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II.

NATAL CEREMONIES OF THE HOPI INDIANS

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COMPARED with the Navajo, the Hopi (Moki) woman is physically inferior. Several causes have produced this inferiority.

First, while yet a very little girl she is given a large share in the care of her younger brothers and sisters. In the Hopi villages babies are never carried in the arms, but on the back; usually on one side, facing in the same direction as the person carrying them. The mother stoops forward and places the little one on her back, then throws her blanket over it, and as she straightens up draws the blanket tightly around her waist, so that the baby is held in a sort of bag. Little girls carry babies in the same way, and it is a common sight to see children only six or seven years of age carrying babies one or two years old. This is a load entirely too great for a child so young, and it must be a hindrance to a robust physical development. Many of the women are "bow-legged," and undoubtedly this is a potent cause in producing it.

At least ninety per cent. of the vegetable food eaten by the Hopi Indians is made of corn. This is all ground by the women and girls on hand-mills, called metates.¹ The amount of grinding required of

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I am also indebted to Dr. J. Walter Fewkes for many kindnesses and suggestions.

¹ In every house will be found a trough about six feet long, two feet wide, and eight inches deep, divided into three or

each woman varies according to the ratio of males to females in the family; but I think it would be safe to say that the average Hopi woman spends three out of every twenty-four hours on her knees behind the metate. While this is injurious to the lower limbs, it is still more so to the back and arms; and in one case which I noted the articulation between the bones of the forearm and the wrist was so abnormal that the radius of the forearm was on a line with the middle finger when the hand was held prone. It was probably the result of early and constant grinding.

But the greatest tax is made upon the physique of the women by the heavy burdens which they carry up the mesa. The Hopi villages are situated upon the top of mesas, which stand about six hundred feet above the plain. The springs which furnish the inhabitants water are situated in the foothills. All the water used, except what can be caught from melting snow in winter and from rains during the two rainy months of summer in a few small holes on the mesa top, must be carried up the mesa on the backs of women, in jugs holding about three gallons. This is the hardest thing in the life of a Hopi woman. A file of eight or ten women wearily tugging their way up the steep and rocky trail, each with her water-jug on her back, is a sad but picturesque sight.

Early marriage, so common among uncivilized races, must also

more compartments. In the older houses the sides and partitions are made of stone slabs, but in some of the newer ones they are made of boards. Within each compartment is a stone (trap rock preferred), about eighteen inches long and a foot wide, set in a bed of adobe, and inclined at an angle of about 35°. This is not quite in the centre of the compartment, but is set about three inches nearer the right side than the left, and its higher end is against the edge of the trough. This constitutes the nether stone of the mill. The upper stone is about fourteen inches long, three inches wide, and varies in thickness according to the fineness of the meal desired. The larger stone is called *má-ta*, and the smaller one a *ma-tá-ka*. The woman places the corn in the trough, then kneels behind it, and grasps the *ma-tá-ki* in both hands. This she slides by a motion from the back, back and forth over the *má-ta*. At intervals she releases her hold with her left hand, and with it places the material to be ground upon the upper end of the *má-ta*. She usually sings in time to her grinding motion.

mentioned as another very potent factor. The most hasty tour through their houses would be sufficient to convince any one that he is among women who have grown old early in life; but that same hasty visit would reveal the fact with equal clearness, that he is among women whose good-nature is only surpassed by their hospitality.

The Hopi mother shows a great deal of affection for her children. For aught that I can see, fully as much as an American mother; and of course among this uncivilized people there is none of that mock modesty or subservience to fashion which forbids a woman to nurse her own offspring. She nurses her baby, uncovered,¹ in the presence of white visitors, and discourses upon the subject of child-bearing in all its phases, both with her dusky sisters and white visitors, with a naïve simplicity that is as commendable as it is pure and unaffected. If the listener does not seem to comprehend what she means, she is likely to use some very expressive gestures to make the subject more clear, all with the same freedom from reserve.

