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# ORAIPI NATAL CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIES

BY

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THE STANLEY McCORMICK HOPI EXPEDITION

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CHICAGO, U. S. A.

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## NATAL CEREMONIES IN ORAIBI, ARIZONA.

In his paper entitled "Natal Ceremonies of the Hopi Indians," the late J. G. Owens describes the giving of a name or names to the Hopi child. His observations, however, seem to have been made chiefly in the villages of the First or East Mesa of Tusayan, and as the writer of this article has observed these same rites in Oraibi, the largest of the seven Hopi villages, it has been thought advisable to publish them as a contribution to a comparative study of this and similar subjects.

As among most primitive peoples, the time preceding and attending childbirth among the Hopi is attended with very much less preparations, excitement, ado, and expense than among white people. The woman approaching confinement is, as a rule, very unconcerned about it, though I am told that occasionally she will look forward to the event with more or less anxiety, and express the wish that it may not be the cause of her being transferred "to the skeleton house (máski.)"

Usually the first and only one called to the house where a woman is to be confined is her own mother, or, if the mother be no longer living, an aunt or some other relative. This attendant heats some water, sees that a proper "bed" is prepared for the lying-in woman, which usually consists of a layer of sand and some old rags. She also places in readiness an old tray, a small broom, and a little twig of juniper. Though she remains within hailing distance, even she is not supposed to be present during the last stage of labor, and when parturition actually takes place. So in the "hour of greatest need" the Hopi mother is left to herself. "That is sacred to her" ("Pam put káhkaona"), the Hopi say. As a rule, the parturient woman assumes a kneeling position with both hands on the floor, but the head somewhat raised. If there are children in the house they remain almost to the time when the child is actually born,\* but at that moment they are sent out of the house. The husband of the woman is, as a rule, absent.

As soon as the child is born, the attending woman is called. A little of the juniper is first chewed, either by the patient herself, or by the attendant, and in the latter case placed into the patient's mouth. She first directs her attention to the delivery of the placenta. Usually a little warm corn-meal gruel is given to the patient at this stage. If the womb

\*When I was in charge of a boarding-school among the Cheyenne and Arapaho some years ago, it happened on several occasions that people asked for permission to take their children home from school when a case of confinement was about to take place in the family.

fails to contract and to expel the placenta, she gently presses and kneads the body; if that fails she resorts to the little broom, already mentioned, which is made of fine stiff grass, and with which she strikes gently the hips and back of the patient. She at the same time gently pulls the cord. The woman during this time is usually in a recumbent position.

As soon as the placenta is delivered the patient usually is directed to sit down on a bent piece of wood called "childbirth seat" (tíhta aátsvehpi), so as to permit the blood to flow through the opening. In the absence of such a seat she places herself on the edge of a plain block of wood. When she is tired she lies down, and the attendant then directs her attention to the baby. A piece of the mother's hair string is first tied around the umbilical cord close to the body of the child. If it is a boy she is supposed to place an arrow shaft, or a piece of wood under the umbilical cord, and cut the cord on it. If it is a girl it

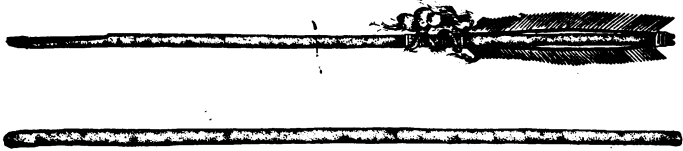


FIG. 1. Arrow with umbilical cord, and stirring stick.

is cut on a stirring stick, or a piece of wood representing such a stick.\* This part of the cord is later, when it is dried up and severed from the body, tied to the arrow shaft, stick, or piece of wood and thrust behind some joist of the house, "because the boy will later become a hunter, or have to carry the fire wood, and the girl stir the food in the kettle and grind corn." See Fig. 1.

