

*History, Department of*  
*HOPI NATION: Essays on Indigenous Art,*  
*Culture, History, and Law*

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University of Nebraska - Lincoln

Year 2008

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HOPI NATION: Essays on Indigenous  
Art, Culture, History, and Law [complete  
work]

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# HOPI NATION

Essays on Indigenous Art, Culture, History, and Law









# HOPI NATION

Essays on Indigenous Art, Culture, History, and Law

*EDITED BY*

Edna Glenn  
John R. Wunder  
Willard Hughes Rollings  
and C. L. Martin

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Set in Georgia and Maiandra GD types. Design and composition by Paul Royster.

*Frontispiece*, Figure 1. Photograph  
Owen Seumptewa. 1981  
(Courtesy of the photographer, Second Mesa, Arizona)



## An Editor's Note to *Hopi Nation*

This E-book would not have been possible without an over twenty-five year determination to see it through by many people. Foremost is its primary editor, Edna Glenn, art historian at Texas Tech University. She was the driving force that helped gather a diverse group of Hopis and non-Hopis on a blustery spring day in Lubbock, Texas, in 1981. It was a time to celebrate the Hopi Tricentennial, a commemoration of the Hopi and Pueblo revolt against Spanish rule in 1680. Hopi leaders and artists converged with non-Hopi scholars, and the result was a first-rate public celebration and symposium . . . and a manuscript.

Last year Edna Glenn died in St. Louis near her family and friends. Ninety-one, she still wished that her publication would see the “print” of day. And this summer Willard Hughes Rollings, age 59, died in Las Vegas where he was a professor of history at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. At the time of its original preparation, we had shopped our manuscript with a number of presses, but all they could see was the extreme cost of the illustrations. That they did not find the excellent essays, the unique lengthy first-hand statements by the Hopi Tribal Chairman, members of the Artists Hopid, and the Hopi Tribal Court Chief Judge, and the narrative connections of the seventy-plus illustrations of sufficient strength to justify a major investment saddened her as well as all of the other editors and participants. But now thanks to the University of Nebraska's Love Library E-Text Center and its digital technology, we can produce this long overdue book and make it available to those who wish to know more about the Hopi Nation. It is my great regret that Edna did not see her book nor did Willard, but their families will and this legacy will not remain silent. Like the Hopi people have so often, this book needed to wait for the right time and the right technology in order to emerge.

Many thanks go to many persons: Paul Royster and the staff at the E-Text Center; editors, and at the time history graduate students at Texas Tech University—Willard Hughes Rollings and C. L. Martin (Cindy currently resides in Lubbock, Texas); Edna Glenn's family; Barton Wright, Museum of Man kachina scholar, the late Barbara Williams-Rollings who helped prepare our manuscript, and the late Abbott Sekaquaptewa, Hopi Tribal Chair; Hopi artists Michael Kabotie and Terrance Talaswaima; sociologist Alice Schlegal and historian Peter Iverson; and California attorney and Hopi Judge Robert H. Ames have all contributed mightily. All authors approved their essays at the time of their preparation and editing, and in 2008 Peter Iverson revised his essay. Perhaps the greatest contribution at the time of the symposium came from Idris Traylor, now retired but then Director of the International Center for the Study of Arid and Semi-Arid Lands at Texas Tech University, who made ICASALS the focal point for a number of indigenous people's celebrations.

The Hopi Nation reminds itself daily that it is "at the center" of life on the arid mesas of the Hopi Reservation in northeastern Arizona. It has been doing so for over 1000 years, and it will likely do so for many centuries to come. Hopi life is not an easy life, but it is a full and rewarding life. Read this book and enjoy a visual and intellectual celebration of the Hopi Nation.

John R. Wunder  
Professor of History and Journalism  
University of Nebraska-Lincoln  
July 2008



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\* The Joseph Mora Photographic Collection of Hopi Kachinas and Ceremonial Figures; and The Joseph Mora Watercolor Collection of Hopi Kachinas and Ceremonial Figures. Owner: John R. Wilson, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

\*\* Hibben, Frank C. *Kiva Art of the Anasazi at Pottery Mound*. Las Vegas, Nevada: K C Publications, 1975.

\*\*\* Smith, Watson. *Kiva Mural Decorations at Awatovi and. Kawaika-a with a Survey of Other Wall Paintings in the Pueblo Southwest*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 37. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952.





## Preface

Edna Glenn and John R. Wunder

A dangerous and difficult task is to define Hopi. Dangerous, in that perceptual barriers and pitfalls of cultural misunderstanding are inevitable for those long conditioned to Western viewpoints—difficult, in that complexities of comprehension are constant reminders that today, Hopis live with one foot in the tenth century, the other in the twenty-first. Earthbound, but soul free.

The challenges “to know” persist; curiosities about the Hopi abound. Are these people really North America’s oldest inhabitants? How can they be so sure of their origins? It is true, the Hopi point without hesitancy to the actual spot in the walls of the Grand Canyon where their people, the “first people,” emerged into this world. It is called *Sipaapuni*. With equal assurance, they speak of *Tuuwanasavi*, at the end of Black Mesa in Arizona. That is the center of the Universe.

What are the destinations when Hopis refer to the “Journey of the Soul” or “The Hopi Way”? Who goes on the Journey or travels the Way? Are these allusions to an unseen, shadowy existence or realities of the space-age?

John Collier, in his book, *The Indians of the Americas*, insists that Native Americans have an “in-divisible reverence and passion” for life. His words:

What in our human world is this power to live? It is the ancient, lost reverence and passion for human personality, joined with the ancient, lost reverence and passion for the earth and its web of life.

This power for living [exists] as world-view and self-view, as tradition and institution, as practical philosophy dominating their [Indians’] societies, and as an art supreme among all the arts.

They had what the world has lost. They have it now. What the world has lost, the world must have again, lest it die.<sup>1</sup>

A contemporary challenge exists on the pages of this book: to discover and to define the passion for life which Hopis continue to possess, and which is rooted in times past as well as in 1980, the “Year of the Hopi.”

We wish to acknowledge the following lenders for the exhibitions during the symposium and for visual illustrations in this book :

Artist Hopid, Hope Cultural Center and Museum  
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Mr. and Mrs. John F. Lott  
Maggie Kress Gallery  
Smithsonian Institution  
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Owen Seumptewa, Oraibi, Arizona  
Robert L. Suddarth, Lubbock, Texas  
Gerald Urbantke, Lubbock, Texas

NOTE:

1. John Collier, *The Indians of the Americas* (New York: Mentor Books, 1975), p. 7.

# COMMENTARIES:

CELEBRATION,

CEREMONY,

CHALLENGE

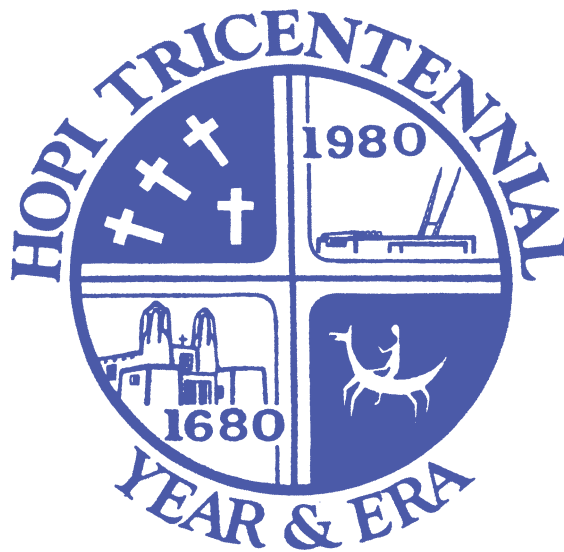


Figure 2. HOPI TRICENTENNIAL YEAR & ERA

logo design, Artist Hopid

Coochsiwukioma (Delbridge Honanie), 1980

Collection: the Hopi Cultural Center Museum, Second Mesa, Arizona (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona; and Robert Suddarth, photographer, Lubbock, Texas)



# Celebration

Edna Glenn

In March, 1981, Texas Tech University hosted a conference, “The Hopi Year: A Tricentennial Symposium,” and at that conference discussions centered upon a complex topic, the meaning of HOPI.<sup>1</sup> The conference featured cultural interchanges among experts of both Hopi and non-Hopi origins, and this volume contains the substantive and visual presentations of this unusual gathering. The content is interdisciplinary and presented in the context of both historic and contemporary viewpoints. Also important is attention given to land-use patterns and to environmental systems of human and physical growth and survival as related to the arid regions of the Hopi Reservation. Perhaps most pertinent is the recognized fact that Hopis have existed on their same mesa-lands for over one thousand years. Hopis are the earth; Hopis live “in” the land, not “on” the land.

The make-up of the contributors is diverse: three artists from Second Mesa, spokesmen from the “Artist Hopid” group; a Hopi-Tewa potter from First Mesa; the Chief Judge of the Hopi Tribal Court, from both the Hopi Reservation and the state of California, and the Hopi Tribal Chairman (all of the above are of Hopi origins); an anthropologist from the University of Arizona; an archaeologist-artist-scientist from the Museum of Man, San Diego; and an historian from Arizona State University, (all non-Indian). In essence, the authors and artists present encompassed those knowledgeable in Hopi agriculture, anthropology, art, history, law, politics, philosophy, psychology, religion and sociology.

More specifically, the presentations covered a variety of subjects, such as: the Hopi people, legends and beliefs; migrations, ancient and contemporary practices of ritual and ceremony; the environment, farming and land usage, architecture, and village planning; spiritual strengths and associational relationships to nature forms; arts and crafts movements, historical and contemporary significances of symbol and meaning in the arts; tribal politics, land disputes, and contemporary tribal issues and possible solutions; an historical survey of the Hopi over a period of some four centuries; the Tricentennial celebrations, and prophecies for the future. During the conference and in this volume, rich visual references to Hopi original baskets, pottery, jewelry, paintings, kachina dolls, lithographs, and photographs were and are presented. Indeed, this book provides a composite portrait of the Hopi Nation.

Hopis celebrated “The Year of the Hopi,” in the year 1980, an historical milestone for the Hopi people. In some ways 1980 was the most significant year in a period of three centuries. The year 1680 marked the great Pueblo Revolt<sup>2</sup> which brought Hopi independence from Spanish domination and a time for rebuilding souls and sacred tribal practices. The 1980 Tricentennial also was a time of revitalization and extended to a re-evaluation of the “Hopi way of life” in terms both of continuing traditional strengths, historically oriented, and invading alien practices, identifiably twentieth century. A primary intent of the Tricentennial celebration was to share with the people of the Hopi Nation and with the nations of the world the resultant assessments. A clear statement of this intent is brought to

the opening chapter of this volume by the Hopi Tribal Council Chairman. "The people, our Hopi people," according to Abbott Sekaquaptewa, "have something to contribute to today's society. And that contribution is our knowledge and the good things of our way, the Hopi way, to this world. That is the significance of the Hopi Tricentennial year and era."<sup>3</sup>

One of the Hopi spokesmen, HONVANTEWA (Terrance Talaswaima), Cultural Curator at the Hopi Cultural Center Museum on Second Mesa, defines the "Hopi Way." He explains the meaning of spiritual "essence" as identified with Hopi concepts. This mission, rooted in the disciplines of theology and philosophy, is accomplished through discussions of sacred ceremonies, soul strengths, clan beliefs, and spiritual stability as found among his people. But the revelations of these truths primarily evolve from his symbolic and pictorial analysis of Hopi art forms: traditional motifs, colors, and compositions derived from ancient kiva frescoes but executed in the context of modern art concepts.<sup>4</sup>

In regard to "essence" and the arts, Talaswaima comments, "We (Hopi) live the artistic, aesthetic way."<sup>5</sup> Further understanding of the "Hopi Way" is established by his references to history, involvements with contemporary politics, government restrictions on certain Hopi customs, and the occasions of ceremonial dances. Knowledge of the succession of festivals and ceremonial calendar time - all are essential to a knowing of "essence."

The essays and arts contained herein are perplexing to a certain extent, but entirely congruous to the notion that Hopi existence is an ongoing, totally integrated process. There is a unique overlapping and intertwining of content perceived as the authors, one after another, deal with the specific topics at hand. In all instances they felt a need to address the individualized Hopi subject matter within an exceptionally broad framework of related knowledge. Further, that framework repeats components even though they are discussed in different contexts. A certain continuity of thought, fact and feeling, and a harmony of relationships then results from this narrative. It is as if a common thread of understanding passed over, under, and around the complexities of information, tying together ideas in some instances, which produced dominant patterns, and isolating others. There seems to be no fragmentation of content, no interruption to the flow of meaning. Perhaps in a way, this situational development is reminiscent of the "Hopi Way," so often referred to; it is a unity of "being," but in reality it is many-faceted.

LOMAWYWESA (Michael Kabotie), an artist-spokesman from the Hopi Cultural Center and Museum, writes of "the land," bringing a verbal tapestry to a new content pattern, a new interpretation to the Hopi Way. Kabotie's presentation explains the relationship of his people to "the land" through farming practices and related ceremonial customs. Particularly, he speaks of raising corn, the most vital product to Hopis. Corn pertains both to daily food and daily ritual—"Our Mother, the Blue Short Corn."<sup>6</sup> Before he begins the descriptions of dry-land farming methods, other significant information is clearly set forth: the circumstances of the physical and spiritual environment, the Hopi feeling for the land, historical reasons for land-ownership, clan kinships, symbolic corn-planting and harvesting festivals. In Kabotie's words:

The Hopi live in a harsh environment, with not much vegetation. Our people chose to come to this land and to settle themselves among these mesas because during the migrations it was said that we should seek this promised land: a place where there is not

too much green, where it is not too comfortable; a land that we would find barren, and where, to survive, we would be able to develop our strengths and our souls.<sup>7</sup>

From this rather philosophical orientation to “the land,” which includes the near-total realm of Hopi traditions, the discussion moves to the specifics of dry-land farming:<sup>8</sup> problems with wind, and soil erosion, retaining moisture in the sandy sub-surface soil, and step-by-step methods of planting and harvesting corn. Terrace-gardening and irrigation through natural springs are also described. It becomes evident that an account of Hopi farming, to be understood completely, must provide a coherent explanation of all factors of daily living in a Hopi village, encompassing the two most sacred human rites, birth and death, and all of the days in between.

But Kabotie is not the only author to underscore the significance of the land, farming, and corn ceremonies. The mutualities of ideas and commonalities of thought patterns are apparent in other presentations. The Hopi Tribal Chairman mentions rituals and corn: “At birth, the child is given a mother ear of corn, representing the earth mother. This is kept close to the baby, wrapped in his covers, and in this way, environmental sensitivity begins from the moment of birth.”<sup>9</sup> And again, “New growth in crops and plant life are celebrated in early spring at the Powamu ceremony, and the abundance of crops and the fullness of life are celebrated in song and dance in late summer.”<sup>10</sup> Anthropologist Alice Schlegel also refers to the Powamu ceremony but the context changes. Her interpretation focuses on the gift-giving of kachina dolls<sup>11</sup> as symbolic blessings of fertility at the time of Powamu (Bean Dance)<sup>12</sup> and Niman (Home Dance) ceremonies. She believes that “Both of these ceremonies have agricultural connotations: the ‘Bean Dance’ anticipates the planting season, with the forced sprouting of beans a foretaste of the good crops to come; while the ‘Home Dance’ anticipates the harvest as the kachina dancers bring melons and other foods into the plaza to distribute among the onlookers.”<sup>13</sup>

Barton Wright, in his account of the origins of the kachina cult and kachina ceremonial occasions, finds it necessary to comment on “the land” of the Hopi. He provides some descriptions of the mesa-environment and the San Francisco Peaks, concluding that, “The Hopi may very well have chosen an excellent location in which to settle; at least, it has proven worthy enough, for they have remained on the same mesas for one thousand years. It was a location, however, that demanded much from its inhabitants. It is an arid land, one that constantly challenges the survivability of those who live on it.”<sup>14</sup>

PIESTEWA (Robert Ames), Chief Judge of the Hopi Tribal Court, primarily examines legal problems recently experienced by Hopis. But he, too, recounts some of the complexities of land disputes and land ownership such as those that grow out of Hopi traditional matrilineal society. “The land, the home, the children, and most of the possessions belong to the woman. Fields from the lands of the woman’s family are assigned for each of her children.”<sup>15</sup> In regard to the soil and farming, Ames describes the gale-winds “strong enough to blow away the sandy soil. When the field moves, the planter must follow it.” Continuing his comments, “The Hopi have been described as the world’s greatest dryland farmers.”<sup>16</sup> According to an 1894 document that involves Hopis and U.S. government officials, Hopis observed that, “The American is our elder brother and, in everything, he can teach us, except in the method of growing corn in these waterless sandy valleys, and in that we are sure we can teach him.”<sup>17</sup>

A final reference to the land is made by historian Peter Iverson. Choosing continuity as a major theme of “The Enduring Hopi,” he provides a view into the Hopi past and examines ideas about values

and beliefs prevalent today among the Hopi. Reasons for Hopi endurance are explored. Iverson concludes in regard to the land, “The ethnic boundary for the Hopi represents a clear and unshakable understanding that begins with the land. The maintenance of a land base has been central to the continuity of Hopi life.”<sup>18</sup>

The purpose of the above paragraphs was to examine situational examples that illustrate the previously-cited observation: that there evolves from the subsequent words in this volume a significant, unplanned, unforeseen, harmonious intertwining of all Hopi subject matter presented. Seven distinct Hopi topics are considered at some length by seven learned persons. In turn, a singular topic is given emphatic attention, but the quantity of relational content-elements, so carefully selected and structured, becomes mutually exchanged. The variation of emphasis and structure is both subtle and spontaneous, at times intense; a pattern emerges, revealing a rhythmic flow of experience and meaning.

Could such a developmental situation find a parallel event, although somewhat imaginative, to a Hopi ceremonial day in the spring when the matachines dance in the village plazas? The kachinas bring their own special blessings as well as the blessings of rain. The ceremonial day consists of a great variety of continuous activities, some quite serious in mood and intent, others are spontaneous, colorful, even humorous. There is a structure to events, and the drum beats establish rhythm. At intervals, the clowns appear, amusing the audience and bringing a relief from the intensity of more serious costumed dancers and performers. Everywhere there is energy and life, whether below ground in the kivas, at plaza level, or on house-tops covered with onlookers. Such a ceremonial day finds completeness in all of its myriad goings-on and meanings.

## Notes

1. “Hopi” is defined by Ekkehart Malotki as “well-behaved, well-mannered.” He also quotes John Collier’s understanding of Hopi as “actually connotes all those attributes that for the Hopi make up the balanced law-fulfilling whole of mind and body which is man as he should be.” Ekkehart Malotki, “The Writing of Hopi,” *Arizona Highways* 56 (September 1980): 47. Frederick Dockstader notes that the Hopi call themselves “Hopitu Shinumu,” the peaceful people. Frederick J. Dockstader, “The Hopi World,” in Joseph Mora, *The Year of the Hopi : Paintings and Photographs by Joseph Mora, 1904–06*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), p. 7.
2. See Charles W. Hackett, *The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin’s Attempted Reconquest, 1680–1682* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1942), 2 vols.
3. Abbott Sekaquaptewa, “The Hopi Tribal Nation in 1980,” *infra*, pp. 27–36.
4. A kiva is a semi-subterranean, ceremonial house entered by ladders extending downward. It is a holy place built partly into the underworld. Mischa Titiev, *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), p. 376.
5. Terrance Talaswaima, “The Hopi Way: Art as Life, Symbol, and Ceremony,” *infra*, pp. 65–73.
6. Michael Kabotie, “Hopi Mesas and Migrations: Land and People,” *infra*, pp. 45–52.

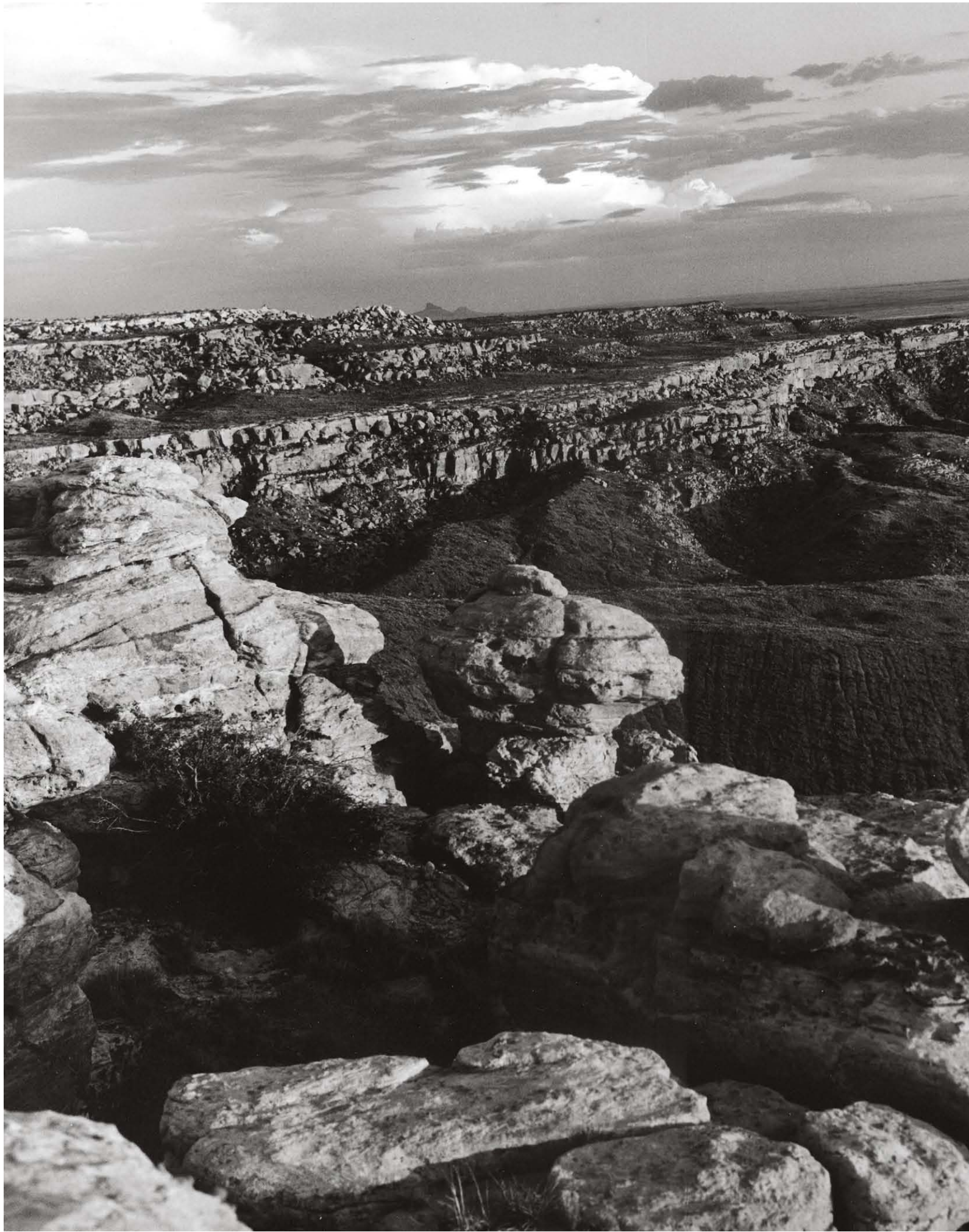


7. Ibid.
8. For further reading, see George Ballard Bowers, “The Original Dry Farmers of the Southwest,” *Southern Workman* 58 (October 1929): 453–58; C. Daryll Forde, “Hopi Agriculture and Land Ownership,” *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 41 (July–December 1931): 357–405; and Richard Maitland Bradfield, *The Changing, Pattern of Hopi Agriculture* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1971), Occasional Papers No. 30.
9. Sekaquaptewa, *infra*.
10. Ibid.
11. Alice Schlegel, “Hopi Social Structure as Related to *Tihu* Symbolism,” *infra*, pp. 129–134.
12. Powamu is one of the most important Hopi celebrations. The sixteen-day ceremony readies children for initiation into the kachina cult and prepares the Hopi world for the planting and growth of another season. Beans are planted in the kiva which are kept heated, forcing the beans to sprout and grow rapidly—thus the English name “Bean Dance.” For a more detailed description, see Titiev, *Hopi of Old Oraibi*, pp. 71, 91, 189, 201–2, 213, 217–221, 224–5, 313–321; and Heinrich R. Voth, *The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony*, Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series no. 61 (Chicago, 1901).
13. Niman or Home Dance is the last kachina event of the year. It signals the ripening of the first corn crop and the return of the kachinas to their home in the underworld. For a more detailed description, see Barton Wright, *Kachinas: A Hopi Artist’s Documentary* (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1973); Titiev, *Hopi of Old Oraibi*, pp. 4–6, 116, 135, 143, 340–1; and Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, 2 vols. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939).
14. Barton Wright, “Hopi Kachinas: A Life Force,” *infra*, pp. 111–121.
15. Robert H. Ames, “Contemporary Hopi Court and Law,” *infra*, pp. 135–143.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid. A copy can be found at the Hopi Cultural Center and Museum, Second Mesa. The original, “Letter from Representatives of the Hopi Villages to The Washington Chief, March 1894,” is in the National Archives, Papers of the Navajo Agency, Letters Received, #14830.
18. Peter Iverson, “The Enduring Hopi,” *infra*, pp. 144–154.

Figure 3 (following pages). KUWAN HEHEYA KACHINA LINE DANCE  
Joseph Mora, photograph, 1904-1906 (Courtesy of John R. Wilson, Tulsa, Oklahoma)









## The Hopi Nation in 1980

Abbott Sekaquaptewa

“It is a time to recall and to revitalize the good things of Hopi life and to celebrate Hopism.”

The Hopi Tricentennial Year is probably one of the most significant and important events in contemporary Hopi life because it has relevance to every facet of Hopi life and will hopefully retain that relevance in the future. It is a time to recall and to revitalize the good things of Hopi life and to celebrate Hopism.

The Hopi people have retained their cultural life to perhaps a greater degree than most Indian peoples in the United States today. Customary practices which govern the pattern of life from birth to death for most Hopi are still carried out to a large extent.

The Hopi mesas are located in northeastern Arizona in the plateau country where the Hopi clans began gathering a millennium ago. The clans were not strangers to the land at that time, for many had passed through this country during the migration period after the arrival from the other world. This was a predestined place, a chosen place, where they were to come together and settle while awaiting the return of the white brother. Presently there are approximately 9,000 Hopi living on the reservation established in 1882.<sup>1</sup> The original tract of land set aside for the use and occupancy of the Hopis comprised 2,500,000 acres. Due to encroachment by other Indians and the failure of the federal government to protect the land rights of the tribe, it has been reduced today to 1,500,000 acres, two-thirds of which is still occupied by

Figure 4. THE HOPI LAND

Owen Seumtewa, photograph, 1981 (Courtesy of the photographer, Second Mesa, Arizona)

members of the Navajo tribe.<sup>2</sup> This seems like a large tract of land, and is perhaps comparable to the King Ranch in Texas. When the nature of the land is considered, however, it also appears very harsh and a difficult place for anyone to make a living. This is the land of the Hopi where the people came, knowing that it was a chosen place where Hopi society was once more to bloom.

According to the tradition of the separation of the Hopi and his white brother, it was agreed that both would strive for the source of life, the point of the rising sun, and whoever reached it first would inherit great knowledge. They were to know when one or the other had reached the source of life by the appearance of a great star. Upon seeing the star, the brother still in migration would settle in the place where he was located at that time and await the other brother. So it was that when the great star appeared, the ancestral people settled on the mesa and awaited their white brother. Experts estimate that the permanent settlement of the Hopi mesas began somewhere around 1000–1050 A.D. The first supernova, the Crab Nebula, appeared in the western hemisphere in the year 1054 A.D., approximately the same time that the Hopi ancestral peoples saw the great star and settled to await their white brother.<sup>3</sup> This leads one to believe that there is much significance and validity to the traditions and history of the Hopi people.

Many people still believe that Hopis have always been one people. In fact, our ancestors were different groups, similar in nature, but each with its own history, tradition and priesthood authority for the performance of the rituals which they possessed. The elders teach us that in the beginning there was one group with one language, but as the migrations began, the clans separated, spreading out over the face of the land. Different languages and lifestyles developed, but the various groups knew that they were to come together once more at the designated time.

When the clans gathered on the mesas, they organized their ritual ceremonies into a complete ceremonial calendar comprising a whole year of four seasons. Each clan, even those which did not possess any priesthood authority, was given a role in the new society, and it was the clan which became the most important foundation block of Hopi society.<sup>4</sup> One belongs to one's mother's clan, and if in line for an important priesthood position, inherits it from a maternal uncle or older brother. The line of succession does not pass from father to son, because the father is from another clan and therefore from another family.

The Hopi are an agrarian people who have developed a very sophisticated ritual ceremonial system. There is a ritual for every important phase of life in Hopi society, from birth to death. At birth a Hopi child's paternal grandmother and paternal aunts come and take care of the baby. Each day they touch, bathe and talk to the child. At birth, the child is given a mother ear of corn, representing the earth mother. This is kept close to the baby, wrapped in its covers, and in this way, environmental sensitivity begins from the moment of birth. The constant attention given the baby by the immediate and extended family provides the family security that becomes so all important in later life, as well as the security of a ritual place in Hopi society.<sup>5</sup> For the baby's first twenty days, its mother is not allowed to eat salt or any protein because our earthly bodies are saline in nature and therefore symbolic of our mortality and corruptibility. At the end of the twenty days, both the mother and child are given a hair washing, and the immediate and extended family ritually touch the child for the last time until marriage. The baby is given a name based on the clan affiliation of the father, which serves to involve the family of that line.

The child is named by the paternal aunts and because there may be a number of aunts, the child may be given numerous names.<sup>6</sup> At sunrise on the twentieth day, the child is shown to the rising sun, the names that it has received are repeated, and a prayer offering is made to start the child on its life way. This ritual is repeated at least two more times during the life of the child. It is repeated at the kachina initiation at which time the child is given either, a ceremonial father or mother as the case may be, expanding the relationship of the immediate family to other clans. In this way the entire Hopi society remains one big family.

This becomes very complicated and confusing to non-Indians or non-Hopis or even to some Hopis who are not being raised in all the intricacies of the Hopi way, because the terms of the relationships utilized depend on the occasion or on preference. Familial relationships are important because the way in which we relate to each other is dependent to a large extent on how we consider ourselves related. In the settlement of family problems, for instance, relationships with uncles might be the most important because uncles possess the authority in such matters. The question of inheritance of property might bring one to another relationship.

One exception to the importance of these familial relationships is in the succession to office which is restricted to one clan only. If, in unusual circumstances, a non-clan member is appointed to a high priesthood position, he serves a four-year term of office.<sup>7</sup> The person who holds the position as a right of his clan, on the other hand, can hold it for life. Following the ceremony for induction into the priesthood societies, men are once again given a name which becomes permanent. At that time they also become subject to accountability under the divine law of the Hopi Nation.

Perhaps the most important aspect of this process, as indicated earlier, is the family relationships that provide the individual with a place in society as well as a role and function and purpose, that becomes the source of dignity and pride for that individual. Again, for example, the high priest position in the Snake Dance is the right of the Snake Clan people,<sup>8</sup> and the priest position for the Flute Dance is the possession of the Flute Clan people.<sup>9</sup> These clans perform their ritual functions in society as a whole as their contribution to life. This provides Hopis a very strong pride in their history, position, and in the religious rites that commemorate historic events in the history of their clans and the people as a whole. They have the security and the knowledge that they have a purpose in life, and therefore they have a dignity as a people.

A very orderly system is in process constantly into adulthood and the induction into the priesthood and priestess societies. At the same time, economic life impresses its own importance upon the growing person, and the significance of the natural environment is stressed. Therefore, Hopis learn to live within their environment while at the same time gaining the security of a place in society. Because of the closeness to the earth mother and the long history of obtaining sustenance from nature, there is a traditionally strong attachment and respect for the natural environment so important to the stability of the people. Such is the life of the people that the Tricentennial is intended to celebrate and such was the life of the old people when the first white man arrived in 1540.

It might seem that it would have been better that the whites never came, yet it was the covenant that Indians and Hopis had with the white brother that they would come together at another time. Hopis did not know whether these were the correct white brothers or not, but they were accepted. As it turned out, these whites, the Spanish, suppressed the freedom of the Hopis by denying them the right

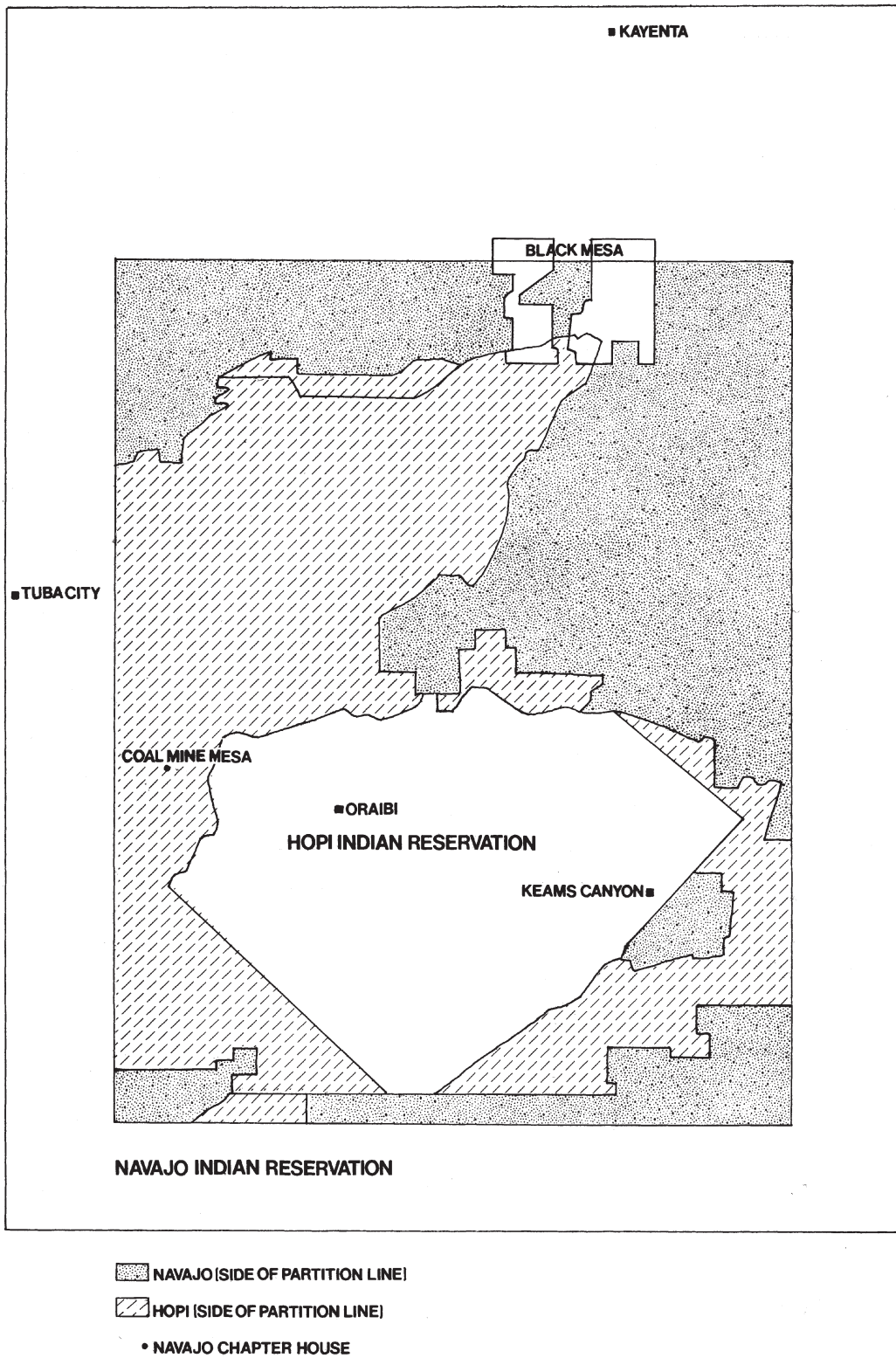


Figure 5. HOPI AND NAVAJO DISPUTED LANDS  
Keith Owens, graphic artist and mapmaker, 1982, Lubbock, Texas



to practice their beliefs and to carry on their rituals. Hopis became subject to an authority located far across the ocean and their persons were repeatedly violated. It was inevitable that something would happen which was foreign to the nature of the people.