Notwithstanding the physical inferiority of which I have spoken, she still possesses considerable of that strength in childbirth so remarkable in uncivilized races. A woman about to be confined does not slacken in her daily labors, but works until the moment of parturition. This usually takes place with ease and dispatch. Hanging from the ceilings of some of the houses will be noticed the skin of the weasel. This is used at childbirth, and is said to make the delivery quick and easy.²

¹ The dress of the Hopi woman consists of a black blanket about three and a half feet square, folded around the body from the left side. It passes under the left arm and over the right shoulder, being sewed together on the right side, except a hole about three inches long near the upper end through which the arm is thrust. This is belted in at the waist by a gash about three inches wide. Sometimes, though not frequently, a shirt is worn under this garment; and a piece of mus-

lin tied together by two adjacent corners is usually near by to be thrown over the shoulders. Most of the women have moccasins, which they put on at certain times.

² The reader's attention is called to the paper on "The Religious Life of a Zuñi Child," by Mrs. T. E. Stephenson, *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Washington, 1887. To my knowledge the present paper is the only one in print on the birth customs of the Hopi Indians.

After the child is born the mother bathes her head in a suds made of the amole root so common throughout the southwest. The baby is bathed in a suds of the same by an attendant and rubbed with ashes, except its head. The ashes, they say, kill the hair on the body. It is then put in a cradle and an ear of corn placed by its side to watch it. The regular Hopi cradle consists of a wicker base, woven of small twigs of *si-bib-si* (*Rhus trilobata*), about two and a half foot long and a foot wide. Six or eight inches from one end, the head, is a bow of the same material, about two inches wide and nine inches high in the centre. This is to keep anything thrown over the cradle from falling in the face of the baby. Covering three quarters of the base is a mat of cedar bark. Several small blankets are laid across the cradle and the little one placed upon them. Contrary to our custom of using a pillow, the head is generally lower than the rest of the body. The arms are laid straight by its side and the blankets folded over and kept in place by lacing a heavy woolen cord into loops of the same material on either side of the cradle. Frequently the presence of a baby in a house would be entirely unsuspected, but should you attempt to sit upon what appears to be a pile of blankets in a corner the protests of the watchful mother will at once admonish you of your mistake. In one ceremony which I witnessed they had no cradle, so they took the shallow basket used to sift the cornmeal, stretched across it two strings of yucca (*Yucca angustifolia*), laid on several blankets and on these placed the baby. Its arms were laid straight by its side, the blankets folded over it and held in place by the yucca strings.

Until the fifth day the mother must not see the sun or put on her moccasins. If the house has a direct eastern exposure, usually a blanket is hung up at the door to keep out the direct rays of the sun. On the morning of the fifth day the mother bathes her own head and that of the baby with amole. She also puts on her moccasins and is now at liberty to go out of the house. She resumes charge of the household affairs, and on several occasions I have seen her busy grinding on the sixth day after childbirth, and by the tenth or twelfth she seems to have regained her normal strength. Sometimes a me

tal record of the age of the baby is kept, assisted by the aid of the fingers; in other cases scratches are made by the thumb-nail on the wall. On the tenth and fifteenth days, respectively, the mother again washes her head with amole, and bathes and rubs the baby with ashes, just as on the first day.

On the twentieth day the chief ceremony takes place.¹ This consists of three distinct parts: the purification of the mother, the naming of the baby, and the presentation of the baby to the sun. Prior to this the mother has been forbidden to eat meat and salt, and drinks only warm water, or a tea made by boiling the branches of the juniper (*Juniperus occidentalis*). This ceremony is to close with a feast at which many of the relatives will be present and some extensive preparations must be made. Two particular dishes are always necessary, — *núq-kwi-bi* and *pí-ka-mi*. Both are prepared on the afternoon of the nineteenth day. The former consists of a stew of mutton and shelled corn, which is cooked slowly all night. The latter consists of a sweet corn mush which has been baked over night in an underground oven.² Late in the afternoon of the same day, the nineteenth, the female relatives of the father of the child bring bowls and plaques filled with fine cornmeal, as presents for the little one. The mother receives these, saying, "*Es-kwa-ú,*" thank you, and invites the donor to come in and eat. The meal she places in one corner of the room.