The child is then wrapped up in a blanket and again left to itself, while the attendant places on an old tray the placenta, pads, sand from under the woman, and the little broom, and carries it all to one of the placenta hills (kiwúchochmo), of which there are several in close proximity to the village. She, or sometimes the father, if he be present, then places two posts against the house in front of the door, over which she spreads a blanket to exclude the sunlight, which is supposed to be harmful to the child if it should happen to shine on it during the first twenty days. See Fig. 2. Hereupon she places fresh sand or rags, or both, under the woman, and then calls the mother of the baby's father, whom we shall call the godmother. If this grandmother be no longer living, which is often the case, one of her sisters or other relatives is called,

\*Several of these sticks are used together for stirring corn that is being baked or popped in jars or kettles.

but she must be of the same clan as the father of the child. She brings with her a little water and corn-meal, a piece of yucca root, two white corn-ears, and some wrappings for the baby. She is supposed to be in a happy frame of mind when she comes over, and it is for that reason, it is said, everything uncanny is removed before she comes to the house, so that she sees the mother and child only. Of the latter she now takes charge. After having procured a bowl she prepares suds of the yucca root she has brought and washes the child in it, rubs either ashes or a peculiar clay, which is found near the village, all over its body, lays it on a cradle board, on which she has first placed some pieces of cedar bark, cloth, and blankets, wraps it up, ties a cord around it, and then places the little bundle by the mother's side. By the side of the little one's bed she places the two ears of corn, which remain there throughout the lying-in period of twenty days. She then takes a little finely ground corn-meal with which she rubs four lines, each about an inch wide, and from six to seven inches long, one above the other, on the four walls of the room, whereupon she resumes her seat, saying:

"Now thus I have made a house for you. Now thus you shall stay here. That you may (survive) until twenty days we shall be waiting for you." (Taá nu yan umúngem kita. Puu yántakat úma yep kátuni. Hisat umui súnatavikat ak ítam umúmii makápchiigungwni.) This little rite, however, is supposed to be performed early in the morning, "when the roosters crow." If this, to the Hopi more or less important, function on the part of the roosters has already been performed, the making of those marks on the walls is deferred until the next morning, and this day is not counted as one of the twenty days of the lying-in period.

These four lines on each wall are called "house." They are also made in nearly all Hopi secret ceremonies. The explanations as to their meaning are meager and unsatisfactory. Some say they represent the houses of the Hopi, and if so, they may be in a general way an offering or a prayer that they for whom they are made may always have a home — which in the case of a new-born child would seem very appropriate. I have also heard them called — in ceremonies — houses of the clouds, and an old priest once sang me a song which speaks in the different

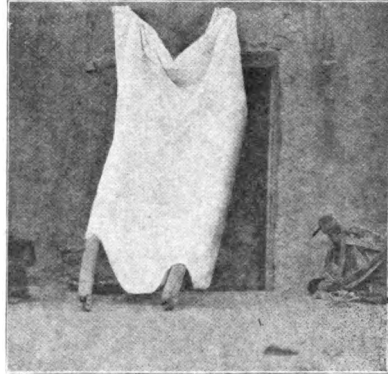


FIG. 2. Curtain over door.

stanzas about houses of stones or shells of the different ceremonial colors, and of different names.

After the godmother has made these lines, she repairs to her own house and gets some ears of corn, which are cooked with a few small twigs of juniper. This dish is called "lying-in cooked corn-ear" (tíhkatchoyani), and is eaten for breakfast. Any one is welcome to step in and partake of the meal; passers by and children outside are even invited to come in. The lying-in woman also eats of this, but she has usually partaken already of some crushed píki (paper bread) soaked in warm water. In fact, she is not allowed to eat or drink anything cold throughout the whole lying-in period. She is furthermore not allowed to eat any meat, or any food containing salt, and everything she eats must have been prepared, at least in some degree, with a decoction of juniper leaves.

This is about the way a case of childbirth among the Hopi passes off normally. Of course, the various cases may differ somewhat in non-essential points. The husband is sometimes present, and now and then also another woman besides the mother (or the substitute) of the parturient woman. But the cases do not always pass off normally. Cases of difficult and protracted labor are by no means rare among the Hopi. In those cases the husband is often present, and the assistance of others is called in. Recently a man, who is one of the most intelligent in the village, and who himself has a family of six children, told me that his wife was usually in labor several days, and that he would then remain with her and "work," as he called it, on her body, and thus "turn the child," and his remarks indicated that he had a fairly intelligent idea of different presentations of the child. In fact, they have of later years called upon his obstetrical skill in a number of cases that were very tedious, and, although he is very modest about his knowledge, and very reluctant in making practical use of it, he certainly seems to have managed several cases very successfully in his own way. In one instance the woman had been in labor for about two days and one night, and was totally exhausted. Her father and husband were lying and sitting by her side tired out, sleepy, and in despair. An Indian doctor from a neighboring village was at his wit's end. When my friend arrived, he ordered the husband of the lying-in woman to kneel on the floor, and also to place both hands on the floor. He then, with the help of the others, placed the woman across the back of her husband, but somewhat to one side, so that a downward pressure was applied to the woman's abdomen. He at the same time applied gentle pressure with his hands on both sides of the abdomen, and primitive and drastic as the measures resorted to appear, the child was expelled in a very

