

## THE EMERGENCE OF THE HOPI PEOPLE

by  
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**T**HE THESIS underlying the following article is that the mythology of American Indians and other tribal peoples is to them a life-and-death matter. We attempt to show that their myths are depictions of the essential parts of tribal culture; they portray the societal, environmental, and supernatural matrices upon which tribal lives depend. In brief, their mythology is a definition of human existence. Moreover, the myths describe the processes—they tell the stories—by which the present network of existence came into being. They relate how communities organized, how nature-relations evolved, how religious life developed, and how people attained their powers. They are narratives of the crucial events—the creations and transformations—which made the world what it is.

Through verbal images, tribal myths make graphic the realities of existence in a brave, complex way. They face (while partially masking) the factional tensions in society, the anxieties in subsistence activities, the failures, sorrows, and (most of all) the death contained in life as a whole. That is, they see life in its contradictory, unsatisfactory, paradoxical entirety.

Furthermore, by presenting the fullness of human existence, tribal myths have the potential to function as tools by which societal groups and the individuals within them can meet their life-and-death challenges. Tribal myths can be means by which people adapt and survive. In its practical functions as well as its content, mythology is a life-and-death matter.

To illustrate this thesis we have chosen the myth that recalls the emergence, wandering, and settling of the Hopis' ancestors following the world's creation, a myth through which the Hopis define their identity as a people. Out of many possible versions (e.g., Courlander 1971, Cushing 1923, Nequatewa 1967:7–41, Sekaquaptewa 1981:224–8, Stephen 1923:3–13, Titiev 1944:73–4, Wallis 1936:2–20; see further Goldfrank 1948:242), we have chosen one for our narrative (Voth 1905:16–26; cf. 10–15), although we shall use material from other versions to illuminate our analysis.

We think that the myth manifests the Hopi people's past to themselves, placing them in their chosen land and their chosen way of life.

The myth tells how the Hopis chose to become themselves, how they made a project of their tribal identity, how they struggled against their own social disequilibrium and its dreadful consequences, and how through language, clans, and rituals they cohered to each other as a people, a discrete portion of humanity. It validates the Hopis in their historical element (see Sproul 1972:51). In addition, the myth extends the community to include both the dead and the non-human environment, while at the same time reflecting the context of political strife, exacerbated by white intrusions, at the time when the myths were recorded.

Consisting of both world-view and ethos, description and prescription, the myth functions in helping control recurrent tensions in community life. It helps explain the sources of disruption, and reinforces social sentiment against attack both from within and without Hopi society (cf. Dozier 1956 regarding the Hopi-Tewa). It treats community as a life-and-death matter.

The myth is one of many Hopi narratives that have been collected and published over the last century. It typifies the emergence and migration legends that abound in Southwestern America (see Boas 1915:316-7, Long 1963:35-42, Moon 1974, Ortiz 1973:13-28, Parsons 1923, Peet 1905:23-4, Sproul 1972:88-91, 170-4, Tedlock 1972:219-20, Wheeler-Voegelin and Moore 1957). Following this story chronologically, although not necessarily connected to it at any one telling, are stories of the origin of Hopi clans, in which the events of the emergence and wandering are correlated with the specific episodes of clan history, interweaving individual family stories with the fabric of Hopi tradition. For the purposes of this study, however, we shall concentrate on the more encompassing history, even though the details of the clan origin myths could fill out our conclusions. Each Hopi clan possesses its own versions of the tribal traditions, each version containing episodes especially germane to the clan members' historical and contemporary experiences. The Hopis have numerous priesthoods; they have no central hierarchy or dogmatic theology; moreover, any Hopi adult can tell a myth at any time of day or year as he or she wishes. Therefore, the versions differ in diverse details, reflecting the particular circumstances of narration; however, in essence the variants of the Hopi myth bear marked similarity to one another (Goldfrank 1948:242).

From Oraibi, on the third mesa in the Hopiland desert, comes the story, "The Wanderings of the Hopi," recorded around the turn of the century. It begins: "A very long time ago they were living down below." Down there everything was good; rain and fertility flourished. But because the chiefs grew bad, the rain stopped, the people became

sick. Sorcery and adultery were practiced increasingly, until "by and by it was like it is here and now . . ."

The chiefs responded to these events. They planned both a revenge upon the evildoers and an escape from their deteriorating condition. They heard sounds up above them, footsteps. Someone was walking up there. The village chief, Kik-mongwi, wanted to investigate. The chiefs, therefore, made a bird through song, sending it up with instructions to tell whoever was above that they, the people, wanted to come up. They planted a fir tree that failed to reach the surface, but a reed they planted alongside reached the top successfully.

The bird flew in spirals around the two ladders—the fir and the reed—up through the hole, but could find no one in the darkness above, and returned exhausted. The chiefs made another bird messenger, hummingbird, small but swift and strong. They gave him instructions to see who lived up there, if he was "kind" and "good" and "gentle." If so, they wished to come up. But hummingbird also failed and returned, exhausted.

The chiefs then created hawk, but he, too, could find no one above to tell of the conditions below—the bad hearts of the chiefs' "children"—and he came back equally exhausted. The chiefs revived each of these birds in sequence.

So, they made a fourth bird, Motsni, a northern shrike, giving him the same message. He was stronger than the others, and he found the place where Oraibi is today, although "there were no houses there yet." Someone was sitting there, and he moved his head to the side, telling the bird to sit down and inform him of his reason for coming. It was Masau'u, the Skeleton, who listened to Motsni's report from the chiefs. Masau'u told the bird, "Now this is the way I am living here. I am living here in poverty. I have not anything; this is the way I am living here. Now, if you are willing to live here that way, too, with me and share this life, why come, you are welcome." The bird returned to the chiefs with this message.