About sunset the godmother arrives. She is generally either the paternal grandmother or a paternal aunt of the child. As soon as she comes she seems to take charge of things generally; looks after the fire under the *núq-kwi-bi*; puts several stones about the size of the fist into the fire for use in the morning; takes a tin can, puts in it some

¹ In three cases that I observed the mother did not wait until the twentieth day to perform this ceremony. The ages of the babies in these three cases were ten, twelve, and fourteen days respectively. I made some extended inquiries on this point, and the general opinion seemed to be that it was bad to perform this ceremony before the twentieth day. Those who did so offered no excuse for departing from the rule.

² For further details in regard to the preparation of these foods see the author's paper on "Food Resources and Foods of the Hopi Indians."

juniper boughs, and after filling it with water sets it close by the fire; then gets a piece of yucca root and pounds it, ready for use when needed.

The mother, meanwhile, has been receiving presents and giving her attention to things of less importance about the house. All now retire for the night, except the mother and perhaps one or two of her own kin. She takes this silent hour for arranging the presents that she will return in the morning. For, strange to say, she gives back not only as much meal as she has received, but, I think, even more. This meal, however, must be repacked. Bowls and placques are filled to their greatest capacity, and an extra large one is made for the godmother. In one case that I observed the placque was about eleven inches in diameter. The meal packed upon it, which took the shape of an egg truncated at the smaller end, measured forty-eight inches in horizontal circumference and was eighteen inches deep.

Early the next morning, at the first sign of light in the east, the godmother rises and renews the fires. She then takes a bowl of finely ground white cornmeal and makes on each side of the house four parallel lines, about two inches wide and fourteen inches long. The meal is put on with the palm of the hand and adheres closely to the wall.¹ She first makes these lines on the north, then the west, the

¹ Two kinds of cornmeal are in use among the Hopi in their various ceremonies. Each is made of white corn, and they differ only in the degree of fineness to which they are ground. The coarser one is called *hóm-gnum-ni* (from *ho-mo-t-tá*, to sprinkle, and *gním-ni*, meal). It is ground only on the first, the coarsest stone of the series of three or four stones upon which the fine meal is ground. It is about as coarse as corn chop. The finer one is called *koitc-ai'g-m-ni* (from *koi-étc-á*, white, and *gním-ni*, meal), and is about as finely ground as flour. The former does not pack, the latter packs well. So far as I could observe the two kinds of meal are of equal virtue ceremonially; but the fact is, that each is relegated to a particular, or part of a particular, ceremony. This, I think, is merely a matter of fitness. The kind of meal chosen depends wholly upon its fitness for the use desired. For instance, whenever a meal is needed for sprinkling or throwing, when it would be a disadvantage to have the particles adhere or pack, the coarser meal is used. Whenever a meal is needed which will pack or adhere to a surface, the finer meal is used. *Hóm-gnum-ni*, the coarser one, is always used

south, and the east, then on the ceiling and the floor.¹ The name given to these is *kí-a-tu* (house). This is said to be a house for the baby. Upon the lines on the floor she places a *nā-kwā'-ko-ci*, a feather from the breast of the eagle, to which is tied a piece of cotton string about four inches long. Hung somewhere in the ceiling of each house will be seen several feathers somewhat like this one, to which the general name of *bā'-ho* is given. The feather just placed on the floor is said to correspond to the feathers hung up in the houses. Upon this feather she now places an earthen bowl which contains some amole and makes a light suds. The mother kneels by the bowl, her long black hair falling into the foam. The godmother takes an ear of corn, dips it four times into the suds, and after each dip touches the head of the mother with the end of the ear.² All the female relatives of the father who are present, even to girls so little that the godmother must take their hands in hers, do the same. The corn is then laid aside and the godmother washes the mother's head. The bowl is now removed, and others may use it to bathe their heads, but I do not think that is part of the ceremony. The godmother now bathes the legs and arms of the mother with a decoction made by boiling juniper boughs. Another earthen bowl is brought, usually a very old, perhaps broken one, and set in the place of the one just removed. The stones placed in the fire the night before are put into it, and the mother, who has

by a priest at a shrine or in the *Kū-tci-nū* dances, but *Koite-añ'-g-um-ni*, the finer one, is always used to make the lines on the wall, representing a house, or to rub on the face, where the coarser meal would be too harsh, or to make the little meal pillars that stand at the corners of the sand altar in the *Lā'-lā-kon-ti*.