short time, and the woman's life saved. The child, however, was dead, but they believed it had been dead for some time. In another case the womb failed to expel the placenta. He also employed the so-called "Crady's method" of external manipulation, without being aware, to be sure, of the fact that at least that part of his obstetrical skill had long been sanctioned by such high authority, and for a long time had been taught in text-books and lectures on obstetrics. An old woman, acting in the capacity of a midwife, who was also present, gently pulled on the cord, for which purpose she had to partly introduce her hand, as the cord had been torn off inside of the external opening, and in a very short time the placenta was expelled.

Decoctions of all kinds are also resorted to in cases of protracted labor. One of the favorite herbs is weasel medicine (Piwánnga, *Linum rigidum* Pursh), a decoction of which is used externally and internally; because, they say, the weasel, when in danger of being captured, rapidly digs its way through the ground, and "comes out" at another place. For this reason the meat, fat, and where these cannot be obtained, even a piece of the skin of the weasel are favorite "medicines" in cases of difficult labor. Other favorite herbs, used for various purposes during the childbed period, are such as Votákvala (*Chrysothamnus gnaphalodes* Green), which is given especially if the uterus fails to contract properly, or a disturbance in the lochial discharges occur. The drug is given in the form of a decoction prepared from the leaves and roots of the plant. Hohóyaonga (*Hesquerella cinerea* Watson) is sometimes rubbed on the abdomen in case the uterus refuses to contract promptly after parturition. The roots of "blood medicine" (Úngvnga, *Eriogonum annuum* Nutt) are crushed and boiled, and the decoction given against postpartem hemorrhage. Táingwa (*Reverihonia arenaria* Gray) is given for the same purpose. "Bluebird blossom" (Chórzci, *Aster canescens viscosus* Nutt) is given, in the form of a decoction, to parturient women against almost any disorder. "Charm remedy" (Náapalnga, *Solidago pumila* Nutt) is considered to be a good remedy against pain in the breasts, and also for decreasing and even drying up the flow of milk in the breasts, from which it is also called "milk-throwing-away remedy" (Bítuwannga). It is cooked in connection with corn, from which it is also called "corn-cooked remedy" (Kaókwipnga). Women who have a scanty flow of milk chew the leaves of múha (*Hygodesmia juncea dianthaeflora*). For the same purpose "milk remedy" (Bínga, *Ptiloria pauciflora*) is employed in the form of a decoction, which is used internally and externally, or the roots are chewed and eaten by the patient, or chewed and then rubbed on the patient's breasts by the "doctor."

There are numerous other herbs and various leaves, preparations

of which are used by the women either before or after confinement. "Sun top" (*Tawáryanpi*, *Tetraneurois iresiana* Greene) is applied locally against severe pain in the hips and back, especially during the pregnant state. [A decoction of the leaves of various junipers (*Juniperus occidentalis* Hooker and *Juniperus communis* L.), as well as of "maidens" (*Mánatu*) is taken by women who desire to have female issue, while such plants as "boys" (*Lólimu*, *Townsendia strigosa* Gray) is used by those who desire male issue.

When explaining to me the nature and uses of "Big Maiden blossom" (*Wupámanci*, *Castilleja linearifolia* Benth) my friend and informant of the Hopi medical profession, once said that a decoction of this was also sometimes used against excessive menstrual discharges and to prevent conception, as it "dried up the menstrual flow," as he put it. Another informant, in speaking about Hopi drugs, mentioned two other herbs, both called "not child-bearing medicine" (*ka tíhta-nga*), as being used for the same purpose. One of them is said to be so strong that "it twists the uterus all up," causing the death of the woman. To prevent such a fatal result, the two herbs are used together for the purpose mentioned, one partly neutralizing the strength and severity of the other.