Living below were all sorts of people—the white man, the Paiute, most of the Pueblo Indians. The better of these heard the message, although some very bad ones heard it, too. The chiefs announced that in four days they would leave.

At that time, many people gathered, and the chiefs led them up the reed ladder—the Kik-mongwi, who was also the Soyal chief; the Flute chief; Horn chief; Agave chief; Singer chief; Wuwuchim chief; Rattlesnake chief; Antelope chief; Marau chief; Lagon chief; and the Warrior chief. The people followed, and when the news got around, everyone was clamoring to climb the reed. But fearing that too many two-hearts (sorcerers) would come to the surface, the village chief

pulled up the reed, leaving a great number to fall back below the earth's surface.

The large number who had surfaced gathered by the rim of the opening, where the village chief told them that from then on they were to live good, single-hearted lives. They should follow Motsni wherever he instructed.

Before long, however, the boy-child of the village chief became sick and died. Suspecting sorcery, the chief made a ball of fine meal, threw it in the air, and when it landed on a maiden, he began to throw her back down below. He feared that the people would return to their old ways with a two-heart amongst them. In order to save herself, she promised to be always on the chief's side in any village dispute; furthermore, she showed him that his son was alive down below. " 'That is the way it will be,' the maiden said to the chief; 'if any one dies, he will go down there and he will remain there only four days, and after four days he will come back again to live with his people.' " The chief relented, allowing her to remain.

The Warrior chief noticed that it was cold and still dark. With Flute priest's help, Spider Woman made the moon and sun, respectively, out of native cloth and buckskin. They drew on them, rubbed egg yolks over the sun, and put them in position in the sky. Everyone was happy because now it was light and warm.

The chiefs then made blossoms and plants, and the people prepared to scatter. The Hopi chief wanted to keep his cherished language for his own group; so, he asked Mocking Bird to instruct the other people in various languages other than the original Hopi common to them all. Then there was a common meal where the chief laid out the various types of corn-ears from the underworld, from which different groups could choose. In the contention for the choice ears, the Navajos, Utes, and Apaches got the longest ones; the Hopis waited and received the short corn-ears. The chief said, "Thanks, that you have left this for me. Upon this we are going to live." The short-ears were true corn, but the long-ears he turned into seed grasses like wheat.

The chief's elder brother selected some good tasting foods and led a party toward the sunrise, where he touched the sun with his forehead and lived there, but he always remembered his brethren. He agreed that if the Hopis should get into the same trouble they had in the underworld, he would come back, seek out the two-hearts and cut off their heads. The elder brother's party became the "white men."

The chief and his people took a southern route, as each group dispersed, taking with it a grandmother and a special stone. The two-hearted maiden, Powak-mana, followed at a distance behind the chief's group.

And so, each party, each with its chief, became separate, all traveling eastward. They stopped here and there, settling, leaving the ruins that can be found throughout Hopiland. "white men" had Spider Woman with them, and they fared well, with horses and burros. The party that took along Powak-mana lived at Palatkwapi for a while without a clan name. Each group would stay for a year or so wherever they found good springs and fields. On their wanderings they took foodstuff. Sometimes, when they found good fields without water, they buried a small, perforated vessel filled with stones, shells, prayer-sticks, and the like. From this spot a spring would rise a year later. If they moved on, they took their magic package with them.

Before they finally reached the place where they are now, they were already becoming as bad as they had been below. They were squabbling and fighting with one another, attacking each other to steal possessions. Some built their villages on cliffs and mesas for protection.

Finally, some arrived at Moenkopi—the Bear clan, Spider clan, Hide strap clan, Blue-bird clan and the Fat cavity clan—"all of which had derived their names from a dead bear upon which these different parties had come as they were traveling along."

A short time after, another Bear clan, different from the one at Moenkopi, settled at Shongopovi, just east of the present village. It was the first village to be started, of those remaining. At this time Skeleton was still living where Oraibi is now. The group that had settled near Moenkopi moved to where Moenkopi is now, but the Bear clan, Hide strap clan, and Blue-bird clan moved towards Oraibi. When Spider clan reached Moenkopi, they made marks on a nearby bluff, claiming the land always for the Hopis, because water existed in that location for planting.

Soon after, the Snake clan arrived, and wanting the same land, they wrote the same marks on the bluff. Burrowing owl clan did likewise when they arrived. Then they all journeyed to where Skeleton was staying. Skeleton met the Bear clan members, just northwest of Oraibi. They asked him to be their chief, to share land with them; but he refused, saying that they had brought two-hearts with them and would make no improvement over their behavior in the underworld. Not until White Brother should return to kill the sorcerers would Skeleton be their chief. He gave the Bear clan land, distinctly outlined, and he told them to settle what is now Oraibi.

The Bear clan brought with them the Soyal cult, the Aototo, and the Soyal kachinas. Other clans arrived, asked for permission to establish themselves. If they knew some ceremony "to produce rain and good crops," they were permitted to stay— Hide strap clan, Blue-bird

clan, Spider clan, and more. Other clans were settling Walpi and Mishongnovi. In the same way, if they knew fertility ceremonies, they were given land to cultivate. In this manner the fields were distributed.

One of the first was the Bow clan, bringing the Shaalako kachinas, the Tangik kachinas, the Tukwunang kachina, and Whawiki kachina, very powerful bringers of rain. These kachinas danced and caused a great downpour, filling the desert washes. This was the origin of the Wuwuchim ceremony, the first Hopi ritual to take place in Hopiland.

Then came the Soyal ceremony under the direction of the village chief, and then in the prayer-stick month, the Snake and Flute ceremonies, alternating each year. Snake clan brought the Snake cult; Blue-bird clan brought the Antelope cult, and Spider clan brought the Flute cult. Lizard brought the Marau cult, Parrot clan the Lagon cult and still others came. Small bands heard about the growing settlement, and they asked for permission to join. The villages grew slowly on the mesas.