In all the ceremonies which I have observed, whenever a sequence of directions is involved, this order is always followed: north, west, south, east; to which is added above and below. These six directions have six corresponding colors:

north, yellow; west, blue; south, red; east, white; above, black; and below, all colors. Strange to say, the Hopi north does not coincide with our north, but is about 45° west of our north, so that the Hopi north and our northwest nearly coincide.

² The name given to the ear of corn used in this ceremony is *tcótc-mim-na*, and usually each mother who attends the naming of a baby brings her *tcótc-mim-na* with her.

The name *tcótc-mim-na* is not applied to the ear of corn placed by the side of the baby at birth.

thrown a large Navajo blanket around her, reaching to the floor, now stands over the bowl, while the godmother pours from time to time a little of the decoction of juniper boughs upon the heated stones, producing a steam which envelopes the mother. This is the last act in the purification of the mother, after which the godmother endeavors to remove everything, or at least a part of it, that has been made unclean by the unclean mother. She shakes out most thoroughly the sheepskins upon which the mother has been sleeping; sweeps that part of the house in which the ceremony has been taking place; puts into the bowl the *nā-kwā'-ko-ci*, a piece of sheepskin from the mother's bed, the sweepings of the floor, the broom, brushes the mother's head over the bowl, also that of the baby, and then adds a live coal from the fire. Placing in her breast the ear of corn which was used to put the first suds on the mother's head, she picks up the bowl, waves it over the spot four times in a horizontal circle, then carries it out and throws it, bowl and contents, over the north side of the mesa. As she leaves the house another woman takes a small bowl and throws water to the points of the compass, sprinkling everybody in the room and saying: "*O'-mow-uh*," clouds, "*Yók-i*," rain. Doubtless the reason for sweeping the floor so scrupulously clean is that no sickness may follow.¹ Although the godmother throws the bowl over the mesa-side without any ceremony, not even the sprinkling of meal, so constant in Hopi ceremonies; yet should she drop the ear of corn she carries in her dress, and thereby lose any of the grains, she would use the greatest diligence to recover them, for it would be bad for the child should any of them be lost.

Next is the bathing and naming of the baby. A smaller bowl is used in which to make the suds, and the head of the little one is washed with the same ceremony as that of the mother; even greater care being taken that all the females present, on the father's side, shall put suds on its head with an ear of corn. The godmother then bathes

¹ When they make *bā'-hos* the greatest care is taken to clean up every particle of dirt. This is carried out and thrown over the north side of the mesa. If the dirt is not all removed sickness is said to follow. I think the same idea holds here.

the baby,¹ and when its body is dry (no towel being used, simply held near the fire) she rubs it with white cornmeal, *koitc-añ'g-um-ni*, and after wrapping it in a blanket passes it to the mother, who has seated herself not far from the fire. The mother generally holds the little one on her left arm. In front of her sit two small bowls of cornmeal,—one of very fine meal, *koitc-añ'g-um-ni*, the other of coarser, *hóm-gnum-ni*. Beside these bowls are lying the ears of corn that were used in washing the baby's head. The godmother kneels before the mother and places a small blanket (usually an old one), as a present for the child, upon the mother's lap. She then takes some of the finer meal (*koitc-añ'g-um-ni*) and rubs it on the arms, neck, and face of the mother, and also upon the face of the child. Then taking in her right hand the ear of corn (*tcótc-mim-na*) which she brought from her home with some prayer meal² (*hóm-gnum-ni*), she first prays over the mother and then over the little one, moving the corn up and down before it as she does this.³ The prayers said on this occasion vary somewhat, but I will give one which I heard, which is a fair specimen of them all: *Wuq-ták-ta-ni wai-jo-mi ha-kú'm-i er-káts-i ná-vok yáu-no-ni yan-a-mát-u-a Da-wá-ma-na*.⁴ (May you live to be old, may you have good corn, may you keep well, and now I name you Daughter of the Sun.) All the other females of the father's line⁵ do just the same,

¹ When the little one has been thoroughly bathed, she balances it on one hand while she fills her mouth with warm water, then squirts it out so as to rinse off the suds. This manner of using the mouth for a reservoir is very common among the Hopis.