On August 10, 1680, the people resorted to violent measures to overthrow the crown of Spain and regain their independence. They re-established society as it had existed before. Today, in midwinter at the Soyal ceremony, the beginning, of new life is celebrated. New growth in crops and plant life are celebrated in early spring at the Powamu ceremony, and the abundance of crops and the fullness of life are celebrated in song and dance in late summer. Having been re-established in the past three centuries, these ceremonies serve to provide that stability to the Hopi people that has enabled them to survive somewhat better than some of their brothers and sisters across the continent.

Many stresses to Hopi traditional life are evident today. One of the biggest problems confronting Hopis in contemporary life is loss of language.<sup>10</sup> Because knowledge of language is necessary to understand the history, the traditions, and the religious concepts of the people, the situation has become very critical. Today there are many young Hopi children who are subjected to the impact of television, the bright lights of peripheral towns, and many other influences which erode home instruction and take away the good life learned in our own language. What is to be done? Will it be bilingual education in schools or should instruction be confined to the family and to the child's cultural environment? Whose responsibility is it?

Many people are concerned about the taking away of the family responsibility for language and culture instruction, because that erodes the strength of the family. One of the challenges that we face today in this tricentennial period is the ending of some of the priesthood societies and the functions of those societies in some of the villages. Although they are still active in a number of villages, they have become non-functional in others, and this takes away the established and tried system for teaching young adults the basic beliefs and the history and the traditions of the Hopi way.<sup>11</sup>

The understanding of the concepts of accountability to Hopi society, to humankind and to the environment is inherent in the teachings given when a young man attains the priesthood, so it becomes a concern to us today. The question might be asked: Can the priesthood societies, once lost, be reinstated? If not, what provisions have been made for a world without the vital support system of a priesthood society as we know them? And are they compatible to modern life pressures?

Today there is controversy over the "legality" of reviving priesthoods in some of the villages because there is a question about the validity once they have become non-functional. In Hopi belief there are penalties for practice without divine authority according to traditional law. In mid-March of this year, some of the ritual ceremonies at one of the villages were closed to outsiders by the new leader on that mesa. This is disheartening. One of the teachings of the elders is that the priesthood leaders and the chieftain must hold all of their people whom they regard as their children unto themselves; they cannot push one away. All the people that walk the face of this earth are their children. So, there is controversy and disagreement over the closing of ceremonies to non-Hopi people.

Another facet of this problem is the difficulty of occupancy and maintaining offices of high priests under the pressures of easy, modern life, because the life of priests and high priests is a life of meditation and personal sacrifice which is a law unto them. Also a problem is the emphasis placed on politi-

cal power and leadership rather than spiritual leadership. That is becoming apparent among the leaders of the younger generation and newer traditional leaders.<sup>12</sup> This is inconsistent with the teachings of the elders and represents disrespect on the part of contemporary young leaders who seem to want to exercise political power where before it did not exist. So the question is: Can the old concept of spiritual leadership for the benefit of all peoples survive in the modern world that demands strong political leaders? Because pressure corrupts the purpose and the role of traditional leaders, the pressures of modern society make it difficult for these people.

Another problem facing contemporary Hopi society is the question of land use patterns. Because the tribe has grown so rapidly in the past generation or two, there is a great need for homes.<sup>13</sup> Yet the land close to the Hopi mesas has traditionally been held and controlled by the different clans or by the priesthood. Not every Hopi has the right to use that land. Consequently, there are problems with the clan leaders over the use of land for private purposes. The question arises: At the time when the clans began gathering and were assigned farmland by their leaders, did they gain the right to own this land or did they merely gain the right to have use of that land? Thus, there is controversy over use of the ancient lands in contemporary Hopi society.

Because the world today has its own way of doing things, its own value system, and its own outlook, the Hopi Nation has established regulatory ordinances, some of which have been made necessary by outside pressures or by other cultures, such as the Navajo people and the white peoples. Because in this new society there are laws that say all people must be treated equally, Hopis run into the problem of federal civil rights laws that have been established in recent years. Although it was our purpose to establish regulatory ordinances to protect our rights and our interests, the civil rights laws will not permit us to use them without applying them to ourselves. Applying these laws to a society that has always existed without restrictive laws governing everyday life and to a people who are only controlled by the laws of their natural environment and traditional culture is most difficult. This is going to be one of the greatest challenges to us in the world today and during this tricentennial period.

How much regulation should there be? And what does it do to our people? In the old life, Hopis were free to gather many materials for our living and ceremonial purposes. This cannot be done today. Some laws were established to prevent the wasteful use of the resources of this land,<sup>14</sup> but these statutes also take away our rights to gather things important to us, because they are classified as an endangered species or are contrary to an environmental statute.

There is great controversy over the development of the natural resources of the reservation such as coal.<sup>15</sup> Hopis are taught that although the Hopi country is a harsh land, underlying it is great wealth that is there for us to gain sustenance.

The question is not, then, whether or not the natural mineral resources should be developed from the land; the question is how to go about doing that and still maintain the dignity of our mother earth and protect her and give her an opportunity to provide for us as she always has done throughout our existence.

The conscience of the non-Indian public in this country has also become a very important concern in our contemporary life. On first inspection, this would appear to be to our benefit. However, we are finding out that because of the conscience of the non-Indian people in this country over the handling of Indian affairs, a situation has arisen where the federal government and United States courts will



Figure 6. HOPI ENVIRONMENT

Owen Seumtewa, photograph, 1981 (Courtesy of the photographer, Second Mesa, Arizona)

not take positive action to protect the land interests of the Hopi people from those who encroach, who sometimes happen to be other Indians. Because enough has been done to the Indians, there is a reluctance to enforce any law on other tribes, and we lose as a result.

However, what still exists in Hopi society today can be revitalized because the Hopi way gives a quality of life, a life purpose, and a meaning for existence that seems to be missing from the greater society. It is important to note that the extended family system, the clan, which makes the people a whole, provides the stability so greatly needed in this world today. The concept of respect for the natural environment where we belong to the earth and the land rather than the land and earth belonging to us is also important.

The people, our Hopi people, have something to contribute to today's society. And that contribution is our knowledge and the good things of our way, the Hopi way, to this world. That is the significance of the Hopi Tricentennial, year and era. As the elders say, we are all their children and our well-being is the single most important instruction that they have been given by the giver of the breath of life. The people did not come into existence on this land. The Hopi came from another place, from another world. We are the first people and we came here because life was not good anymore in that other world. Because of this awareness of the beginning of life on this continent, the people feel a responsibility to life and to the subsequent accountability to life. Also known was that evil had come with the people. This world would become corrupt, and it would reach the state once more that it had in that other world. Since the Hopi elders possess the priesthood authority and similar authority over mother earth, they became the stewards, and we were taught that they would find our way for us if we were to be faithful. Fortunately, many Hopi people are faithful, and it is for this reason that the significance of the Tricentennial is not only the gaining once again of our independence in 1680 to be free as children of our earth mother, but rather to celebrate the fact that the Hopi are able today to contribute to society as a whole. That is the commemoration that we have established for ourselves as the Tricentennial, the Hopi Year. Working together and living together, this fullness can be achieved which has been taught to the people for generations and generations, and hopefully will be passed on to the children for many generations to come.

## Notes

1. Census counts taken in 1890–91 for the three Hopi mesas were as follows:

FIRST MESA	SECOND MESA	THIRD MESA
Walpi 232	Shungopavi 225	Oraibi 903
Hano 161	Shipaulovi 126	
Sichomovi 103	Mishongnovi 244	
TOTAL	1,994	

Thomas Donaldson, *Moqui Pueblo Indians of Arizona, Extra Census Bulletin 11* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Printing Office, 1893), p. 38. The Chairman states that today there are approximately 9,000 Hopi living on the reservation, somewhat above 1980 Census estimates of 8,500. The 1970 Census shows 4,404 Hopis living on reservation lands. This discrepancy is not surprising considering the past undercounts of Native Americans by the United States Census. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *United States Census of Population: 1970, 1980, Subject Populations, American Indians*.

2. Jerry Kammer, *The Second Long Walk: The Navajo–Hopi Land Dispute* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980). This issue was subsequently resolved with federal legislation.
3. Frank H. Cushing, “Origin Myth from Oraibi,” *Journal of American Folklore* 36 (no. 139, 1923). See also for the migration of Hopis, Jesse Walter Fewkes, “Tusayan Migration Traditions,” Bureau of American Ethnology, *Annual Report 19* (Washington, D.C.: 1900).
4. For a listing of Hopi clans or phratry, see Mischa Titiev, *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: Change and Continuity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), pp. 41, 49, 59, 63, 74–81, 86–87, 127, 226, 301.
5. Fred Eggan, *The Kinship System and Social Organization of the Western Pueblos* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950); Jesse Walter Fewkes, “The Kinship of the Tusayan Villages,” *American Anthropologist* (n. s.) 12 (1910); and Robert H. Lowie, “Notes on Hopi Clans,” *Anthropological Papers*, vol. 30 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1929).
6. For discussion of a naming ceremony, see Don C. Talayesva, *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*, Leo W. Simmons, ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1942).
7. Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, 2 vols. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1939).
8. For more detailed information, see Lowie, “Hopi Clans;” Earle R. Forrest, *The Snake Dance of the Hopi Indians* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1961).
9. See Lowie, “Hopi Clans;” Heinrich R. Voth, *The Mishongnovi Ceremonies of the Snake and Flute Fraternities*, Anthropological Series, no. 66 (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1901).
10. The Hopi language is classified with the Uto-Aztecan language group. For more information, see Benjamin Lee Whorf, “The Hopi Language, Toreva Dialect,” in *Linguistic Structures of Native America*, Harry Hoijer, ed. (New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, no. 6), pp. 158–183; and Dell H. Hymes and W. E. Bittle, ed., *Studies in Southwestern Ethnolinguistics* (The Hague: Mouton).
11. For a discussion of the problems of teaching young adults the Hopi way, see generally Titiev, *Hopi of Old Oraibi*, and Laura Thompson, *Culture in Crisis: A Study of the Hopi Indians* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950).

12. Henry C. James, *Pages from Hopi History* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1974), pp. 201–214.
13. For a discussion of urban problems as they relate to the reservation community, see Shuichi Nagata's "The Reservation Community and the Urban Community: Hopi Indians of Moenkopi," in *The American Indian in Urban Society*, edited by Jack O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), pp. 114–159; and Nagata, "Urbanization in a Reservation Community: The Hopi Indians of Moenkopi," in *American Indian Urbanization*, edited by Jack O. Waddell and O. Michael Watson (Lafayette, Indiana: Institute for the Study of Social Change, Purdue University, 1973), pp. 13–27.
14. For a discussion of game laws and their effect on Hopi ceremonial traditions, see Barton Wright, *Hopi Kachinas: The Complete Guide to Collecting Kachina Dolls* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1977), pp. 12–17.
15. For a more detailed discussion of the development of mineral resources on Hopi and other Indian lands, see Trevor Rees-Jones, "Problems in the Development of Mineral Resources on Indian Lands," *Rocky Mountain Mineral Law Institute Proceedings* 7 (1962): 661–705; Fred Harris and LaDonna Harris, "Indians, Coal, and the Big Sky," *Progressive* 38 (November 1974): 22–26; Suzanne Gordon, *Black Mesa: The Angel of Death* (New York: John Day Company, 1973); and W. R. Roberts, "New Hope for the Hopi," *Petroleum Today* 6 (Winter 1965): 9–14.



SUBJECT:

# Concepts of Emergence and Migration

Edna Glenn

## Three Paintings by the Artist Hopid

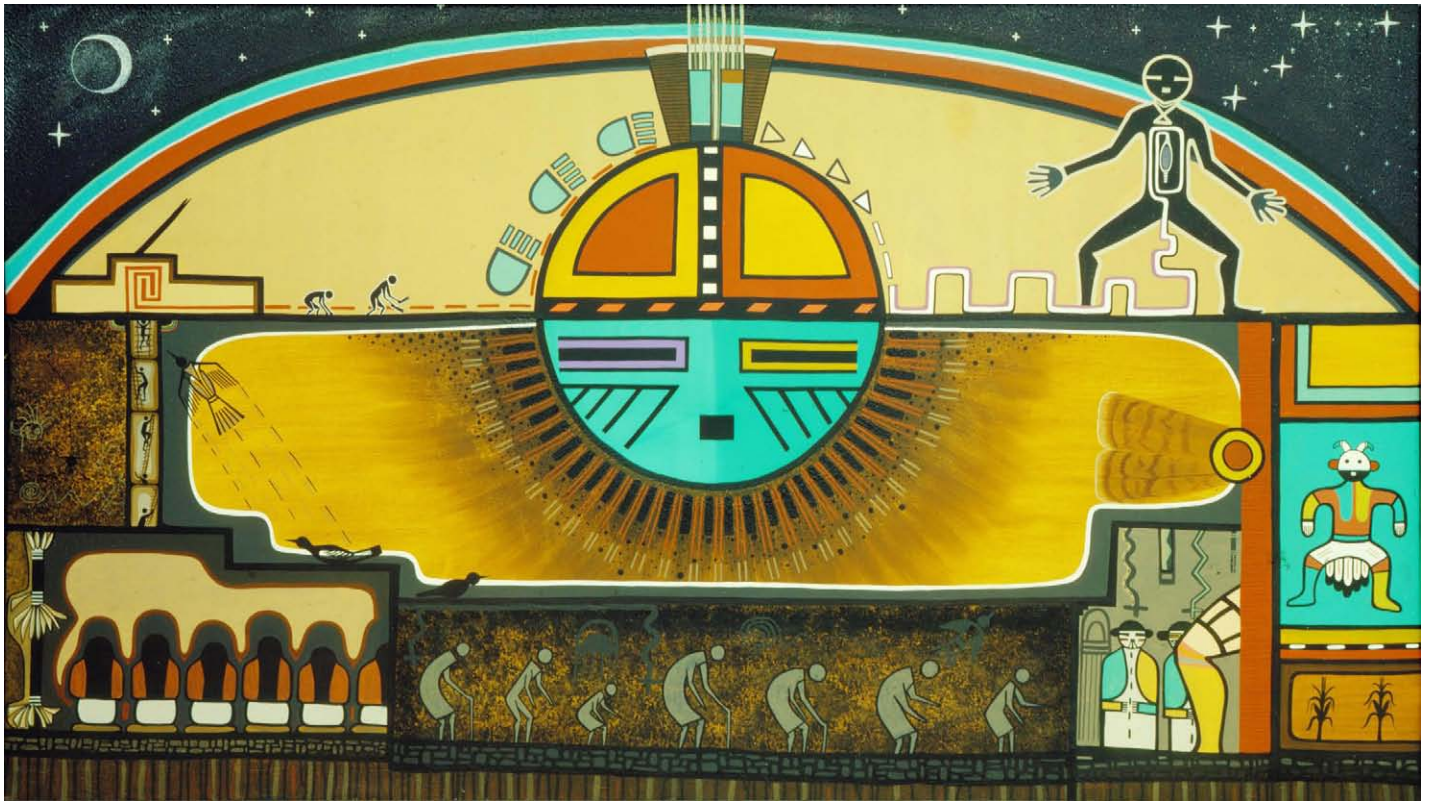
Figure 7: Emergence  
Dawakema (Milland Lomakema)

Figure 8: Migrational Patterns  
Lomawywesa (Michael Kabotie)

Figure 9: Spiritual Leadership  
Dawakema (Milland Lomakema)

“We believe that we are a part of a great living force which began hundreds of years ago ... Our concept is that we came from the Third World of the Hopi and that now, we are in the Fourth World ... We emerged from underground, somewhere in the Grand Canyon.”

Honvantewa



## 7. EMERGENCE

Dawakema (Milland Lomakema)

painting, acrylic, 48" × 84"

(Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona; and Jerry Jacka, photographer, Phoenix, Arizona)

Ideas of EMERGENCE and MIGRATION permeate the consciousness of every Hopi. They structure ceremonial time and provide patterns for daily existence. They are the essence of the Hopi Way, beliefs in the eternal processes of creativity, growth, and life-renewal. They also permeate Hopi art. Perhaps for a thousand years, this has been so.

In this painting, "Emergence," Dawakema presents an ancient event as pictorial reality for a contemporary age. He depicts the emergence of the Hopi people from the Third World into the Fourth World, the present world. He paints a visual narrative in which the Hopi life-stream moves from a turbulent, less-desirable Underworld to a harmonious, more spiritual Upperworld.

The emergence process is revealed through symbolic colors and imagery. Modulated browns and blacks in the lower-half of the painting designate a disturbed Underworld; the sunlit, light area at the top represents an ordered, new life in the Upperworld. In the Third World below, various activities are observed. One speculates that at lower-left a group of tribal leaders, ancient wise-ones, sit and



meditate. They chant prayers and send forth a bird in search of messages or ways of escape from the undesirable life. It is a spiritual quest evidenced by the elaborate “paho” on their left, a prayer stick that guards the ritualistic space. Immediately above the group a light-colored, cylindrical form moves upward vertically. It is a giant, hollow reed through which the Hopi-beings climb to enter the Fourth World. The reed is a four-part form that indicates the three previous worlds inhabited by the Hopi and the emergence of the Fourth-World way of life. A symbolic kiva and ladder are eye-catching motifs as well as significant indicators that the emergence into the Fourth World occurs through the “Si-papu,” a sacred earth-opening.

The time of emergence is visually evident. It is nighttime, moon and stars enhance a dark sky area at upper picture edge. And it is the autumn season when the Women’s Society’s rituals take place during each ceremonial, calendar year. The female leg and related symbolic images at lower-right present this information. Occupying the adjacent rectangular, blue space is an imposing, two-horned, masked figure. Perhaps it is Aloska, the fertility priest, who identifies with winter-solstice time, a time foretelling a new ceremonial year, a new life to come. Bordering his space is a monumental, feathered “paho.”

One black, deity-figure presides over the upper portion of the painting. Emitting from the body is a white life-line, almost like an electric circuit, which interconnects the migrational symbol centered in the kiva. Perhaps this petroglyph-like figure is Massau, Hopi guardian and protector, who controls both the surface of the earth and the Underworld. A symbolic corn ear within his body presents ideas of earth abundance, fertility, and growth to be found in the Hopi Fourth World.

Contouring this total array of sacred images and sun space above is a rainbow arch; and suspended from the arch, in the manner of a jeweler’s pendant, hangs a circular kachina-faced structure, a spiritual icon in itself. One wonders at its beauty, the splendor of gold and turquoise exquisitely fashioned. With radial energy penetrating all existence, this icon-image appears to inhabit both inner and outer space, below and above worlds. Perhaps it is a sun symbol as indicated by the radiance; or a Bear Clan symbol as indicated by blue bear-paw tracks. Bear Clan people provided guidance during the times of emergence and migration; they were the first people to reach the Hopi mesas, the sacred lands; they continue ceremonial leadership today.

Dynamics of color and design classify the work “twentieth century.” Content and symbolism label the work “traditional.” Dawakema’s seven-foot acrylic statement of Hopi emergence is both new and old.



Figure 8. MIGRATIONAL PATTERNS  
 Lomawywesa (Michael Kabotie)  
 painting, 51" × 95", acrylic, 1975  
 (Courtesy of Maggie Kress Gallery, Taos, New Mexico).

Through a pictographic sign language Lomawywesa narrates the story of Hopi migrations. And it may be that only the Hopi know the sign language, only they can read this picture.

A Hopi viewer of the painting immediately comprehends the messages: they are signs and symbols telling of events that occurred after the time of Emergence; they indicate that the Hopi people, a chosen people, traveled through immeasurable paths of time and space on earth searching for their sacred homeland. In Hopi traditions this is designated as the ancient migrational period. And it is the subject of Lomawywesa's work of art.

A Hopi viewer has no difficulty interpreting the painted patterns. He finds identities to clans and societies, tribal ancestors, priests and deities, rituals and ceremonial paraphernalia, astronomical signs, directional codes of travel, and evidence of departed Hopi who occupy spiritual spaces. To the twenty-first century Hopi viewer, there is no mystery about the "Migrational Patterns." They are sacred messages of both particular and universal meaning. They exist pictorially as petroglyph figures on an ancient rock wall or as contemporary ceremonial reminders painted in acrylics on a gessoed panel.

The non-Hopi viewer, unable to read the pictographic language, perceives the painting for its aesthetic value. Indeed, one appreciates its beauty. Lomawywesa demonstrates expertise in technical

skills, knowledge of compositional design, and sensitivity to artistic form. He utilizes color expressively; the observer knows that the artist responds with great emotion to the content of his painting. Intense colors predominantly red and blue structure the picture plane in vertical rhythms, the observer's moving eye pausing at space intervals just long enough to grasp linear images exquisitely drawn and clustered in three major groups: one at exact center, one at left picture-edge and one at right picture-edge. Stabilizing each of the three groups is an abstract godlike form in votive position whose image is interlaced and overlaid by a network of delicate line patterns. It is a complex painting and the viewer finds fascination in the intricacies of iconography and form.

A modern viewer who is uninformed about the realm of Hopi ceremonialism and symbolism finds the treatment of pictorial elements imaginative and intriguing. There is a spatial quality of fluidity in the total composition. Figures are not transfixed in terms of time or space. In complete silence they seem to project and recede, to appear and disappear. They are of the tenth century, the twenty-first century, and of time in-between. Such a fanciful display brings visions of outer-space adventure, the possibility of a sudden confrontation with a splendid body of unidentifiable creatures floating in luminous galactic regions. One wishes to probe their origins, discover their mission and destination. Is Lomawywe's pictorial fantasy actually a video screen where whimsical animated characters move in and out of vision through computer controls?

The truth of the painting lies within the artist himself. Lomawywe is both Hopi and painter. The pictographic imagery belongs to a private world, his individual world which is both aesthetic and spiritual in dimension. They are the sacred symbols of the Snow/Water Clan; thus, they reveal the artist's clan identity. And they interpret the Hopi migrations as a ceremonial event of Snow/Water People. The artist utilizes the subject of "Migrational Patterns" to construct a composite picture of his clan beliefs.

Sacred clouds, rain, snow, water, lightning, and serpent symbols are among the recognizable iconographic elements that state Lomawywe's tribal identity. Two important configurations at lower picture-edge present visual proof that his ancestral people participated in Emergence and Migration. At the right corner there is an Emergence pattern showing a Hopi prayer-stick emerging from the center and extending toward a sacred water-serpent form. At the left corner there is a rectangular migrational symbol showing four directional clan movements, intersected by a Hopi prayer-stick and bordered at one side by a water-related, jagged sign of lightning. Also included are squash and corn plants, essential ceremonial components for the Snow/Water Clan.

A dominance of the color red in the composition may have symbolic significance. Reds, of the most brilliant hue, enter the lower center picture-edge, move upward and envelop the principal deity-figure of the composition. Visually, the artist confirms a personal belief that his tribal ancestors migrated north from a legendary red city in the south.

The ancient journeys of people toward a spiritual center continue with significance to the Hopi consciousness today. Lomawywe proves that he is a modern migrant on the Hopi Way. With purpose, he travels the paths of creativity through the arts. With inherent reverence for tribal ceremonialism, he searches for soul strengths so necessary for life in a contemporary age.



Figure 9. SPIRITUAL LEADERSHIP  
Dawakema (Milland Lomakema)  
painting, acrylic, 1974 (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)

Dawakema's painting provides a compact slice-of-life view of the Hopi universe. What a dimly-lit, self-contained, compressed space it is. How compact the figures are as they perform their ritual tasks. Activity is vigorous, vitality and movement are so intense that the scene could, within an instant, disappear from view.

Clues to the content of the artwork are found in the title and painted imagery: the Bear Clan provides spiritual leadership during the time of Hopi migrations. Three closely interwoven figures establish the presence and significance of Bear Clan guidance. One is a recognizable bear figure regally wrapped in a ceremonial robe. The deified bear asserts spiritual power over the second major image, a seated humanoid figure whose symbolic identity is primarily revealed by two feet resembling bear paws. Completing the three-part ceremonial unit is a corn plant richly endowed with perfect corn ears, one of them taking on the appearance of a sacred Hopi corn-maiden.

The total scene is taut with creative energy. Here, Bear Clan spiritual power asserts itself and assures the Hopi people that during the long period of migrations they will be continuously guided and blessed with water, food sustenance, and spiritual strengths. Here, Dawakema the painter asserts his own clan identity. He discloses a genuine devotion and personal loyalty to Bear Clan belief-systems. The symbolic Bear Clan group seems to utilize an east-to-west migration path that proceeds from right to left in the lower section of the painting. A decorative band, superbly patterned with flowing-water designs, indicates blessings of water as well as continuous spiritual growths.

The message is so strongly presented. The most minute of compositional elements becomes the most potent of pictorial ceremonial elements at the top right corner: two small concentric circles emit three directional rays of energy. One ray commands attention to the upper left corner where a complex iconographical group reveals an emergence symbol plus kiva steps and cloud altar signs. This is a composite statement indicating the evolution of Hopi people into a Fourth-World existence from three previous states of being. A second ray passing through the sacred corn plant falls on the two bear deities; a third ray extends vertically downward to the Hopi corn-maiden. Surely, the circle forms indicate the spiritual center of the Hopi universe, a magnetic force energizing Bear Clan deities as they exert strengths to lead a migrating Hopi people. Could the concentric circle-forms also identify with solar power from a circular-shaped sun, the universal life source? In a twenty-first century exploratory view, could the tightly integrated grouping of bear and corn sacred images become a dynamic mechanism with kinetic properties? There is an impelling desire to touch the small energy-circle at top right corner with the tip of one's finger, believing that such a gesture would certainly set all systems on "go." Compressed space, so harmoniously structured with vital elements now becomes activated, and all parts move with patterned precision. Dawakema has invented a Hopi fantasy-machine as well as a painting.

There is further fascination with the unique viewpoint into a section-slice of the Hopi universe. Colors are so subtle; content is so specialized. Could it be the view one has when looking into a Hopi ceremonial bowl where sacred spirits are believed to reside? Does it represent the opening one utilizes, the view one has when descending the ladder into an underground kiva chamber - the place where the most sacred of rituals occurs? Painted textures fill the outer edges of the composition. What do they imply? Is it a fragmented view into an ancient decorated basket, or a glimpse through a torn piece of ceremonial cloth, one that is handwoven and patterned with mystical images?

In any one of these circumstances the moment of looking, wondering, and knowing provides a rare experience for the observer. Essentially, the painter reasserts an identity with the Hopi past, and reaffirms the significance of Bear Clan spiritual leadership in the Hopi present.

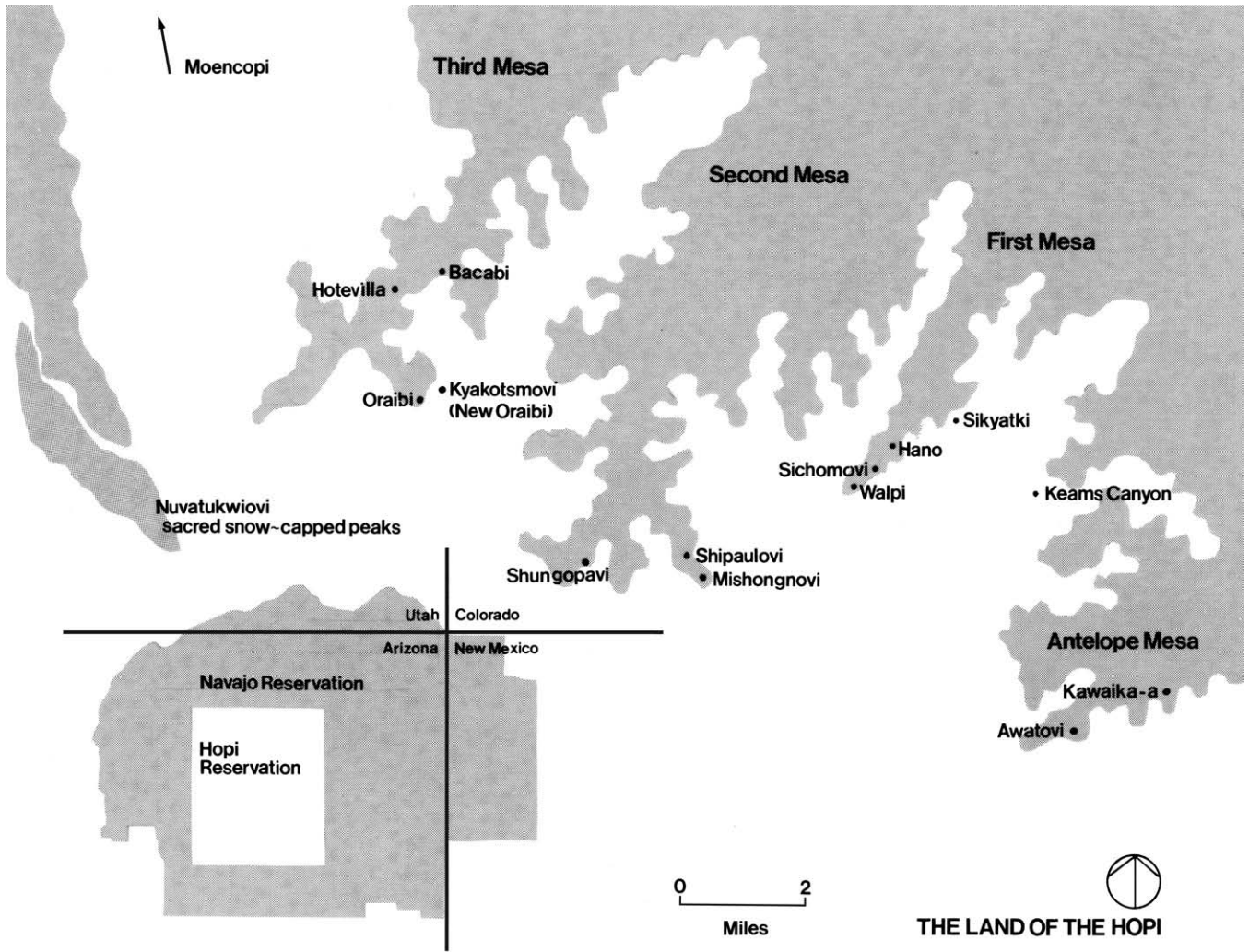


Figure 10. THE LAND OF THE HOPI  
 Keith Owens, graphic artist and mapmaker, 1982, Lubbock, Texas



## Hopi Mesas and Migrations: Land and People

Lomawywesa (Michael Kabotie)

“Here among the sandstone mesas you will find the Hopis. ‘Among them we settled as rain. . . .’”

Survival and revival; the varied landscapes, buildings and environment; agricultural practices, arts and crafts; community institutions, cultural programs, clan beliefs and rituals—these all have meaning to our Hopi people and Hopi land.

The Hopi Reservation is situated in northeastern Arizona, about seventy-five or one hundred miles from the San Francisco Peaks, one of our sacred mountains. We call it *Nuvatukwiovi*. An examination of the geographical area reveals that to the far eastern edge of the Hopi Reservation is Keam’s Canyon, the region in which the Federal Government offices are located. Westward from Keam’s Canyon are the three Hopi mesas with seven major villages. Identified with First Mesa are Walpi, Sichomovi, and Hano; Second Mesa villages are Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi, and Shungopavi; Oraibi, Kyakotsmovi (New Oraibi), Hotevilla and Bacabi are located on Third Mesa. The Hopi community of Moencopi marks the westernmost boundary of the Reservation.

The Hopi live in a harsh environment with not much vegetation. Our people chose to come to this land and to settle themselves among these mesas because during the migrations it was said that we should seek this promised land: a place where there is not too much green, where it is not too comfortable; a land that we would find barren, and where, to survive, we would be able to develop our strengths and our souls. Many of the mountains of the area are volcanic cones, and they are very special to our spiritual beliefs and ceremonies. It is among these buttes where our shrines are, and it is to these shrines that the Hopi make yearly pilgrimages to collect their eagles and to deliver their prayer feathers; or to collect herbs and other materials used in our ceremonies. So, this is the land where we chose to live. Here among the sandstone mesas you will find the Hopi. “Among them we settled as rain,” a Hopi song says. Here we would have to survive with our own personal strength and our soul strength.

The approach to First Mesa is primarily flat sandstone. Atop First Mesa are three Hopi villages. With very careful observation one can see or cannot see the villages. Traditional buildings are made of native materials which blend very well with the surroundings. They are invisible to the naked eye. But today, many of the new buildings are constructed of cinder blocks and are brightly painted. Unlike the natural environment these buildings are easily distinguished from the sandstone mesas. Walpi is the ancient village located at the extreme end of First Mesa; Sichomovi is the “middle” village; Hano, the northernmost of the three.<sup>1</sup> Present-day inhabitants of Hano are descended from Tewa-speaking people, our “Rio Grande cousins” who migrated to the Hopi after 1680, the year of the great Pueblo Rebellion. Many migratory Pueblo groups settled on Hopi land at that time. Today, we have several ruins on First Mesa which remind us that in 1740 some of these groups chose to leave our land and to return to the Rio Grande area. Others, such as the Tewa, or southern Tewa people, refused to go back.<sup>2</sup> They



Figure 11. TEWA VILLAGE OF HANO, FIRST MESA

Joseph Mora, photograph, 1904-1906 (Courtesy of John R. Wilson, Tulsa, Oklahoma)

had actively supported the 1680 rebellion; they were front warriors in Santa Fe, closest to the conflict. They feared heavy reprisals which would be brought against them. Hano village, then, was settled by Tewa people from the Rio Grande.

Villages of Second Mesa, such as Shungapovi, show the changes which take place in Hopi environment as the communities grow. Traditionally, a Hopi village is centered with a plaza or plazas where the people dance. Within the plaza area there are the sacred kivas, the religious chambers where much of the Hopi spiritual activity takes place. As an example, the village of Mishongnovi has four kivas within the plaza sector. In this traditional type of Hopi city-planning, clusters of homes made of native materials border the plaza and kiva areas. As the villages grow, the community borders extend outward. Many newer homes in these outer regions have access to running water, sewer systems, and electricity. At Shungapovi a white water tower is clearly seen at the top of the mesa.