Thus the people lived, bringing rain with their few and simple rituals. People were happy and good. But at Palatkwapi, Powak-mana, the two-hearted maiden, had taught others her sorcery, until the town was destroyed by water delivered upon them by the great water serpents. Almost all died, but a few were saved.

These few found their way to Walpi, where they spread their evil art to other villages, causing disease and death among the people. They also turned the Utes, Navajos, and Apaches into Hopi enemies. ". . . And then the white men came and made demands of the Hopi." The whites were brought to Hopiland by the sorcerers, "and now the white men are worrying the Hopi also."

The Hopis continue to look to their Elder Brother in the east, according to the promise of the old men and the ancestors. The present white men are not the same as the Elder Brother. These people try to take away Hopi children, baptize the Hopis, and threaten the people with beatings and even death. "But we should not listen to them, we should continue to live like the Hopi." But there are two-hearts amongst the people who speak for the white men, who tell Hopis to obey the whites. The ancestors prophesied this. "We are now in trouble," the narration concludes. "Our children are taken away from us, and we are being harrassed and worried."

Before discussing the content of the myth, we need to examine two of its contexts, one obvious and political, the other conceptual and more subtle. Then we can proceed to analyze the narrative of Hopi origins.

Clearly, the myth is a description of Hopi tribal existence. Equally apparent, the myth concentrates not only on Hopi past, but also Hopi

present, the contemporary context in which the myth is recorded. And that context is overwhelmingly political.

The story ends with a supposedly ancient prophecy regarding the troubles that whites will deliver unto the Hopi people. The intruders, it is foretold, will attempt to take away the bulwarks of Hopi existence. They will try to destroy Hopi religion and language and kinship structure; they will try to alter Hopi habits regarding food and dress. They will turn one Hopi against another, disrupting the cohesiveness of the community. That time, the document states, has come to the Hopi people. Past events, past oracles, and present events are now running concurrently and merging into one crucial history and contemporary account. In addressing the present situation, the text stresses the continuity of Hopi tradition, warning strenuously against the changes that whites preach. The myth stands as a manifesto not only against the white intruders, but also against the Hopis who would accept white ways. Thus, the myth is as much about the present as about the past, as it guards against corrupting forces, both from without and within Hopi society.

Therefore, we must see the myth in the context of white incursions and their political ramifications. During the last few decades of the nineteenth century, Anglo invasions crowned the centuries of white disruptions among the Pueblos, disruptions that the Hopis had until then been able to withstand. The coming of American troops and missionaries created intense factionalism among the tribe; gossip, hatred, family disputes and clan rivalries flared chronically; witchcraft accusations mounted, one Hopi against another, under the stress of white demands that Hopis deliver up their children for white indoctrination, both secular and religious, in schools away from the Hopi villages (see, e.g., Adams 1979, Qoyawayma 1978:13–48, and Sekaquaptewa 1981:7–14, 91–108).

The societal tensions are reflected in the myth, with its repeated references to adultery, chiefly corruption, sorcery, theft, battle and contention. Esther Goldfrank (1948) has shown that Hopi myths collected between 1883 and 1932 show concern for immediate political situations. Goldfrank traced Oraibi factionalism to the early 1700s, but indicated that Americans exacerbated the problems by demanding that children be indoctrinated to white standards. The crucial event during this political strife was a dispute in Oraibi in 1905–6 which literally split asunder the entire community over the issue of accommodation to white demands. The factions “hostile” and “friendly” to white coercion could no longer live with one another in Oraibi, the oldest of the Hopi villages, dating back to the middle of the twelfth century. In 1906 its population was under enough pressure, with tight

quarters, no central leadership, and political strife, that the two major factions held a decisive pushing match to determine which group should remain in their home. The conservative faction lost the symbolic fight, and removed itself to Hotevilla, providing an opening for whites to enforce their will over the Hopis (see, e.g., Nequatewa 1967:60–77, Sekaquaptewa 1981:63–90, Spicer 1972:202–5, Titiev 1944:69–95). Factionalism did not cease, however, and today two Hopi parties still contend both with each other and white intruders to determine the Hopi future. Significantly, Hopi conservatives like Tom Banyacya still turn to Hopi myths and prophecies, traditional ideological weapons, against the devastating offenses of coal and oil companies, greedy for Hopi resources (see, e.g., Budnik n.d., Clemmer 1978, Gordon 1973, Harris 1980, Ivins 1979). Now as then, Hopi myths bend to meet the needs of the political winds, as Goldfrank suggested.

In particular, Goldfrank traced the rivalries between the Spider and Bear clans from the same phratry. The bear clan held political power in the late nineteenth century, maintaining control at Oraibi, but the Spider clan brandished the Flute and Antelope ceremonies, and the Bears resented the conservative Spider upstarts, including Spider Woman herself, one of the most beloved of traditional Hopi deities. The push-of-war in 1906 concerned mainly opponents from the Bear and Spider clans, the accommodationist Bears emerging victorious. When Frank Cushing recorded another version of the same emergence myth in 1883 (Cushing 1923), a Spider clan member narrated it. Bear clan kinsmen threatened to throw Cushing off a cliff, calling him “shit” to be evacuated from the mesa (Goldfrank 1948:243–5). Although the Hopis had persisted in peaceful traditions for centuries, the societal stresses had upset them sufficiently enough that Cushing took their threat seriously. Violence was already erupting within Hopi society, including beheadings of those accused of witchcraft. Cushing defended himself with a pistol and recorded the myth.