While, of course, by far the greater percentage of Hopi women pass safely through the puerperal state, cases are by no means wanting where their apprehension, that the dark days through which they are to pass might become for them the passage to the skeleton house becomes fearfully true. Only lately a man was here from another village, whose wife died recently of what I believe to have been puerperal fever. Other cases are known to me. Of one I learned—when help was too late—that the woman had died of what seems to have been puerperal eclampsia. One of the causes to which the Hopi attribute such fatal results is, that the patient has partaken of cold water or nourishment, which, they say, causes the blood in the uterus to coagulate, to produce distension of that organ, etc., and hence great care is taken that a lying-in woman shall take warm food and drink only.

During the twenty days comprising the lying-in period, the fire is not supposed to go out in the house where the patient is; of course it is not actually to burn all the time, but care must be taken that at least embers remain at the fireplace. In case it be entirely extinguished it is at once renewed, but that day is not counted as one of the twenty, and another one is added. In such a case the child is said to be a "fire meddler" (*tówúshkovi*). It is believed that it will have a morbid inclination to play with fire. This, it is claimed, will also be the case if anything be baked or roasted on the fire, or on the coal of the



fire itself. It is all right, however, to place and cook something *over* the fire.

A primipara is not allowed to leave the house before sundown during the entire puerperal period, while a multipara may do so occasionally after the fifth day. Neither is supposed to go barefooted during those twenty days.\*

The child is every morning bathed and rubbed in by the godmother with ashes or powder of the clay already mentioned, and is then fastened to its cradle board. Food of various kinds, but all prepared with cedar leaves, and some with salt or fat, is given to the patient every day, and everything must be warm, at least during the first part of the lying-in period, as already stated. On the fifth day after the child has been attended to, the woman's head is washed with yucca suds, and her body bathed with a hot infusion of juniper leaves, her clothes are then changed, her bed, pads, etc., removed, whereupon the attendant takes the soiled clothes to one of the distant springs where they are washed, some leaves of juniper also being used in the water. When the clothes are dry they are brought back and used as usual. On this day, after the bathing of the child and the mother, the lowermost of the four lines on the four walls is scraped off by the mother, or, if she be not well enough, by her mother or mother-in-law. She scrapes it into her hand, and going to the edge of the mesa she holds the meal to her lips, utters a little prayer, and sprinkles it to the rising sun. She says something like the following:

"Your beautiful rays may they color (illumine) our faces; being dyed in them, somewhere at an old age we shall fall asleep old women." Fall asleep an old man is substituted if the child be a boy. (Cónwak uh taláongway itámui pichángtoinaq, put itam pichángwáikahkang woyómik hákámí náwokiwinkang wúhtihaskuwuani. Wúhtakwuwani is substituted if the child be a boy.)

On the tenth and fifteenth mornings after the birth of the child, the head and entire body of the mother, as well as that of the child, is washed by the godmother the same as on the fifth day. The father of the child usually washes his own head also. On some occasions a twig of juniper is placed in a vessel on the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth days, some water poured on it, and a hot stone put into it. The mother then stands over this vessel, and thus is subjected to a steam-bath. She also washes her limbs and body with the liquid, whereupon the water, stone, and twig are carried to a special place outside of the vil-

\*As buckskin, and consequently also woman's moccasins, are beginning to get scarce, women who anticipate such a twenty days' "confinement," or their friends, frequently come to the mission and beg for a pair of stockings to be worn by them during that time.

lage. On the tenth day, the second, and on the fifteenth day the third of the meal lines on the four walls of the house is scraped off, and the meal carried out with the water to the same place outside of the village as that on the fifth day.

On the twentieth day, on which the child receives its name, more elaborate ceremonies take place in the lying-in house. Early in the morning of that day the same attendant—the mother-in-law of the lying-in woman, or her substitute, proceeds to the house of the patient, bringing with her some soap-weed root and some water. The mother of the lying-in woman, or her substitute, has in the mean while built



FIG. 3. Washing the child on the twentieth day.

a fire at one or several places in the house, and placed some water and the food to be used for breakfast thereon. The mother-in-law then prepares some suds of the yucca roots which she has brought. In these suds she washes the two ears of corn, which are usually white. Hereupon she washes the head of the lying-in woman, then her own; the mother's mother

then follows, and then the head and body of the child is washed by the father's mother. See Fig. 3. Sometimes the father and others also wash their own heads. After she has bathed the child, she holds it in her left arm, rubs a little meal on its forehead, cheeks, chin, and into its mouth, and then taking the two corn ears in her right hand she holds them on the breast of the child. See Fig. 4. While she does this she says: "To old age your life being preserved, may you become an old man (old woman), but N. N. you shall be named." (Woyómii uh kátci návokawintakang wúhtakwuwani (wúhtihaskiwuwani) ní kang N. N. yan um máchiwni.)