During the time of our migrations and when we were building our first Hopi communities, we settled on the mesas as Cloud People. One group migrating from the south was designated as the Water People, my people. We were blessed as Cloud Children by the great Water Serpent, our Father. And so, like clouds, we settled on the high mesas, and as Cloud People we designed our buildings after the cumulus clouds. Our homes are multi-storied structures, made of native sandstone and plastered with mud. Our multi-storied Hopi architecture is a reflection of the high-climbing cumulus clouds.





Figure 12. WALPI VILLAGE, FIRST MESA

Owen Seumtewa, photograph, 1981 (Courtesy of the photographer, Second Mesa, Arizona)

The village plaza at Walpi has a tower in the center which some Hopi say represents the Water Serpent, our Father. Because this one community was founded by Water Clan people, each year in the plaza, people of the Water Clan re-enact the sacred serpent dances.<sup>3</sup>

Walpi (First Mesa) is situated at the top of steep cliffs some five hundred feet high. The village is not easily seen since the buildings of sandstone blend so well with the cliffs. In the patches of gardens below the cliffs, dry farming is practiced. To control land erosion, windbreaks made of surrounding brush are arranged in lines across the fields. These catch the sand movements and prevent the top soil from flying away. At a distance, corn hills appear as tiny dots in the fields lined with wind breaks. Hopi corn is planted very deep; about twelve kernels are placed in a hole some twelve inches deep. As the corn comes up, little tin cans are set over the young plants to provide them protection. Most of the kernels will grow: some kernels will be taken by the worms and some will be lost through the wind and weather. At a certain time in the growing season Hopi farmers go down the cliffs to their corn fields and select the strongest stems. These are the corn plants which will grow and mature.

Hopi are basically corn people. We believe in agriculture because our greatest symbol is the corn, the Corn Mother. In our truths and in our history it was taught us that at our time of emergence into this world, various kinds of foods were issued to the various peoples: the Hopi was given the corn, or we chose the corn. And instead of picking the long corn, the Hopi decided to pick up the shortest of the corn. Since that time we have been identified with that very short corn: each of us is very short just like our Mother, the Blue Short Corn.

Hopi communities farther west, such as Hotevilla on Third Mesa, and Moencopi on the extreme border of the Reservation, practice farming by irrigation, not dry-land farming. Hotevilla, one of the younger Hopi communities, was developed after 1906, the time of the great split at Old Oraibi.<sup>5</sup> On the lands below Hotevilla there are peach orchards, and above the orchards are terrace gardens, small individual family plots watered by natural springs. Because of the natural water sources in the center of the fields, farmers are able to use irrigation methods.

Old Oraibi is also on Third Mesa. It is one of the oldest continuously inhabited communities in North America. It dates back to about 900 A.D. Until the time of the great split in 1906, Oraibi was one of the largest Hopi communities. People who left the Oraibi area at the time of the split formed the newer villages of Kyakotsmovi (New Oraibi), Bacabi, Hotevilla, and Moencopi. But the ancient Hopi community of Old Oraibi is still inhabited.

West and south of the Hopi mesas is *Nuvatukwiovi* which we call "Snow Cap Peaks." This is where the sacred kachinas reside. When the Catholics came to our land they wanted to convert us to their ways. They distorted our kachinas. They told us, "It is not the kachinas who bring you rain from the sacred Nuvatukwiovi; it is a saint named San Francisco who comes and brings you rain." So they named the peaks "San Francisco." Now it is called the "San Francisco Peaks" instead of our sacred Nuvatukwiovi. This represents a kind of ideological challenge to us, making us rebuild our tribal concepts from 1680.

Hopi people have always been very fine artists. In 1950 we developed the Hopi Arts and Crafts Cooperative Guild which is one of the most successful Indian arts and crafts co-ops in the country, along with the Cherokee Co-op in Oklahoma. The Hopi Co-op supports some four hundred artists and craftsmen: basketmakers, carvers, painters, textile weavers, and silversmiths. Basketry and pottery are the oldest of the art forms among our people. At the village of Shungopavi on Second Mesa, where bas-

ketry is so old, there is a special basket dance.<sup>6</sup> Most of the young women of that village sing and dance in this ritual using the baskets they have made. It is a sacred initiation ceremony, and the basket songs are said to be blessings. How a young woman decorates a basket becomes her blessing, her contribution to the world.

Hopis are known as fine silversmiths today.<sup>7</sup> Until the turn of the century, we did not know much about working with silver. In 1940, Hopi jewelers developed a special kind of silver technique which we call "Hopi Overlay." Other craftsmen are skilled at processes of textile weaving<sup>8</sup> and kachina carving.<sup>9</sup> Our people are not only visual artists, but composers of songs. They love to ritualize everything; they love to dance and chant. So, the composer of Hopi songs shares his blessings and inner feelings with all living things.

The Hopi Cultural Center and Museum was recently organized on Second Mesa and it serves our people as an important cultural place. Several murals depicting our heritage have been painted there. These were inspired by a study of murals found in religious chambers at the ancient Hopi community of Awatovi, excavated in 1932.<sup>10</sup> The contemporary art movement began by the Artist Hopid was a result of that study.<sup>11</sup> Our recently completed murals reflect the ancient Hopi way of painting: flat, two-dimensional forms using earth colors. School children visit the Hopi Museum and the Hopi Arts and Crafts Guild. They study our art traditions; they learn about Hopi values and the Hopi way of life. They are taught to appreciate those values.

Other modern institutions are operating in our communities right now. The Hopi Tribal Council is a large organization which is working with new ideas and gaining power.<sup>12</sup> Not all villages nor all people recognize the Tribal Council, but all Hopi have to be involved with it. There is a need to know whether you agree or disagree with the Council, whether you are a friend or enemy to Council policies and actions. Community centers are now being built and programs developed in all Hopi villages; these centers are a political arm of the Tribal Council. Traditionally, the people would gather in kivas to listen to the elders and to make tribal judgments. But now we have our community centers where policies are being determined.

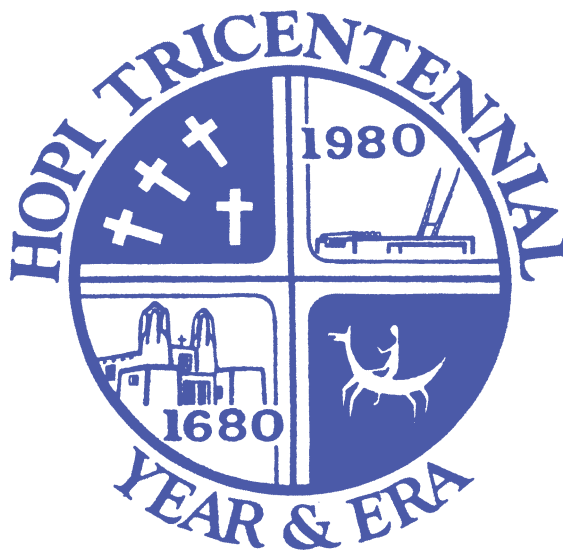
Many new social and educational programs are being developed. Community meetings now are arranged so that families in the Hopi villages can meet together, talk together. Also, there are educational conferences where information is exchanged with scholars who come to visit us and who wish to share knowledge with us. Other events focus on athletics. Hopi are known to be great long distance runners. The Tewanima Relays are now an annual event. Tewanima was a Hopi athlete who represented the United States in the 1912 Olympiad in Stockholm, along with James Thorpe.<sup>13</sup> Young Hopi runners participate each year in this running marathon, and after the races they put on their traditional costumes and dance. Other participants in this celebration are the young women, in costumes, and the clowns.

Recently, the Hopi Cultural Center Museum in conjunction with the Hopi Tribal Council recognized the Hopi Tricentennial Year which also this Symposium acknowledges. This was a great celebration, the theme was "Revival." The Artist Hopid designed a logo for the Tricentennial. The emblem [see Figure 2] is a four-part design utilizing symbols which tell us about the Great Pueblo Rebellion of 1680. One section shows the messengers coming to us from Taos, bringing news of the Rebellion. Another section shows four crosses. Three crosses represent the three Hopi Catholic missions which

were destroyed in the revolt against Spain: the church of St. Bernardo at Awatovi, San Bartolomé at Shungopavi, and San Francisco at Oraibi. The fourth cross stands for the revival of the San Bernardo Mission at Awatovi and its final destruction in 1700. The fourth section of the logo depicts a kiva, a symbol of Hopi religion that is still being practiced.

For the tricentennial celebration, we re-enacted the marathon run from Taos, New Mexico, to our Hopi land, a distance of some four hundred miles. On August 10, 1980, the Hopi marathon runners brought to us from Taos, the message of the rebellion, and also three sacred objects: a corn from the Rio Grande pueblos, a pouch commemorating the Tricentennial, and a paho, a religious prayer feather. We then conducted a small private ceremony for the Hopi runners and for the three sacred objects which were brought to us.

“Revival” was the theme of the Hopi Tricentennial, and basically, that is what the celebration was. It was a time of cleansing, of getting rid of alien concepts, of purifying ourselves. It was a revival.



## Notes

1. For a discussion of the three Hopi mesas, see Henry C. James, Pages from *Hopi History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), pp. 9–16.
2. See Edward P. Dozier, *Hano: A Tewa Community in Arizona* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966); Erik K. Reed, “The Tewa Indians of the Hopi Country,” *Plateau* 25 (July 1952): 11–18; and Erik K. Reed, “The Origins of Hano Pueblo,” *El Palacio* 50 (April 1943): 73–76.
3. For a discussion of the Water Clan and other Hopi clans, see James, *Hopi History*, pp. 17–32.
4. See Paul Weatherwax, *Indian Corn in Old America* (New York: Macmillan, 1954); and Harvey Howard Biggar, “The Old and the New in Corn Culture,” in *Yearbook 1918* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1919), pp. 123–136.
5. For a discussion of the split at Oraibi, see James, *Hopi History*, pp. 130–146; and D’Arcy McNickle, “Afternoon on a Rock,” *Common Ground* 5 (Spring, 1945): 71–76.
6. Basket dances are also performed at First Mesa and Third Mesa. For additional information on Hopi basketry, see Frederic H. Douglas’s *Southwestern Twined, Wicker and Plaited Basketry* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1940); Frederic H. Douglas and Jean Jeancon, *Hopi Indian Basketry* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1930); *Arizona Highways* (Special Indian Basketry Issue), July 1975; and Clara Lee Tanner, *Southwest Indian Craft Arts* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968).
7. For further information on Hopi silverwork, see John Adair, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmith* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946); Margaret N. Wright, *Hopi Silver* (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1972); and Mary Colton and Russell F. Colton, “Hopi Silversmithing—Its Background and Future,” *Plateau* 12 (1939).
8. For a detailed study about Hopi textile work, see Jerry Jacka, “Hopi Weaving,” *Arizona Highways*, July 1974; Frederic H. Douglas and Jean Jeancon, *Hopi Indian Weaving* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1931); and Frederic H. Douglas, *Main Types of Pueblo Cotton Textiles and Main Types of Pueblo Woolen Textiles* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1940).
9. For a discussion of Hopi kachina carving, see Barton Wright, *Hopi Kachinas: The Complete Guide to Collecting Kachina Dolls* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1977), pp. 9–24.
10. For a full description of the Awatovi excavation, see Watson Smith and J. O. Brew, *Franciscan Awatobi: The excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Established at a Hopi Town in Northeastern Arizona*, Papers of the Peabody Museum, vol. 36 (Cambridge, Mass., 1949).
11. The Artist Hopid was organized in May 1973, by Michael Kabotie, Terrance Talaswaima and Neil David, Sr. See Patricia Janis Broder, *Hopi Painting: The World of the Hopis* (New York: The Brandywine Press, 1978), pp. 299–304.
12. The Hopi Tribal Council was established in 1936 as a result of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The act was an attempt by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, and others to preserve Indian culture and encourage tribal organization. However, the Tribal Council was not accepted by all Hopi. Many traditional Hopi view the Tribal Council as a tool of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and refuse to work with it. The Council continues to be the subject of controversy. For additional information about the Hopi Tribal Council, see William H. Kelly, ed., *Indian Affairs and the Indian Reorganization Act: The Twenty Year Record* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1954); Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier and the American Indian* (Ann Arbor: Michigan State Press, 1980); James, *Hopi History*, pp. 201–222; and Peter Matthiessen, “Journeys to Hopi National Sacrifice Area,” *Rocky Mountain Magazine*, July–August 1979, pp. 49–64.
13. Robert Reising, “Jim Thorpe: Multi-Cultural Hero,” *Indian Historian* 7 (Fall 1974): 14–16.

14. In 1692 Governor and Captain General Don Diego de Vargas reconquered New Mexico. In November 1692, he visited the Hopi villages where he set up crosses in Awatovi, Walpi, Mishongnovi, and Shungopavi. No Spanish came to live among the Hopis and they were largely ignored until 1700 when two priests came to the Hopi. They were received only in Awatovi where they spent several days baptizing many of the inhabitants. After the priests left the Hopis, the inhabitants of Oraibi, Mishongnovi, Walpi and Shungopavi, angered by Awatovi's reacceptance of Catholicism, attacked the village, killed all the men, captured the women and children and destroyed the village. There is evidence that ill feelings between Oraibi and Awatovi contributed to the destruction of Awatovi. See also Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Awatobi, an Archaeological Verification of a Tusayan Legend," *American Anthropologist* (o. s.), 6 (1893); and Christy G. Turner II and Nancy T. Morris, "A Massacre at Hopi," *American Antiquity* 35 (No. 3, 1970): 320–331.



SUBJECT: **Corn as Life Essence**

Edna Glenn

Five Paintings by the Artist Hopid

Figure 13: Four Mother Corn  
Dawakema (Milland Lomakema)

Figure 14: Kachina Maiden Watching Fields  
Coochsiwkioma (Delbridge Honanie)

Figure 15: Harvest Prayer  
Honvantewa (Terrance Talaswaima)

Figure 16: Kachinas Germinating Plants  
Dawakema (Milland Lomakema)

Figure 17: Angak' China (Long-haired Kachina)  
Honvantewa (Terrance Talaswaima)

“Hopi basically are corn people. We believe in agriculture because our greatest symbol is the corn, the ‘Corn Mother’.”

Lomawywesa



Figure 13. FOUR MOTHER CORN  
Dawakema (Milland Lomakema)  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)



Dawakema celebrates the sacredness of corn. Utilizing only four major compositional elements, four corn ears, he explains the Hopi concept that corn is a life spirit and that it exists in both earthly and spiritual realms.

The title of the painting indicates the content: the four corns are “mother corns” or “tiponis,” ceremonial objects primarily symbolizing fertility. A single “tiponi” exemplifies the universal mother-of-all image, the originator of all life, who brings to living beings the life-essence of creativity. Spiritually endowed on an altar or carried by certain designated chieftains, priests, or kachinas, the corn “tiponi” petitions the appropriate gods for special kinds of blessings. Perhaps in this painting the particular blessings of an abundant harvest are implied.

Visually, the four painted corns construct an altar. They consume the total picture space, and they confirm their ceremonial presence with such authority and grandeur one does not question that the entire hierarchy of Hopi gods is summoned to their command. Symbolically, they reveal the universe. Their four distinct colors designate the four cardinal directions: yellow for north, blue for west, red for south, and white for east. They also indicate the daily path of the sun, east and west; and the yearly journey of the sun, north and south. It is said that when the four mother-corn are placed on Hopi kiva altars, they become ritualistic directional signs. Implied also is the belief in the sacredness of Hopi corn fields, the corn fields that each year yield corn ears in these very colors.

Indeed, the composition is carefully controlled. The artist depicts each mother-corn with particularity; each is represented as being ceremonially wrapped and tied, and deified through the addition of an eagle feather. At lower picture center Dawakema stabilizes the four-part ensemble in an earth mound contoured by corn husks. Yet he endows the ensemble with a life energy that causes them, visually, to emerge from the brown-earth altar and to ascend to a higher level of existence. They now inhabit an unbounded blue domain that encompasses the top-most sections of picture space. Symbolically, they move within an aura of cloud formations and migrational signatures of the past. Ultimate spirituality is attained.

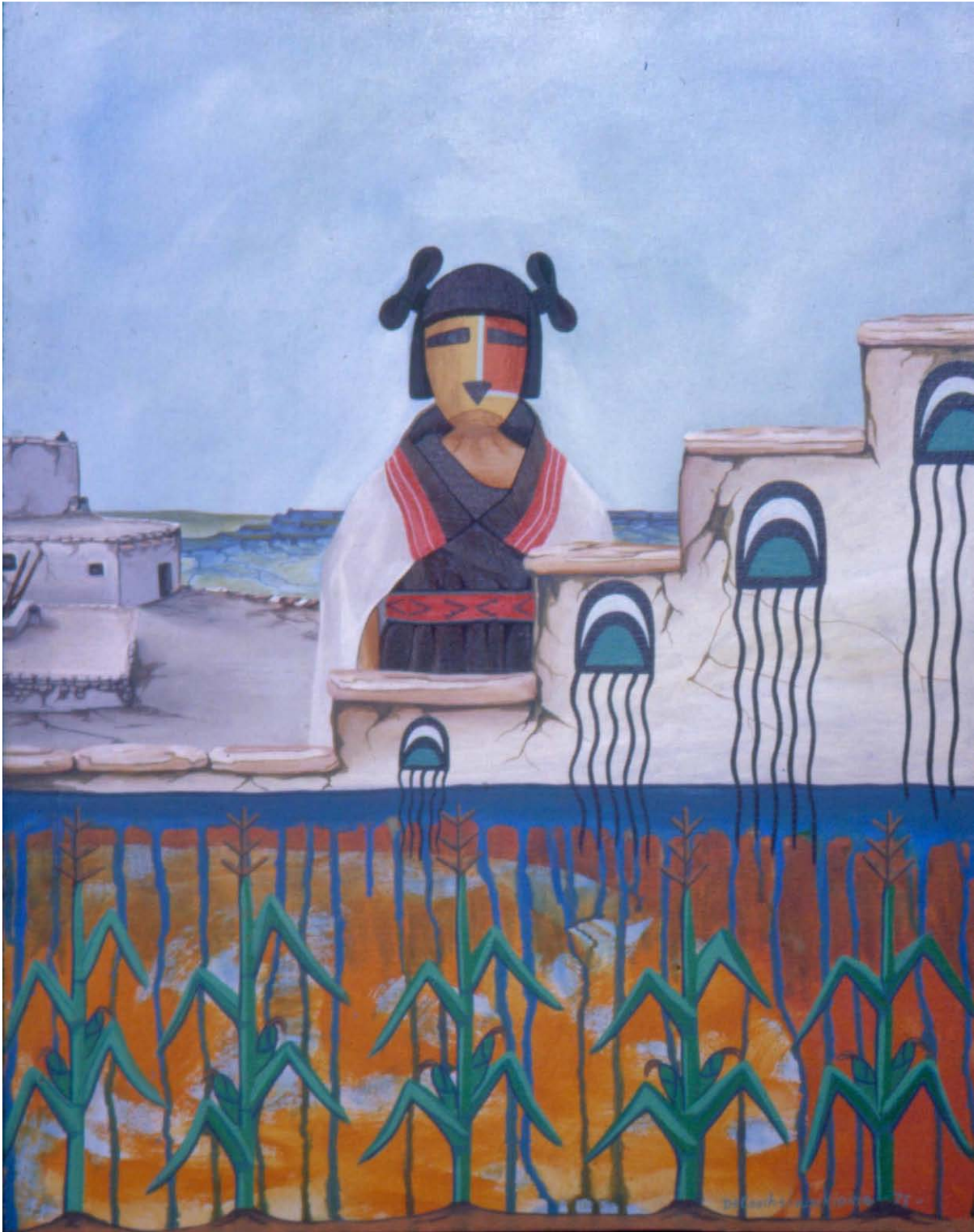


Figure 14. KACHINA MAIDEN WATCHING FIELDS  
Coochsiwukioma (Delbridge Honanie)  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)

A Hopi maiden wearing hair in squash-blossom whorls dominates Coochsiwukioma's painting. She stands at the exact center of the formalized composition, realistically positioned among environmental elements indigenous to the Hopi mesas. There is arid land that stretches through space to the horizon, an expanse of blue sky, communal dwellings and a kiva built of rock, and corn plants. But a more intent examination of the painting proves that the picture presented is not for scenic purposes; it is a visual description of Hopi ceremonialism.

Actually, the young maiden in the composition is a masked Kachina Mana appropriately clothed in ritual garments: a hand-woven "maiden shawl" bordered in red and indigo blue contains her body, a red ceremonial sash encircles her waist. She is one of the female members of kachina families who reside ceremonially with Hopi people during the spring and summer months, the seasons of planting and harvesting. In the context of this painting, she perhaps could be called "Corn Girl." The presence of the Kachina Mana in the Hopi environment indicates prayers for moisture and healthy corn plants. Steadfastly, she stands on the kiva steps, a lone figure enveloped by a sense of earth and sky space that is permeated with beauty, peace, and harmony. A placid calm is so strongly expressed by the artist, the viewer at this very instant seems to be intruding, to be disrupting the vigil of the meditating mana.

Meaning is derived through particular painted symbolisms and their placement on the picture plane. Single cloud forms, colored green and emitting gently falling rain, scale the altar-like stair-step arrangement to the maiden's left. On her right the kiva and kiva ladder images denote deification of space. Below her, fertile and moist cornfields are in the process of becoming lush with green corn plants. Here, the ritual of life growth takes place; it focuses on the kachina maiden. She commands the blessings of rain.

The purpose of the painting is to show the significance of ceremony to the cultivation of Hopi corn. The painter, however, tells about himself. With such precision and care, Coochsiwukioma delineates the natural and manmade forms of the Hopi environment. Immediately evident is his innate devotion and love for the native land, a concern and respect for the processes of the earth, and a reverence for the ancient tribal people. He will continue their life patterns.



Figure 15. HARVEST PRAYER  
Honvantewa (Terrance Talaswaima)  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)

A Hopi drama is staged in the painting by Honvanteva. How simple and refined the performance is; only three figures play the parts, two Hopi-beings and a single corn plant. Action centers on the corn object around which the two Hopi figures move and offer prayers for a successful corn harvest. One could designate the three-part scene a religious triptych bearing the title "Adoration."

The drama is performed on a high, earth-like stage. With this point of view, the observer watches from below, making an effort to understand the plot as it unfolds. A male-being and a female-being provide the action, as indicated by costumes and hairstyles. They perform with restrained, measured movements as if the parts have been played many times before, perhaps throughout all centuries of ceremonial time. One reminisces about Awatovi kiva murals where ancient wall paintings reveal a similar type of ceremony, figure style, and spatial composition. Images are simplified, reduced to colored areas of flat planes, frontalized, expressive. These characteristics are noted in Honvanteva's painting. The stage space is narrow and so limited that the two actors stand on the very front of the stage, their feet at the edge of a base line. The picture plane is divided symmetrically. Except for a few variations the Hopi-beings are identical, their arms outstretched in interchangeable votive positions. They gesture to the centralized corn-god figure and pray that each corn stalk in Hopi fields will mature to perfect growth and productive harvest as symbolized by the adored corn plant.

It is a time of quiet devotion. The female figure on the left offers a ceremonial bowl that shows a decorative corn ear painted on the surface. At right, the male figure extends the worshipful gift of a pipe. Hopi people often refer to ceremonial pipes as "cloud blowers." They believe that sacred messages ascend with smoke clouds from ritual pipes just as rain messages emerge from sky clouds. Each actor holds one prayer feather and each wears a single feather as hair adornment. These are eagle tail feathers and important ceremonial objects because they are symbolic of white clouds with black rain falling below. In this scene the feathers also are primary indicators that the stage space encompassing the corn-icon is sacred space. A wealth of Hopi symbolism decorates the wide, reddish-brown band at lower picture-edge. This might be interpreted as earth floor space; it seems intrinsic to the deified corn plant. Symbols in the band link the "Harvest Prayer" ceremony to the past: migrational patterns, petroglyph figures, and design elements from ancient pottery and cloth fragments.

There is evidence of energy penetrating the total scene. Intersecting yellow and green spaces suggestive of sun rays envelop the corn plant and extend outward as symbols of creative growth. Strangely, one observes this solar phenomenon through a subtly-painted theatrical backdrop. It is a transparent curtain of gently-falling rain saturating the earth. Honvanteva's ceremonial drama of harvest prayer is made complete.



Figure 16. KACHINAS GERMINATING PLANTS  
Dawakema (Milland Lomakema)  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)

Of the five paintings in the group this one presents to the viewer the most involved Hopi iconography and ideology. It is a six-part composition, the various sections, colors, and figures denoting the ceremonial process of corn germination.

Dawakema's painting shows that the ritual of germination occurs at night, indicated by moon and stars that appear in the dark space at upper left picture-edge. Also, it occurs at winter-solstice time in the underground kiva, indicated as a grayish picture-space that contains the kachina figures actively involved with the process of germinating corn. A black section at lower picture-edge represents the sacred earth from which each fertilized, moisturized corn-plant emerges into the kiva and symbolically achieves life-growth through germination.

A single kachina-mana centers the kiva. Her figure is visually and spiritually integrated to three spatial regions: the earth, the kiva, and the sky-like area above, painted blue and hung with circular loops that are Hopi fertility signs. A projecting green-red-yellow altar-form dominates all space and all symbolism. It encloses the meditating mana and emits continuous rainfall to all plants within the kiva, to the extent that a patterned flow of water borders the black earth at lower picture-edge from left to right. The altar-form is a Hopi icon which represents, generally, the reproduction of all living things. Specifically, in this painting, the form infers that the inception of life to corn kernels is taking place and that this is happening in the kiva through the spiritual powers of the female kachina-figure and the two male kachina-figures who represent Hopi Germ Gods. Female and male symbolic elements are unified to make a complex whole. Pictorially, germination occurs and corn growth is confirmed.

Six corn plants consume the foreground of the artwork. Compositionally, three separate plants flank the kachina-mana on each side, and at each outer edge of the painting, one plant grows to full maturity within a yellow, sunlit area, perhaps revealing the creative strength of the sun. A significant rainbow is also observed. It enters the picture space at lower right, and moving upward, serves as a three-way link to fertility symbols; it ties together the mature corn-plant, the kachina within the kiva who is attending to plant germination, and the fertility altar-form itself. Thus, all forces of the Hopi universe are collectively summoned to the creative act of growing corn.

Dawakema presents an intriguing composition, loaded with symbolic clues, primarily for expressive purposes. Just as the growing of Hopi corn is more than the manipulation of a planting stick, the artist displays his compositional and painting skills for the purpose of presenting a strong personal belief about his people, the Hopi. The pictorial message says that the germination and growth of corn is intrinsic to a broader concept of life, the concept that life-growth is an ongoing, creative, regenerative process.





The title of Honvantewa's painting is "The Long-Haired Kachina." The painting, however, could bear any one of the following labels: "Germination," "Emergence and Migration," "Kachina Mana," "Spiritual Essence," or simply, "Sacred Corn." On one canvas there are pictorial references to all of these facets of Hopi ceremonial life, and for every Hopi, these also are facets of daily life. They construct the sign posts on the Hopi Way.

In one interpretation of the painting, it seems that Honvantewa builds a contemporary sign post to inform the viewer about the painted imagery and the spiritual relationships taking place. The sign post is a shield-like shape that dominates the entire composition. It bears two important heraldic heads: those of the Long-Haired Kachina and a kachina mana. The formal placement of the single, masked heads reveals their noteworthy presence.

Topmost in the arrangement is the Long-Haired Kachina, appearing as a decorated chieftain who commands all of the surrounding elements, including the kachina mana whose head is contained within the shield-shaped structure. A third, major figure moves into the composition at the right. It is a deified corn plant to which the masked kachina pays reverent respect. As if eye-to-eye, there is evidence of a dynamic confrontation, a spiritual interchange that takes place between the Long-Haired Kachina and the corn-god. The content of the painting is clearly evident: ceremonial activity that brings a plentiful corn crop, the life-necessity for Hopi people. And it is the Long-Haired Kachina who provides spiritual blessings for the ritual request.

All Hopi adore and desire the Long-Haired Kachina. Certainly, he is one of the most beautifully attired ceremonial figures: a turquoise-blue mask bordered at lower edge by a rainbow band and beard; and long, flowing black hair, worn loose, with enhancement of white, downy plumes from an eagle's breast. This kachina is primarily adored, however, because he brings rain to Hopi arid lands, providing moisture for bountiful corn and beautiful flowers. In this respect, the Long-Haired Kachina, at times, is associated with sacred cloud forms; cloud blessings also bring rain. And both, the kachina and the clouds come to the Hopi mesas from the San Francisco Peaks as rain-messengers from spirit-beings who reside there. With the aid of the kachina mana, the Long-Haired Kachina germinates and fertilizes young corn plants. This is a ceremonial assurance that the corn will reach maturity and will be productive.

Color is a major device used by the painter to indicate the creative-life process. A dominance of strong greens and blues throughout the composition presents the idea of moisture and growth. The corn plant, itself seems to have evolved from the ongoing, fertilization process at mid-center of the composition, unfolding at left-edge, and developing life as it continues across the lower-expanse of the painting. An encounter with symbolic emergence and migration spiral patterns strengthens the movement. Always, the painter edges the greens with red, symbolically suggesting the presence of sun energy from the direction, south. The painter presents a white linear area that borders, on the left, the

Figure 17. ANGAK' CHINA (Long-Haired Kachina)  
 Honvantewa (Terrance Talaswaima)  
 painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)

long, flowing hair of the Kachina. White is symbolic of the direction east, and indicates the source of the sun as the Creator of life itself. Contouring the white area are migrational paths of the Hopi, accented by clusters of four, small, black lines. Perhaps these lines show that the Hopi today live in the Fourth World, having emerged from three previous worlds.

A mottled, painterly technique employed by the artist, includes rainbow colors and implies the effect of active, atmospheric particles accompanying the dynamic germination process. Particularly intense is the reddish, mottled area enclosing the kachina mana's female presence. Here, the symbolic unity of male and female elements as the sacred act of creation is exclaimed by all pictorial elements.

In Honvanteva's painting the corn grows through kachina blessings. It is the ritual wish of every Hopi farmer that the Long-Haired Kachina is present in his corn field each spring season to caress the corn plants and to wrap them with long flowing hair, so suggestive of gentle rainfall.



## The Hopi Way: Art as Life, Symbol, and Ceremony

Honvantewa (Terrance Talaswaima)

“As artists, we try to document every aspect of Hopi life. We know the Hopi way; we live it, we can taste, we can see, and we can smell Hopi.”

Spiritual essence is the heart of the Hopi way. It is the ceremonial way, but also it is the every-day way of Hopi, human life. It is the physical world of beauty which surrounds us in animals and plants, but also it is the spiritual world, because everything in nature has a spirit. Our concept of the Hopi way is that a spiritual essence touches every part of our lives; it exists as a very personal religion providing a belief about ourselves and how we live with each other and our surroundings. In a special way, it exists in our religious celebrations. It also exists in our art.

From birth we are Hopi. As young children, we grow as Hopi. We do not go to school to learn what it means to be Hopi. Ceremonial life begins for a child when it is ten years old and it is initiated into the first society, the kachina-cult society. At this time the child understands the importance of Hopi spiritual life as related to the activities of its own life.

When a boy child is sixteen, he is given a name and initiated into the manhood society. As a mature Hopi, he fully comprehends his tribal responsibilities and his obligations to live the Hopi way, observing the sacred rituals. As he practices these religious beliefs, he grows in the concepts of spiritual essence. There are times when a Hopi moves to the outside world and learns the white way of life. My experience took me away from the Hopi mesas for some fifteen years. That was very much a part of my education. Still my spirit was Hopi. My return to my people enabled me to paint, to write songs, to dance, and once again to live the Hopi way. My obligation is to carry on the sacred responsibility.

Five of us, the Artist Hopid,<sup>1</sup> understand this responsibility. As artists, we try to document every aspect of Hopi life. We know the Hopi way; we live it, we can taste, we can see, and we can smell Hopi. We feel that we are in tune with nature in all of our surroundings.

The sun is an important part of Hopi essence; it is the source of energy for all living things. We live with our land; it provides daily nourishment and strength for our bodies and souls. Even the rocks of the mesas have a kind of life-essence. The rocks are beautiful in their many colors and textures; they change with the seasons and with the years. They are the substance of our ancient village shrines and the houses we live in. The kiva is our most sacred ceremonial space, the central area of the Hopi way of life. It is made of stone and plastered with earth mud.

One summer my paintings concentrated only on the forms of rocks. Rocks, to me, were going to disappear from our land, so it was necessary to paint and preserve them. It was a comfortable feeling for me to paint the rocks because I identify with rock, which is the natural source of the Hopi environment.