In short, the political context in which the myth was recorded helped create a tone of intensity and feud in the myth itself, far at odds with the image of peaceful Pueblos promulgated by Ruth Benedict (1959:esp. 78–9) and espoused as an ideal by the Hopis themselves (Thompson 1945:542–5). It could even be said that the myth is *about* the contemporary struggle, using narratives of a mythical past as ideological armaments against both outsiders and fellow Hopis (regarding myth as ideology see Cunningham 1973:138).

In addressing the contemporary issues of Hopi existence, the myth of Hopi origins means to be authoritative through its great age. For the traditional Hopis the myth represents the most ancient and persisting of Hopi heritages. One version of the myth begins, “My grand-

father, and my father also, told me this story” (Wallis 1936:2), placing it beyond the limitations and fallible contentions of the present storyteller, stamping it with a seal of reverence due to elders and ancestors. It is a story to be believed implicitly, and by which to judge the honesty of other traditions and accounts.

Politically, the myth grounds present difficulties in past verities; however, according to Hopi conceptions concerning time, the distinction between past and present disappears. Thus, we must take account of the Hopi conceptual context—as well as the political context—for the myth.

Benjamin Whorf (1975; cf. Whorf 1956:51–6, 102–24) has shown that the Hopis’ language conceives not of past, present, and future tenses, but rather “manifested” and “unmanifested” phenomena, events that have entered conscious awareness and those that have not. According to Whorf, the Hopis distinguish between things that are apparent and things that are hidden, waiting to spring up and be discovered, rather than placing events along the Western axes of time and space. Events in the future and in the forgotten past take an expective mode of verb; present situations require inceptive tense. Thus, an event taking place in another place, but at the same time as the present, is unmanifest, expective, unconscious, hidden; once a person hears of the event, however, it becomes manifest, inceptive, apparent, conscious. For the Hopis the supernatural is generally referred to in unmanifest modes with an implication of inevitability that it will spring into view, whereas nature is obvious, manifestly objective, before the Hopis’ eyes at all times.

In this context, the Hopi myth does not tell of a past event, even though it must be translated as such into English, but the myth becomes manifest, it takes place, it occurs, as it is being recounted, as the storyteller narrates its events to the listeners. In Western terms, the distant, primordial events of the myth become present realities during the narration of the myth; in Hopi terms the expective becomes inceptive, and thus the past and present (so-called) merge into one meaningful continuity. In the telling the myth bridges the gap between aspects of manifest and unmanifest existence. The troubles of the past and present become merged in a conscious, controllable, palpable form. Therefore, to say that the myth of Hopi origins reveals both Hopi past and present, simultaneously, is to recognize not only the political, but also the conceptual contexts for the myth.

Just as in Hopi dreams, in which mythic elements are incorporated, the myth contextualizes serious concerns of the Hopis through the artifice of folklore. General anxieties are made specific, societal problems are made individual, with the function of reducing the individual

and society's anxieties through the manifest mode. If unmanifest anxieties can be named and imaged, through dream, ritual, or myth, they are better handled by individuals and by the community at large (see Eggan 1971).

The myth exists in the context of the Hopi community's political disputes and in the context of Hopi linguistic conceptions. Moreover, the myth is *about* Hopi politics and conceptions; it is a narrative *about* Hopi tribalism and the Hopi conception of community, a story *about* the Hopi "us." Hence, it is fitting that at the end of the myth the narrator refers repeatedly to "we" and "our" and "us," in order to emphasize the subject matter of the myth being concluded. The myth recounts the emergence and origin of the Hopi people, and defines a Hopi person as someone living in community with others of the same origin, language, history and customs. Furthermore, the myth proclaims the necessity of community for the continuation of Hopi life. It defines humans as social beings, and states that human life exists by virtue of its community. The myth does this by demonstrating both the rewards of tribal consciousness and the mortal dangers of community disequilibrium, both describing and prescribing the way of tribal life.

In the first paragraph of the myth, societal woes have occurred. Sexual license, adultery, and wife stealing are rife. The children disobey authority and the chiefs bemoan that their "children won't listen to us." From the opening of the story, with its edenic quality, the people tear their social harmony into disarray. The story shifts quickly to a situation of disease, famine, and conflict, presenting contemporary Hopi problems as recurring events in Hopi history.

When the people grow bad, the rains stop and sickness comes. In this Hopi tradition, as in other American Indian myths, human evils affect the whole of nature, creating a disastrous effect on human wrongdoers. The myth projects the past events forward to serve as lessons to present Hopis, while projecting present warnings back into the past, to show the fatal results of social contention. If people are evil, the clouds will withhold their waters, the crops will die, and humans will perish; it has happened before and it can happen again, the myth implies.

The chiefs and their people emerge from the wasted underground in order to save themselves from their own misfortune. When they emerge, the village chief exhorts the people to social cohesion. He reminds them that they have emerged as a group, as one people, and although they will separate, they must continue to think of one another as a people. In order that they should not forget their essential ties of kinship, they share a grand feast, becoming companions in food

as they are relatives by blood. As Elder Brother prepares to leave, he, too, reasserts his kin relations by vowing to remember always his younger brothers, the Hopis. The emergence as members of a tribal community precedes the various migrations, and the chief's speech reaffirms kinship as an ontological and economic necessity by which human existence can endure.

But at the same time, the antithesis of community rears its persistently ugly head. Immediately following emergence, a witch causes the first death in the present world. In other versions of the same myth, the finality of the first death is blamed on the trickster, Coyote, a character regarded as the most anti-social of beings, the most uncharacteristic of Hopi personages (Stephen 1929:9); and on jealousy (Cushing 1923:166), the most disruptive of social sentiments, especially among the Hopis who caution their children against trying to compete with their fellow tribesmen. Hopi excellence should exist for the group, not for one individual in competition with another (Brandt 1954:46). Thus, in three versions of the myth, death is said to be the result of anti-social behavior, symbolized by witchcraft, a trickster, and jealousy. As the village chief is proclaiming community as a life-promoting force, the myth equates death with social disharmony, symbolized in this version by witchcraft.