Other women have in the mean while come in, each one bringing with her a little water with which she also bathes the child's head and body, giving it a name in the same manner as the grandmother. The child thus receives as many as five, eight, ten, or even more names, only one of which usually "sticks" (húrzhti), as the Hopi say. Each new name is greeted by the mother with "Thanks!" (áskwali!) These women all belong to the same clan as the mother and child. Some leave as soon as they are through, others remain. Sometimes the

mother washes her feet, body, and arms while the child is being bathed. A branch of juniper is placed in the water, and usually also a hot stone. On one occasion the mother stood over the bowl containing the branch and stone, thus receiving, as it were, a steam-bath. On another occasion the stone and wet juniper twig were placed on the floor, and while the mother held her feet over them — first the one and then the other — they were washed by one of the aunts. In fact, this performance varies in small details on different occasions.

The water used for these baths is always tepid, and the wrappings of the child are warmed at the fire while it is subjected to a new bath. It often happens that when the little one has just gone to sleep in his warm coverings, a new aunt arrives, and it is taken out of its wrappings and subjected to a new bath and a new name, which may be repeated in a few minutes. When all the aunts have done their duty as described, the last of the four lines on the four walls of the room are scraped off either by the



FIG. 4. Holding the ears of corn to the breast of the child, and giving it its first name.

grandmother or by one of the aunts of the child. The meal, together with the water in which the mother has bathed herself, some sand on which the bowl had been placed to absorb any water that might be spilled, etc., is taken by one of the relatives to the place outside of the village on which the placenta, sand, tray, etc., were placed on the first day, as has already been recorded. On one occasion I noticed that a vessel containing some urine of the mother was also taken along, and I am told that this is done every day. The godmother and the mother of the child leave the house and go to the edge of the mesa east of the village, the godmother carrying the child, the two ears of corn, and both some sacred meal. In the case of a primapara, the young mother puts on her bridal moccasins and the larger of her two white bridal robes for this solemn occasion. Sometimes the mother carries the two ears of corn. At the edge of the mesa they turn their faces towards the rising sun. The grandmother, holding the child in her left arm, touches its breast with the two corn ears, and then waves them towards the rising sun. See Fig. 5. Turning

to the child she again says the little prayer, but now inserts all the names it has received. Hereupon she hands the child to the mother, who repeats the same performance. Both then hold their hands containing the meal to their lips, breathe a prayer over it, sprinkle it towards the rising sun, kiss the child, and then return to the house. Here the morning meal is now prepared and partaken of. First, those who have bathed the child and the members of the house eat. Then the grandmother on the mother's side goes through the houses and invites any one to come and share with them the morning meal. Sometimes it



FIG. 5. Mother of the child waving the ears of corn to the rising sun.

is even announced by the crier. Any food may from now be eaten by the mother, and a little meat and salty food are even given to the baby. The cover that carefully kept out the sunshine during the twenty days is not put up on this day, and everything in the house assumes normal conditions again.

The child is then rubbed all over the body with a mixture of tallow and *cáta* (a red ochre). This is later on repeated every few days for about a month, to clean the child's skin, the women say. On the fifth and tenth days after these rites, the woman once more washes the child's and her own head, but hers with cold water. In the case of a *primapara* this is done on the tenth and twentieth days. During these respective periods they are also supposed to observe the strictest continence.

While the manner of procedure during these ceremonies is essentially the same in the different families, it naturally varies in small details; for instance, where the grandmothers are no longer living, one of her relatives takes her place, or sometimes the mother washes her own head, sometimes it is done by her mother-in-law. Some details are also determined by the condition of the patient; but the rites are described as nearly as possible as they should be, and as they are performed under normal circumstances.