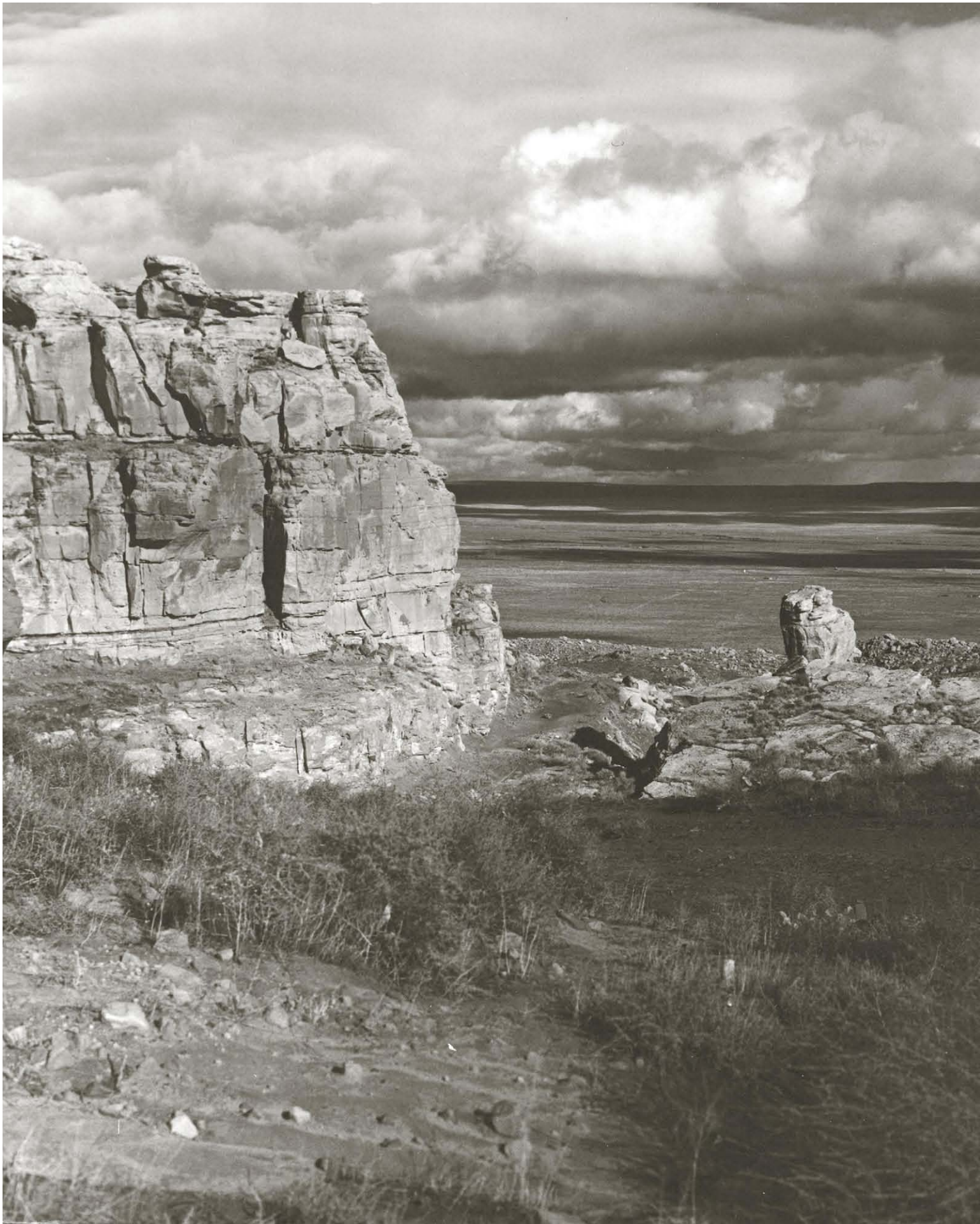




Figure 18. THE HOPI LAND  
Owen Seumptewa, photograph, 1981  
(Courtesy of the photographer, Second Mesa, Arizona)



Figure 19. HOPI CEREMONIAL CALENDAR (mural)

Artist Hopid: Lomawywesa (Michael Kabotie), Dawakema (Milland Lomakema), Coochsiwukioma (Delbridge Honanie), Honvantewa (Terrance Talaswaima), Neil David, Sr. painting, acrylic. 1975. Collection: Hopi Cultural Center Museum Second Mesa, Arizona (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona; and Jerry Jacka, photographer, Phoenix, Arizona)

Colors which represent the earth are also important: reds, yellows, browns, and blues. We use them in our art works, and when we perform the sacred rituals we paint them on our bodies and on our ceremonial clothing. Sometimes we use paint brushes, or we may use our hands as paint brushes, which is the ancient, traditional way of painting.

As Hopi artists, we sense beauty and meaning in every aspect of our lives. We believe that we are a part of a great living force which began hundreds of years ago. We do not accept the popular theory which says that all people came to this land from across the Bering Strait. Our concept is that we came from the Third World of the Hopi and that, now, we are in the Fourth World. We emerged from underground, somewhere in the Grand Canyon. That is our concept. Archaeologists date our people back to the twelfth century, but we believe that this great, living-force comes to us from ancient times, and that our culture retains it today.<sup>2</sup> As Hopi artists we share it. We live the artistic, aesthetic way; we must develop the talents given to us. We have the responsibility to communicate to others, Hopi and non-Hopi peoples, through our art, the spiritual images of Hopi life.

When we concern ourselves with Hopi life and Hopi art, we are involved with the very existence of the ceremony. The most significant work of the Artist Hopid is a large mural, the "Hopi Ceremonial Calendar," which we painted in 1975. It depicts, through symbols, the Hopi path of life based on ritual events occurring in one lunar year. It is a summary statement which presents our significant ceremonies: those for the kachina, for the Men's Society and Women's Society, and for the clans that pro-



vide leadership and guidance through the succession of rituals. Not only are there spiritual lessons to be learned from the mural, there are portrayals of the physical elements of night and day, the change of seasons, and the agricultural life of the Hopis.

The mural hangs at the Hopi Cultural Center and Museum on Second Mesa, covering a wall space of some thirty-five feet in width, a total of 274 square feet. The process of making the mural was a contemporary art-happening in itself. Four of us of the Artist Hopid painted continuously, night and day, for a period of two weeks, with Hopi people and music providing background support. Actually, the painting is a large Hopi timepiece portraying the ceremonial cycle of life. The completed Ceremonial Calendar was presented to the Hopi people and to the Cultural Center by the Artist Hopid in formal ceremonies in July 1975. "Dedication," quoted below, was written by Lomawyvesa (Michael Kabotie) for that occasion.

This mural was painted in reverence and in homage to HOPI:

A life force and philosophy that nurtured and gave strength to countless generations of HOPI PEOPLE

A way of life, time tested by the forces of Mother Nature for eons; survived and matured.

A concept so deep that deliberate attempts by gold and soul hungry ideologies to unroot it have failed.

A spiritual outlook so strong, that despite the hardships, it prays for all living beings to have fulfilling lives,

And those beautiful souls that live its teachings, and guide it,

THE HOPI PEOPLE

So with the greatest honor and respect, members of ARTIST HOPID dedicate the  
HOPI CEREMONIAL CALENDAR to the HOPI PEOPLE and all living beings.

ARTIST HOPID<sup>3</sup>

Observing the mural reproduced on preceding pages, there are seven interlocking circles: one, a large full moon circle at the center connected to a series of three small circles on each side. The circle form is one of our most sacred symbols, and the total series of adjoining circles represents a kind of ceremonial kinship among all of our clans and societies.

Although the calendar does not mark non-Hopi Christian calendar-time, it is to be noted that each small circle symbolizes two moons, or an approximate equivalent of two months. The circle at the far left represents the month of August. Moon cycles which follow left to right, move from August through the fall and winter months to December which marks the winter solstice at approximately Hopi mid-year and mid-center of the mural. The months of spring and summer follow through the moon cycles at the right, the final circle designating the month of July. Late June marks the time of summer solstice. In this way, one Hopi year, timewise, appears to be complete. But we believe that the Hopi ceremonial path is ever evolving, so that on the calendar mural, the path moves from the July circle on the extreme right into the succeeding lunar year, beginning again at the far left with the August circle.

It is the ceremonies that structure calendar-time for the Hopi. Approximately one-half of our year is devoted to kachinas, preparing for their return to the mesas and their special celebrations. The remaining one-half year is devoted to non-kachina rituals. Transition points for the two one-half year periods occur at the sun solstice events in late December and June. Kachina observances are portrayed on the calendar in the three small circles on the right, the non-kachina events are noted in the three small circles at the left. Ceremonies are shown in the following order, beginning at the left: August, Snake or Flute ceremonies (non-kachina); September-October-November, dances of the Women's Societies (non-kachina); November, Wuwuchim tribal initiation (non-kachina); late December, winter solstice time, Soyal ceremonies and the beginning of kachina celebrations. Pamuya kiva dances and Powamu bean dances occur in January-February (kachina). Various plaza dances for the kachina take place from March through the summer months. And with Niman time in July, following summer solstice, the kachinas leave the mesas, returning to their kiva in the sacred San Francisco Peaks.

Examining the full moon circle at the center of the mural, two important clan figures are shown. The Soyal Kachina who faces us at upper left represents Bear Clan leadership over the non-kachina rituals depicted on the left; Ahula, facing us on the right in the large circle, represents Kachina Clan leadership over the kachina rituals depicted on the right. The two halves of the ceremonial year are under spiritual guidance of these two clan leaders. Both figures rise powerfully above the symbolic sun-and-earth space in the lower circle-half and control the vertical prayer stick which is laden with prayer feathers and anchored in a sacred ceremonial bowl. Stylized seed forms in an earth mound support the ceremonial bowl and represent the harvest to come. Other symbols include planting sticks, bear-paw tracks, ears of corn, lightning, and a cloud-altar form. All images included in this circle refer to the blessings of rain and abundant crops which are for the benefit of all human beings.

Two white lines extend outward from the exact center of the full moon circle, which also is the exact center of the mural. They represent our sacred corn meal and symbolize Hopi ceremonial paths. The corn meal paths in the painting intersect all moon cycles and rituals. They direct the Hopi way of life; every Hopi travels the corn meal path each year. Covering the total arrangement of moon circles is a colorful rainbow. It rises from the symbolic blue water of the ocean and the brown earth across the bottom of the mural to spaces above, enclosing four large areas at the top. These areas are colored to



represent the four cardinal directions: yellow for north, blue or green for west, red for south, and white for east. Actually, Hopis knew that the earth had a rainbow covering long before the astronauts from Houston made that discovery in their spaceships. In its entirety, the painted mural presents a display of color, symbolic forms, spiritual beings, and religious meaning.

Every Hopi is involved in ceremonial life, the men with the Men's Societies and the women with the Women's Societies. A man usually belongs to one society and one kiva only. He does not try to learn about the kiva ceremonies of a society other than the one to which he belongs. In this way we keep a balance of the religious facets of the Hopi way of life. In this way we preserve the sacredness of the societies, the kivas, and the rituals.

There are five societies which are traditionally important to us: Two Horn, One Horn, Wuwuchim, Snake, and Flute. Each ceremony requires personal sacrifice, physically and spiritually. Sometimes it takes sixteen days of preparation and planning for a religious ritual: making and organizing the proper clothing and accessories, learning the songs, learning to dance the songs and the music, and finally, on the last day, performing the ceremony. Weekend dances require less time, perhaps an involvement of four days. But it is six hours out of your life, every day, for four days.

My people are the Pumpkin Clan people. We were the last people to come to the mesas at the time of our emergence and migration. We are known as the Hopi historians. At a certain time in the ceremonial year, we re-enact the traditional concept of the emergence of the Hopi people into this world. My involvement with these ceremonies allows me to compose the songs for both the kachina and social dances. There are approximately 250 distinct types of kachinas, and the major types are divided into groups. Each kachina ceremony requires certain dances and new songs for me to write.

The Water Clan people and the Snake Clan people are involved with the spiritual blessings of the springs, replenishing the water sources of Hopi villages. In the mural, in the August moon cycle on the far left, the Snake and Antelope Clan people are shown paying homage to the sacred ceremonial snake with prayers for rain. Water is very central to Hopi existence. It brings flowers and abundant harvest for Hopi life: corn, beans, and squash. Late in the summer when these particular ceremonies take place, the Snake people with their own ritual blessings gather snakes for six days.

On the ninth day they dance with them: bull snakes, rattlesnakes, sidewinders, and whipsnakes—all native to the Hopi mesas. In alternate years, there is the Flute Dance Ceremony, also shown in the August circle, which brings blessings of rain. The pleasing flute sounds cause the corn and flowers to grow. We must have the ceremonies, the blessings of rain, and a continuous flow of spring water.

We believe in reincarnation to a certain extent. When we die we want to become rain people, and we want to come back as priestly rain clouds. If we are fortunate, we are transformed in the spirit world to revisit the Hopi world as clouds, snow, spring showers, summer storms, and winter rain. Ancestral people are rain people; they wait in the four corners of the Hopi world for prayers from Hopis.

During the September-October moon cycles the Women's Society performs non-kachina rituals. These are celebrations involving the growing of young girls into womanhood, and their basketry craft. In the mural, the September half-circle (adjacent to the August circle at far left) shows Hopi women involved in the "Knee-High" dance. A single dancer shows body-painted designs taken from a sacred prayer stick. They indicate her maturity and prayer offerings at this time. Within the same circle, the October half-space portrays the women's Basket Dance or Lakon Ceremony. Lakon women are ob-

served with their hand-woven baskets in front of them, their baskets revealing the artistry of weaving. Their October prayers ask for winter-time blessings, and most of all, successful animal hunts for the Hopi men. The baskets also are symbols of food blessings and food sharing to take place in late spring and summer.

The moon-circle of November and December is found in the mural joining the large full-moon figure at the left edge. Representatives of the Men's Societies are shown in the kivas, praying and performing the rites for rebirth of life which comes with the winter solstice and early spring. At this time the sun is asked to direct the Hopi path of life to warmer seasons.

Calendar sequences designate the Hopi agricultural cycle: seasons for planting, germinating, growing, and harvesting of crops. These are primarily associated with kachina ceremonials depicted in the circles on the right side of the calendar and occurring in late January through July. The small central circle in the sequence on the right represents the months of April through June, and kachinas are depicted here arriving at the Hopi mesas on a rainbow amid numerous symbols for rain and harvest blessings: flowing streams of water, cloud-altars with rain, the fertile earth, a frog, prayer stick, and a sacred seed form. This circle moves into the white background area of the mural indicating the direction east, symbolically important to ideas of creativity and growth, the regeneration of life.

We painted the mural to express the Hopi way of life today. Clearly, the essence of the artwork and of our lives is ceremonialism. But the twentieth-century ceremonial way is very much the traditional ceremonial way: for us, the new and the old harmoniously merge to provide meaning and direction to both contemporary life and contemporary art.

The Artist Hopid were inspired and challenged when we took time in the early years of the 1970s to study wall paintings from kivas unearthed at the ancient villages of Awatovi and Kawaika-a in Arizona.<sup>4</sup> Other kivas with significant wall paintings were excavated at the Pottery Mound site in central New Mexico.<sup>5</sup> Researchers from the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, excavated and documented some twenty-one sites in the Awatovi area in 1932. These studies were available to us, and we did some intensive research for the purpose of learning about ancient Hopi ceremonial art. Primarily, we were interested in the style of images, form and composition, and their symbolic meanings.

Tests conducted by the Harvard group proved that the large Awatovi pueblo, some twenty-three acres in size, reached the greatest extent of development in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century, the Spanish came to our land, and when they did not find the material wealth for which they were searching, they tried to persuade our people to obey and to pray in the Catholic way rather than in our native, tribal way. Our kiva chambers were covered with dirt and sand by the Spanish, and mission churches were built on top of them; the final destruction of Awatovi took place in 1700. Harvard scientists found that the kiva frescoes beneath the church ruins at Awatovi were very much intact. In a single kiva which was unearthed, twenty-seven layers of fresco paintings were found, some of them revealing Hopi religious rituals from very early times; 128 types of feathers were documented. The feathers, the body paintings, the textile designs and ceremonial kilts observed in these murals, all have been incorporated into Hopi art today. Painted forms are primarily two-dimensional and abstract, colors are flat with no shading; it is the aesthetic, symbolic way of expressing beliefs about our way of life.

The Ceremonial Calendar shows the blending of the old and the new. Stylistically, the portrayal of the spirit beings and their related symbols are essentially that of the ancient frescoes. But our contemporary concepts and experiments with color and composition are clearly evident. Other artworks of the Artist Hopid show how much we are involved today with very old Hopi artforms as a rich source of ideas, design, and images. They also show that ceremonial beliefs and practices, expressive of the Hopi way, have endured for centuries.

As a Hopi artist, I endeavor to bring to the canvas the real meaning of spiritual essence as it permeates the lives of our people. As Artist Hopid, we believe that we possess a faith and “a spiritual outlook so strong, that despite the hardships, it prays for all living beings to have fulfilling lives.”<sup>6</sup>

## Notes

1. See Kabotie, *supra.*, p. 51, note 11.
2. See Wright, “Hopi Kachinas: A Life Force,” *infra.*, pp. 111–121.
3. Michael Kabotie, “Dedication,” in Patricia Janis Broder, *Hopi Painting: the World of the Hopis* (New York: Brandywine Press, 1978), p. 151.
4. For a full description of the Awatovi and Kawaika-a kiva murals, see Watson Smith, *Kiva Mural Decorations at Awatovi and Kawaika-a with a Survey of Other Wall Paintings in the Pueblo Southwest*, Papers of the Peabody Museum, Vol. 37 (Cambridge, Mass., 1952).
5. See Frank C. Hibben, *Kiva Art of the Anasazi at Pottery Mound* (Las Vegas: K C Publications, 1975), pp. 44, 106.
6. Kabotie, “Dedication,” p. 151.



SUBJECT: **Ceremony - Ancient and Contemporary Images**

Edna Glenn

Twenty-three examples are presented:

Ancient Awatovi site  
Figures 20-23

Ancient Kawaika-a site  
Figures 24-26

Ancient Pottery Mound site  
Figures 27-30

Twentieth-century Hopi works  
Figures 31-42

The Artist Hopid were inspired and challenged when we took time in the early years of the 1970s to study wall paintings from kivas unearthed at the ancient villages.... We did some intensive research for the purpose of learning about ancient, Hopi ceremonial art. Primarily, we were interested in the style of images, form and composition, and symbolic meaning.

Honvantewa



Figure 20. AWATOVI KIVA MURAL, Arizona  
 Room 529, Right Wall, Design 1  
 (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)



Figure 21. AWATOVI KIVA MURAL, Arizona  
 Room 788, Composite of Left and Right Walls, Design 1  
 (Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)



Figure 22. AWATOVI KIVA MURAL, Arizona  
Test 14, Room 2, Right Wall, Design 6  
(Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)



Figure 23. AWATOVI KIVA MURAL, Arizona  
Room 788B, Left Wall, Design 4  
(Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)



Figure 24. KAWAIKA-A KIVA MURAL, Arizona  
Test 4, Room 4, Front Wall, Design 7  
(Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)

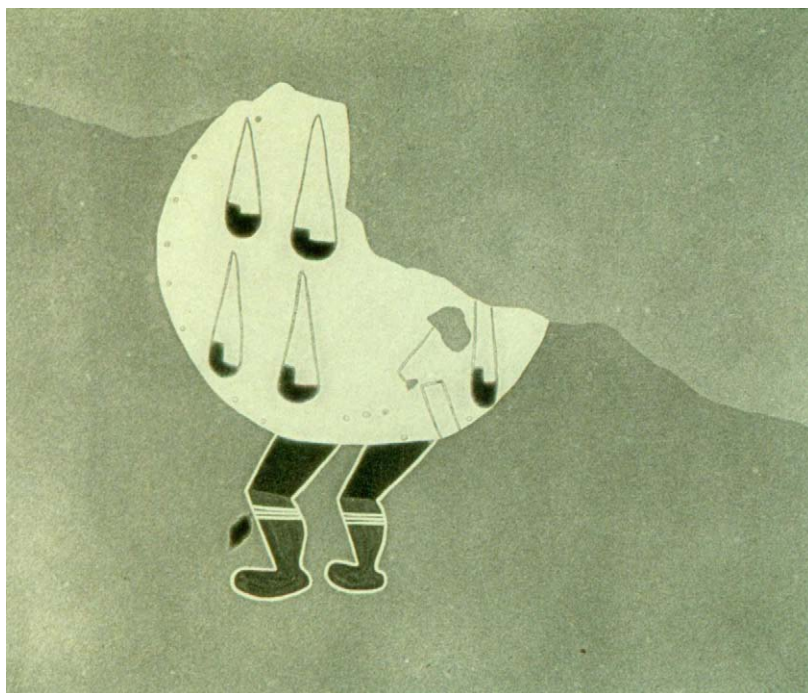


Figure 25. KAWAIKA-A KIVA MURAL, Arizona  
Test 4, Room 4, Back Walls, Design 2  
(Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)

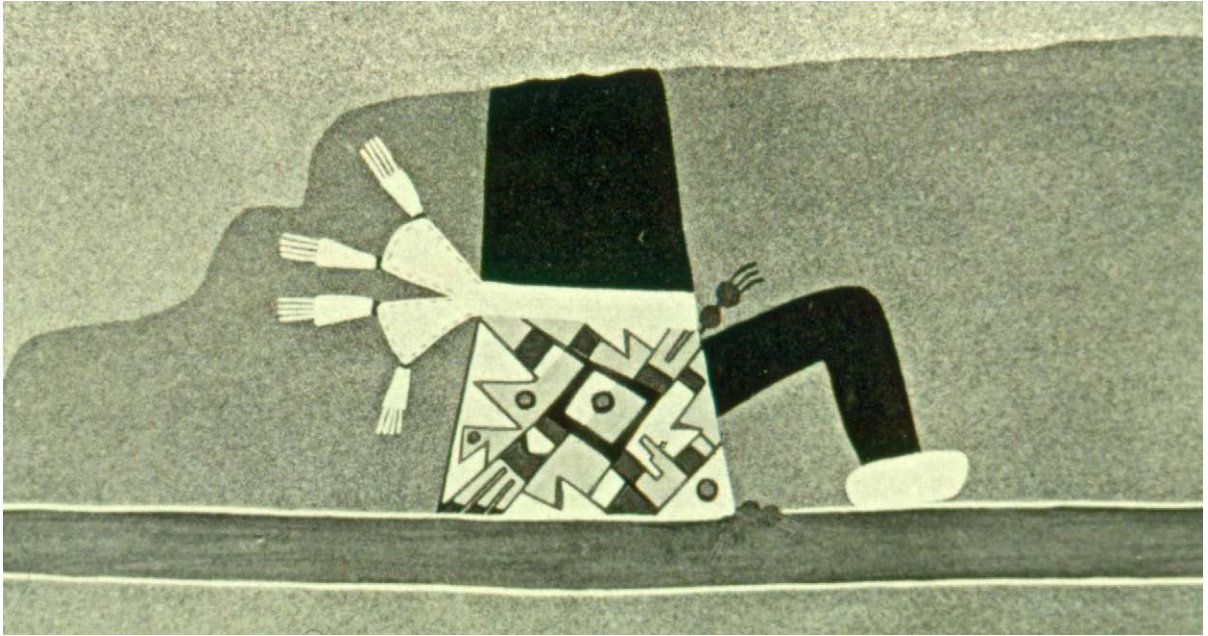
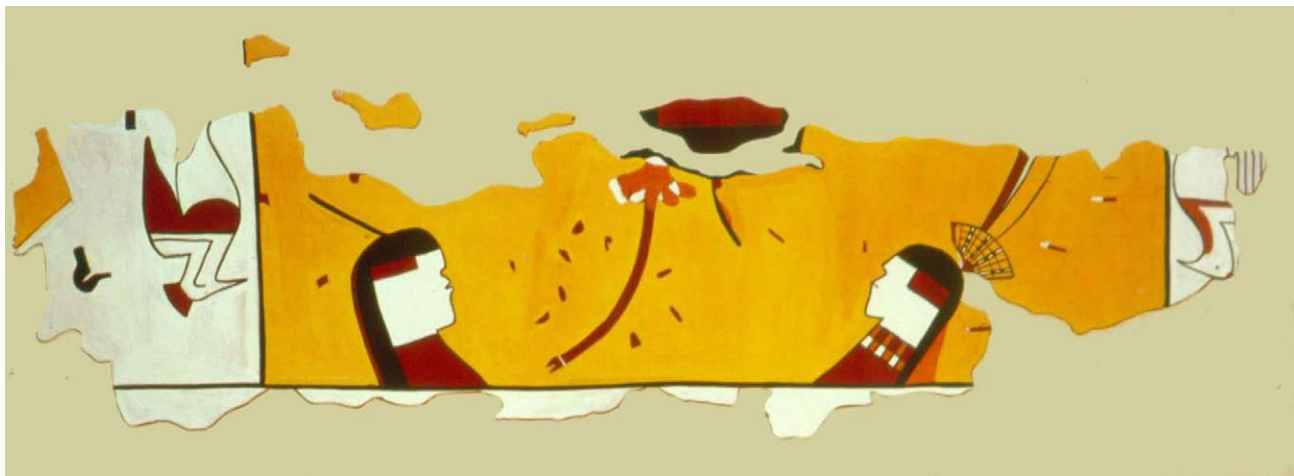


Figure 26. KAWAIKA-A KIVA MURAL, Arizona  
Test 5, Room 1, Left Wall, Design 2  
(Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)



Figure 27. POTTERY MOUND KIVA MURAL, New Mexico  
Kiva 2, Layer 2, South wall  
(Courtesy of Frank C. Hibben and K. C. DenDooven, Las Vegas, Nevada)





28. POTTERY MOUND KIVA MURAL, New Mexico  
Kiva 7, Layer 3, West wall  
(Courtesy of Frank C. Hibben and K. C. DenDooven, Las Vegas, Nevada)

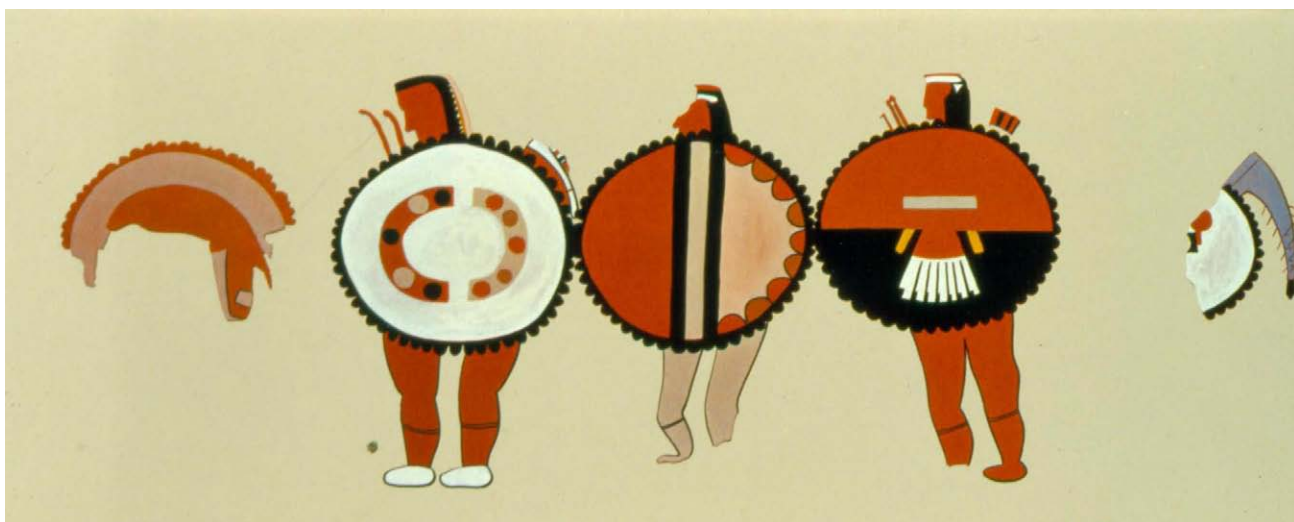


Figure 29. POTTERY MOUND KIVA MURAL, New Mexico  
Kiva 2, Layer 3, West Wall  
(Courtesy of Frank C. Hibben and K.C. DenDooven, Las Vegas, Nevada)



Figure 30. POTTERY MOUND KIVA MURAL, New Mexico  
Kiva 16, Layer 1, East Wall  
(Courtesy of Frank C. Hibben and K.C. DenDooven, Las Vegas, Nevada)



Figure 31. SQUASH MAIDEN  
Neil David, Sr.  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)



Figure 32. JEWELRY (pendant)  
 Lomawywesa (Michael Kabotie)  
 Hopi overlay, silver. 1981 (Courtesy of the jeweler,  
 and the Museum of Texas Tech University, Lub-  
 bock, Texas)



Figure 33. JEWELRY (one pendant and neckpiece)  
 Lomawywesa (Michael Kabotie)  
 Hopi overlay, silver. 1981 (Courtesy of the jeweler  
 and the Museum of Texas Tech University, Lub-  
 bock, Texas)



Figure 34. AWATTOVI EAGLE PRIEST  
Honvantewa (Terrance Talaswaima)  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)



Figure 35. AWATOVI RAIN PRIEST  
 Honvantewa (Terrance Talaswaima)  
 painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid,  
 Second Mesa, Arizona)



Figure 36. AWATOVI RAIN MAIDEN  
 Honvantewa (Terrance Talaswaima)  
 painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid,  
 Second Mesa, Arizona)



Figure 37. SPIRITS ABOVE US  
Dawakema (Milland Lomakema)  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)



Figure 38. AWATOVI STILL LIFE  
Lomawywesa (Michael Kabotie)  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Maggie Kress Gallery, Taos, New Mexico)



Figure 39. AWATOVI WARRIOR  
Coochsiwukioma (Delbridge Honanie)  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)





Figure 40. WARRIOR GOD  
Neil David, Sr.  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)



Figure 41. LAKON MANAS IN THE PLAZA AT WALPI

Joseph Mora, photograph, 1904–1906 (Courtesy of John R. Wilson, Tulsa, Oklahoma)

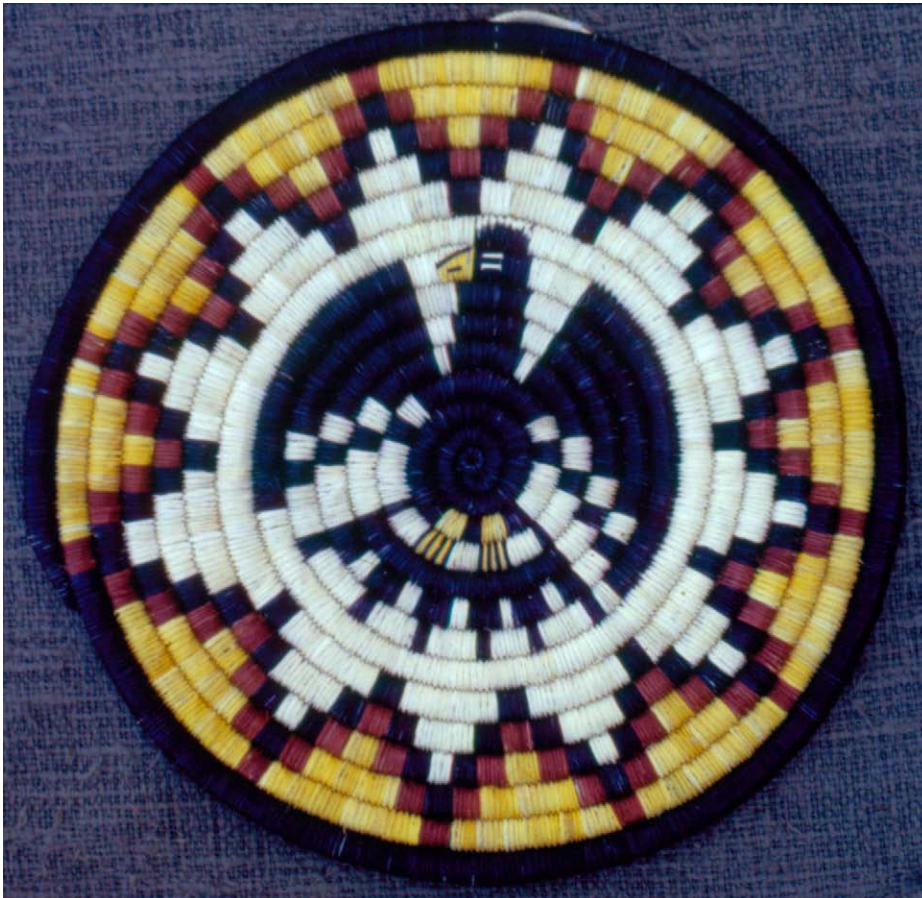


Figure 42.

HOPI COILED  
PLAQUE C

Marla Tewaweira,  
Second Mesa,  
Arizona. 1980  
(Courtesy of the  
Museum of Texas  
Tech University,  
Lubbock, Texas)



SUBJECT: **Contemporary Arts and Crafts**

**Edna Glenn**

Sixteen examples are presented in this section. Other examples of painting, photography, and graphics are included throughout the book.

Ceramics

Figures 43-51

Basketry

Figures 52-55

Jewelry

Figure 56

Painting

Figures 57 and 58

Hopi people have always been very fine artists. In 1950 we developed the Hopi Arts and Crafts Cooperative Guild . . . The Hopi Co-op supports some four hundred artists and craftsmen . . . Basketry and pottery are the oldest of the art forms among our people.

Lomawywesa



The two photographs show the potter making the vessel: coil building techniques, and refinement processes to the completed work. The following comments about the processes are words from the potter:

I do not use a potter's wheel. I create the vessel through a coil method. When I begin the process, I first make a little bowl to support the bottom section of the pottery-piece while I am building it.

Coils are made of pieces of clay that I roll between my hands until they are snake-like forms. Winding the coils in a spiral-like manner, from bottom to top, constructs the clay walls. One row of clay coils adheres to the row below it, and in the process of building the wall I pinch together the rows of clay coils and smooth the wall with a piece of dried gourd or pumpkin shell. During the kachina festivals, gourds are used as rattles. When they are dropped they break, and there is no way to repair them. I pick up the pieces, cut them down, shape them, and use them to stretch the clay and to smooth the clay walls. I continue this coil-building process until the desired pottery form is complete.

The vessel is white and I paint the designs on the surface in black. The paint brush is made from the heart of a Yucca plant, the most tender part. The only way that this material becomes a brush is that I chew the fiber. A knife does not work, I simply have to chew the fiber until I am sure that the consistency is just right.

The black paint is made from a beeweed plant, which actually is an edible, spinach-type vegetable that we have on the Reservation. It takes much effort to gather the beeweed. It grows in the springtime, but seems to shrink in quantity rather than to grow abundantly. I boil the beeweed, and the juice then becomes the paint. The juice must dry and become a very hard, black substance. When I am ready to paint the designs on the bowl, I break off a small beeweed chunk, and dilute it until it is of the right consistency. The only way to tell if the paint-consistency is right is to taste it. That is the only way.

When I begin to design and paint the vessel surface, I first divide the top section into a six-part star form and then fill in the textured and spiral areas. I apply the paint from the top of the bowl to the bottom, never back and forth around the bowl-surface.

I do not make pottery for fame; I just enjoy the clay and the processes that are involved. I learned this from my mother.

*(top)* Figure 43. HOPI CERAMIC PROCESSES

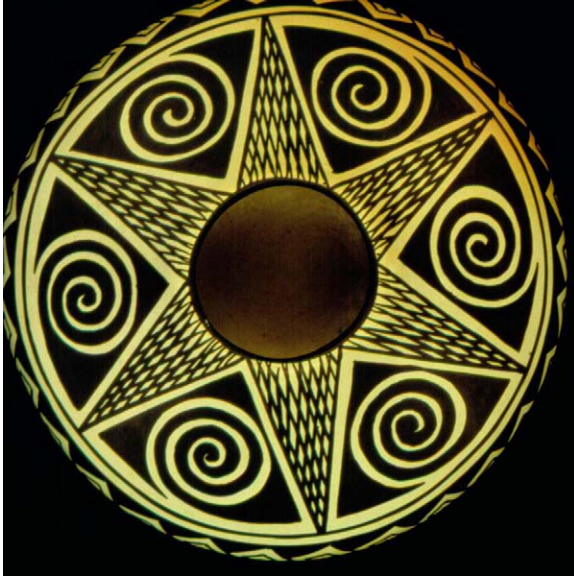
Sylvia Naha Talaswaima, potter

First Mesa, Arizona. 1981 (Courtesy of the potter and the Museum of Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas)

*(bottom)* Figure 44. HOPI CERAMIC PROCESSES

Sylvia Naha Talaswaima, potter

First Mesa, Arizona. 1981 (Courtesy of the potter and the Museum of Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas)



45. View One



46. View Two



47. View Three



48. View Four

Figures 45 – 48. ONE CERAMIC BOWL (four views)

Sylvia Naha Talaswaima, potter

diameter, 8 inches

First Mesa, Arizona. 1981 (Courtesy of the potter and the Museum of Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas)

The hand built vessel, the symmetrically organized designs in patterns of black and white, and the symbolisms, all contribute to a splendidly conceived and executed form. Examining the vessel from the four given positions reveals that the ceramic bowl possesses a remarkable stylistic integrity.