There is a special concern for witchcraft in the myth, a concern that belies the tensions in Hopi society during the recording of the myth as well as in tribal life in general. In a society where tensions were mounting uncontrollably, a need existed to designate blame. It was easy enough to call the invading whites evil (despite their possible connection with the departed Elder Brother), but how could the Hopis explain the evil of their own people?

Lévi-Strauss (1963:172–5) and others (e.g., Lewis 1971) have shown that witchcraft accusations actually serve the community in which they are made by singling out a coherent cause for evil. For people who believe that their nature is essentially good and their society is essentially kin related, as the Hopis do, the belief in witchcraft explains how aberrant evil can come about. For the Hopis, witches are beings at direct cross-purposes to community standards. Descendants of Spider Woman, they are greedy, jealous, aggressive, acquisitive, beguiling and argumentative; in brief, they are *kahopi*, “unHopi” individualists. They reverse community ideals and undermine community life. In this myth, they bring death into the world, and in daily life they obtain their livelihood and sustenance by causing the deaths of others, especially their relatives. The two-heart witches, to quote Mischa Titiev, “may be said to live by killing others, even if they pity them, just as ordinary people are forced to sustain their lives by butchering

animals such as sheep or cattle" (Titiev 1943:550). Witches thus are extremities of humanity, barely human at all, who disrupt the human community.

In this way the Hopis make an internal problem—social disharmony, evil within the tribe—seem like an external intrusion, for the witches are perceived as persons beyond the pale of society, as foreign to Hopi regularity (however everpresent) as invading Anglos. Those who cause evil are not really Hopis; they are outsiders, aliens, witches who have insinuated themselves into Hopi life.

In the myth the village chief instructs the witch-maiden to follow behind the migrating clans, ostracizing her from the clan communities; however, she finds her way back into their midst, contaminating the rest of the people, and ultimately creating the present political battles by passing on her evil seed. Witchcraft inserts itself into the healthy community and rots it, the myth says. It causes death to the chief's son, and disintegration to the Hopi community.

As with American Indian theory regarding disease, in which foreign elements cause disease by getting into the human body and shattering its cohesiveness—requiring a doctor to exorcise it from the ailing body by sucking or other means—the witch causes societal sickness, and even death, by injecting her malevolence into community structures (see Clements 1932, Corlett 1935:65ff., Elmendorf 1967, Rogers 1944, and Vogel 1973:13). Later in the myth, greed is said to be the cause of strife, greed activated by contagious sorcery, a disease of greed infecting the body politic.

It would be cozy to conclude that the myth makes concise equations: witchcraft, anti-sociality, and death *versus* community bonds and life. Surely the equations exist; however, the placement of death as an antithesis of tribal society is too simple.

In our version of the myth, the chief accepts the death of his son when shown that the child continues to live in the underworld, and will rejoin his people after some time. In other versions either the witch or the chief makes speeches in praise of death: its transitory nature, its necessity, or the pleasantness of the afterworld. In addition, all versions state the belief that the dead and living will continue to relate, one to the other. Death is said to be not an end, but rather a metamorphosis, and communication can continue between living humans and their departed, ghostly forms, despite the work of sorcery or trickish Coyote. Mischa Titiev seems correct in saying that "perhaps the most fundamental concept of Hopi religion is a belief in the continuity of life after death" (Titiev 1950:369). As a Hopi woman has said regarding the first death at the emergence place, "Thus they learned that you must pass from this world to achieve immortality,"

and as a result, the witch-maiden was saved (Sekaquaptewa 1981:226–7).

In fact, the Hopis—like other Pueblos—believe their ancestors to be fertilizing clouds, bringers of rain who will nourish the crops upon which the living subsist (see Anderson 1955:405, Mills n.d.:5–8, 30–3, and Titiev 1944:109–29). The necessity of death in the myth becomes even more accentuated, therefore, since the first death sets into motion a cycle of nourishment, growth, and decay that is to the Hopis life itself. Death brings into existence the ancestors, who turn into clouds and kachinas that bring rain; moisture feeds the corn and other foods that in turn nourish the Hopi people themselves, and in the eternal cycle, death feeds life (Tyler 1964:74–9, Marriott and Rachlin 1972:232–7; for a more explicit statement of this cycle, see the parallel Zuni myth of emergence in Marriott and Rachlin 1972:123–7). Death is incorporated into life, making it richer and more permanent. It is no surprise, then, that the Hopis consider visits by the living to the land of the dead to be sources of mental health and strength (Kennard 1937, Titiev 1941).

The gods of Hopiland, the kachinas who control the environmental forces, who bring rain and food and animals and community existence—who are invoked toward the end of the myth, when the clans are setting up their lodgings and system of life-bringing ceremonials—are by and large the ancestors themselves, the creations of death, the products of the first death in the present world brought about by the two-hearted maiden. Thus, the episode of the first death sets the stage for the appearance of the kachinas near the conclusion of the narrative.

Masau'u himself, the skeleton god who beckons the Hopi people to share his life in the upper world, is the Hopi deity of death. Masau'u is central to the myth, and he is sometimes reported to be the chief of all Pueblo deities (Tyler 1964:3–48; cf. Stephen 1929:55–7). Pictured as a skeleton with a mask that points both to living and deathly realms, he possesses mastery over war, fertility, fire, jokes and boundaries, as well as death. He stands at the entrance to the underworld, the land from which the people emerged, guarding its threshold and mediating between the living and the dead. As god of boundaries, he has the power to change anything into its opposite, making mockery of appearances and broadening Hopi consciousness regarding the possibilities in themselves and the world around them. In the course of the emergence myth the Hopi ancients follow his tracks to their promised land. "Hence," they say, "Death is our greatest father and master (God), for we followed his tracks from the exist of the cave worlds, and he was the only being that awaited us on the great world of waters where now is the world" (Cushing 1923:166).