## A SPECIAL NAME-GIVING CEREMONY IN ORAIBI.

The foregoing account of the natal ceremonies is a compilation of notes and observations made at different times. Since the compilation was made, another name-giving ceremony was observed, and it was thought best to print the notes on that observation as they were made, instead of incorporating them in the foregoing general account. An opportunity is thus afforded to notice and study the successive stages of the rites in a particular ceremony, to note small variations, etc.

We came to the house where the ceremony was to take place at about four o'clock, and found the people still asleep. In about ten minutes the grandmother came in bringing with her a kettle of water and two white ears of corn. She soon commenced to make suds of yucca roots. She is the mother of the father of the baby and her name is Nuvayonsi. A few minutes later came in Qömáhepnöma,\* the sister of the former. Both belong to the Coyote clan.

As soon as the suds was ready the grandmother bathed the two corn-ears, rinsing them off with fresh water. Some water had, in the mean while, been heated, to which the grandmother added some suds. A good fire was by this time burning in an American stove. Another fire had been started in the fireplace in an adjoining room where a large vessel of water was boiling. A third fire was burning in the corner of the room where the ceremony took place. On this latter, the water for the ceremony was being heated.

After having bathed the two ears of corn, the grandmother washed the mother's head, which was repeated by Qöma. When both were through they poured some water over her head, rinsing it. The mother herself pressed the water from her hair. The bowl, containing the suds, was then placed near the stove, some fresh water being poured into another bowl; and in this water the arms and the shoulders of the mother were bathed. The water in the little pail, which was used for these purposes, had been heated, with a few sprigs of juniper in it. After the arms and the upper part of the body of the mother had been bathed, a little sand, which had been lying in the corner, was swept forward, a heated stone placed on it, and some yucca roots that had been used for the suds, as well as some of the juniper leaves, were placed on the stone. The mother then placed her right foot on these branches, and the grandmother washed it. The same was repeated with the left foot. The mother then got a tray on which the grandmother

\* Usually used in its abbreviated form Qöma.



placed the sand, juniper branches, and yucca leaves, sweeping everything up very thoroughly. The heated stone was also placed on this tray. Hereupon the grandmother took the same broom and swept the fourth corn-meal line, which still remained upon the wall, into her left hand, throwing the corn-meal also into the tray. The meal on a joist was then scraped off. A live ember from the fireplace in the corner was finally placed on the tray, then Qōma took the tray in her left arm, and the little pail of water, containing some more juniper sprigs, in her right hand, and carried these things to a "placenta pile" outside of the village. This pile is about one hundred yards north of the house. On this she threw the tray with its contents, pouring also the



FIG. 6. The baby sleeping during an interval between two baths.

water on it. The little tin-pail she brought back with her. Upon her return to the house the bowl with the suds was again brought forward, the baby taken out, and its head bathed by the grandmother. The child was entirely nude, and did not cry at all. After the grandmother was through bathing the child's head, Qōma took it and also washed its head. They held the child in their

left hand, back downward. The suds was then poured into another bowl, and fresh water poured into this bowl, with which the head of the child was rinsed. The water was again poured into the other bowl, and fresh water taken, and the face of the child received another washing. Hereupon the little one was placed into the bowl, and the entire body bathed by Qōma. She then handed it to the grandmother, who wrapped it up in a blanket, which the mother had in the mean while warmed by the fire. The child at once went to sleep. See Fig. 6.

A third woman came in, who was the sister of the father of the child. She also bathed the child's entire body, the child by this time having something to say about the matter.

The three women who had come in by this time belonged to the Coyote clan, the clan of the father.

When the third woman was through, the child was again wrapped

up in the blanket and held by the grandmother, who rubbed its face and body with corn-meal.\* The step-sister of the baby carried out the water. The child was here nursed by the mother. Another woman came in with a little water and also bathed the child. The mother, in the mean while, warmed a blanket, in which the child was placed again as soon as it was bathed, whereupon the mother re-assumed the nursing of the child. No one else coming in, the grandmother took the child in her left arm, picked up the two corn-ears with her right hand, waved them forward over the chest of the child, expressed the usual good wish, and gave the child a name. The same thing was repeated by the other three women in the sequence in which they happened to be sitting.