Spiral motifs, as ancient as the Hopis themselves, dominate the rhythmic design-flow and integrate both upper and lower surfaces. A counter movement is established by a decorative band that both enhances and encircles the flange area. The band, with its diagonal, flowing patterns integrates the various motifs and provides a visual enclosure essential to the unity and strength of the entire vessel-form.

In observing the designs, a certain feeling of fluidity evolves as if all motifs relate to changing forms of nature. Concerning the spirals, the potter comments, "I see these patterns in the ruins where my mother lives. When it rains, the earth washes down the water and these patterns are everywhere on the ground." Perhaps the six-pointed star that restricts and measures the spiral-areas, top and bottom on the bowl, designates the six-part order of the Hopi universe. Or, it may represent the great star that appeared in the sky during the migration period, indicating the geographic location of the source of life, the sacred mesa lands where Hopis settled.

The potter's signature, "Featherwoman," centers the bottom of the vessel. It is a painted feather, representing a feather from the breast of an eagle, the most sacred of bird spirits to Hopis.



Figure 49. CERAMIC VESSEL (2 views)  
Sylvia Naha Talaswaima, potter.  
First Mesa, Arizona. 1981 (Courtesy of the potter, and  
the Museum of Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas)



Figure 50. THREE CERAMIC BOWLS  
Sylvia Naha Talaswaima, potter  
First Mesa, Arizona. 1981 (Courtesy of the potter, and the Museum of Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas)



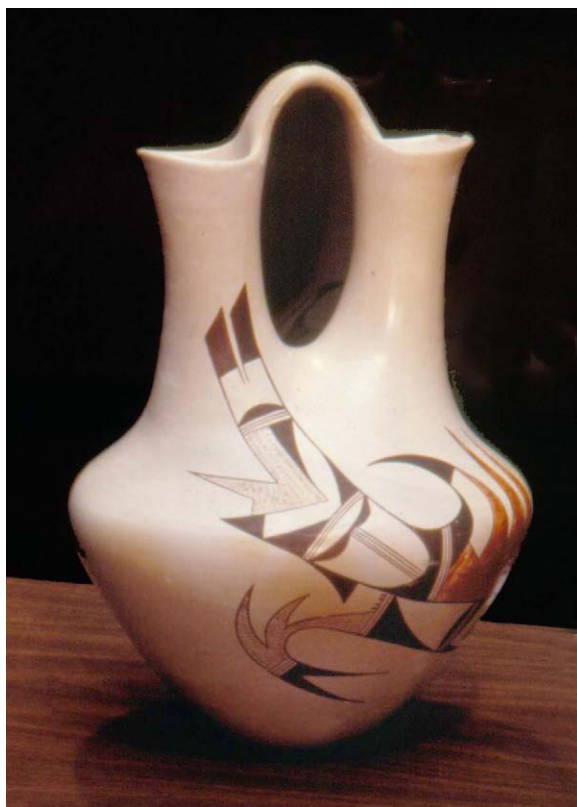


Figure 51. HOPI CERAMIC WEDDING JAR (2 views)  
 Fannie Nampeyo, potter  
 First Mesa, Arizona. 1960 (Courtesy of Charles Dailey, Director, the Institute of American Indian Art, Santa Fe, New Mexico)



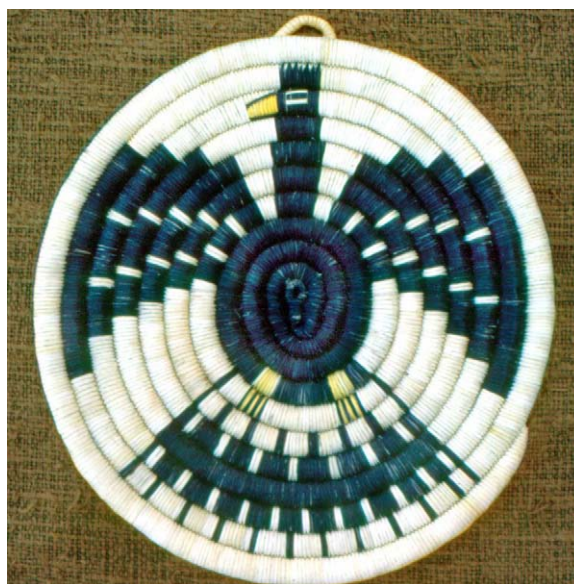
Figure 52. HOPI BASKETS,  
 various basket-makers  
 ONE CERAMIC SCULPTURE  
 Otollie Loloma  
 Collection of the Institute of  
 American Indian Art, Santa Fe,  
 New Mexico (loaned and ex-  
 hibited through the courtesy of  
 Charles Dailey, Director)



Figure 53. WICKER BASKET  
(site view and detail)  
Collection of the Institute of  
American Indian Art, Santa  
Fe, New Mexico (loaned and  
exhibited through the courtesy  
of Charles Dailey, Director)



54. Coiled plaque A



55. Coiled plaque B

Figures 54 – 55. HOPI COILED PLAQUES

Marla Tewaweira, Second Mesa, Arizona. 1980

(Courtesy of the Museum of Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas)



Figure 56. JEWELRY (two belt buckles)  
Lomawywesa (Michael Kabotie)  
Hopi overlay, silver. 1981 (Courtesy of  
the jeweler, and the Museum of Texas  
Tech University, Lubbock, Texas)



Figure 57. STORY WITH ROCKS  
Coochsiwukioma (Delbridge Honanie)  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)



Figure 58. SIKYATKI HAND AND BEE

Lomawyesa (Michael Kabotie)

Mixed-media composition. 1973 (Courtesy of Maggie Kress Gallery, Taos, New Mexico)

## Ceremony

Edna Glenn

A typical Hopi ceremonial day offers a visual reality. At Walpi, a village on First Mesa, it is summer and Niman time, and a thanksgiving ritual is beginning. The Kuwan Heheya Kachinas set the first foot movements. Their body actions of their dance begin while their “uncle,” Tu-uqti,<sup>1</sup> vigorously performs his solo act in front of their dance lines. A cluster of Koshari clowns,<sup>2</sup> starkly visible in their body-paint stripes, collect their parade paraphernalia for antics later in the day. The plaza is crowded, action is anticipated. It is a Hopi celebration day.

The sacred period of Niman is recognized throughout Hopi-land. In the six-part Hopi calendar year, observance of summer solstice signals “. . . the ripening of the first early corn crop, and the departure of the kachinas to their home in the underworld with the fruits of their harvest. Here they re-



Figure 59. KUWAN HEHEYA KACHINA LINE DANCERS WITH THEIR “UNCLE,” HEHEYA AUMUTAKA (TU-UQTI) AND CLOWNS IN BACKGROUND

Joseph Mora, photograph, 1904–1906 (Courtesy of John R. Wilson, Tulsa, Oklahoma)



Figure 60. HEHEYA  
AUMUTAKA  
(TU-UQTI),  
Joseph Mora,  
photograph, 1904–  
1906 (Courtesy of  
John R. Wilson,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma)

main until called forth in the New Year,”<sup>3</sup> which begins at the time of winter solstice. Niman religious rites are also referred to as “Going Home” rites since essentially they express ritual farewells to the spirit beings, the kachinas, who have been present on the mesas during the planting and growing seasons. Now, in July at First Mesa, there is reassurance of rain and a bountiful harvest. There is cause for celebration and reason for prayers of praise.

The photographed scenes of the Kuwan Heheya Kachina ceremony provide valuable insights toward a definition of HOPI. John Collier writes of the Hopi “power for living,”<sup>4</sup> the “holistic and artistic bent of mind”<sup>5</sup> that uniquely identifies HOPI. Probing one of the ceremonial scenes in a three-way interpretative analysis releases further significant findings. Foremost is the confrontation with historical

reality. The scene is a photograph made by Joseph Mora when he was on First Mesa in approximately 1904–1906; cameras have been banned at Hopi ceremonial occasions since about 1911. It is, then, an important historical document giving visual proof of the Kachina dance. Tribal traditions continue; the photograph could have been made in the “Year of the Hopi,” 1980.

The all-encompassing character of the scene itself intrigues; the complexities overwhelm. The Kuwan Heheya Kachinas move into Walpi plaza at the left, an environment pre-energized by the presence of tribal leaders, dancers, musicians, onlookers, and meandering Hopi. With mighty but disciplined movements, seemingly measured and transfixed by centuries of rehearsal, they begin their strenuous ritual routines. Present off on the right is a second dance line composed of female Alo Manas.<sup>6</sup> The two distinct line-dance groups are chosen for this special occasion on First Mesa. It is only one ceremonial event, the major public event, in an ongoing Niman observance which consumes sixteen days.

Imagine this compelling moment. A constant earth rhythm is firmly fixed by footsteps of the Kachina and Mana groups, pulsating rasp resonances from drum chambers, gourd rattles, and chants. Rhythm is dramatized by a monumental wave of bent bodies turning and twisting amidst swirls of circulating dust. The intensity of the situation suddenly erupts and it seems that all of the natural and supernatural forces of the universe, in all time and space, are instantaneously released; a dynamic flow of energy engulfs the sacred plaza at Walpi. Surely, a cosmic spectacle is occurring. All elements are at once unified and exalted to the great Creator and Provider of Hopi blessings. Only Hopis dance, but every viewer, Hopi or not, is a participant by his or her presence.

Hastily, the koshari remove themselves from the dance area to plaza perimeters. In this event they are watchers, not participants. Two Alo Manas break from their line dance, and still keeping the rhythms, kneel on blankets to rasp the pulse beats on a decorated box and a hollow pumpkin shell. Photographic implications are that there are dozens of Hopi dancers and dozens of onlookers. Yet within this complicated situation there is perceived an intentioned progressive order, unity and harmony. These people possess “the capacity to entertain complex wholes and to maintain the complexities in a dynamic equilibrium.”<sup>7</sup> In truth, this is evidence of the Hopi holistic bent of mind, of a life passion that centers within the Hopis, a passion patterned and controlled by all Hopis in all cycles of time.

A consideration of Hopi iconography and aesthetics extends the holistic viewpoint to the “artistic bent of mind” that also defines HOPI. In this interpretive analyses, again utilizing Mora’s photographs, the physical dimensions of the ceremonial day move to the abstract, symbolic realm. The scene offers a great profusion of costumes, masks, and ritualistic accessories. The quantity and variety of these elements create an unreal, other-worldly kind of atmosphere directed toward the idea of spiritual praise in concert with environmental and iconographical meaning. In itself, the Heheya Kachina regalia attests to the acclaim that this particular Hopi ceremony provides one of the most festive experiences of all Niman Kachina rituals on First Mesa; it also suggests a reason why the Kuwan Heheya bears a second label, the “Colorful Heheya.”<sup>8</sup> With brilliant intensity, the total realm of rainbow color, symbolically associated with life essence as conceived by Hopi people, is purposely utilized in the regalia design.

By being imaginative with the uncolored photograph, the bright yellows, reds, and greens predominate. They are warm colors; they represent earth, sun, germination and growth: bountiful crops of corn, squash, and beans. Bold, green-faced head masks worn by Kuwan Heheya male-impersonators are, in themselves, major icons. Rain symbols of lightning streaks at hair line, and cloud-altar designs





Figure 61. ALO MANAS MAKING RHYTHMIC SOUNDS FOR THE KUWAN HEHEYA KACHINA LINE DANCERS

Joseph Mora, photograph, 1904–1906 (Courtesy of John R. Wilson, Tulsa, Oklahoma)

on cheek spaces activate the green mask forms, invoking the spirit kachina that upon their return to the underworld at Niman time or “Going Home” time, they will “tell the supernaturals to bring rain.”<sup>9</sup> Both human and crop reproduction are desired; spirit kachinas are believed to possess powers conducive to these blessings of fertility.

The Kuwan Heheya head mask observed on each of the line dancers occupies an altar-like position, enthroning, at neckline, a circular ruff of live evergreen spruce, symbolic of universal, non-ending growth. Crowning the mask is an exotic array of bird feathers, the most important being those from an eagle, representative of the regeneration of life, power, wisdom, and communication with spiritual forces of zenith, the above. The regalia kilt is predominantly white, designating the direction East, and life fertility; from this direction the sun, supreme icon of Hopi creation, emerges each new day. The kilt is bound at the hips by a wide, white ceremonial sash from which long white cotton fringe and tassel movements extend body dance rhythms. Metaphorically, the broad sweeping motion of the sash fringe activates the ritual environment in the manner of gently falling rain. It also serves as a symbolic binding element, pulling together a unity of earth elements, human beings and spirit beings. The de-



Figure 62. HEU-MISH KATCHINA (HEMIS)

Joseph Mora

painting, watercolor, 1904–1906 (Courtesy of John R. Wilson, Tulsa, Oklahoma)

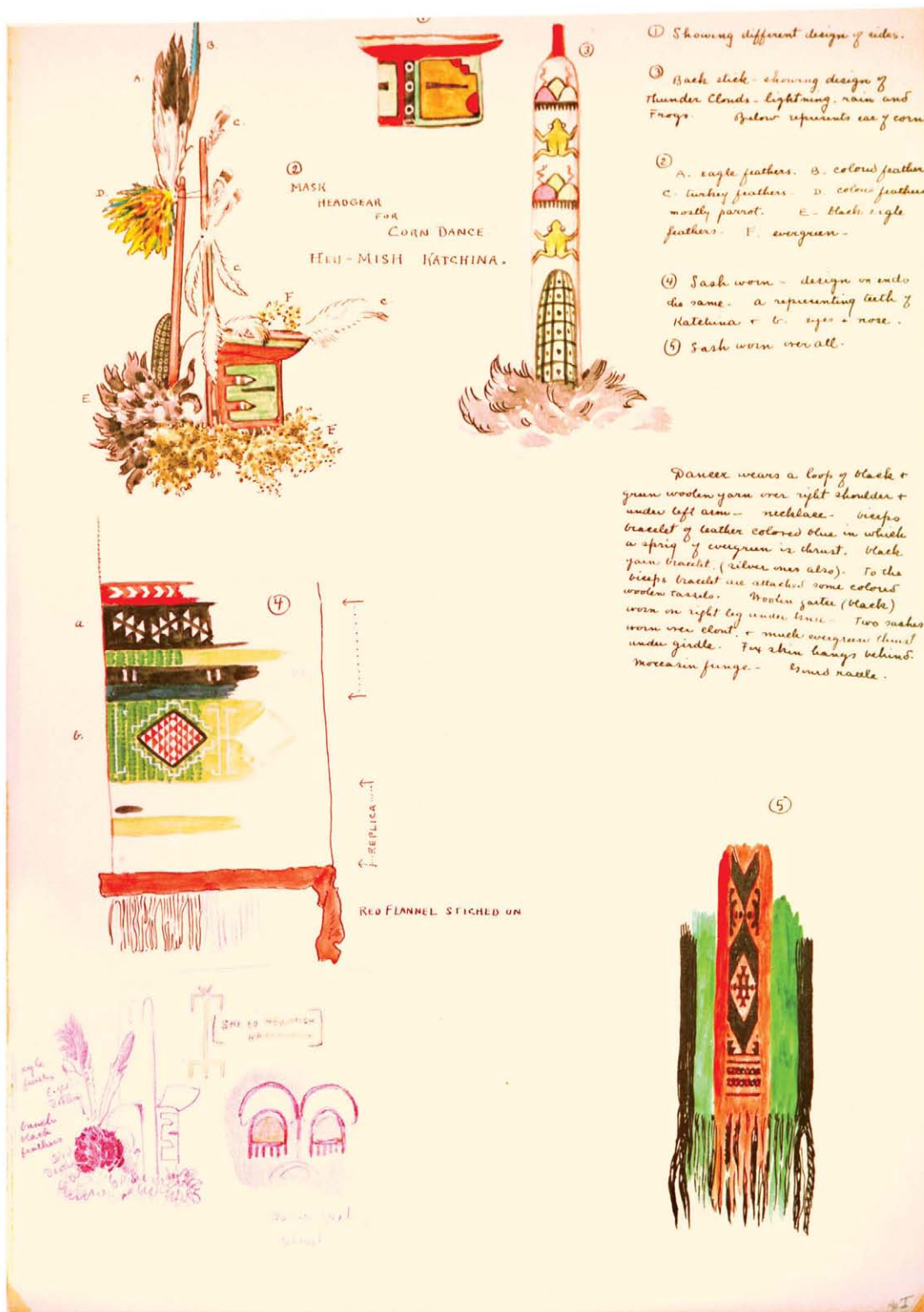


Figure 63. SKETCH, MASK AND HEADGEAR FOR THE HEU-MISH KATCHINA (HEMIS)  
Joseph Mora  
painting, watercolor. 1904-1906 (Courtesy of John R. Wilson, Tulsa, Oklahoma)

sign patterns structured by iconographical and aesthetic elements establish a singular sense of Hopi beauty. Through the interplay of colors, textures, tonal and spatial variations, insight is derived into Hopi sensibility - the Hopi "artistic bent of mind."

The one kachina icon that so completely summarizes this Hopi characteristic is the painting and the sketch by Joseph Mora, "Heu-mish Katsina." Mora wrote of the majestic and spectacular appearance of this supernatural being. Barton Wright comments:

Probably one of the most beautiful and best known of all Hopi Kachinas is the Hemis Kachina. Often he is incorrectly called the Niman Kachina from the ceremony in which he is most often seen. At sunrise, when the Kachinas come to the plaza to dance for the first time, they bring with them entire corn plants, the first corn harvest of the year, to distribute to the audience.<sup>10</sup>

The elaborate Hemis regalia are perhaps the most impressive, visually and symbolically, of all kachina costumes. Rainbow colors suggestive of growth are again utilized in body paint and ritual accessories, but the impersonator is laden with a lavish display of live evergreens, furs, and feathers. The crest of the mask flows upward into a dynamic ceremonial tablet, a work of art in itself. Mora was so inspired by the elaborate symbolism and beauty of this head-tablet that he made a detailed pencil sketches depicting "rain clouds, the showers, the appearance of the frogs with the moisture, the budding dormant vegetation and the fully developed ear of corn,"<sup>11</sup> all metaphors expressive of crop fertility, germination and growth.

Mora was also intrigued with the image and role of the "Koshari" or Clown identified with Tewanano Hopi on First Mesa. The Hano Koshari presents a contrast element to the more serious kachina spirit-figures, revealing the humorous aspect of Hopi character. One of the roles pursued by the koshari clown on ceremonial day is that of a glutton who accepts too much food, too many blessings. In the Mora painting he is "shown with food bowl in one hand and a bundle of green 'piki', Hopi paper bread, in the other. At his waist he has a wooden doll (*tihu*) impersonation of himself."<sup>12</sup> In the Neil David sculpture of the Koshari, he is shown with a food bag hanging from the neck, watermelon in one hand, clusters of fruits and vegetables tied to his waist—, begging and eating all that he can carry. The three-dimensional koshari, carved of cottonwood, displays a disproportionate uncoordinated body which emphasizes the clown character: "boisterous conversation, immoderate actions, and gluttony."<sup>13</sup> These clowns teach how *not* to behave, how *not* to follow their example.

The metaphorical unity of the Niman ceremonial scene finds completeness in the Walpi environment itself, a backdrop for the unfolding Hopi mystery play. Designated as the sacred center, the village plaza brings into focus all Hopi people and their activities, their prayers and blessings. . . . Just as the "kivas are universes in miniature,"<sup>14</sup> the plaza is "the center" from which the universal patterns of creation and life growth are compounded each day, in each ceremonial occasion, and evolve outward to unseen spiritual realms. The Walpi environment, structured of sky and earth, stone and adobe, ladders and steps, presents, in distinct hierarchical order, a physical and spiritual access to spaces below and spaces above. Michael Kabotie, in describing his people, states that "we settled on the high mesas, and as Cloud People, we designed our buildings after the cumulus clouds. . . . Our multi-storied Hopi architecture is a reflection of the high climbing cumulus clouds."<sup>15</sup>



Figure 64. KA-HOPI KATCHINA (KOSHARI) WITH “TIHU”  
Joseph Mora  
painting, watercolor. 1904–1906 (Courtesy of John R. Wilson, Tulsa, Oklahoma)



Figures 65 – 66. KOSHARI, PAIYAKYAMU (HANO CLOWN)

Neil David, Sr.

Sculpture, two views (Courtesy of the carver, and the Museum of Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas)

65. Frontal View

66. Side View

Thus, it is the Hopi ceremonial day in 1904–06, or in 1981. This day proclaims harmony within the universe, dramatizes the unity of dualistic vital forces, confirms the structured course of an evolutionary past within the sanctioned present; and for the individual journeying on the Hopi “Road of Life,” it marks one more-step in an experience through space and time. No living thing is denied the blessings—the land, the waters, the plants and animals, and humans, wherever they may be.

Figure 67. KO-YA-LA, CLOWN BOY (opposite page)

Owen Seumptewa, photograph, 1980 (Courtesy of the photographer, Second Mesa, Arizona)



## Notes

1. Joseph Mora, *The Year of the Hopi: Paintings and Photographs* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), pp. 60–61.
2. Koshari is also known as Tewa Clown, Hano Clown, and Glutton. This clown is found in most of the Rio Grande Pueblos and apparently was introduced to the Hopi by the Tewa of Hano. Barton Wright, *Kachinas: A Hopi Artist's Documentary* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1973), p. 239; and Barton Wright, *Hopi Kachinas: The Complete Guide to Collecting Kachina Dolls* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1977), p. 82.
3. Barton Wright, "Hopi Ritual," in Mora, *The Year of the Hopi*, pp. 19–20.
4. John Collier, *The Indians of the Americas* (New York: Mentor Books, 1975), p. 7.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
6. *The Year of the Hopi*, pp. 60–62.
7. Collier, *Indians*, p. 163.
8. Wright, *Kachinas*, p. 161, and *Hopi Kachinas*, pp. 123, 126.
9. Wright, *Kachinas*, p. 214.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Mora, *The Year of the Hopi*, p. 64, quoting Joseph Mora.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
13. Wright, *Kachinas*, p. 239.
14. Frank Waters, *Masked Gods* (New York: Swallow Press, 1950), p. 328.
15. Michael Kabotie, "Hopi Mesas and Migrations: Land and People," *supra*, pp. 45–52.





## Hopi Kachinas: A Life Force

Barton Wright

“Everything has an essence or life force, and humans must interact with these or fail to survive.”

Hopi have many allegories concerning the major events of their past. Their creation beliefs relate that they emerged from the Sipapu, a ceremonial opening to the underworld, leaving several previous worlds where they had lived by climbing upward through a giant reed. There is a rough parallel between this legend and the findings of the lexicostatisticians and archaeologists for certainly the proto-Hopi lived in several different worlds before coming to the mesas which they have occupied since 1100 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

The actual beginnings of the Hopi, however, appear to lie far to the west in the deserts of southern California. The drift of a hunting and gathering people from the north to the south in the Great Basin several millennia ago encountered an obstacle, probably in the form of other peoples, as they neared the northern end of the Salton Sea.<sup>2</sup> Whatever the cause, the southward movement of these people shifted toward the northeast, passing the tip of southern Nevada and reaching the strip of Arizona that lies north of the Colorado River sometime after 700 A.D. The occupation of this region for several hundred years eventually brought the group to the banks of the Colorado River on the east.

It hardly seems an accident that so many Hopi legends incorporate the only two known fords of the Colorado River. The Sipapu, one of the most sacred shrines of the Hopis, although now in the hands of the Navajo, lies at the junction of the Little Colorado and the main stream at the point where the Colorado River can most easily be crossed. It is here that the Bear Clan began its migrations passing through Wupatki and Walnut Canyon as well as Homolovi and other locations before arriving at the Hopi Mesas.<sup>3</sup> The Snake Clan also places its origins along the Colorado River and farther north in the neighborhood of Navajo Mountain, or *Toko-onavi* to Hopis. Again there is a ford of the Colorado River at this point. Non-Indians call it the Crossing of the Fathers, from explorer Father Silvestre Vélez de Escalante's use of it in 1776,<sup>4</sup> but it was known earlier as the Ute Crossing and was undoubtedly the main north-south traverse over the Colorado River for many centuries before its use by Europeans. From there the Snake Clan moved southward, joined by other groups such as the Flute and the Horn Clans, and they traveled westward from the Four Corners area. The slow accretion of people on the mesas continued with the arrival of other clans such as the Water or Sun's Forehead Clans, many appearing somewhat later than the original inhabitants of the mesas.

Why did they settle on what to our contemporary view is an inhospitable place? Quite possibly our interpretation may not be the correct view of how it looked to these early migrants. It was a land that had permanent water in springs and arable land of the type needed to grow corn without irrigation close at hand. There was ample wood and game in the eastern uplands and the necessary warmth in the climate for their crops in the sheltered valleys between the mesas. Rains came in summer when

cloud banners flew over the San Francisco Peaks and thunderheads drifted directly over the mesas. To the south lay Belted Mountain and from it came the cloud roads which brought winter moisture needed for the soil. Hopis may very well have chosen an excellent location in which to settle; at least it has proven worthy enough, for they have remained on the same mesas for over 1,000 years.

It was a location, however, that demanded much from its inhabitants. It is an arid land, one that constantly challenges the survivability of those who live on it. The winters are cold; drought is not uncommon, rainfall is erratic, and pests abound to attack crops. Each clan that arrived and sought to join the earlier settlers was asked to contribute something of benefit to the group before being given the right to land use. This was usually an ability to produce rainfall, grow better crops, or increase the fertility of everything that aided in the survival of the village. Each clan possessed its own rituals that had protected or been of benefit to it during its travels, and as the settlements grew, ritual after ritual, some unique but many overlapping, were added to the ceremonial calendar of the Hopi. Foremost among these was the Kachina Cult.

It is not known where the Kachina Cult originated, but some evidence points to a Meso-American origin, brought possibly with the clans which migrated from north to south and north again. There are a few archaeological hints which indicate that there was a viable Kachina Cult by the time the Hopi settled at the center of their world in 1100. The Kachina Cult is shared with all the other Pueblo peoples who live to the east, from Zuni to Taos and formerly Pecos on the eastern border. Each of these groups have their own substantive perceptions and practices of the Kachina Cult.<sup>5</sup>

The central theme of the Kachina Cult is the presence of life in all objects that fill the universe. Everything has an essence or a life force, and humans must interact with these or fail to survive. It is much easier to interact with impersonal forces if they are given life forms and if patterns of reciprocity and mutual obligations are established. It is these visualizations, these personifications that are the kachinas.

To understand the relationships that exist between humans and kachinas, a tentative model of their cosmos can be constructed. It consists of either two states of being occupying the same space or as two halves of a sphere. In the spherical model, half of the universe is an underworld or the world of the supernatural, and the other half is the normal, real world. The sun circles endlessly beyond the immediate control of either hemisphere yet interacts with both. The contents of one hemisphere are the mirror image of the other, but where one half is composed of objects and beings of solidity and mass, the other is an ethereal, imponderable world of cloud-like beings. Evidence for this world lies in the clouds that rise above mountain peaks, the smoke from burning objects, the fog that arises from water on a cold morning, steam from food, the breath of living beings that leaves them when they die and passes into the other world. This is the world of kachinas, a place where the bodies of the dead go to continue interacting with their universe, but in a new form—alter egos of their former life.

Kachinas are the life forces of the cosmos that surround the Hopis on either plane, living or dead. Each of these forces, regardless of their physical appearance in the normal world, is a pseudo-morphic human in the supernatural world. These beings possess attributes that humans do not have, for kachinas can make it rain, cause the crops to grow well, or bring a multitude of other benefits if they are properly treated. They are not the ancestors of the Hopi but beings with whom all Hopi have interacted for mutual benefit through the centuries. The appearance of each kachina is dictated by its role

as visually interpreted by Hopis and distilled through time to a traditional form. The more powerful the potential of the kachina, the more abstract are its features and symbols. This second form of the kachinas may be seen when the men who impersonate these spirits appear in ceremonies or dances in the village plazas or kivas from late December to late July as called for by the complex Hopi ceremonial calendar. It is believed that by donning mask, costume, and paint, the impersonator becomes imbued with the kachina spirit, that for the time of the dance kachina and man are one.

There is yet another form in which kachinas may be seen: the small, carved, wooden replicas of the dancers that are presented to Hopi girls by male relatives as prayer objects. For the ethnographer these carefully carved and painted *tihu* or kachina dolls are almost the only physical record, abbreviated though it may be, of the appearance of the dancers in the past. The purpose of the *tihu* is to link the girls and young women with the potential benefits brought by kachinas, for the spirits are irresistibly drawn to their own physical images. Although these small replicas are called “dolls” by the non-Hopi, they are not played with in the same way that non-Indian children play with their dolls. Hopi children are taught that the kachinas are to be treated with respect, and this applies to the *tihu* which are often referred to as being “like your sister.”

Hopi kachina dolls are always carved of cottonwood roots because the wood is easy to shape and does not readily split. The cottonwood is also a tree that has water-seeking roots and will only grow where those roots can reach an abundant supply. It is most appropriate that a water-seeking root be used for a prayer object where moisture is the necessary ingredient for food, health, and long life. The wood is easily fashioned by such ancient tools as a stone flake for carving or a block of sandstone for smoothing, or with contemporary tools. Modern tools merely speed the process.

The earliest forms of kachina dolls appear to be flat slabs of wood with the merest indication of a neck, the faces painted with native earth colors and a simply striped body plus a feather or two. One of the earliest known forms was found in the upper reaches of the Gila River and apparently dates from around 1200 A.D. Although it resembles the flat doll of later years in painting and other respects, it is a figure that would have been used only on an altar. These flat forms have not only persisted but from them have evolved the three-dimensionally carved dolls of today. The earliest of the dolls carved in the round were finished with the arms tight to the chest and the legs barely represented, although the sex was normally indicated by the carving. Later dolls were made with the arms freed from the side, and the legs and kilts being depicted, undoubtedly a reflection of access to improved tools. This trend toward realism has continued into contemporary times with the appearance of the “action” doll. In this form the doll represents the positions which the dancers would assume. Musculature and other bodily details are carved and a costume fabricated which is often completely realistic through choices of cloth, miniature shells, hair, shoes, or jewelry.

The trend toward complete realism has represented a change in the purpose of the dolls to a great extent, as many are now made for sale rather than as the simple prayer object of former times. This practice does not prevent the dolls from being given at dances if the need arises, for they are authentic dolls. In fact, if some Hopi man has not had the time to carve a doll to be given, it may quite often be purchased from a commercial carver and then presented in the dance. Although the dolls have become somewhat commercialized, the kachina impersonators who appear in the plazas of the Hopi villages have not been subjected to this process.

Commercial carvers are a phenomenon that began around World War II. Prior to that time almost all dolls that were purchased were made specifically for religious purposes and possibly sold as the need for money arose. After World War II, the dolls began to be carved specifically for sale and signed by the makers, much to the anguish of more traditional Hopis.<sup>6</sup> Among the earliest of those who signed their work was Jimmie Kewanwytewa of Oraibi who initialed his dolls under the urging of Mary Colton of the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff, where he worked for many years. Others followed the practice, and initials slowly gave way to those who put their full names to their work. Recently carvers have begun adding the name of the kachina as well. During the early part of this post-World War II period, an attempt was made to make dolls that would stand on their own feet rather than hang from a string about the neck in the traditional manner. After a decade of teetery dolls, or ones with abnormally big feet, this gave way in the 1960s to small bases that were nailed on to form the support. Today's dolls are an elaborate form of painted sculpture which replicates the appearance of the dancers in the plaza as closely as possible.<sup>7</sup>

Kachina dolls are made by many tribes in the Southwest. Zunis, next door neighbors of the Hopis, make the dolls which most closely resemble those of the Hopi. Over the years these two tribes have borrowed many kachina impersonations from one another until today they share a large number. Although they have many of the same kachinas and both carve dolls of them, these images are easily separated. The most common differences are the proportions, the materials used, and the symbol portrayals. Zunis make their dolls of pine rather than cottonwood root, and they clothe them with real garments. It is only recently that Hopis have begun the latter process. The symbolic decorations of Zunis are usually more complex and numerous than those of Hopis, but it is in the proportions that they vary most consistently. Zuni dolls are tall, thin, and usually angular, whereas Hopi dolls are stockier in their overall proportions. Presumably Zuni dolls are also distinguished by their movable arms, but Hopis have made similar *tihu* although it is not common.<sup>8</sup>

Farther to the east, from Acoma to Taos, kachina dolls are made, but they are seldom seen and almost never sold. The kachina dolls are simple cylinders with a stylized face and usually a few feathers on the crown of the head. Few collections of dolls have representations of this type.<sup>9</sup>

Even the non-Pueblo Indians, the Navajo, carve similar small images. The earliest form is the re-making doll. These small images, carved of any convenient piece of wood, are usually flat with the head, arms, and legs indicated by notching and rough shaping. They are used when persons fall ill and must be cured. For Navajos, this means putting these persons back into the condition they were in before they fell ill. The prayers in the ceremony are addressed to each part of the body specifically asking that that part be re-made as it was. The small image is a part of the religious paraphernalia. If the cure does not succeed, the doll is buried with the patient. Later Navajo dolls were carved in answer to the burgeoning commercial market in Indian arts and crafts. The first of this type were made by Clitso Deadman and later by Tom Yazzie. They are made of cottonwood root or other woods and are done in the Anglo-European style of chip carving. The subject matter is usually of a dance called *Yeibichai*, although today single figures of individuals performing household chores such as cooking or sheep herding are also produced.<sup>10</sup>

More recently the carving ability of the Dinés has been directed toward the carving of kachina dolls. This effort was instigated by government sponsored programs that hired individuals, usually not

Hopi, to teach the Navajo this craft. This unethical effort has presented the public with a fake ethnic object, for kachina dolls are not a basic part of Navajo tradition. Additionally, it has cut severely into the market of Hopi commercial carvers. Most Navajo kachina dolls, although beautifully carved, are overloaded with furs, feathers, and jewelry. To further complicate matters there are Navajo married to Hopi who must carve kachinas as the natural concomitant of their marriage.

There are others who have decided at various times during the years to cash in on this craft. Usually these efforts are attributed to the Japanese, but the only product of this derivation was made of porcelain. There are several companies based in cities such as Tempe and Tucson, Arizona, who specialize in the manufacture of "Kachina dolls." These wooden objects are turned out on a lathe and are produced by the gross. The carving is minimal and the painting bears only the vaguest resemblance to the Hopi doll, yet it is often found in museum shops and quality curio stores offered as real, if not by advertising then by implication.

The worst offenders, however, are the non-Native Americans who carve as a hobby and do not sign their work. These individuals use the scarce cottonwood root as a matter of course to make their dolls "authentic." They also sell their dolls, "only to their friends," and proudly proclaim that they are promoting the welfare of the Hopis or expanding knowledge of this little known group. Again there is the aberrant individual who makes "altar pieces." This person is Hopi and the items that he makes are masterpieces of antiquing, a process he presumably learned at the Los Angeles County Museum. The objects have an air of authenticity and antiquity about them and sell for vastly inflated prices. They are, however, not authentic and have never been anywhere near an altar.<sup>11</sup>

The carvers of authentic kachina dolls, whether they are touted as commercial or not, call upon the great reservoir of kachinas for their material. They also make images that are not kachinas, such as a Hopi man or woman, a society priest, women's society initiates, Snake Clan dancers, farmers, and occasionally some of the very sacred ceremonial figures. This latter effort is considered so reprehensible by most Hopis that the carving is sold under the counter.