Why were the Hopi ancients drawn to Skeleton's territory and to his leadership? Why should the god of death serve as their master? Hamilton Tyler suggests that,

Because his touch causes change the god has . . . taken on a broader attribute which is the important link between the forces of death and the forces of life. Masau'u has the power of causing all the metamorphoses of nature, a factor which sets him apart from many other Pueblo gods . . . [He] alone provides the vital elements which keep in motion the Hopi cosmic drama . . ." (Tyler 1964:14).

It is Skeleton's epiphany as god of death that makes him crucial both to the story and to the Hopis themselves. In his person the various episodes and lessons regarding death are epitomized. He reminds them, with his life of simple poverty, of the overabundance and overcrowding of human life in the underworld. As god of death he evokes the opposite of a Hopi's most prized value—fertility—showing that illicit and redundant fertility can result in great danger. He reminds the Hopis how it was in the underworld, overstuffed through adultery and other forms of rampant, misguided fertility, so that the people were covered with snot and spit and contagious diseases because of their tight quarters (Cushing 1923:163–4).

In addition, like the common American Indian myths of the origin of death (see Alexander 1964:115–20, 279–80, and Boas 1917), Masau'u, the spare, stark skeleton, shows that it would be worse if people lived forever, for the overcrowding they would bring on themselves and their fellow immortals. As well as the two-heart maiden, Masau'u helps the Hopis face death.

But he, like the myth itself, also masks the finality of death by pointing beyond death to an afterlife, an existence for the ghosts both in the world below and in the sky as clouds. He turns a deficit into a credit, creating more out of less, by implying how the greater number in the community will be served by the continuing dead, his helpers the kachinas. Like Masau'u, the pivotal scene of the dead child of the chief serves to defy and define the categories of life and death, demonstrating them to be mutually supporting. For a myth that turns on the axis of the first human death, Masau'u makes a fitting crucial character, and for the Hopis he makes a suitable central deity.

From the underworld emerged the various people familiar to the Hopis; they arose as a single group, and after emerging they shared in a common meal. Not only the different Hopi clans, but also their Indian neighbors (friends and enemies alike) and possibly the whites climbed the sacred ladders together. Despite later accreted differences in language, technology, staples and style, the myth portrays a kinship

more ranging than the Hopi tribe itself. Indeed, the myth emphasizes at this early point the greater connections of all humanity, the physical companionship symbolized by the shared feast, before the dispersal and migration.

However, during the course of the narrative, following the axial first death, the Hopis establish themselves as a distinct tribe, made up of the wandering clans who initially lived as one folk in the underworld. All people enjoy equally the effects of the first death, the creation of the sun and moon, and the agricultural innovations that precede dispersal; but the Hopis distinguish themselves through their choices of language, staple crop, peaceful poverty, ceremonial prowess, and eventual site for habitation.

The village chief holds his native tongue in such loving regard that he instructs Mocking Bird to teach all the non-Hopi other languages. The chief signals the Hopi identity first through its common and distinct means of verbal communication. The importance of language in this context is informative, since language is necessary for human culture to exist. Without the use of communication, the vital messages of a people cannot be transmitted, including the myths themselves (see Langer 1951 and Leach 1976). Since myth is a form of cultural communication which uses language as its medium, it is interesting that the myth points directly and proudly to the Hopi language as a special trait and prized reserve of the Hopi people. Through the episode of choosing a language, the myth defines the Hopis as a separate people from their related neighbors, set off by their common means of cultural communication.

The Hopis choose to accept death, and they choose a god of death as their guide. They choose for themselves their native tongue, and they choose a life of peaceful poverty, symbolized by the short ears of corn, their staple crop. Their choice of the corn takes place in a suitably Hopi way. Rather than pushing their way aggressively to demand certain ears of corn, they hold back and accept what is left them. They eschew the forceful acquisitiveness of the other Indians, and as a result they are rewarded with "real" corn, whereas the more aggressive people find themselves in possession of wheat and other seed grasses, that is, crops brought by whites to the New World. Through this episode, the myth further identifies the Hopis through their traditional food crop. The myth distinguishes the Hopis not only through their common language, but also through their common source of nourishment.

The short ears of corn, less grand but more consistently nourishing than the large ones, serve to represent the life of poverty that Masau'u describes to them through Motsni, when the people are still below.

The god warns that their chosen life with him will be hard, and the people accept the offer. Their chosen life is difficult, but it is a good life for them, and they are proud of it. They must sacrifice luxuries for the solidity of community existence in the desert, where rainfall averages about ten inches each year, where each drop of rain is a precious commodity to be hoarded by the group and channelled to its proper goal of fertilizing the corn (see Williams 1978:15–27). Through their choice of common poverty the Hopis further identify themselves as a tribe.

Finally, the Hopis establish themselves as a people, following their years of migratory search, in a common home, a chosen land, where they still live today. When they were in the underworld, the people knew of their eventual home through Motsni's mission to Masau'u. After arriving in the present world, it is their task to find the place of Masau'u, which will be their territory. Even though they find other locations, other fields for growing crops, other sources of water; even though they possess the ability during their travels to create magically the life-giving springs, the clans push on to their destined spot for settlement, where their community will coalesce. They seem irresistibly drawn in their variegated clan-forms to a single spot where their life should take place.