² This meal is so constantly used in their religious ceremonies that it is usually spoken of by Americans as "prayer-meal."

³ Part of the ceremony of initiation into the Hopi esoteric societies is to wash the head and name the novitiate. The head is bathed in amole by a woman, and the

manner of naming is identical with that described in this paper, except, of course, the initiate is not held in arms, and the meal received with the *tcótc-mim-na* must be sprinkled on the altar of that particular society.

⁴ It is, of course, understood that in this prayer I have added the name of a particular individual.

⁵ It is said that descent is counted on the mother's line. Strangely enough, in this ceremony it is a relative of the father who acts as godmother, and only the relatives of the father name the baby.

except some of the younger ones, who do not rub meal on the mother and baby, and do not pray for the mother separately. As each one finishes her prayer she passes the ear of corn and the meal to the mother, who says "*Es-kwa-lí*," thank you. Each person gives the baby a different name; which one it will be known by throughout life I think is largely a matter of choice.¹ The godmother now puts the baby in the cradle. Outside of the blankets, under the lacing and over the breast, she places some of the ears of corn used in naming the baby. The little one, done up in its cradle, is now ready to be presented to the sun. The godmother again sweeps the floor in the quarter of the room where the ceremonies have been going on, then taking a handful of prayer-meal (*hóm-gnum-ni*) she makes a line of meal about two inches wide reaching from the cradle to the door. This is called the *pü'r-tā-bi* or road. The mother then takes some meal and goes over the same. After this the mother may or may not dress herself in better clothes.²

A few moments of anxious waiting follows, for the mother seems very desirous of presenting her baby to the sun just at the moment he peeps above the horizon. In several cases the rising sun could not be seen from the house on account of intervening buildings, but that made no difference, there was the same solicitude to have the ceremony take place at the exact moment.

Sunrise is announced by the father who has been watching for it. The godmother takes a handful of *hóm-gnum-ni*, picks up the baby with the cradle and carries it low, head first, over the line of meal. The mother follows behind with a handful of meal. They stand side by side just out of the door, the mother usually on the right. The godmother throws the blanket from the face of the baby, holds the meal to

¹ These names are usually the name of some favorite article, often an article of food or drink, as *Hu-má-ta*, shelled corn; *Hó-ko-na*, butterfly; *Kúr-yi*, water; *O-mov-uh*, cloud; *Sho-íng-ti-yo*, deer boy; *Sa-má-wi-ki*, choice ears of roasted sweet corn.

² Out of about a dozen cases observed this summer, one woman put on the white embroidered blanket usually given by the man as a wedding present to his bride. Four put on clean mantas, and the rest made no change of clothing whatever, except nearly all put on moccasins.

her mouth while she says a short prayer, then sprinkles it towards the rising sun. The mother prays over her handful of meal and throws it toward the sun.¹ Both return into the house and breakfast is now in order. The *núq-kwi-bi* is served in large earthen bowls. These are set in a line on the floor. The *pí-ka-mi* is served in smaller bowls and also set on the floor. Some *pí-ki* or paper bread, stewed peaches, and coffee generally complete the list of foods. Before anything is eaten, one of the women takes a pinch of food from each bowl and places it either where the ladder leans against the house or throws it in a room where there are some *Kā-tci-nā* marks. This offering is called a *dú-nop-na*,² and is said to be made to the sun. The first to eat is the little baby. The godmother takes it upon her lap, still in the cradle, and gives it a very little from each of the different dishes. Literally, all hands do justice to the meal. After this is over, before the visitors go home, the mother distributes her presents among her guests and the ceremony is ended.