Normally a good Hopi commercial carver will have a repertoire of twenty-five or thirty kachinas that he knows well and consistently carves. If called upon to produce an unfamiliar one, he may ask friends how to do it or go to a collection of pictures or books that he keeps to guide his efforts. Formerly, a traditional carver learned the correct appearance of a doll by observing the kachinas who appeared in the plaza or by carving with other men in the kivas.

Hopis do not organize their supernatural spirits into orders or hierarchies although several tenuous classes of kachinas are recognized. All other divisions of kachinas are the artifacts of study by ethnographers. But foremost among the groups that are recognized by the Hopi are the Chief or Mong Kachinas. These are the most important and most sacred of all supernaturals, and each clan owns at least one of the impersonations. They are, in effect, supernatural partners (*wuye*) who have been inveigled at some point in time into a relationship of reciprocity and mutual obligation with the clan. Only a specific clan member or someone designated by the clan may impersonate this type of kachina. The Chief Kachinas are active in the more important ceremonies, such as the Soyal, Powamu, or Niman, where they perform a variety of specific purposes.<sup>12</sup> Ahola, Ahulani, and Soyal, who open the kivas, and Crow Mother and her two sons, the Hu Kachinas that initiate the children, are characteristic of these kachinas. Eototo, a Chief Kachina who is the equivalent of the village chief and who appears in every important ceremony, is another.<sup>13</sup>

Masau-u, the deity of death, darkness, fire, the surface of the land, the Underworld, ancient foods, and fertility, is another of these important beings. It is Masau-u who gave the land to the Hopis and told them how to use it. When a Hopi man dies and is buried, his grave or *maski* is literally Masau-u's house. If a Hopi walks across the land, it is wise for him to make an offering at Masau-u's shrine lest ill befall him. Yet despite the awesome responsibilities of this spirit, he may appear in the guise of a clown or as helper for the Soyoko.<sup>14</sup>

Presumably no member of a specific clan would carve a kachina doll of their *wuye* for sale, because to do so would direct the efficacy of the kachina spirit away from the clan and toward the purchaser. However, in reality this does not hold true and, as previously mentioned, many of the most sacred personages known to the Hopis may actually be carved and clandestinely sold. Occasional carvers will believe that making a particular kachina will cause them to go blind, or make their stomach swell, or will cause some other illness or misfortune if the proscriptions are ignored and hence will not produce it.

A second class of kachinas are the guards and warriors. A few of these approach the status of the chief kachinas while others have relatively minor roles. They safeguard the most sacred kachinas when they appear, acting as a master-at-arms in these performances. They guard against witchcraft or other intrusions during special kiva events such as initiations. Formerly they insured that all individuals were present during the cleaning of the springs or other community projects. Today they are used to insure that all who are involved in a ceremony are present and not idling at home. They punish transgressions by methods that range from striking a single blow or two to a reputed whipping with cactus that would produce death. In every Hopi procession there are members of this class of kachinas in the vanguard or as flankers. In appearance they are usually ferocious and always armed with the accoutrements of war.

For the carvers of kachina dolls they are among the most favored, for their appearance satisfies the non-Native American impression of what is "primitive." Foremost among these is the pan-Pueblo characterization of Chaveyo,<sup>15</sup> who may well be the most often carved kachina doll next to the Koyemsi.<sup>16</sup> Another of these is both a warrior and a chief kachina as well as the guardian of springs—Wuyak-kuita.<sup>17</sup> He-e-e is a leader of a fearsome group of warriors during the Powamu or Bean Dance.<sup>18</sup> These are but a few of the multitudinous warrior-guardians.

A third division that closely resembles this latter group in appearance are the ogres or Sosoyok't. Monsters and cannibals, they are the unholy offspring of a kachina marriage. Their purpose is one of enforcing the incorporation of the children into the village structure. Goals are set for the children and the rewards and punishments graphically presented. A child who strays from the correct pattern of behavior is brought to the attention of everyone by this family of kachinas. The group is normally composed of a talking kachina, such as Hahai-i Wuhti<sup>19</sup> or Soyoko<sup>20</sup> herself, and the horrendous Natas-kas<sup>21</sup> with great fanged Jaws and the obscene Toson Heheyas<sup>22</sup> waiting to check the results of a small girl's corngrinding. Soyok' Mana<sup>23</sup> awaits the errant children with a huge basket on her back to carry them off to the cooking pot. As a reinforcement of village solidarity, it is unparalleled.

This particular group of kachinas shows strong evidence of having been borrowed at some earlier time from Zunis. The main characterizations and their supporting mythology is present among the Zuni, but the visual elaboration is entirely the contribution of the Hopi. These graphic interpretations are also among the most popular of the kachina carvers. It is usually the Nataskas or Soyok Wuhti who receive this attention.

The full capability of Hopi carvers is realized in their interpretation of clowns. There are a number of these from which to choose. The Koyemsi, or Mudhead,<sup>24</sup> borrowed from the Zuni, is the all-time favorite of carvers. It is easy to make and paint, and it invariably sells well. In popularity it is closely followed by the Hano Clown or Koshari,<sup>25</sup> brought to the Hopi mesas by the Tewa people. To these are added the Hopi Tachukti<sup>26</sup> in two or three varieties. Upon these are lavished the skill of the carvers, the humor, and the ability to parody the actions of individuals. Pot-bellied, gluttonous, timid, dressed in mismatched debris of clothing, they rollick silently in craft and curio shops wherever kachina dolls are sold. They are often accompanied by the non-kachina *piptuka*,<sup>27</sup> the ad-lib figures that accompany the clowns between kachina performances in the plaza dances. Often a *piptuka* version of a Navajo, Apache, or even a man from outer space will be carved. These latter figures are not considered by the Hopi to be *tihu* or kachina dolls, but are rather simply carvings of personages with whom they are familiar that might possibly sell well.

Among the animal kachinas the Wolf Kachina is undoubtedly the most popular, although the Bear Kachina is a close second. Cow or Wakasi Kachinas at one point in time were very popular and dozens of variations were introduced. However, most of the animal kachinas are popular subject matter for the carvers, and deer and antelope vie with chipmunks and squirrels. Great Horned Owls and hummingbirds, turkeys and eagles, butterflies and bison, gnats and prairie falcons, as well as lizards and snakes abound in the pantheon of kachinas. A recent favorite that has received great attention from Navajo kachina doll carvers is that of the White Buffalo dancer. This is not a kachina nor is it a *tihu*, but it is a spectacular personage and the image that is carved of it is no less impressive. It sells very well and is consequently crowding out many of the carvings of true kachinas.<sup>28</sup>

This unhappy circumstance occurs when a *tihu* does not sell well. The doll may still be made but instead of being produced in quantity, it becomes a rare item and in consequence is seldom seen either by the Hopi or the prospective purchasers. If this process continues for any length of time, the doll is no longer made. Commercialization has contributed to the demise of several doll forms, but even worse it has emphasized the importance of relatively minor kachinas.

During the late spring and early summer when the corn is growing, kachina dancers present performances in the plazas where all of the impersonators are of the same kachina. The long lines of these kachinas dancing in unison are most impressive. Characteristic of these are the varieties of corn dancers, Navajo kachinas, or the farming Kuwan Heheya. They bring moisture for the plants and assist in their growth. Dolls of these kachina dancers are made in quantity. Some of these *tihu* take a new shape, an innovation in recent years, and are carved with the head of the kachina surmounting an ear of corn. Many of the kachinas in this category have been derived from the Rio Grande, as is evidenced by the use of black and white moccasins.

Other than the chief kachinas, the most interesting of the kachina dolls are the images or special impersonations who appear at great intervals. Characteristic of these are the Hopi Salakos.<sup>29</sup> The Salako impersonations among the Hopi are a nine foot tall male and female being surmounted by a tableta of elaborate form and complex symbolism that rests upon the head. Their bodies are armless and are composed entirely of eagle wing feathers with a dance kilt across the shoulders. These two central figures are accompanied by Hahai-i Wuhti, the Hopi Grandmother, who entices these strange beings back and forth across the plaza of the Second Mesa village of Shungopavi. At either side of these

are lines of the Tukwinong *manas* and *takas*, the male and female forms of the thunderhead kachinas. Flanking them on either side are two pairs of Danik'china who beat the ground with long willow switches as they pass back and forth along the lines. They represent the whirlwinds that accompany the massive thunderstorms in the Southwest. Commercial doll carvers often make an entire group of these kachinas to resemble the actual dance in the manner of a movie set.

A final category is composed of dolls that have never been danced as kachinas; dolls that are often the result of a specific non-Native American request. Characteristic of these is the field mouse. This delightful creation springs from the folktale of a Hopi field mouse who went to war against a hawk that was killing the chickens belonging to Hopi villagers. Arming himself with a tiny spear and taunting the hawk, the mouse succeeded in luring the bird into striking at him and impaling itself on the spear, to the great satisfaction of the townspeople. This story was translated by Edward A. Kennard, a Bureau of Indian Affairs employee, and illustrated by the well-known Hopi artist, Fred Kabotie.<sup>30</sup>

The illustration caught the fancy of some unknown carver in the late 1950s, and overnight the Field Mouse Kachina became a part of the repertoire of the commercial carvers, though it has never been impersonated or appeared in the plazas or kivas. A similar inspiration produced the Mickey Mouse Kachina, and probably the Easter Bunny Kachina. At intervals other odd kachina dolls have appeared, some of which were actually *tihu* with a particular innovation, others of which were not. Characteristic of the former was the jumping doll initiated by Ben Seeni at Walpi on First Mesa. This figure, modeled after a Swiss mountaineer doll, had movable arms and legs and was strung on strings in such a manner that it appeared to be doing acrobatics when the strings were pulled and relaxed. These aberrant dolls cannot be called *tihu* in that they either do not represent kachina impersonations or have been too radically changed. They appear rather to be the fancy of the moment.

Fads are a continuous phenomenon in both the presentation of kachina dances and in carvings. Kachina dancers, other than the impersonations of chief kachinas, may appear with great regularity and expanding diversity for several years and then disappear only to reappear after a long lapse of time. This is a reflection of the popularity of their songs and performances. Kachina dolls of today fluctuate to the demand of a market that is no longer Hopi and in consequence shows many aberrations.

A few years ago it was the rage to have gigantic kachina dolls. These oversized creations were often two or three feet in height, but one monster was over six feet tall. It was soon discovered that there are very few homes that can support a collection of two foot tall dolls. The demand was soon exhausted, and the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme with the appearance of miniatures. Dolls were made that were only three to four inches in height, and when these were snapped up by the collectors they became progressively smaller. Today it is possible to buy a doll that is complete in all details and is less than half an inch in height, a far cry from the dolls made at the turn of the century.

The winds of change that first touched the Hopis in 1540 were ones of political and religious differences. During the confrontations in these arenas, Hopis remained steadfast to their beliefs with relatively little change. The arrival of the Anglo-Americans marked the appearance of even greater threats to their being and with it insidious changes. This was brought to full florescence when the young men of the villages were transported to many parts of the earth by the exigencies of World War II. The subsequent return of these young men initiated an economic direction that has wrought more change than the previous four hundred years, and the Hopi economy is still incomplete. Irrevocably Hopis have set



their feet on a new path, one that will disrupt their way of life in the same relentless manner that Hopi *tihu* have been subverted from an object of prayer and communion with their environment to another commercial object produced for a relatively uncaring market with little understanding of what is purchased. The Hopi people and their way of life so patiently wrought through their observations and interactions with their environment deserve better.

## Notes

1. Florence H. Ellis, "The Hopi: Their History and Use of Lands," in Florence H. Ellis and Harold S. Colton, *Hopi Indians* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974), pp. 17, 33, 65, 201. See also Harold S. Colton, *Black Sand: Prehistory in Northern Arizona* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1960).
2. *Ibid.*
3. Wupatki is located approximately forty-five miles southwest of the Hopi Mesas along the Little Colorado River. Walnut Canyon is located about sixty-five miles southwest of the Hopi Mesas near the base of the San Francisco Peaks.
4. In 1776, Padre Silvestre Vélez de Escalante and Padre Francisco Domínguez and nine others attempted to find a route from Santa Fe to Monterey, California. This expedition traveled northwest from Santa Fe across southwestern Colorado and into Utah until they reached Utah Lake where imminent winter weather and a shortage of supplies compelled them to turn back. They turned south and forded the Colorado River near Glen Canyon, then visited the Hopi villages before returning to Santa Fe. For a detailed account, see Walter Briggs, *Without Noise of Arms: The 1776 Dominguez-Escalante Search for a Route from Santa Fe to Monterey* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1976).
5. For Kachina Cult practices of non-Hopi Indian tribes, see Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); and Hamilton A. Tyler, *Pueblo Gods and Myths* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964).
6. After World War II, more Hopi began to work for wages on the reservation or left the reservation to move to nearby towns. They began to carve dolls to supplement their income and in time were urged by non-Indians to sign their work. For more details, see Barton Wright, *Hopi Kachinas: The complete Guide to Collecting Kachina Dolls* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press), pp. 16–18.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 18–19.
8. For information on Zuni kachinas, see Ruth L. Bunzel, *Zuni Kachinas*, Annual Report 47 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929–30).
9. For further information on Rio Grande kachinas, see Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*; and Tyler, *Pueblo Gods and Myths*.
10. For more information about Navajo kachinas, see Gladys A. Reichard, *Navajo Religion: A Study of Symbolism* (Bollinger Foundation, 1950); and Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navaho* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960).

11. For more information on kachina abuses, see Wright, *Hopi Kachinas*, pp. 19–24. See also Frederick J. Dockstader, *The Kachina and the White Man*, Bulletin 35 (Bloomfield Michigan: Cranbrook Institute of Science, 1954), for information about the impact of non-Hopis on kachina dolls.
12. Soyal (also *Soyálangwul*) is the ceremony that marks the winter solstice and occurs in December. Powamu is a purification and initiation ceremony involving the Bean Dance and occurs in February. Niman, or Home Dance, ceremony is involved with the return of the kachinas to their homes in the underworld. This ceremony occurs in July. Mischa Titiev, *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: Change and Continuity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), pp. 4–6, 96, 135, 143–7, 156, 163, 168–78, 186–8, 210–9, 300, 311–3, 338–45.
13. Eototo is the chief of all kachinas, the spiritual counterpart of the village chief and knows all the ceremonies. He appears during the Powamu and Niman ceremonies but may also be seen in any ceremony because of his knowledge of all. Wright, *Hopi Kachinas*, p. 30, 32, 34–35.
14. Masau'u is the earth god (Skeleton Kachina) and god of death and is the only kachina who does not go home at the Niman ceremony. He does many things backwards as the god of death, for the world of the dead is the reverse of this world. He may dance at any time of the year. *Ibid.*, p. 34 and p. 254.
15. Chaveyo is represented in almost every Pueblo in Arizona and New Mexico. His origin is probably the San Juan area in New Mexico. He is a giant kachina and disciplines those who misbehave. Wright, *Hopi Kachinas*, p. 82, and Wright, *Kachinas*, p. 238.
16. Koyemsi, the mudhead kachina, was introduced to the Hopis from Zunis. He acts as a clown in almost every Hopi dance. Wright, *Hopi Kachinas*, p. 82, and Wright, *Kachinas*, p. 238.
17. Wuyak-Kuita, broad faced kachina, is one of the fierce guard kachinas seen often during Powamu, Palölökong (Waterserpent) ceremony. Wright, *Kachinas*, p. 26.
18. He-e-e is the warrior woman based on the Hopi tradition of a young Hopi woman who defended her village from attackers. She leads a band of warrior kachinas to protect the Powamu ceremony. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
19. Hahai-i Wuhti is the mother of all kachinas. She is also the mother of dogs and of the monsters, the Nataskas. She is a very vocal, and hence an unusual kachina. She is seen in many ceremonies. *Ibid.*, p. 60.
20. Soyoko or Soyok 'Wuhti is the ogre woman who appears after or during Powamu. The ogres stop at each house and tell the boys to catch mice and the girls to grind corn, and warn that if they return and find no cornmeal or mice the children will be taken for food instead. The Soyoko returns a week later, at which time it necessary for the relatives to ransom the children. In this way the children are taught several object lessons. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
21. Nataskas are the monster children of Hahai-i Wuhti who accompany Soyoko on her rounds through the villages threatening the children. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
22. Toson Heheyas or Toson Koyemsi, the Sweet Cornmeal Tasting Mudhead or Mudhead Ogre accompanies the Soyoko to sample the cornmeal ground by young girls. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
23. Soyok 'Mana or Nataska Mana is the sister of the monsters, Nataskas. She accompanies her brothers and the Soyoko on their rounds during the Powamu ceremony. *Ibid.* p. 77.
24. The Koyemsi, or Mudhead Kachinas, are probably the most well-known of all Hopi kachinas. They appear in almost all ceremonies as clowns, announcers of dances, drummers, and many other roles. *Ibid.*, pp. 237–244.

25. Edna Glenn, "Commentary II: Ceremony," *supra*, pp. 100–110.
26. Tachukti or Tsuku are Hopi clowns that accompany most plaza dances. Wright, *Kachinas*, pp. 237–244.
27. Piptuka (male) and Piptu Wuhti (female) are not kachinas but a sub-group of Hopi clowns. *Ibid.*, pp. 240–41.
28. White Buffalo Dancer or Köcho Mosairu is not a kachina but a social dancer who is seen in January on Second Mesa. Wright, *Hopi Kachinas*, p. 82.
29. Hopi Salakos include Sio Salako, Sio Salako Mana, Salako Taka or Salako Nana and appear to be Hopi adaptations of Zuni kachinas. Wright, *Kachinas*.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 22.



SUBJECT: **Kachina**

Edna Glenn

Eight examples are presented in this section; others are included on previous pages

Sculptural forms: Figures 68-70

Painted images: Figures 71-75

“The central theme of the Kachina Cult is the presence of life in all objects that fill the universe.”

Barton Wright

“The concept of fertility is central in Hopi thinking. It applies not only to good crops but to the general multiplication of good and desired objects and beings . . . Thus, as women give birth to the people and cause them to multiply, so do the kachinas cause food and other blessings to multiply.”

Alice Schlegel



*(left)*

Figure 68. EOTOTO AND AHOLI,  
Kachina Chief and Kachina Chief's  
Lieutenant Sculpture (Courtesy of the  
Museum of Texas Tech University,  
Lubbock, Texas)

*(below, left)*

Figure 69. WUYAK-KUITA  
(BROAD-FACED KACHINA)  
Mikandit (Hei Lilly), carver  
Second Mesa, Arizona  
Sculpture (Courtesy of the owners, Mr.  
and Mrs. John F. Lott, Lubbock, Texas)

*(below, right)*

Figure 70. CHUSONA  
(HOPI SNAKE DANCERS)  
Sculpture, two figures (Courtesy of the  
Museum of Texas Tech University,  
Lubbock, Texas)



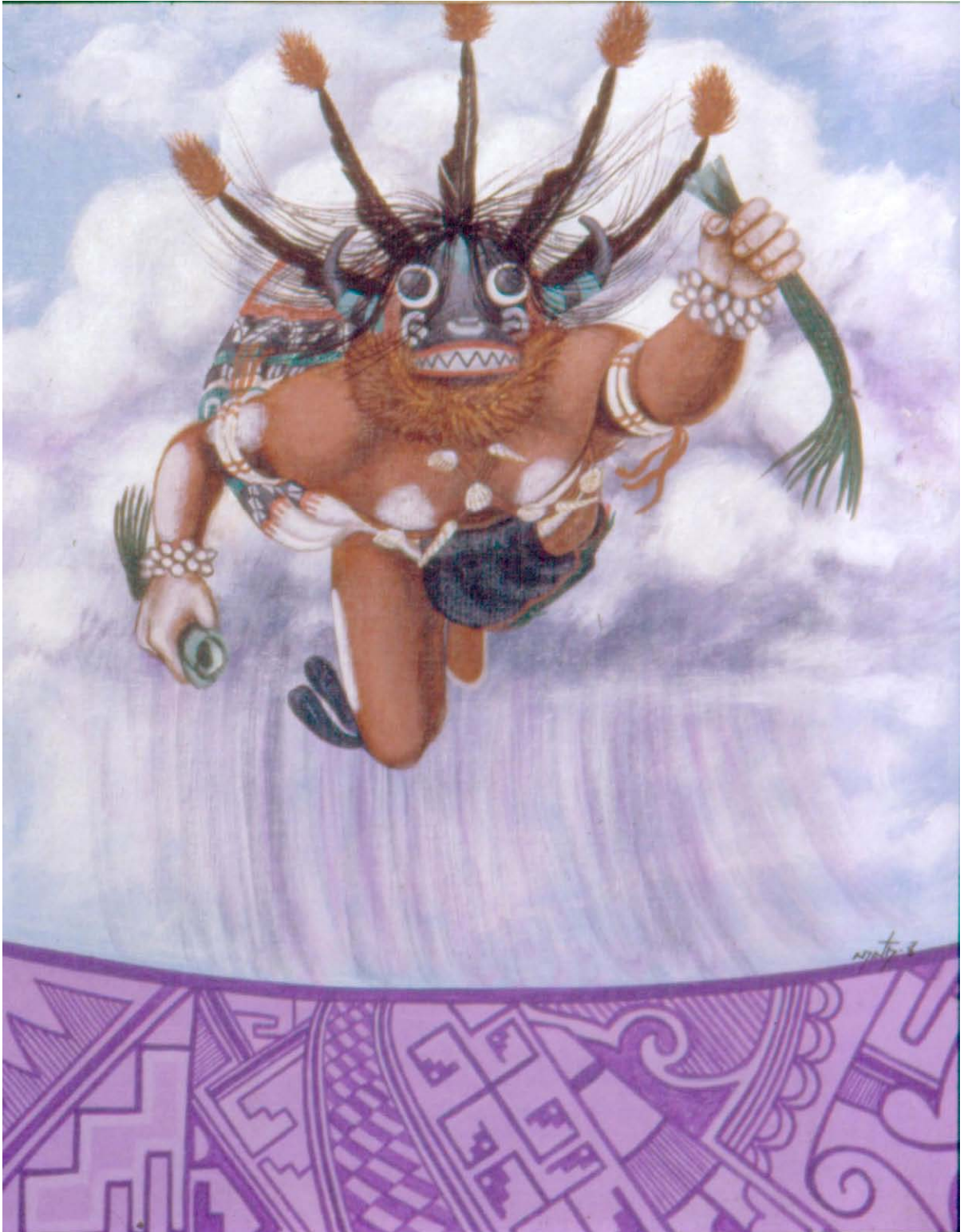


Figure 71. COMING OF CHAVEYO  
Nell David, Sr.  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)



Figure 72. PUEBLO WARRIOR DANCE  
Neil David, Sr.  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)



Figure 73. MUDHEAD DANCE  
Coochsiwukioma (Delbridge Honanie)  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)





Figure 74. ZUNI SHALAKO WITH MUDHEAD  
Neil David, Sr.  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)



Figure 75. KACHINA OF ONE HORN  
Dawakema (Milland Lomakema)  
painting, acrylic (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)



## Hopi Social Structure as Related to *Tihu* Symbolism

Alice Schlegel

“Life is the highest good; in an environment where survival requires constant effort, ... the richest blessing is abundance of food and children.”

Kachina dolls, those representations of the dancers who impersonate the supernatural kachinas, have captured the fancy of many art lovers for their colorfulness, the skill with which they are frequently made, and the variety of kachina forms they represent. To the collector, they are art objects, to be appreciated in terms of color, design and quality of craftsmanship. To the historian or museum curator, they are representative of the kachinas; as such, they are classified and their history and distribution are traced. The dolls have become the object of study in this regard by such authorities as Colton (1959), Erickson (1977), Fewkes (1894), and Wright (1977).<sup>1</sup> But rarely has the doll been analyzed as a symbolic object in a gift exchange between two types of kin, going from father to daughter. This analysis is not concerned with the doll as an art form or as a representation of particular kinds of kachinas; rather, it will observe the doll as an artifact and attempt to answer two questions: Why is it the duty of a father to give the doll to his daughter? And why is the gift a representation of a kachina rather than something else?

Let us first look at the circumstances of the gift. Dolls are usually given indirectly by fathers to daughters. The father arranges for a kachina dancer to present his daughter with a doll. The relationship between giver and recipient can be any of the father-daughter relationships that exist in the Hopi social world: the “real” father of the female, any man of his clan whom the female addresses as *father* in the clan sense, or any man who is addressed as *father* because he is the brother of a ceremonial *mother*, a woman who has sponsored the female through an initiation into a ceremonial society. The term *female* has been selected because it is not just a girl who receives dolls; she is given her first doll shortly after birth and can go on receiving them throughout her entire life.

The dolls are kachina representations, and they are most frequently given at the two great kachina ceremonies: Powamu, or Bean Dance, and Niman, or Home Dance, the last dance of the kachinas before they go “home” to the San Francisco Peaks and to their dance cycle in the underworld. Both of these ceremonies have agricultural connotations: The Bean Dance anticipates the planting season, with the forced sprouting of beans a foretaste of the good crops to come; while the Home Dance anticipates the harvest as the kachina dancers bring melons and other foods into the plaza to distribute among the onlookers.

With these two facts in mind, the relationship of giver and recipient and the nature of the gift, an exploration of the father-daughter relationship and the special meaning of kachinas for females becomes more significant. In addition, the gift itself—its derivation and content must be analyzed.

The kachina doll is referred to by the Hopi as *tihu*, which is also a formal or ritual term for child, as in the phrase *tihutnaa nawakna*, literally translated as “children are desired,” or in more poetic translation, “let us all multiply.” *Ti* itself is the common term for *child*: *iti*—my child, *itaati*—our child. The term *tihu* refers specifically to the doll and never to the kachina or to the kachina dancer. The doll is often presented tied to a cradle board. The kachina doll is thus a sort of baby, and so it is used by little girls. Some small girls open their dresses and place their kachina dolls at the nonexistent breast in imitation of nursing, and the dolls, when not considered too valuable for this purpose, are used as baby dolls. The elaborate doll suitable only for display seems to be a recent development, probably not predating 1870.<sup>2</sup>

Girls are given their first *tihus*, the *putsquat tihu* or flat doll, at the first Bean Dance or Home Dance after their birth. The second type of doll, also a flat doll but with a more elaborate face, is given at the next appropriate ceremony. At about age two the female receives dolls with a block body and arms lightly carved in bas relief against the body. The fourth type of doll, a simple standing doll, is received while the recipient is still small. In recent times, the fancy human-like dolls are given to the older girls and women, and these are carefully hung on the wall. This custom dates back at least to 1902, which is the date of the Vroman photograph of the interior of a Hopi house that displays several dolls hanging or standing on a wall shelf. The interior of a kiva, photographed in 1901, also shows dolls hanging on the wall.<sup>3</sup> But many dolls, and in earlier times perhaps most dolls, are the toys of girls and women. Why then should these dolls take on the form of kachinas?

It is clear that a doll is not in itself a sacred object. No songs or rituals accompany the making of the doll. It may have a pedagogical function in training girls to take care of sacred objects, but this is a minor function, for people of both sexes ceremonially feed and otherwise care for ritual objects. If this were the main purpose of giving the doll, then dolls would be given to boys in preparation of their future role as “fathers” or caretakers of the kachinas. Rather, the doll is a special kind of toy, one that can be played with by the little girl as a baby doll and yet has a special meaning for her.

Books have been written about the types and classification of kachina figures: the majestic Eototo, the benevolent Jemez, the fearsome Soyoko, and the comical Mudheads.<sup>4</sup> The variety of forms, each with its own character, seems endless. But the kachinas as a class, a category of beings, do have certain features in common. They are all associated in some way with the world of the spirits and the dead, when they dance they bring delight to the people, and as beings who inhabit the realms of the clouds, they bring rain. They are in fact the very embodiment of rain: it is said that one drop of their body moisture (*paala*) will make the crops grow. Thus, along with their individual characters and ceremonial roles, they are, as a group, bringers of fertility.

The concept of fertility is central in Hopi thinking. It applies not only to good crops but to the general multiplication of good and desired objects and beings. With the high value placed on life in Hopi religion, whatever promotes and nurtures life is good. This concept is embodied in the verb *titia* which means both “to give or have given birth” and “to multiply.” For example, when children bring food home from the ceremonial dances that the kachinas have given them, they are supposed to sprinkle it with cornmeal (as a blessing or prayer) and take a pinch of it away from the house to offer to the spirit beings. This gives the mother the chance to bring out more food, which she had hidden away, to add to the pile on the floor. When the children return, they are told that everything the kachinas touch – *titia* - multi-

plies. Thus, as women give birth to the people and cause them to multiply, so do the kachinas cause food and other blessings to multiply. Kachinas bring fertility to women as well as to crops: it is especially important to give a woman a kachina doll (of no special type) at Powamu or Niman if she desires to conceive. In this case, the husband might make it.

This knowledge of the kachina blessing explains in part why kachina dancers present dolls to females and why these dolls should take the form of the kachinas. When she is a little girl, the doll is her baby, a special representation of the child she will someday bear. Small Hopi girls have other dolls as well, objects made from animal bones representing people, with which they play house. But the baby doll, the object which is carried about and nursed and mothered, is the *tihu*, which acts as her baby when she is small and brings her real ones after she matures.

A second question considers the meaning and symbolism of kinship relationships. Why is it a “father” who, through the medium of the kachina dancer, presents the kachina doll to a “daughter”? The Hopis are one of those few societies in which girls are preferred to boys, although parents are quick to point out that they want children of both sexes. To her mothers and uncles, the newborn girl promises continuity of the matrilineal clan.<sup>5</sup> To her parents, a daughter provides insurance against the future, for she and her husband will care for her parents when they grow old. Since a Hopi husband goes to live in the home of his wife and her parents, it is the son-in-law who replaces the father as the provider for the house, performing as farmer, herder, and hunter. Thus, a daughter is essential if the household is to maintain itself, and daughters will be adopted from among the sisters of a woman if she herself fails to bear one.<sup>6</sup>

But aside from these practical considerations, there is an ideological reason for preferring girls, one that has to do with the Hopi concept of life. Life is the highest good; in an environment where survival requires constant effort, and starvation and high infant and maternal mortality are real-life threats, the richest blessing is abundance of food and children. This blessing is a sign that the supernatural beings are pleased with the Hopi people and are granting them their hearts’ desire. To bring about this blessing, to please the deities, however, means the hard work and self-discipline of prayer, fasting, and arduous ceremonial participation. It also means constant attention to maintaining a “good heart,” that is, by refraining from quarrels or selfishness that upset social harmony, and by casting out angry or disturbing thoughts that upset the harmony of the individual.

In their role as feeders and as bearers of children, Hopi women are the source of life on earth. Men also feed and give birth in the spiritual sense; the kachina fathers “feed” the dancers by sprinkling them with sacred cornmeal, and men symbolically give birth to the initiates at the Powamu and Kachina Societies initiation. But the real foods that sustain physical life and the spiritual food, the sacred cornmeal, that sustains spiritual life are prepared by women, and it is women who hear the children.

As the source of this precious life, women are more valuable than men and should be protected by them. It is the duty of men to stand between women with their children and anything in the outside world that might harm them. The grim duty of warfare, with its violation of the Hopi ethic of peace and the preservation of life, was a necessary evil that had to be undertaken in defense of the villages. The hardships of ceremonial participation and the self-sacrifice this entails fall particularly heavily on men, for they are the spiritual as well as physical protectors of women and children.

While this duty to provide physical and spiritual protection to women and children applies to men generally, it is particularly applicable to men while acting in the role of father, *na'a*. This term does not only apply to fathers in the true biological or kinship sense, the real father and his real or clan brothers; it has an even more extensive meaning. It applies to the man who sponsors an initiate into a ceremonial society, a ceremonial father, or to the brother of a female ceremonial sponsor (a "mother"). It also applies to the village chief, who is father of the village, and collectively it applies to the men who sit together as advisors to the chief. Superficially, this may not seem very different from Anglos who speak of godfathers, political leaders as fathers of their country, and of leading male citizens as city fathers. The difference lies in the nature of the father-child relationship that exists between actual fathers and children and its extension metaphorically to life situations.

Unlike the European, non-Hopi notion of father, the Hopi father is not the authority in the household. This authority rests with the mother or female head who owns the house. She is holder of the land her husband farms, and she allocates the food supply once it has been brought into the house. Most of this food goes to feed the family, but there is a significant surplus that is used for ceremonial exchange and for trade with other tribes; this surplus and the subsistence portion are both under women's control. Thus, authority over the principal economic resource for both survival and exchange rests with the female household heads, even though men do almost all the labor of farming, herding and hunting. This very fact of male subsistence labor, of course, makes women dependent upon men and mitigates the authority of women in the house; as husbands prove their worth they become increasingly influential over their wives and children.

Nevertheless, the husband is not the final authority in the house, nor is the father the final authority over his children. While fathers do train and discipline their children, punishing them when necessary, the maternal uncle is regarded as the principal male disciplinary figure. As an adult member of the same clan as the children, he is called in when necessary to remonstrate with or punish a recalcitrant child, and children are trained to listen with special respect to the admonitions of their uncles. Fathers, on the other hand, have principally the duty of protecting and providing for their children, seeing to their physical and spiritual well-being. Children are expected to feel both respect and affection for fathers and uncles, but toward the uncles there is more distance and deference while toward fathers there is more intimacy and relaxation.

The same relationship is implied in the metaphorical extension of the term for *father*. The village chief, the village leaders, the kachina father, the ceremonial father—all of these roles imply protection, gained through prayers and arduous ceremonies for the benefit of the "children." There is a further metaphorical extension of *father* that makes this point very clearly. Wild plants and animals may be called "our fathers," because they were put here on earth to provide for us.

While fathers protect both sons and daughters, daughters receive special attention because they are not only children but also female. A father gives a female the kachina doll at the same time he gives his sons miniature bows and arrows. Like the bow and arrow, the doll is a toy that prepares the child for an adult task—in the case of the boy for hunting and warfare, in the case of the girl for motherhood. Hopi liken childbirth to warfare; both are life-threatening, blood-letting activities, and the purification for the battlefield killer is similar to that of the woman after parturition. The giving of bows and arrows stops after puberty, while the giving of kachina dolls continues throughout a woman's lifetime. This practice symbolizes more than just the protective and affectionate attitude that fathers have for children.

Clearly kachinas are associated with abundance, and kachina dolls in particular are associated with fertility. The gift of the kachina doll from father to daughter implies, therefore, that fathers are not only protectors of their daughters in general, but also specifically guardians of their fertility.

The role women of the father's clan, the paternal "aunts," play is one of guardian of fertility.<sup>7</sup> At the naming ceremony after birth, these women rub the newborn infant of either sex on their bare thighs, thus assuring the child's fertility when an adult. It is these women who take the adolescent girl through the ceremony that moves her from childhood into social adolescence and prepares her to reach adult status through marriage. The sexual joking that takes place between a boy and the women of his father's clan can also be explained by the association between fertility and the father's side of the kin group. The gift of the kachina doll to the daughter, then, is merely another aspect of this association, between the father's side and the individual's precious fertility.