As they journey to their chosen land, they stop at various sites that are still remembered by name and ruin. The mention of these place-names serves to acquaint the Hopi audience with their world, reaffirming the Hopi claims to a territory larger than their immediate dwellings, and placing them in the milieu of their past events. The ancients who made the migration to their eventual homeland continue to manifest themselves through their ruins around Hopiland, and the ruins give visible credence to the accuracy of the narrative as a historical account of ancestral travels. Indeed, one researcher has shown that the Hopi migration legends find verification through archeological data, indicating that the Hopis did move, for example, to protective mesas as a means of defense (Fewkes 1900; cf. Fewkes 1893 and Mindeleff 1891). Since the myth aims to anchor the present Hopi life in the past, the manifest world in the unmanifest, the frequent mention of ancient place-names where visible ruins remain serves its purpose admirably.

Despite their commonality of emergence, language, food, customs, poverty, and eventually land, the Hopis are not thoroughly unified in the myth. Through the dramatic sequences—the exploration of the world above, the emergence, the crisis of the first death, the migratory search for their promised land—the leitmotif of strife and contention punctuates the narrative. The adulterous unions with their concomitant

jealousies; the separation of the Hopi people into clans, later to be reunited; the squabbling, fighting, and stealing that drives the clans up onto their defensive positions on the mesas; the contention for watery sites in present Hopiland; the existence of sorcerers in their midst—all of these factors illustrate the mythical awareness of disunity, just as the concluding references to intra-tribal factionalism reflect accurately the historical context in which the myth was narrated, when kinship was giving way to ideology and a struggle for power.

The myth points out that intra-tribal dissension has its roots in ancient Hopi tradition. The people may have emerged as a group, but they have never enjoyed perfect harmony as a tribal unit. The existence of the clans serves as a reminder of the separate clan histories within the larger Hopi whole, a fact further evidenced by the distinct clan myths of migration and the localization of clans within each Hopi village (Mindeleff 1900). The Hopi myth recognizes both the ideal of community oneness and the reality of long-lived Hopi disjunctions.

The myth records a series of factional episodes; other versions tell about the separations, not only of clans, but also of the sexes. One version relates how the women become dance-crazed so that they neglect their community duties. Following an argument with the complaining men, the sexes separate. After a long period of disunion, they can no longer stand the alienation, and they reunite (Cushing 1923:165; cf. Stephen 1929:3-4). In a sense, the episode mirrors the whole of the migration myth, in that it recalls a tribal split and eventual reintegration. It teaches that all Hopis—the various clans as well as the sexes—must work together in order for their life to flourish. Just as the beginning of the myth shows the dire effects of adultery and other forms of societal dysfunction, the episode of sexual separation indicates the foolishness of sexual disunity. It is interesting in this regard that the initial dysfunction results in an overabundance of fecundity, whereas the separation of the sexes results in an undermining of fecundity. Both point out the perversions of normal, social relations between the sexes that make up the community, and thereby guide the Hopis to a middle path.

The myth upholds the ideal of community cooperation, while recognizing the inherent discontents of society life. Freud (1962) was not the first person to see the interconnections between security, sexuality, and discontent in human society. Indeed, this issue seems to be a central concern of the Hopi myth of emergence. Even more than Freud, the myth seems to argue for the sacrifice of rampant individualism in exchange for the life-giving security of a community in union. The myth even suggests that real freedom—from economic peril brought by drought and fighting, jealousy and sorcery—can take

place only in a community of united kinsmen who are willing to forego the illusion of personal achievement for the more palpable benefit of the group. The myth is a declaration of dependence on the community.

In this regard, interesting work has been done on certain human communities which require cooperative work in order to control and regulate either scarce, unpredictable, or dangerous water sources. Called "waterworks" societies (Wittfogel and Goldfrank 1943:19–28), these communities tend toward cooperative forms of infrastructure, favoring a life of sharing to no life at all.

The Hopis fit this description. Their traditional life has depended on irrigation cooperation, working at the rivulets, springs, and arroyos, channeling the scarce water in order to fertilize their cornfields. Their communal cleaning of springs was a sacred societal ritual that required cooperation from all clans and both sexes (see Sekaquaptewa 1981:20–2, 40ff.). In the myth, the procurement of fertilizing water is a major concern during the migrations and in the choice of specific sites in the eventual Hopi homeland. Different clans are allocated water supplies sufficient for their needs, and each clan must recognize the others' claims if their society is to persist peacefully.

The concern for fertilizing water, and in fact of fertility in general, permeates both the myth and Hopi life itself. Fertility has been shown to be the focal morphological image in all of Pueblo—including Hopi—ceremonialism, a veritable obsession in dreams, myth, rituals, and technological organization (see Haeberlin 1916 and Titiev 1948:43). In the Hopi mind, fertility and community survival are synonymous.

The emergence itself is a symbolic representation of the crucial acts of fertility: gestation and birth (Matthews 1902). The people who climb their vegetal ladders from the earth into the air and seek sunlight and rain are akin to plants growing from the soil (Lévi-Strauss 1962:63–71). In a way, the myth equates the origin and growth of the Hopi people with the origin and growth of their foodstuffs, particularly corn. The proper fertility of one promotes the fertility of the other. Imbalance in one can bring about disease in the other. Thus, when adultery creates an illicit fertility, the rains and crops cease to supply the people with their requirements for nourishment. The misguided, maldirected fertility in the underworld indicates that fertility by itself is not an unmitigated blessing. Instead, human fertility must be organized and controlled, channelled like irrigated water for the life-promoting good of all.

Once in the upper world, the Hopi clans seek the most fertile, watery places, and create water through magical means. When they come to their promised land, each clan is permitted to settle only if it can demonstrate its rapport with the rain-bringing ancestors, the

kachinas, through their ceremonials that now mark the seasons of the Hopi year, the ceremonials that were first designated before the dispersion of the clans from the emergence place. In order to join the tribal community, each clan must show its willingness and ability to bring rain and fertility to the whole community.