The first name given the child was "Little-Fox" (Sikáhtayhoya); the second, "Gray-In-a-Line" (Qöyáwishtiwa); the third, "Beautiful-Brought" (Lomámakiwa), referring to a pretty fox skin which is imagined to have been brought by some one; the fourth, "Remembered" (Ūuna), referring to the fact that the Coyote sometimes happens to think about some food that he has run across, or buried somewhere; the fifth, "Waving [Fire]" (Yoshámna), referring to the belief of the Hopis that the "Skeleton" goes round during the night, occasionally swinging or waving a spark of fire. The reason why this name refers to the Skeleton clan, though the name-giver properly belongs to the Coyote clan, is that these clans are related to each other. Another interval took place, in which the grandmother held the child, calling it by the name she had given it, and playing with it. By and by a sixth woman, an old grandmother, came in. She is probably the oldest of the Coyote clan, and the members of that clan call her their Cóa (old woman, ancestor, etc.). She gave it the name of "Juniper-Nodule" (Hóplö, from hópölo), referring probably to the berries, but sometimes also to nodules growing over places where branches or twigs have broken off. Finally a seventh woman bathed it, and gave it the name Homíhepnöma.† She handed the child to the grandmother again, who rubbed its face with a little corn-meal, which, by the way, she did after each bathing.

By this time all the women, except the grandmother, left.

The step-sister of the little baby was grinding a handful of corn-meal, which she brought in and placed in a bowl, from which the grandmother had been using corn-meal.

At a quarter to six the mother and grandmother got ready for the

\*During the twenty days preceding, little girl babies are sometimes rubbed with a kind of clay called "baby ashes" (tipóshqötcvo), which is said to be of a pinkish color.

† For further information on Hopi names, their meaning, etc., see "Hopi Proper Names," by H. R. Voth. Anth. Ser., Vol. VI. No. 3.

morning offering to the sun. The grandmother already had the child on her back, and was ready to start, when another woman came in to bathe the child. She complained that she had not gotten awake in time. So the child was taken out of its wrappings and received an eighth bath. This woman was Lomanan-Kwusha's wife. She gave the child the name of "Well-Caught" (Lomávikta), referring to chasing and capturing a fox. The grandmother and the mother then again made ready for the morning offering, the grandmother taking the child on her back, the mother the two corn-ears, and both a little pinch of corn-meal.



FIG. 7. Offering sacred meal to the rising sun.

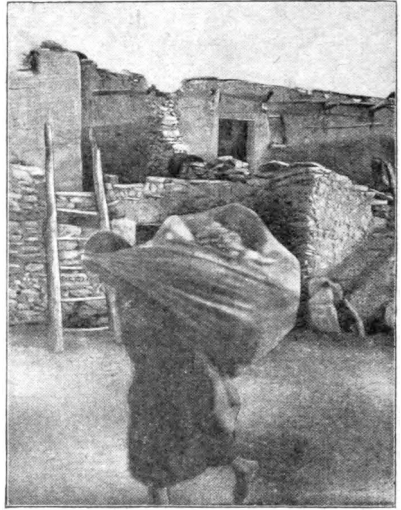


FIG. 8. Grandmother carrying home food.

They proceeded to the edge of the mesa, southeast of the village, where the main trail leaves the mesa. Here the mother took the blanket from the grandmother's back, and assisted the latter in taking the child in her arms. Holding the child in her right arm, the grandmother breathed a silent prayer on the meal which she held in her right hand. See Fig. 7. Rubbing a small quantity of it on and between the lips of the baby, she threw the rest towards the rising sun. She then sucked the meal from the child's lips, and spurted it towards the east, which she did four times in all. Hereupon she took the two ears of corn from the mother, extended them towards the east, and with a circular motion towards the left brought them to the baby's chest. This she did four times also. As she went through this performance, she repeated the different names which the child had received. Finally, she expressed a good wish for the child,



whereupon she placed the baby on her back again, the mother taking the corn-ears, and both returned to the house. The mother, it seems, dispensed with going through the same rites, as is usually done on these occasions.

While they attended to this performance, the father of the child prepared some suds, whereupon he also washed his head. A sumptuous morning meal followed, in which a number of the relatives of the family participated.

After this morning meal the grandmother is usually given a considerable quantity of food, principally piki, which she wraps up in a blanket and takes home with her. See Fig. 8.