Some days after, but no definite time that I could learn, the mother ties upon one or both of the wrists of the little one a *mā-pon-ta*. If it is a boy, she puts on a *bí-mo-nuh* (*Mutilla*), a very swift running insect. It is said this will make the boy a good runner. If it is a girl, she ties on the cocoon of a butterfly. This is said to strengthen the wrist for grinding corn. At an uncertain time she also ties a piece of yucca upon each wrist and ankle of the child and leaves these on ten(?) days. The baby is then carried out and held over an ant-hill while the yucca is removed and deposited upon the ant-hill.

The ceremonies described were observed only in Wál-pi and Si-tcúm-vi, but the description is probably equally correct for the other four Hopi villages. The natal ceremonies of the Tewans vary somewhat, although in most features the two are identical. I will only indicate the differences between the two.

I endeavored to obtain a photograph of this part of the ceremony, but my exposures were all failures. The light was so weak.

I do not think a *dú-nop-na* is taken

out at an ordinary meal. Several men told me that it was only taken out when they have *núq-kwi-bi* or *pí-ka-mi*. I have never seen them eat *pí-ka-mi* without a *dú-nop-na*.

Up to the afternoon of the nineteenth day (the day before the presentation) the ceremonies are identical. The regular preparations for the feast are made, but some time in the early evening they make what they call *nā'-kur-yi* or medicine water (from *nā'-hii*, medicine, and *kúr-yi*, water). A medicine bowl is usually made of pottery, shallow and rectangular, with a handle on one side. Generally, the rim is moulded into three or four terraces at the centre of each of the four sides. A male member of the family takes one of these bowls, fills it half full of water, and places in this liquid three or four univalve shells and one or two bivalves. He then takes a large knife and scrapes the edges of the shells, allowing the powder to fall into the water, which is frequently stirred.¹ To this is added small pieces of the root of the juniper. After several thorough stirrings it is set before the grandfather of the baby and he smokes native tobacco, *pí-ba* (*Nicotiana attenuata*), over it. It is then ready for use in the morning.

The purification of the mother is finished when her head has been bathed with amole; no bathing of the legs and arms with juniper tea or steaming of the mother takes place.

The bathing and naming of the baby are identical with the Hopi custom. The godmother gives the baby some *nā'-kur-yi* to drink. She gives it a little out of each of the shells and then takes some herself. Afterwards it is passed to the mother and all the female relatives of the father's side of the house, even to any little babies that may be present.

The presentation of the baby to the sun is identical with that of the Hopi, except that the Tewan mother carries a live coal from the fire, which she throws towards the sun at the same time that she throws the meal, after she has prayed upon it. She then turns around on the spot four times, turning in the established direction, north, west, south and east. When the baby is returned to the house, all those in the

¹ The name given to a particular shell *ü-kong* is the chief of the *Kā-lék-to-ka* or fighting-men. The inference is evident. *Pü'-ü-kong-ó-wa*, *Pü'-ü-kong* stone. *Pü'-* The baby was a boy.

family who have not yet partaken of any of the *nā'-kur-yi* are now given it. There seems to be considerable variation in the time when the *nā'-kur-yi* is given to the baby and the relatives. I very much doubt whether the time is a matter of any importance, except that all present must partake some time during the ceremony.

The fact that two peoples dwell so closely together has caused a considerable modification of those various ceremonies. Not infrequently the father will be a Hopi and the mother a Tewan. In that case, one would naturally think the ceremony followed would be the Tewan, but such is not always the case, for the godmother is a Hopi and she seems to determine what shall be done. Sometimes there will be parts of each. For instance, in one case, they washed the legs and arms of the mother and steamed her (Hopi), at the presentation of the baby she carried a coal (Tewan), and then she did not turn around after she had thrown the coal toward the sun (Hopi). When I asked why she did not turn around, she replied: "That is a Tewan custom!" In this same case the office of godmother was performed by the sister of the paternal grandmother of the child, the grandmother being an invalid. She, however, was present, being brought by her husband tied up in a blanket, which hung from his forehead and rested upon his back. She was carried in exactly the same way that a Hopi woman carries her water-jug or any heavy burden. When the presents were distributed in the morning both the grandmother and her sister received an unusually large amount of meal.

I have recorded simply what I have observed, without any attempt at interpretation. That I leave to some one better acquainted with the people and more conversant with the language.

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