpi and then descended to Kuwáwaimuvek'^e, where the boys and girls who were to participate in the following ceremony had assembled.

During this time the people in the villages had remained indoors, their doors locked and windows covered, not daring to look out. This was to prevent their seeing the corn as it was carried down to Kuwáwaimuvek'^e. Those who were dilatory in going inside were whipped and driven in by kachinas. From time to time kachinas pounded and beat the doors and windows, causing laughter among the women but great terror among the young, uninitiated children.

⁷⁰ Gwitok was impersonated by Sána, of Chief kiva and the Kokop clan. Sána is Mauhu's uncle.

The corn sprouts from the kivas had been carried down to Kuwáwaimuvek'^o in large bundles by the kiva members. Finally when Dü'mas, the two Duṇwup, and Gwitok kachinas arrived, it was made up into large stacks or í'pi. Four sticks, three or four feet long, were laid crosswise and a core of grass tied up with yucca was placed in the center of these. Around the base of this core of grass were laid ears of corn of all colors. The corn sprouts were then tied up into small bundles affixed to the ends of short sticks, üyi (plants), which were thrust into the yucca so as to cover it completely, the green corn standing out from all sides. These stacks of corn were approximately three feet high and of equal diameter. As each kiva had one í'pi, there were in all, nine í'pi. Harry Supela had made nine ^uyi, one of which he put in each í'pi. The í'pi were now placed in a row, north and south. By each í'pi was placed a bundle of four ears of corn, brought by the girls (see below).

The chiefs and kachinas now lined up in the following order: Daláuwine, Harry Supela, Hé'e'e, Éototo, Dü'mas, and two Duṇwup and Gwitok kachinas. This procession now walked four times around the row of í'pi, each man touching each í'pi once as he went around.

After this preliminary they were ready to ascend to the mesa. Those just named proceeded in the above order and were followed by the bearers of the í'pi. These were the boys who had been through the Wöwöchim ceremony the preceding fall and now impersonated any kachina they desired. They had impersonated their chosen kachina all day on the mesa. If there is more than one Wöwöchim novice for any kiva, they all assist in carrying the í'pi. If there are not enough novices, one from a former Wöwöchim initiation serves. Each boy was accompanied by a girl⁷¹ who was dressed as the maid of that kachina. This year there were ten boys and nine girls. For practical purposes, the í'pi, which were quite heavy, were carried to the top of the trail by any unmasked men of sufficient strength. At the top of the trail, however, they must be taken over by the Wöwöchim novices in kachina dress and their kachina maids.

As the procession advanced, Harry Supela sprinkled corn meal from a sack and the kachinas and kachina maids followed singing and dancing.

When they arrived at the top of the trail, Harry Supela made nine cloud symbols, omauveta, with corn meal, at the top of the trail, on which the í'pi were to be set. These were made for the different kivas in the following order, north to south: Pendete, Kisun, Stove, Butterfly, Goat, Horn, Nasava'e, Wikwalvi'i, Chief. The clouds were represented with the rain falling toward the north. The boys and girls were lined up in the same

⁷¹ These girls must be Hopi. They may be of any age. They are invited to take these parts by Daláuwine, Supela, or any of the Hopi chiefs.

order carrying the *i'pi*, the boy on the left, the girl on the right. The tied corn ears were carried by the extra boy, or if there was but one to each *i'pi*, it was carried for him by a kachina. These passed along the line of cloud signs, the boys on the left of them, the girls on the right, holding the *i'pi* directly over them, until the Chief kiva novices came to the last cloud sign. All were now in place and set the *i'pi* on the cloud signs with the tied corn ears on their north sides. *Dü'mas*, *Duñwup*, and *Gwitok* kachinas now went around four times (see fig. 1), led by Harry Supela. As the kachinas passed the *i'pi*, the boys stepped between the *i'pi* and grasped the top of their own, and Harry Supela sprinkled corn meal on each *i'pi* while the kachinas touched each one. This was done four times. Meanwhile other kachinas who had been active during the day were on hand to guard the *i'pi* lest they blow over or some evil befall them.

The *i'pi* were now taken up again and the procession moved on to a point near *Walpi* where this performance was repeated. Cloud signs were made, the *i'pi* set down, and four circuits made by Harry Supela and the kachinas. They then moved on again to the first houses in *Walpi*, where the same ritual was gone through.

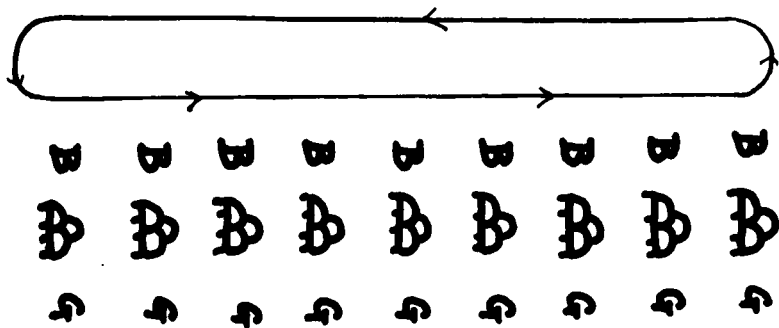


FIG. 1. Cloud signs and circuit by kachinas. Arrow = circuit followed by kachinas in walking four times around to touch the *i'pi*; B = boy; G = girl.

This was repeated the fourth time in the same manner at *Kisonbi*, the dance plaza in the center of *Walpi*.

When the kachinas and *Wöwöchim* novices started up the trail with the corn, the people who had been confined to their houses were now permitted to come out and witness the ceremony. When the *i'pi* were set down the fourth time on the cloud signs, Harry Supela requested them to "cover up" the children who had not been initiated to the kachinas, so that they should not see the remainder of the performance.

After the ritual had been gone through for the fourth time, some masked

man picked up the *iʔpi* belonging to his kiva and held it on his right shoulder. Some other man from that kiva, not in mask, now ran up and took it from him, carrying it as quickly as possible toward the kiva. He ran as rapidly as possible with the heavy load, while men followed to pick up any pieces that might have dropped. Others from his kiva ran with him, relieving one another. The tied corn ears were carried by one of the men. The kivas must carefully guard their *iʔpi* and tied corn ears, for if any part were dropped it might be appropriated by another kiva. Thus Chief kiva lost its tied corn ears, which fell into the hands of Kisun kiva. This was supposed to have brought the latter good luck in their crops, the former poor luck.

After the *iʔpi* and tied corn ears were removed and taken to the kivas, the boys and girls remained standing by the cloud signs. Harry Supela then led the kachinas and the boys and girls around the cloud signs four times, sprinkling meal on the clouds each time. After this all returned to Kuwáwaimuvek'^o and removed their regalia. The girls went to their homes, the boys to their kivas.

At their kivas the men dismantled the *iʔpi*, giving *üyi* to each man. The ears of corn were taken to the girls who had impersonated the kachina maids. These ears were to be used by the girls for planting the following season. The men took the corn sprouts to their fields, where they were buried for good luck.