Since the fertility of the woman benefits her clan, her mothers and "uncles," and not her father's clan, her fathers and "aunts," why should the father's side be given this special responsibility of guardianship?

To answer this question requires an understanding of Hopi natural philosophy, particularly concerning gender. It is basic to Hopi cosmology that there are masculine and feminine principles according to which natural objects and forces can be classified. The earth, Mother Earth, is feminine, as is her most important product, corn. The earth is the repository of life, but life must be activated by such masculine forces as sun, rain, and lightning. These are dangerous forces, for while they activate life they can also bring death if not controlled: intense sun can burn the young plants, heavy rains can wash them away, and the same lightning that fertilizes the fields can blast the crops or kill those whom it catches. The masculine principle in nature, then, has its destructive as well as its nurturant side, just as men must kill in battle or the hunt as well as tend the crops and provide for their children. But this principle is necessary to bring life, inherent in feminine objects and creatures, into being.

Thus, Hopi symbolically associate the mother's side, her clan, with the female principle, and the father's side, his clan, with the male principle. The mother's clan is primarily responsible for the child's social welfare: mothers and "uncles" train girls and boys to take their proper places in clan affairs and clan ceremonial duties. But it is the father's clan that guards the person's physical self: the father provides the food, the "aunts" ceremonially wash the individual at birth and again at death, and the fathers and aunts are guardians of the person's fertility, the life force that permits the people to multiply. In his duties as farmer and father, the man activates the life force that is inherent in Mother Earth and the living mothers of the people; through his prayers and by keeping a good heart, he brings down the blessing of the gods and the kachinas in the form of rain and other benefits without which his hard work would be wasted. It is only within the context of beliefs about fertility that the gift of the kachina doll can be understood.

This discussion has gone far beyond the kachina doll. Discussing any aspect of Hopi symbolism is like touching a node in a spider web: the tremors move out along the threads and are ultimately felt in every other node. So it is when one takes any symbolic object as the point of departure: one is forced to look at the total pattern of the social system and the ideology that supports it. The total meaning of the kachina doll is embedded in all the Hopi principles of kinship and the proper relations between kin, and in the Hopi view of the nature of the world and the parts that people and supernatural beings play in it. It is within this briefest of outlines that those aspects of kinship and of beliefs must be understood in order to appreciate the social and symbolic meaning of the kachina doll.

## Notes

1. See Harold S. Colton, *Hopi Kachina Dolls* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1959); Jon T. Erickson, *Kachinas: An Evolving Hopi Art Form?* (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1977); Jesse W. Fewkes, "Dolls of the Tusayan Indians," *International Archive of Ethnography* 7 (1894): 45-74; and Barton Wright, *Hopi Kachinas: The Complete Guide to Collecting Kachina Dolls* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1977).

2. See Erickson, *Kachinas*.

3. William Webb and Robert A. Weinstein, *Dwellers at the Source: Southwestern Indian Photographs of A. C. Vroman, 1895-1904* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1973), plates 32, 91.

4. For information on Eototo and Soyoko, see Barton Wright, "Kachinas: A Life Force," *Infra*. Jemez, or ripened corn kachina, is most often seen in the Niman or Home-Going ceremony. It is the first kachina to bring mature corn to the people indicating that the corn crop is assured.

5. A matrilineal clan is a group of men and women related through the female line.

A person's own (mother's) clan:

<i>Generation</i>	<i>Terms for men</i>	<i>Terms for women</i>
+1	uncles	mothers
0	brothers	sisters
-1	child—woman speaking sister's child—man speaking	

A person's father's clan:

<i>Generation</i>	<i>Terms for men</i>	<i>Terms for women</i>
+1	fathers	aunts
0	fathers	aunts
-1	fathers	aunts

A matrilocal household is a family group that lives together, consisting of a woman and one or more daughters and the husbands of these women, plus any unmarried sons and daughters of any of the women.

A typical Hopi household consists of a married pair, one daughter and her husband and children, and possibly one or more unmarried sons and daughters of the oldest couple. At marriage, sons leave the household for their wives' homes and sons-in-law come into the household. One daughter usually inherits the house; the husbands of the other daughters build houses contiguous to or near the original house.

6. Fred Eggan, *The Kinship System and Social Organization of the Western Pueblos* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950); Jesse Walter Fewkes, "The Kinship of the Tusayan Villages," *American Anthropologist* (o.s.) 12 (1910); and Robert H. Lowie, "Notes on Hopi Clans," *Anthropological Papers*, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 30, part 5 (New York: 1929).

7. Alice Schlegel, "Hopi Joking and Castration Threats," in M. Dale Kinkdale, ed., *Linguistics and Anthropology: In Honor of C. F. Voegelin* (Lisse, Netherlands: Peter de Ridder Press, 1975).





## Contemporary Hopi Courts and Law

Piestewa (Robert H. Ames)

“We believe we are ‘at the center’ and this gives us a very secure feeling about where we are, where we have been, and what we are going to do.”

One of the things that a Hopi is not supposed to be is boastful, and I think that you can recognize this as a rule. We love to talk, though. We love to talk about Hopis, we love to talk about our history, our traditions and customs, and we love to talk about our art and culture, but we can’t do that without telling you how great we are. We are very proud and although I am half Hopi, the more I read and study about the Hopi, and the more I go back to the reservation, the more I can relate to Hopis and the more Hopi I feel, and that’s a very secure feeling.

\* \* \* \* \*

An “Indian” for the purposes of this Code is any person who is an enrolled member of any Federally recognized tribe or who has Indian blood and is regarded as an Indian by the society of Indians among whom he lives.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

The Hopi Courts are in much the same situation that I am—halfway. The courts are trying to recognize custom, tradition, and history in the rendering of decisions and judgments, but the Hopis are living in a contemporary world and they have laws that are not the same as those with which Hopis have traditionally learned to live. The Hopi courts, as with all courts, should be predictable. How can a Hopi predict what the result of his conduct will be unless he can look to the court to support in some way his custom and tradition? Whenever possible and to the extent possible, the judges try to observe custom and tradition in the rendering of decisions.

\* \* \* \* \*

WHEREAS, the Hopi Judicial Code, consisting of Ordinance 21 and parts of other ordinances and the Hopi Civil and Criminal Procedures are limited in their scope; and WHEREAS, there are *no* adequate sections of the code covering juvenile law, probate law, or *codified traditional laws*; and

WHEREAS, the Hopi Appellate and Trial Court Judges have urged the codification of traditional and customary laws;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Hopi Tribal Council authorizes the Chairman of the Hopi Tribal Council and/or his designee(s) to pursue funds for a project to research and develop a more complete code for the judiciary.<sup>2</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

To understand how Hopi courts are trying to utilize custom and tradition, it is necessary first to understand the court structure, jurisdiction, and procedures of the Hopi Nation's judicial system. The Hopi court system is composed of two courts—the Hopi Tribal Appellate Court and the Hopi Tribal Trial Court. Each Hopi court is made up of three judges. Serving at one time on the Hopi Tribal Appellate Court were an Arizona Superior Court Judge,<sup>3</sup> an Arizona Appellate Court Judge,<sup>4</sup> and myself, a Stanford University graduate with a doctorate in jurisprudence and twenty-five years of trial practice experience. My replacement on the Appellate Court is a law school graduate, and although not a practicing attorney, he is Hopi and, therefore, knowledgeable and experienced in the Hopi way.<sup>5</sup>

My present appointment is Chief Judge of the Hopi Tribal Trial Court. There are two other judges on the Hopi trial court. One is working toward a B.A. degree from UCLA<sup>6</sup>; the other has a great deal of experience and education through the National College of American Indian Tribal Judges at Reno, Nevada, and is presently serving as President of the National Association of Indian Court Trial Judges.<sup>7</sup> We have, then, trial and appellate courts with the highest educational and practical qualifications of any of the Indian courts in the United States today.

My home is in Salinas, California, and once a month my judicial position calls me to fly to Phoenix and drive five and one-half hours to the Hopi Reservation. In many ways it is a "time warp." Being the Chief Judge and also a non-reservation circuit judge has its weaknesses and strengths. Often, in a small community the judge's actions and conduct are carefully scrutinized, and it is very easy for the community to decide that, "He's not such a great guy, why does he have the right to judge us? He can't do that to me, because he does not know how I live. He doesn't live on the reservation." But when the court meets on the Hopi Reservation, it provides me with an opportunity to once again observe the Hopi way and make myself known among the communities. The people become acquainted with me as the Hopi judge, so that they do not look upon me as a foreign intruder who passes sentence and then leaves.

An Indian judge does not have to be a lawyer or an Indian, but the Chairman appointed judges such as myself to the court because he wanted the identity of a Hopi and a lawyer as Chief Judge guiding the court. Another advantage to having non-reservation judges on the court is that they bring with them experience in non-Indian courts. Since non-Indian law is being imposed upon the Hopi, it is helpful for them to have someone who is experienced in such law and is able to interpret it. The other two Hopi Tribal Trial Court judges are Hopi who have grown up on the reservation, and together we complement each other. Together we can interpret and utilize this non-Indian law in a way that would be less offensive to the Hopi people.

\* \* \* \* \*

Any person who is a graduate of an accredited school of law and who is over the age of 30 years and who has never been convicted of a felony, or, within the year just past, of a misdemeanor, shall be eligible to be appointed probationary chief judge of the Trial Court of the Hopi Tribe.<sup>8</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

The position of Chief Judge of the Hopi Trial Court is a permanent one after a one-year probationary period. The Chief Judge serves forever so as not to be subject to political pressures present in some

Indian courts. It is the very same situation as federal judges hold in the United States. My permanent appointment was a step most important in establishing the independence of the Hopi courts.

The Hopi Trial Court is the highest trial court and exercises a full range of jurisdiction in all criminal and civil matters. It has original jurisdiction over all civil causes of action arising on the Hopi Reservation if the defendants are Indians, and it has original jurisdiction over all criminal offenses committed by Indians in violation of Hopi tribal ordinances on the Hopi Reservation.<sup>9</sup> A new Hopi Children's Code has expanded the Hopi Trial Court's jurisdiction to include any adult, Indian or non-Indian, on or off the reservation, that might "facilitate the handling of children's cases."<sup>10</sup> All appeals, except for small criminal case punishments, go to the Hopi Tribal Appellate Court, which has only this appellate jurisdiction.<sup>11</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

"Reservation" within the meaning of this Code shall encompass all lands within the exterior boundaries of the 1882 Executive Order Reservation, the villages of Moencopi and surrounding range and farmlands occupied or used by Hopi Indians, and *such other lands as from time to time may be added to the Hopi Reservation.*<sup>12</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

Geographically, Hopi jurisdiction originally encompasses about 600,000 acres, and after the dispute between the Hopis and Navajos was resolved, Hopi courts had geographical jurisdiction over 1,500,000 acres. In 1894 the Hopis wrote, "We most earnestly desire to have one continuous boundary enclosing all the Tewa and all the Hopi land that it should be large enough to afford sustenance."<sup>13</sup> Hopis were asking then for what the Congress and federal courts eventually did—to establishing a final boundary line between the Hopis and Navajos.

As Hopi Tribal Chairman Abbott Sekaquaptewa has stated, it is important for Hopis to establish what has been described as the sovereignty of an Indian nation. To the extent possible our courts are going to utilize our jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters to the exclusion of all other jurisdictions until someone comes along and tells us it cannot be done. Unfortunately, they come along and tell us it cannot be done. Unfortunately, they come along and tell us that every day. We are told that we have a sovereign nation with unlimited jurisdiction, but we can have nothing to do with non-Indians. So our jurisdiction is presently limited so far as non-Indians are concerned. We also have a limitation so far as crimes are concerned. In the federal courts the United States government has retained jurisdiction over certain crimes, primarily those which we would consider felonies, such as murder and violations involving tribal officials, since judges on the Hopi court or the Indian courts would be intimidated by having an official of the tribe in court.<sup>14</sup> These restrictions will be challenged, and perhaps the Hopi courts might be able to extend their legal jurisdiction in the future.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### ORDINANCE 21

BE IT ENACTED BY THE HOPI TRIBAL COUNCIL ASSEMBLED, by virtue of its inherent authority as a sovereign American Indian Tribe . . . <sup>15</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

The law existing on the Hopi Reservation today is a written ordinance, Ordinance 21, similar to those in other states in the United States. It is written law. As it was originally written, and as it has evolved presently, the ordinance is a very simple document which encompasses a criminal and civil code, and criminal and civil procedures for the court. It is very direct and fairly easy to understand. It gives latitude to the judges to interpret it and to utilize custom and tradition. Therefore, the judge is not necessarily bound by the strict letter of the written law.

Hopis have not always had codified laws and courts. In the past they had the customs and traditions which everybody supposedly understood. However, there are many different clans and peoples who came in the migrations to the Hopi Reservation. As they came they brought different ideas about how things should be done and what the ceremonies should be. They also brought different customs and traditions. In Hopi courts, customs differ from place to place, so the judges try to accommodate and make do with what they know.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is the purpose of the Hopi Children's Code to provide for the full consideration of religious and *traditional preferences and practices* of families during the disposition of a matter . . .<sup>16</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

The Hopi judiciary is working very hard to make the courts something that the Hopi people can understand and use when it becomes necessary. It is hoped that the people will continue to practice their customs and traditions as they did in the past in resolving disputes. It has been said that the Hopi word describing the Hopi people means "peaceful people." In some sense, that is correct; but in everyday life, Hopis have arguments, disputes, and fights as all people do. As a small community, the bickerings become more pronounced, and everyone is aware of what each dispute is about. One way that Hopis dealt with conduct which was out of character with the community was the use of the Mudheads. During a ceremony in the plaza, the Mudheads would act out or describe inappropriate conduct through sarcastic pantomime and ridicule. Of course, everyone in the village, including those who were the object of such ridicule, know who was being mimicked. With the community pressure demonstrated by the Mudheads the conduct which was considered inappropriate for that community at that particular time was altered. The Hopi judges attempt to utilize the same sort of pressure, or punishment, in the rendering of decisions and judgments.

On one occasion before my court was a woman who had been in violation of the law while holding a position of trust and responsibility for the Hopi people. It was very important to impress upon her and the Hopi people that she was going to be dealt with appropriately. After discussing with her what she had done and how it affected the confidence and responsibility that the people had placed in her, it became necessary to penalize her. She could not be fined because she really did not have any money; most of the Hopi people do not have enough money to make a fine significant. So she was placed under house arrest. She could not leave her home except to go to the hospital, to take care of herself or her children, or to go to town to buy groceries, and then only in the company of another family member. She was also not allowed to attend or participate in the ceremonies.

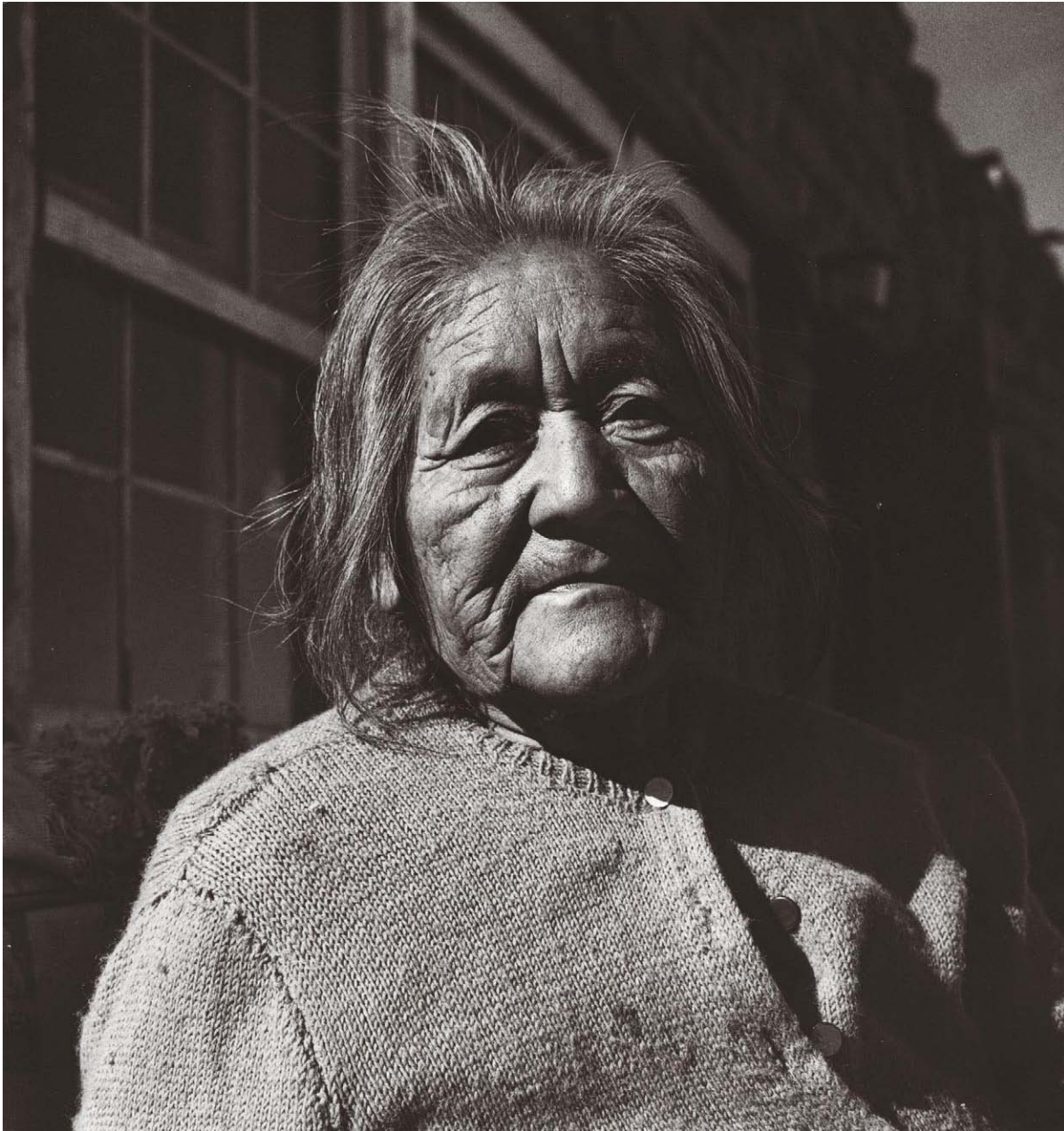


Figure 76. HOPI WOMAN

Owen Seumptewa, photographic portrait, 1980 (Courtesy of the photographer, Second Mesa, Arizona)

On the Hopi Reservation there is a jail, and a new courthouse is being constructed this year. The new courthouse will also include a jail facility, probation department and a juvenile detention center, though we recently learned that the current trend is away from such detention centers. Our present jail facilities are inadequate for long-term incarceration, and are not equipped to handle women for anything more than a day or two.<sup>17</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

Every person convicted of a violation of any provision of this Code constituting an offense shall be punished by a fine of not more than Five Hundred Dollars (\$500.00) or by imprisonment in the Tribal Jail for not more than six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.<sup>18</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

But by denying the guilty woman her freedom, especially the privilege of participating in the ceremonies, she had really been placed in a jail. Because these restrictions had been placed on her in open court, in front of her friends and family, the sentence was an impressive one for her and for the people who were looking to the court for assistance in dealing with the problems of our contemporary society.

Today there is not always a customary and traditional method of dealing with a problem as there was previously. In the past there was a mediator, usually a clan member or someone in the village with a position of trust and confidence who would mediate problems—a *kikmongwi*. This person is defined in the Children's Code and given the authority to solve family problems whenever possible.<sup>19</sup> Reliance on the wisdom of the elders is a common practice of Hopi courts who also try to ascertain how a particular clan or village would deal with certain problems.

A document dated March 27–28, 1894, addressed to the “Washington Chiefs,” is on permanent exhibit at the Hopi Cultural Center and Museum on Second Mesa. It is about three and one-half pages long followed by about twenty pages of signatures of Hopi people and leaders. It represented one of the few times that that number of Hopi ever agreed on anything. Reading in part, the writers commented, “During the last two years strangers have looked over our land with spy glasses, and made marks upon it, and we know but little what to do.” Hopis found this disturbing because they did not traditionally mark off the land in the way the whites proposed. “None of us ever asked that it should be measured into separate lots and given to individuals, for this would cause confusion. The family, the dwelling house, and the field are inseparable because the woman is the heart of these and they rest with her.”<sup>20</sup> That is the Hopi law and tradition which grows out of a matrilineal society. The land, the home, the children, and most of the possessions belong to the women.

This tradition has been recognized in the Hopi courts. Who owns the house? It is easy; the wife owns the house. If a couple separates, what does the man receive? Not very much. Usually it is just about all that he can carry away with him. He gets his clothing and his personal possessions. He retains his tools, his pole, his planting stick which he uses in the fields, and his weaving instrument. Weaving is very important to the Hopi people, but the men are the weavers, so the man carries it away with him. What do we do about child custody? That is very simple; children belong to the mother because children receive their clan identity through their mother. If the mother is deceased, the children stay with the mother's side of the family, according to custom.

\* \* \* \* \*

Voluntary, temporary transfer of legal custody:

Authority: The Children's Court [Hopi Trial Court Judge] may, upon petition, enter

an order temporarily transferring legal custody from a parent to another member of a child's extended family.<sup>21</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

Today Hopis are sometimes required to live in the same manner as non-Indians. The federal government has passed the Indian Child Welfare Act and the Indian Civil Rights Act<sup>22</sup> which impose non-Indian laws on Indian reservations. Required to have a children's code, Hopis recently adopted a children's code which is longer than their entire criminal and civil procedure laws and all their criminal laws they have previously ever adopted. Besides its length, the code introduces concepts which to a large extent are still foreign to Hopis. The children's code provides for legal adoption of children through the courts.<sup>23</sup> There is no concept of adoption among Hopis because with the extended clan family the child always has a home. The code also deals with abandonment of children.<sup>24</sup> That does not happen among Hopis. The child is never abandoned; and there is always someone there to help, guide, and teach the child. The court then is being required to work in a non-Indian way with a society that does not understand many of the terms and laws imposed upon it.

Though required to impose very strict and limited rules and regulations, the Hopi court continues trying to utilize custom and tradition wherever possible. Even though the children belong to the mother's side of the family, according to Hopi tradition and Hopi court law, the father is not relieved of his responsibilities. Moreover, fields from the lands of the woman's family are assigned for each of her children, and her husband cares for each parcel. These lands are assigned each year, and there is a good reason for not permanently marking off fields the way the white chiefs of Washington wanted. In the spring and early summer, there are usually gales coming from the southwest that are strong enough to blow away the sandy soil. When the field moves, the planter must follow it. Ordinarily, sandy soil is not considered fertile, but on the Hopi lands, it is the sand upon which the people plant. It contains enough nourishment for the crops to grow, but more importantly, it retains moisture so the crops do not have to expend all of their energy pushing through the hard earth. The sand does blow though, so from time to time the fields move and the planters move with it. The Hopis thought that it would bring great confusion upon them if the white chiefs of Washington came and said, "This is your plot of land and you are going to stay here. The Hopi have been described as the world's greatest dry-land farmers. As found in the 1894 document mentioned the authors remarked with confidence, "The American is our elder brother and in everything he can teach us, except in the method of growing corn in those waterless sandy valleys and in that we are sure we can teach him."<sup>25</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

*INJURING FENCES.* Any Indian who shall willfully cut, break, stretch, pry open, destroy, or otherwise injure the fence of another or of the Hopi Tribe, or who shall willfully dig or excavate under such fence, or leave the gate open, shall be deemed guilty of an offense.<sup>26</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

To the Hopi, the land, its people, their religion and traditions are central. The Hopi Cultural Center and Museum on Second Mesa has printed on its stationery the words, “At the Center.” We believe we are “at the center” and this gives us a very secure feeling about where we are, where we have been, and what we are going to do. We do not have to go anywhere, we are already there.

This secure feeling extends to the beginning of life and a first naming. When I was younger, I had a Hopi name. Since I did not grow up on the reservation, I did not learn the language, but I did have a Hopi name. My name was *Piestewa*. I always thought it must be a great name because it sounded so good; something like “speeding eagle” or “running bear.” I finally asked someone its meaning and learned that it meant “tadpole.” This was very self-defeating to me until I realized how important my name was. To a people who live in the desert, who depend upon their crops for their survival, my name was illustrative of fertility. All names that the Hopi people bestow are given for a reason—to make the person feel comfortable. *Piestewa* has come to mean something special to me, and while it may not have the same sort of connotation that some other names have, I am very happy with it.

\* \* \* \* \*

*SIGNATURE*—Defined: The act of putting down a man’s name at the end of an instrument to attest its validity. A signature may be written by hand, printed, typewritten, or engraved. And whatever mark, symbol, or device one may choose to employ as representative of himself is sufficient.<sup>27</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

## Notes

1. Hopi Judicial Code, Ordinance 21, Title III, Ch. 1 Definitions 3.1.1k, p. 26A.
2. Resolution, Hopi Tribal Council, H-17-76 [emphasis added].
3. Paul Rosenblatt
4. James Ogg
5. Emory Sekaquaptewa
6. Lawrence Numkena
7. Elbridge Coochise
8. Hopi Judicial Code, Ordinance 21, Title I, Ch. 3 Trial Courts 1.3.3, p. 3.
9. *Ibid.*, 1.7.1 and 1.7.2, p. 4.
10. Hopi Children’s Code, Ch. III The Children’s Court, C.3.b, c., p. III-4.



11. Hopi Judicial Code, Ordinance 21, Title I, Ch. 2 Appellate Court 1.2.5, p. 2.
12. *Ibid.*, Title III, Ch. 1 Definitions 3.1.1L, p. 26A [emphasis added].
13. Letter, Representatives of the Hopi villages to The Washington Chief, March 1894, xerox copy in Hopi Cultural Center and Museum, original in National Archives, Papers of the Navajo Agency, letters received, #14830. The Hopi-Navajo land dispute first entered American courts in 1962, when the Hopi sued to obtain absolute title to the reservation established by President Chester Arthur in 1882. See *Healing v. Jones*, Arizona District Court (1962).
14. The Hopi Judicial Code does provide for concurrent jurisdiction in felony cases to be exercised at the discretion of the Chief Judge of the Hopi Trial Court. Title III, Ch. 2 General Provisions 3.2.2, pp. 26A-27.
15. Hopi Tribal Code, Ordinance 21, Preamble, p. 1. This document and these powers were in part derived from the federal Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. This trend continued to be developed at all levels of Hopi life. See Section 12, Special Provisions of the March 1981, Hopi Education Ordinance, 12.1A, p. 11. "It shall be the policy of the Hopi Board of Education to insure that self-determination be initiated to the greatest extent possible and be exercised to the greatest extent possible at the local school board level."
16. Hopi Children's Code, Ch. II General, A. 2, p. II-1.
17. The jail was so inadequate that a specific crime was included in the Hopi Tribal Code, Ordinance 21 delineating the types of damages to the jail that could be prosecuted. Title III, Ch. 2 General Provisions, 3.3.18, p. 30.
18. *Ibid.*, 3.2.4, p. 27.
19. Hopi Children's Code, Ch. III The Children's Court, C.1.b, p. III-3, C.4.a-b, p. III-5.
20. Letter from Representatives of the Hopi villages to the Washington Chief.
21. Hopi Children's Code, Ch. IV Parental Rights and Duties, Custody, Guardianship, and the Court, B.5.a, p. IV-2.
22. For a discussion of the Indian Civil Rights Act, see Donald L. Burnett, Jr., "An Historical Analysis of the 1968 'Indian Civil Rights Act,'" *Harvard Journal of Legislation* 9 (May 1972) : 557-626; Vine Deloria, Jr., "Implications of the 1968 Civil Rights Act in Tribal Autonomy," in *Indian Voices: The First Convocation of American Indian Scholars* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1970), pp. 85-92; Michael Smith, "Tribal Sovereignty and the 1968 Indian Bill of Rights," *Civil Rights Digest* 3 (Summer 1970): 9-15; and John R. Wunder, "*Retained by The People*": *A History of American Indians and the Bill of Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), especially Chapter 7, "The Indian Bill of Rights," pp. 124-46..
23. Hopi Children's Code, Ch. IV Parental Rights and Duties, Custody, Guardianship, and the Court, D.8., p. IV-8.
24. *Ibid.*, Ch. VII Offenses by Adults Against Minors, A.1., p. VII-1.
25. Letter, Representatives of the Hopi villages to the Washington Chief (1894).
26. Hopi Judicial Code, Ordinance 21, Title III, Ch. 3 Specific Offenses, 3.3.46, p. 34.
27. *Ibid.*, Title II, Ch. 1 General Provisions, 2.1.1, p. 7.



## The Enduring Hopi

Peter Iverson

“What then is the meaning of the tricentennial observance? It is a reaffirmation of continuity and hope for the collective Hopi future.”

The Hopi world is centered on and around three mesas in northeastern Arizona named First, Second, and Third. It is at first glance a harsh and rugged land, not always pleasing to the untrained eye. Prosperity here can only be realized with patience, determination, and a belief in tomorrow.<sup>1</sup>

For over 400 years, the Hopis have confronted the incursion of outside non-Indian societies. The Spanish entered Hopi country as early as 1540. Then part of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado’s exploring party invaded the area with characteristic boldness and superciliousness. About twenty Spaniards, including a Franciscan missionary, confronted some of the people who resided in the seven villages that now comprise the Hopi domain, and under the leadership of Pedro de Tovar, the Spanish overcame Hopi resistance, severely damaging the village of Kawaiokuh, and winning unwilling surrender. Captain López de Cardenas would return soon thereafter and without recorded opposition acquired Hopi guides for exploration in the country toward the Grand Canyon.<sup>2</sup>

For almost a century, the isolated Hopi location and Hopi preparation for possible invasion limited extensive contacts with the Spanish. The Antonio de Espejo expedition of 1583 passed without incident. Even the more extensive program of Don Juan de Oñate at the end of the sixteenth century did not have as much as an impact as one might have anticipated.

However, the construction of mission churches at Awatovi, Shungopavi, and Oraibi with additional stations at Walpi and Mishongnovi marked an important landmark in the effort to convert the Hopis to Christianity. Twenty-five years later in 1680, a revolt erupted throughout the region fueled by the cultural attitudes of the Spanish. A drought that preceded war surely could be explained by Spanish disruption of necessary ceremonies. The Spanish thus were perceived not only as harsh, but their cultural persecution had proven equally ineffectual, and they were forced to flee New Mexico.<sup>3</sup>

Hopis killed the four resident missionaries, two at Oraibi, one at Awatovi, one at Shungopavi. They also permitted Pueblo people from the Rio Grande area to take refuge with them, at the far western portion of the intermountain Spanish frontier. The village of Hano remains to this day comprised of Tewa people. The Hopi also anticipated Spanish military reprisal. They moved three villages from the edge to the top of two mesas: Walpi on First Mesa, Shungopavi and Mishongnovi on Second Mesa. Shipaulvoi was established on Second Mesa to safeguard religious materials.<sup>4</sup>

The eighteenth century marked a varying pattern of relations between the Spanish and the Hopis. The era was characterized alternately by resistance and accommodation, but ultimately the Spanish

met with defeat, both because of Hopi recalcitrance and because of the declining vigor of the Spanish empire in western America. Initially Hopis repelled Diego de Vargas, leader of Spain's Reconquest efforts after the revolt, and continued to provide asylum for refugees from the Rio Grande Valley. Perhaps to placate the Spanish who had returned with a vengeance to New Mexico, Hopis—or at least some of them—then requested missionaries to return. While some families in Awatovi proved sympathetic to the Christian message, most others rejected it, particularly the residents of Oraibi. In 1700, Awatovi felt the wrath of its own Hopi opponents. All those who fought back were killed; the village was leveled. In the years that followed immediately, Hopis spurned a force of the Spanish Governor Pedro Rodríguez Cubero and even invaded Zuni Pueblo in an effort to keep Christianity from sweeping further west. A subsequent Zuni-Spanish force also met with little success, as did another party dispatched, indeed led, by the latest Spanish administrator, Governor Félix Martínez in 1716.<sup>5</sup>

Franciscan missionaries persisted in their efforts during the 1730s, 1740s and 1750s. The most successful padre probably was Father Carlos Delgado in the 1740s, but he enjoyed his primary success with Indians from the Rio Grande area, several hundred of whom he convinced to move to Isleta. Other missionaries, including Fathers Rodríguez de la Torre, Silvestre Vélez de Escalante, and Francisco Garces were allowed to enter Hopi land and occasionally preach, but they achieved little else. Discouraged, the priests could recommend only the policy of force to further their efforts at conversion.<sup>6</sup>

By this time Spanish colonialism had waned to such a point that force could no longer be seriously considered. Except for one brief period, Hopis essentially were rid of the Spanish presence. This short exception came from about 1777 to 1781, when drought and smallpox combined to force many of the people to leave their country for Zuni, Sandia, and elsewhere in New Mexico. For a time, it seemed as though the Spanish finally would conquer these stubborn occupants of the mesas, but the rains returned in 1781. Once again, the people had endured. In fact, when we contrast the record of Hopi-Spanish relations with that of the other Pueblo Indians, we cannot help but recognize that the Hopi during the eighteenth century remained more thoroughly independent of Spanish culture. As the Tewa anthropologist Edward Dozier would put it, Catholicism became compartmentalized in the Pueblo communities of New Mexico; the Hopis did not even permit compartmentalization. The Hispanic presence, save for the few years after the 1680 revolt, remained in New Mexico; it never became completely established in northern Arizona.<sup>7</sup>

The independence of Mexico in 1821 did not alter the Hopi distinction. Contact between the Mexican government and its officials with the Hopis proved minimal. During this period, the primary field of diplomacy and conflict for Hopis lay with other Indians, principally the ever-growing and expanding Navajos.

Anglo contact with Hopis preceded the Mexican War. According to historian Harry C. James, the famous fur trapper Bill Williams may have been the first United States citizen the Hopis encountered, perhaps in the year 1827. James does not consider Williams the ideal initial emissary. He quotes Kit Carson: "In starving times no man who knew him ever walked in front of Bill Williams." Williams probably later served as a guide for the party of Captain Joseph Walker, who in 1834, shot twenty Hopi men who had vainly protested against the Walker entourage's destruction of their crops.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, the outcome of the Mexican War signaled that the Anglos were not only a power with which to reckon, but potentially a source of assistance. As early as 1850, Hopis traveled

to Santa Fe to appeal to the new government. James S. Calhoun, Indian agent for New Mexico Territory (which then included Arizona), reported in October to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Orlando Brown:

The seven Moqui Pueblos sent to me a deputation who presented themselves on the 6th day of this month. Their object, as announced, was to ascertain the purposes and views of the Government of the United States towards them. They complained bitterly of the depredations of the Navajos . . . I came to the conclusion, that each of seven Pueblos was an independent Republic, having confederated for mutual protection . . .<sup>9</sup>

In August 1851, Hopis again made the trek to Santa Fe, and Calhoun observed that the thirteen delegates wanted to see if he “would do anything for them.” He added:

They complained that the Navajos had continued to rob them, until they had left them exceedingly poor, and wretched, indeed, did they look. . . These Indians seem to be innocent, and very poor, and should be taken care of. The Navajos having exhausted, or nearly so, until the Moquies increase their stores to an extent that shall awaken their cupidity. . .<sup>10</sup>

The tension between Navajos and Hopis over land and land usage is one, to be sure, that has continued with varying degrees of intensity to the present time. So Calhoun’s comments are of interest in that regard. But they also reveal the extent to which images of both peoples could be crystallized during the first years of Anglo-American administration. Early on in the Anglo mind (though not all Bureau personnel would share this perception) Hopis rather than Navajos came to be perceived as peaceful, embattled, and worthy of assistance. It is not that this image is incorrect, but it is important to understand that it may have been established firmly and immediately.