The first and most vividly portrayed of these ceremonies is the Wuwuchim, a November ritual that welcomes the kachinas, the Hopi ancestors, into the villages of the living. At the Wuwuchim ceremony Hopi boys undergo initiation to the Hopi secret societies. The masked kachinas thrust them into the adult world of understanding and participation; at the same time, Masau'u serves as chief host to the dead. The first Wuwuchim ceremony causes not only a great downpour of rain, but also a reintegration of the living and the dead, with Masau'u—symbol of death and fertility—in the mediating role.

The parade of ceremonials, each under the direction of a certain clan, represents in effect the whole ceremonial year of the Hopis. In this way the myth validates the Hopi ceremonial calendar with its panoply of chiefs who received their powers after ascending from the womb of the earth. The clans, which were signs of Hopi factions during the migrations, become the effective building stones of Hopi society through their life-giving ceremonials.

The Hopi clans arrive slowly, one by one, and they need to be reincorporated into the fullness of Hopi life. Through the centuries they have maintained their traditional clan loyalties, but through the ceremonial system with its conjoining secret societies (whose membership cuts across clan ties), as well as through the emergence myth's message, they have worked for unity in theory and practice (see Bradfield 1973, and Williams 1978). The clans may historically have been different ethnic groups, but according to the message of solidarity explicit in the myth, and carried out through the ceremonials, they are all one people. They remember their separate histories, and they will not be ruled by one clan; they persist in factional disputes, but they are all Hopis, kernels on a single ear of corn.

The mythic narrative thus relates the dramatic episodes through which the Hopis—part of a primordial population beneath the earth's surface—becomes a community of people. The Hopis cross the threshold from lower to upper worlds, but more importantly, they cross the threshold from related but divided fellows, through separated, wandering clans, to reunited, reintegrated, tribal kinsmen (see Turner 1969 regarding the message of "community-separation-communitas"). As the Hopi people reunite at Oraibi and the other Hopi towns, they begin the community life that continues to the twentieth century, where it is once again threatened by the invasion of coercive whites.

These migrating clans were ultimately all the same people who separated at the emergence hole. They all came up the same reed from the same underground womb. They are all kinspeople. Yet they persist in squabbling; disunity seems part of their being. Thus, the myth recognizes a basic contradiction. The Hopis are all one people, closely related, and yet civil strife exists even in the most cooperative of communities. Therefore, the Hopis must be active in promoting their general welfare, their common weal, against the threat of factionalists and invaders. They must accept their life, and protect it, too.

But the myth does more than place the Hopi individuals and clans in a tribal context. In addition, it places the community in the setting of a nurturing, non-human environment, to which humans must be conjoined if they are to live. The myth classifies humans as social beings, certainly, but their society lives in relation with nature.

The myth opens with an edenic paradise in the earth, an underground womb from whence the Hopis emerge. It is more than poetic metaphor for the Hopis to refer to the earth as their mother who gave them birth and who continues to provide them with nurturing gifts. All the races of humanity were housed together in the earth's body, and thus they are co-related by the earth. Moreover, the people grow like plants from the soil, and are thereby equated with crops that they farm. The earth is mother of plants and animals, humans and non-humans.

When they emerge from the earth, the Hopis are not disassociated irrevocably from their mother. Instead, their kivas—called “wombs” by many of the Pueblos—and rituals tend to orient the people to the earth from which all life springs. The place of emergence, the sipapu—often said to be the Grand Canyon—is the gateway to the underworld, the Hopis' ground of being, where communication with the dead, Masau'u, and the other fertilizing agents of the earth is most possible. The fir tree and reed ladders symbolize the communication between the two worlds, an *axis mundi* in the Hopi world-view (see Eliade 1959:33–7, 44, 53–4ff., and Eliade 1970 throughout). In addition, each village has at least one manifestation of the sipapu and the earth womb—the partially underground kivas where the society gathers—climbing down ladders, retracing their steps into the womb—to celebrate the fertility of the earth and kachinas. Furthermore, all sorts of earthly orifices are types of sipapu, earth navels, which constantly remind the Hopis of their earthly origins (cf. Long 1963:42, Sproul 1972:63–76, 174, and Thompson 1945:540–2).

After emerging from the earth in the myth, the Hopis help to put the present world in order, creating the sun and moon and plants,

choosing a staple food, finding their home, and establishing a socio-religious organization whose primary goal is to foster fertility of the human and non-human community. Through the course of the myth, the Hopis take shape through their evolving environment, upon which they depend for subsistence.

Throughout the myth, when humans perform evil deeds, nature responds by delivering punishment on the people, either by undercutting the basis of fertility by withholding rain, or by overwhelming the clans with devastating floods. Thus, the myth demonstrates human dependence on nature and the consequences of offending the natural world through antisocial behavior.

In the end, the Hopis settle in their chosen land. They set into effective motion their ceremonial system. By so doing, they not only classify themselves historically through their various clan functions, but they also classify their world around them through an intricate, totemic web of associations. Their totemic system provides an emotional attachment to nature, incorporating their clan and ceremonial patterns—that is, their culture—into nature. They project themselves into nature and introject nature to themselves, using the mythic text as primary model. They take the material of the myth—the descriptions of clan origins and associations—and form it into an enduring institutional format, in which seasons and clans and ceremonies, animals and vegetation and colors, are all intertwined, cross-cutting clan allegiances like a spider's web to touch as many Hopis to one another and to their non-human environment as possible (see Bradfield 1973 and Williams 1978). All this the myth sets into motion for the benefit of the Hopi tribal community.

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