In any event, the Anglo administration soon moved against the Navajos. The resultant campaign, in which Kit Carson and other noteworthy personalities figure, found ready assistance from the Hopis and other tribes with whom Navajos had clashed. Navajos, of course, were removed temporarily from the region through the Long Walk of 1864. But not all of Navajos were incarcerated, particularly those in the westernmost reaches of their sprawling settlements. Moreover, through a treaty of 1868, the Navajos were permitted to return to a portion of their country, rather than being banished permanently. A Hopi reservation had yet to be established, and the land dispute inevitably would reoccur.<sup>11</sup>

The Hopis dealt with another new presence in the region. The recently established Mormon community in Utah began to push southward, and in 1858, the well-known Mormon emissary Jacob Hamblin was dispatched by Brigham Young to Hopi country. Hamblin and his associates made many visits to Arizona during the next years. Hopis appeared more impressed with Mormon industry than doctrine, but they were willing to allow a Mormon settlement near Moenkopi and added foods to their diet because of the Mormon presence.<sup>12</sup>

Jacob Hamblin and John Wesley Powell, who braved the rapids of the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon at this time, marked the beginnings of the transition to the modern era of Anglo-Hopi relations. The construction of various transcontinental railroads was an important sign that the American frontier soon would come to a close. In Arizona and New Mexico, the advent of the Santa Fe Rail-

road would have a dramatic effect upon the socioeconomic life of many Native American peoples. The Hopis were about sixty miles north of the proposed Santa Fe line through northern Arizona. Though the tracks would not go near their villages, the reality of the railroad forced the federal government to come to terms with the reality of the Hopis.<sup>13</sup>

Federal officials initiated, briefly, an Indian agency at the site of Keams Canyon in 1874. It was a most tentative commitment and short-lived besides, lasting for all of two years. The Hopi then were assigned as a subagency to the Southern Navajo Agency. The arrival of the Santa Fe (actually, then, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad) in 1881 together with the expanding Mormon and Navajo populations and the inability of an Indian agent to dislodge two Anglo “meddlers” whom he disliked helped prompt President Chester Arthur to create by executive order a reserve “for the use and occupancy of the Moqui and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon.”<sup>14</sup> Such typically elastic language mirrored the conviction of late nineteenth-century policymakers that the consolidation of different Native American communities on the same land might be necessary and in fact desirable. Reservations were perceived by many influential folks as a kind of intermediate way station on the road to assimilation. If anyone had informed that undistinguished president, Mr. Arthur, that the Hopis would still have a reservation one hundred years after his proclamation, he or she would have been branded a dreamer, or worse.<sup>15</sup>

The neat rectangular lines of the reservation proposed by agent Fleming probably went unnoticed by most Hopis, who continued to be able to live in pretty much the same fashion as before, or so it initially appeared. Hopis may have been generally unaware of the precise reservation boundaries, but they soon gained additional awareness of Washington’s expectations. During the Americanization Era of the late nineteenth century, the federal government goal was, in the unconsciously ironic words of a Commissioner of Indian Affairs, “to make the Indian feel at home in America.”<sup>16</sup> Part of the Americanization process included compulsory education in white schools. It would be in this arena that some of the most striking cultural confrontations would occur.

The first school in Hopi country opened its doors at Keams Canyon in 1887. Some twenty Hopi leaders signed a petition to the Commissioner asking for such an institution, but such a request did not have the full support of all members of the tribe. Oraibi quickly emerged as the focal point of the deepest and bitterest opposition to the enrollment of children in school.<sup>17</sup>

As in other Indian communities, the people at Oraibi and elsewhere within Hopi communities perceived—correctly, one might add—that schooling was a central feature in the assimilationist program; schooling was designed to change their children, to alter their values, beliefs, and goals. Moreover, attendance in school conflicted with the availability of children for religious instruction in the traditional ways. This was particularly true for children who were shipped eastward in the early 1890s, often against their will, to schools such as Carlisle in Pennsylvania and Haskell in Kansas. But education posed a dilemma and a threat even if the schooling were to take place locally.<sup>18</sup>

Another integral element in the Americanization effort would be the encouragement of individual land holding. This component inspired such pieces of legislation as the General Allotment Act of 1887, sponsored by Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts. Under the authority granted by this act, the president could authorize the division of communal land holdings into individual parcels. An Indian agent could choose a parcel for any member of the tribe; “surplus” land—now in short supply at

the close of the frontier—could be sold. Given the relatively small Hopi population, quite a bit of land thus could have disappeared from tribal control. Moreover, the individualization of land threatened the communal nature of Hopi society and economy.<sup>19</sup>

Finally, a third aspect of the Americanization program was conversion to Christianity and thus conversion away from customary indigenous religious practices, beliefs, and ceremonies. After the Civil War, Protestant missionary efforts intensified among the Hopis. The Moravians came to Oraibi in 1870, the Baptists to Mishongnovi in 1875, and most significantly the Mennonites to Oraibi in 1893. The Mennonite missionary was Heinrich R. Voth, born in a Mennonite colony in Russia, an immigrant to the United States in 1874. Voth's presence and activities stirred up considerable activity. Not only did efforts toward conversion divide the people, but his attempts to record Hopi ceremonies provoked a good deal of resentment.<sup>20</sup> Voth thus represented one of the first ethnologists to work among the Hopis, and his recordings inevitably encouraged greater ceremonial secrecy and stronger suspicion against outsiders.

Clearly around the turn of the nineteenth century an unprecedented onslaught was occurring upon traditional Hopi life. The Anglo-Americans assuredly should be considered a more serious threat to the Hopi world than the Spanish. The Anglo-Americans had greater numbers and a progressively more sophisticated technology. They also were and are a more immediate and more permanent presence. The Anglo-Americans would be more persistent. The entire thrust of their national experience did not make them yield easily. Could Hopis maintain a separate identity? On what terms should they deal with these newcomers? To what extent were certain accommodations not only inevitable but necessary?

The history of white-Indian relations in this country suggests that men and women of good will may differ over the appropriate strategy, over the proper behavior, and over the definition of identity. The Hopis are not exceptions to the rule. During the past century, they have disagreed amongst themselves over how to proceed. And while it is useful to review such factionalism, it is still more important not to exaggerate its consequences.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, then, Hopis experienced a series of remarkable confrontations with the United States, during the peak of the Americanization era. The allotment program proved short-lived. By 1894 attempts at allotting lands to Hopi individuals had ceased. Opposition by some of the people combined with protests from outsiders interested in the tribe's well-being led to stalemate, then cessation of the attempted imposition. The people were too intimately tied to the mesas; they had little desire to spread their settlements through their country, even if they would work land removed at some distance from their abodes.

It was not an easy victory. In 1891 a surveying party sent out in connection with the land allotment scheme aroused suspicion and hostility. The negative response could not entirely be separated from opposition to other government programs, particularly to that of compulsory education. The opponents, hailing from Oraibi and often referred to as "Oraibis" in government reports, ripped out the survey stakes. Cavalrymen were sent out to confront the "hostiles"—another term being applied with increasing frequency. Lieutenant L. M. Brett and his cohorts attempted to enter the ancient village, despite warnings and admonitions to the contrary.

What happened next may be considered extraordinary and fantastic. It also worked. Spider Woman and Masau-u, the God of Death—as portrayed by two Hopi men—suddenly appeared. They

told the amazed soldiers they must leave; Masau-u took a feather and sprinkled some special and powerful liquid on the cavalymen. Then the Hopi defenders appeared with weapons of uncertain vintage. There was a limit to Lieutenant Brett's bravery or foolishness. He with his men retreated to Keams Canyon. It is a good thing that he did. It is said that Kua-tu-ju-e, an immense winged spirit, could still have opposed Brett had he been audacious enough to continue.

Recalling the jingoistic spirit of the age, it will not be surprising to learn that this chapter does not end here. Later that month, Colonel P. C. Corbin with four troops and two Hotchkiss guns came to Keams Canyon where they picked up the understandably hesitant Thomas Keam and moved westward. In the face of such artillery, Hopis at Oraibi avoided direct confrontation. They permitted some of their leaders to be arrested and taken as prisoners to Fort Wingate, New Mexico Territory. Most were returned to their homeland within a year, but one of the apparent issues in the confrontation was the government's insistence that the people accept one man as an official leader, which divided the village. The Hopis in Oraibi were not willing to do so. Nevertheless, the government chose to work with Loololma who was in fact the village chief, but for Hopis he seemed too accommodating to the whites. Loololma headed what in Oraibe were called "the friendlies," and a rival faction emerged there, headed by Lomahongyoma, and labeled by unsympathetic officials as "the hostiles." The two groups disagreed as well over control of ceremonies.<sup>21</sup>

Federal authorities had little desire to see Lomahongyoma and his allies gain the upper hand. They had previously gone so far as to ship Lomahongyoma and eighteen other "hostiles" to Fort Wingate in 1891, where they were imprisoned for seven months. If authorities believed this would alter the group's perspective, they were mistaken. The conflict continued, even after Loololma's death about 1900. When Tawaquaptewa, a younger nephew of Loololma and Loololma's chosen successor, assumed the position of chief in 1904, things reached a breaking point. The most important ceremonials were each being performed by the two sides (which shows that Loololma's adherents were not simply assimilationists) and many believed that these ceremonial deviances threatened ill fortune for all.<sup>22</sup>

Lomahongyoma, too, now left this remarkable drama around 1905. He turned over leadership of his group to Yukioma, and Yukioma, if anything, escalated the controversy. How could this crisis be resolved, particularly without interference from Washington? Yukioma eventually hit upon a solution. There would be a kind of duel, in which one side tried to push the other over a line. The bloodless battle took place in 1906, with Yukioma's band being physically forced outside of the village. The price of their "defeat" was eviction. They left the village of Oraibi and built a new village which became known as Hotevilla.<sup>23</sup>

There were several crucial results of this conflict. On the one hand, Hopis had resolved the matter by themselves. This was an exceptional triumph under most trying circumstances. But it proved to be a somewhat tarnished victory. The federal government persisted for some time in its policies. Many "hostile" leaders were jailed, nonetheless. Tawaquaptewa and the winners did not survive unscathed, either. He was forced to attend Sherman Boarding School at Riverside, California, for four years. During his sojourn, he lost some adherents, who turned to Christianity. Tawaquaptewa returned, unconverted, and disagreements continued. Yet another village, Bacabi, was founded, followed by New Oraibi at the base of Third Mesa. Oraibi had won, but in many ways, it was a hollow victory. By mid-century few people remained in the ancient village, while New Oraibi, site of Lorenzo Hubbell's trad-

ing post, the Mennonite mission, and a day school, had become the most populous of all the Hopi communities.<sup>24</sup>

During and since that era, the outside world has not granted the Hopi people the blessing of isolation. Schooling, as already indicated, was a major case in point. In *Sun Chief*, his autobiography, Don Talayesva vividly recalled his experiences in the strange environment surrounding formal education. Talayesva was among those shipped to Riverside, after earlier schooling on the reservation. He grew up, as he puts it,

. . . believing that Whites are wicked, deceitful people. It seemed that most of them were soldiers, government agents or missionaries. . . . Like Navahos, they were proud and domineering—and needed to be reminded daily to tell the truth. I was taught to mistrust them and give warning whenever I saw one coming.<sup>25</sup>

Talayesva was predictably resilient. He found humor grim situations—even in school:

I had lots of fun at school this year. Sometime I played jokes on the teachers, but only on days when they seemed happy. They never whipped me, although the disciplinarian paddled me once. One evening after roll call we had gone upstairs to bed. Taps had not yet sounded and the oil lamps were still lighted. Draping a white sheet around my body, I climbed up on the head of the bed, extended my hands, lifted up my face, and said, “Boys, I am Jesus Christ, the Second, the Son of God. I am the resurrection and the life. Suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not.”—Just then the disciplinarian walked in and said, “What is this?” I told him I had done no harm, that I was only preaching, but he looked stern and started to paddle me. “These other fellows were in it, too,” I protested. “Well,” he replied, “since you are Jesus I will let you suffer for their sins.”<sup>26</sup>

Conversion formed another basic part of the Americanization process. Religious conversion, of course, was centrally important, but Indian agents sought generally to make over Hopis earlier in the twentieth century into a white image. Superintendent Charles E. Burton ordered all Hopi men and boys in 1900 to get their hair cut. Those who did not get their hair cut voluntarily would have it cut forcibly. Charles Lummis and others cried out against what they termed “this pinhead official,” but Burton earned only a slap on the hand, following publicity, and remained at his post.<sup>27</sup> Another Superintendent, Leo Crane, exhibited his ethnocentricity toward the people he had been assigned. He saw the villages, new and old, as havens of disease and filth, as places that should be abandoned. Consider his description of Hotevilla, and we have another indication of the enduring nature of the Hopi against agents of Crane’s ilk:

It was simply a dirtier duplicate of the other pueblos I have described, without their picturesque setting. And if there is a place in America where aroma reaches its highest magnitude, then that distinction must be granted Hotevilla on a July afternoon. The sun broils down on the heated sand and rock ledges, on the fetid houses and the litter and the garbage, and all that accumulates from unclean people and their ani-





Figure 77. INTERIOR WITH HOPI GIRL

Owen Seumtewa, photograph, 1981 (Courtesy of the photographer, Second Mesa, Arizona)

mals. Multitudes of burros and chickens and dogs. Hosts of dogs. Lank, slinking, half-starved, challenging dogs. Poisonous-looking dogs that would attack one. . . . The smell of cooking arose from the houses, a muttomy odor,—although it may have been burro-haunch,—mingled with smoke and the thick incense of smouldering cedar. In and out of the doorways the women passed at their tasks. . . . They were all indifferent, with a contemptuous sullen indifference to the stranger. There was a perfect swarm of children, wary, watching children, ready to dart and hide, long-haired and dirty, and most of them as nude as Adam.<sup>28</sup>

Hotevilla also was the site under the administration of Superintendent Robert Daniel of another notorious, celebrated incident in June 1920, where Indian Service employees and policemen forced men, women and children to do what Daniel termed “my delousing party.” Daniel could not believe the resistance: “. . . they had to be driven or dragged to the tub, and forced into it like some wild beast, unblest with human intelligence. Pure unadulterated fanatical perversity is the only explanation.”<sup>29</sup>

People may respond in different ways to such bigotry and intolerance. They certainly need not be convinced that total assimilation is desirable. Life is ongoing in a world growing ever smaller. People assuredly are living in a world that is ever-changing. When one considers how incredibly the world has changed since 1950, let alone 1900, one wonders about how cultures survive. How could Hopis endure? How could they maintain a separate, integral identity?

The answer is complex and largely beyond the scope of this brief overview. What can be generally noted is that most of the Hopis have been willing to make certain accommodations with the non-Hopis. They have been willing to change, for no culture is static. This change has taken various forms. Hopis have not always been silversmiths. They have had a cyclical tradition of pottery making. Yet they were willing to incorporate silversmithing, and they were willing to encourage the making of pottery. They have not always spoken English, yet now most do. They obviously have not always driven pickup trucks or played basketball. To say that they do so now is not to say they are any less Hopi for such contemporary adaptations.

So why have they endured and how has continuation been possible? Surely values and beliefs continue to inform Hopi decision-making. Moreover, anthropologist Frederick Barth has a telling insight. He reminds us that “a drastic reduction of cultural differences between ethnic groups does not correlate in any simple way with a reduction in the organizational relevance of ethnic identities, or a breakdown in boundary-maintaining processes.”<sup>30</sup> The ethnic boundary for Hopis represents a clear and unshakable understanding that begins with the land. The maintenance of a land base has been central to the continuity of Hopi life.

Between the mid-1880s and the late 1920s American Indians lost control over about two-thirds of their land. That result should not have been surprising, given the forces at hand that worked to reduce the Native estate. What is remarkable and even borders on the surprising for the uninitiated is the way in which Indians still found ways to thwart interests that every day pushed for separating them from the land. The Hopis and other Indian communities were determined not to be the generation that surrendered. Indians benefited from knowing more about how others had negotiated in the past. Because Arizona did not join the American Union until February 14, 1912, it increased the changes for Hopis

and other Indian nations to maintain or add to their base. The Hopis, Navajos, and other Indians did not and truly could not stem this tide entirely. The degree to which in certain areas they found ways to cut losses and work for continuation remains a vitally important and almost entirely unknown story.

Hopi history is an ongoing record of the past, one that reveals victors as well as victims. As it informs us about prior achievements, it may also be preparing the way for future accomplishments. In the final analysis, Hopi history provides a portrait of a people who will not vanish. They will not disappear. They will remain.

## Notes

1. The best overview of Hopi history is Richard O. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995). For the indigenous peoples of the Southwest, one should still begin with Edward H. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962). Also valuable for its perspective on the more recent past is Stephen Trimble, *The People: Indians of the American Southwest* (Santa Fe, NM: school of American Research Press, 1993).
2. See Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 189–90; and Henry C. James, *Pages from Hopi History* (Tucson: university of Arizona Press, 1974), pp. 39–43.
3. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 190–91; James, *Hopi History*, pp. 45–50.
4. Marc Simmons, “The Pueblo Revolt: Why Did It Happen?,” *El Palacio* 86 (Winter 1980–81): 11. See also David Roberts, *The Pueblo Revolt: The Secret Rebellion that Drove the Spaniards out of the Southwest* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004).
5. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 191–92; James, *Hopi History*, pp. 57–58. For a different perspective on Awatovi, which contends that the destruction was not the work of Hopis, see the interview with Mina Lansa and her family in a provocative article by Peter Matthiessen, “Journeys to Hopi National Sacrifice Area,” *Rocky Mountain Magazine* 1(July/August 1979):58.
6. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 192–94.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 194–97, and Edward Dozier, *The Pueblo Indians of North America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), pp. 63–71.
8. James, *Hopi History*, pp. 75–76.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*

11. Ibid., pp. 77-80.
12. Ibid., pp. 85-94.
13. Jerry Kammer, *The Second Long Walk: The Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980), pp. 26-27.
14. Peter Iverson, "Knowing the Land, Leaving the Land: Navajos, Hopis, and Relocation in the American West," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* (Winter 1988):67.
15. Ibid., 67-70.
16. Quoted in the introduction to Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Americanizing the American Indian: Writings of "Friends of the Indian," 1880-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973).
17. James, *Hopi History*, p. 106.
18. For an overview of Indian education during this period, see David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995).
19. For an overview of federal land policy during this era, see Frederick E. Hoxie, *A final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).
20. Clemmer, *Roads in the Sky*, 20. This discussion is based largely on *ibid.*, pp. 117-22 and 130-145; Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, pp. 202-05; Kammer, *The Second Long Walk*, pp. 60-61; and Richard Clemmer, "Directed Resistance to Acculturation: A Comparative Study of the Effects of Non-Indian Jurisdiction on Hopi and Western Shoshone Communities" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1972). A major source on Old Oraibi utilized in these studies is Mischa Titiev, *Old Oraibi, A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology Papers, vol. 22, 1944).
21. Peter Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture Through the Oraibi Split* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), pp. 82-89.
22. Ibid., p. 80.
23. Ibid., 100-21.
24. Ibid., 257-61.
25. Don Talayesva, *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*, Leo W. Simmons, ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1942), p. 88.
26. Ibid., p. 104.
27. Charles F. Lummis, *Bullying the Moqui* (Prescott: Prescott College Press, 1968; edited by Robert Easton and Mackenzie Brown).
28. Leo Crane, *Indians of the Enchanted Desert* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1929), pp. 134-35.
29. James, *Hopi History*, pp. 178-80.
30. Frederick Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Differences* (London: George Allen Unwin, 1969), p. 32.



## Challenge

Edna Glenn

The realm of ceremonialism has been probed in detail in efforts to define Hopis as contemporary persons and to understand the context of Hopi life today as it exists within the broader framework of contemporary American life. The investigation and the findings are complex in scope and interpretation; meanings derived are comprehensive and abstract. Any analysis of Hopi life acquires justification in contemporary Hopi beliefs that continue to be rooted in Hopi ritual patterns that, to a major extent, continue to be centered in traditional ceremonialism.

The Niman Kuwan Heheya celebration at Walpi provides an exemplary situation to examine historic reality and Native concepts in regard to religion, ritualism, and symbolism; and to observe Hopi sensibilities and aesthetic awareness to environmental forms, whether natural or human-made. That analysis of the Niman ritual proceeds through the visual arts is verifiable, the premise being that the artist, perhaps more than any other individual, possesses sensitivity to the abstract creative realm that characterizes the Hopi “holistic bent of mind.” The artist’s abilities to perceive complexities in terms of meaningful integrated wholes and to express through skill and media, an equivalent of those concepts, coincides with individual Hopi procedures of conceiving and revealing, in tangible terms, abstract “essences.”

The works of Joseph Mora, whose photographed scene of the Walpi village ceremonial is discussed in Commentaries I and II, present one kind of visual challenge, primarily that of objective reality. With paintbrush, pencil, and box-camera, Mora, a non-Hopi, non-Indian artist, recorded visual truths of Hopi life. At one time he commented, “This is very complicated, and I’m glad I am the painter and not the mythologist.”<sup>1</sup> Only with his keen eye and disciplined camera skill was he able to produce photographs “considered the best ever created of Hopi ceremonials;”<sup>2</sup> and with his water colors and brushes, the “most accurate paintings ever created of kachina dancers. Mora possessed a photographic memory . . . [and] he strove for total authenticity.”<sup>3</sup>

A very different kind of visual challenge results from experiences with other original works of art reproduced on these pages. These are contemporary Hopi paintings and craft-works executed by young artists who call themselves the Artist Hopid.<sup>4</sup> Patricia Broder, Hopi art observer, commented:

The painters of the Artist Hopid are participants in a cohesive society and in their art they express their commitment to the Hopi culture. Theirs is not the work of expatriate Indians nostalgically recalling a once-idyllic existence or angrily protesting social injustice in a world to which they no longer belong, a world with which they have little in common. They recognize that the mid-twentieth century is a transitional period in Hopi history. . . . Modern Hopi art, like modern Hopi life, is distinguished by a sense of history and cultural continuity.<sup>5</sup>



Figure 78. HOPI LIFE  
Cochsiwukioma (Delbridge Honanie)  
painting, acrylic. 1974 (Courtesy of Artist Hopid, Second Mesa, Arizona)



Mora's originals provide opportunities to examine Hopi people and their life patterns. Coochsiwukioma (Delbridge Honanie), a painter of the Artist Hopid group, also presents a view of "Hopi Life," the title of an extremely complicated work completed in 1974. Examining this painting is indeed valuable in the pursuit of defining the contemporary HOPI.

"Hopi Life," according to its painter, symbolically evolves from the central theme of Hopi migrations.<sup>6</sup> Ideas of migration, fertility, and growth, structure the centuries-old concept of Hopi life. This painting, a compendious outlay of ideas and symbols, stretching to a painted expanse of some nine feet, is in itself a celebration and a ceremony.

Revelations acquired from observing the artwork are not those of optical fact, as is the case with the Mora works. Revelations here are those of subjective human states, the intensely expressed feelings of the painter as he contemplates Hopi life today. It is a personal statement, one which says that at present there are both order and chaos among the Hopis; and that there persists an undeniable mix of traditional and contemporary alien elements totally unlike any disturbance previously dealt with in the history of the Hopi people. Resultant attitudes are those of grave self-concern and tribal-concern. It is the artist who responds to the situation so emotionally, who feels so compelled to make a major statement, and who is so capable of transmitting the inner concern to the outer actuality of paint and symbols, enabling others to grasp the message and to share the concern.

The iconography of the painting, "Hopi Life," in its entirety allows speculation. Visually, there are two powerful, conflicting forces having a confrontation: at the left there is the steadfast, ongoing Hopi traditionalism; at the right, there is the inescapable, incomprehensible encroachment of twenty-first century complexity. A tension between the two is energized and emphasized by the dynamic thrust of a Hopi prayer stick; an obvious detachment exists, although the two powerful elements coexist in Hopi space. The finite circle-form on the left can be perceived as universal order, and more specifically, as the earth, the Hopi Fourth World. Minute human images, having just emerged from the Third World through the square opening "at the Center," are arranged symbolically in colored sections of circle-space. They appear as embattled people, fighting for Hopi identity and clan affiliation, preparatory to migrations.

Colored spaces designate the five major societies traditionally sacred to the Hopi: Two Horn, One Horn, Wuwuchim, Snake, and Flute.<sup>7</sup> In the white circle-center is the bear image with a breath-line, identifying the significance of the Bear Clan who first led the Hopi migrations to the sacred mesas, and who continue to guide Hopis in their never-ending spiritual migrations. Painted hand-symbols and bear-paw prints appearing in the picture space also represent the Bear Clan people. Their prominence as icons adjacent to the ambiguously emerging power-figure on the right perhaps indicates the strategic and sacred role of this particular clan today. The painter, Coochsiwukioma, is a member of the Bear Clan; these symbols may serve as a collective artist's signature, and as an expressed belief that his clan will lead the Hopis through modern difficulties, as they did at the time of the chaotic beginnings with emergence into the Fourth World.

In the painting, the metamorphism occurring on the right side is indefinable. Only conjecture is possible. Perhaps the powerful image is a Hopi God-figure or Warrior-deity. Clearly, the image is of the twentieth century, artistically and symbolically. Abstract, fragmented shapes recall theories of Cubism projected by the Spanish artist, Pablo Picasso, in the early part of the century. Space-time concepts



are evident in the painted figure which appears to be changing and moving in a complexity of multi-dimensional compositional elements. Symbolically, the Cubistic figure reminds us that the Hopi people are seriously involved with contemporary changes in tribal patterns.

The title of the painting is “Hopi Life” and the theme is “migrations.” Symbolic indications are that the twentieth-century God-figure on the right is Ahula, the great Hopi Sun Chief, all powerful deity of creation, germination and growth, primary helper to the Sun. There are countless spiral motifs significant as migrational symbols. Earth reds, sun yellows, and water blues surrounding Ahula suggest fertility and unending growth. But the symbolic elements depicted here are not stable, not holistically ordered as are the sacred circle, traditional elements on the left. The struggle and trans-formation taking place seem to portray the Hopi deity as evolving into a space-age, mechanical monster-creature, possessing all of the power, energy, and mystery associated with each of these superhuman beings.

A dichotomy of visual forms emphasizes the transformation: a dominant bear-paw shape projects from the Hopi deity as if controlling the sacred prayer stick, projecting and receiving prayers and blessings. Also projecting from the God-figure is a hand-arm form, curiously robot-like in its mechanical thrust toward the Hopi life sustenance - corn. The God, Ahula, triumphantly directs the sacred planting stick over his head toward flowing water and the warmth of the sun. The blessings of Hopi life continue; but the process of change demands both immediate and ongoing surveillance, as if the appropriate time for a composite Hopi-form to take shape in the modern era has not yet come.

The contemporary challenge is a collective one, a summoning of all people, Hopi and non-Hopi, to share with intelligence and concern the problematic times, to share with joy and vision the times of ceremony and celebration.

## Notes

1. Joseph Mora, *The Year of the Hopi: Paintings and Photographs* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), p. 21.
2. Tyrone H. Stewart, “The Hopi and Jo Mora,” in *ibid.*, p. 4.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Three of the five founding members of the group—Michael Kabotie, Terrance Talaswaima., and Neil David, Sr.—were 1981 symposium participants. Thirty-five of their originals were shown in the galleries of The Museum of Texas Tech University. Collectively, the artworks and the artists present a twentieth-century Hopi viewpoint of distinct value, having experienced at various times both the Hopi and non-Hopi worlds. Presently, they live on the Hopi mesas and have distinguished themselves as community leaders, spiritual leaders, and Hopi spokesmen through their arts.
5. Patricia Janis Broder, *Hopi Painting: The World of the Hopis* (New York: Brandywine Press, 1978), p. 280.
6. Conversation between Delbridge Honanie and Edna Glenn, September 18, 1981.
7. Terrance Talaswaima, “The Hopi Way: Art as Life, Symbol, and Ceremony,” *Infra*.

# Hopi Essence: Self-Portrait and Poem

Lomawywesa (Michael Kabotie)



The somber face, the snow-misting hair and the eyes looking at me/you is me—Lomawywesa, Antelopes Walking in Harmony. Born to the Snow/Water Clan of Shungopavi, a migratory people who traveled to the Hopi mesas from the legendary Red City to the South, Paalotkwapi.

It was at Paalotkwapi that our Father, the Serpent, emerged and gathered us, his children, and blessed us with Clouds. “Go northward my Children,” he directed us. So northward we journeyed and among the barren mesas we emerged to reside with the Bear Clan and build our Cloud-Inspired Homes.

And

to these Cloud-Terraced homes our Cloud Fathers/Mothers will arrive to rest and bring Life-Giving Moisture

And

to these Cloud-Terraced homes our Katsina Fathers/Mothers will arrive to bless and purify our Lives then to return to Nuvatukwiovi, the Sacred Snow-Capped Peaks

And

Among these Cloud-Terraced homes our Bear Clan Fathers/Mothers will lead us daily over the blessed pollen pathway of the Hopi

And

among these Cloud-Terraced homes we/I experience our Lives; looking, listening, singing and dancing as we/I prepare for that final journey

And

to these Cloud-Terraced homes to return once again as a Rain-Carrier and scaring you with the boldest lightning and the loudest thunders.

LOMAWYWESA  
(Michael Kabotie)  
10-14-81



Figure 79. HOPI ESSENCE: SELF-PORTRAIT AND POEM

Lomawywesa (Michael Kabotie)

serigraphic print. 1981 (Courtesy of the artist, and Maggie Kress Gallery, Taos, New Mexico)

## Contributors

**Robert H. Ames (PIESTEWA)**, born in Winslow, Arizona, received both his A.B. and his J.D. degrees from Stanford University, and was admitted to the Bar of California in 1955. He is distinguished as the first Indian attorney in the state of California and has been in private practice in Salinas since 1955. He served as a judge on the Hopi Tribal Appellate Court for two years and at the time of this presentation was Chief Judge of the Hopi Tribal Trial Court, a position he held at least seven years.

**Edna Glenn**, Associate Professor Emerita of Art at Texas Tech University began her interest and research into the arts of the Pueblo peoples in 1977 at Taos through the Texas Tech University Department of Art Field School. She taught art courses that focused upon ancient and contemporary arts of the Southwest and annually lead an on-site course in art history at Taos, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and the Rio Grande Pueblos. She held an M.A. from North Texas State University. She taught in the Art Department at Southeast Missouri State University prior to her teaching at Texas Tech University. Her art exhibitions are primarily watercolors. She died in St. Louis, Missouri, in 2007.

**Peter Iverson** is the author or editor of 15 books, including two books on Navajo history – *Diné: A History of the Navajos* with Monty Roessel and “*For Our Navajo People*”: *Diné Letters, Speeches, and Petitions, 1900-1960* – both published in 2002 by the University of New Mexico Press. His work has been supported by research fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Newberry Library. He is Regents’ Professor of History at Arizona State University.

**Michael Kabotie (LOMAWYWESA)** is one of the founding members of the Artist Hopid in 1973 and was a spokesman for the group. Born on the Hopi Reservation in 1942, he studied art with his father, Fred Kabotie, at an early age. He graduated from Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1961. In 1966 Mike Kabotie had a one-man show at the Heard Museum, and since that time he has exhibited and lectured about his works throughout the country and has been the recipient of numerous merit awards. In 1970 he was elected President of the Hopi Arts and Crafts Cooperative Guild. He published a book of Poetry, *Migration Tears: Poems about Transitions* in 1987 at UCLA. He is a member of the Snow-Water Clan and his adult name, Lomawywesa, means “walking in harmony.”

**Alice Schlegel** is Professor Emerita of Anthropology at the University of Arizona. She received her Ph.D. from Northwestern University and formerly taught at the University of Pittsburgh. Schlegel spent five summers living on the Hopi Reservation studying Hopi social organization, family life and sex roles. She has published numerous articles on these subjects and was a participant in a Tricentennial symposium held in Oraibi in August 1980. She is the author of *Adolescence: An Anthropological Inquiry* with Herbert Barry III with Free Press in 1991.

**Abbott Sekaquaptewa**, the former Hopi Tribal Chairman, spent many years involved in Hopi politics. From 1953-1958 he acted as chairman of the Hopi Negotiating Committee that dealt primarily with land matters; from 1956-1958 he served as Hopi Tribal Council Secretary; from 1958-1963 he was clerk of the Hopi Tribal Court; and from 1961-1964 he served three one-year terms as chairman of the court. Twice Sekaquaptewa acted as Executive Director for the Hopi, and from 1973 to 1982, he was chairman of the Hopi Tribal Council. In addition, he was a rancher and member of the Arizona State Board of Directors of Community Colleges.

**Terrance Talaswaima (HONVANTEWA)** was born in Shipaulovi in 1939. Following graduation from Catalina High School in Tucson, he studied art education at the University of Arizona for three years in a program which was part of the Southwest Indian Project. From 1969 to 1973 he served as art consultant and cultural materials developer for the Hopi Action Program in Oraibi, a program devoted to incorporating Hopi culture into school curriculum. Several books were published out of this program including *Birds at Hano Village* which Talaswaima illustrated. In 1973 he received a grant to work as a curatorial intern at the Museum of Northern Arizona and in 1975 was appointed curator of the Hopi Cultural Center Museum. He is a member of the Pumpkin Clan, the Wuwuchim Men's Society and the Gray Flute Society, and his name, Honvantewa, means "bear making tracks."

**Barton Wright** is an authority on Hopi kachinas and has worked with the Hopis for over twenty-five years. He has been an archaeologist for the Amerind Foundation, and from 1955-1977 he was Curator of the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff. He then was the Director of Scientific Research at the Museum of Man, San Diego, California. He has published numerous books and articles on the Hopis including *Kachinas: A Hopi Artist's Documentary* (1973), *The Unchanging Hopi* (1975), and *Classic Hopi and Zuni Kachina Figures* (2006). He is a joint author of the Smithsonian catalog entitled *The Year of the Hopi* and has completed a study of Hopi material culture for the Heard Museum, Phoenix, based on the Fred Harvey Collection.

**John R. Wunder** is professor of history and journalism at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. He has published 17 books including the award-winning *"Retained by The People": A History of American Indians and the Bill of Rights* with Oxford University Press in 1994. He is currently working on the comparative Indigenous history of treaty-making of Native Americans, First Nations, Australian Aborigines, and Saamis of Northern Europe.

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John R. Wunder

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