

An Examination of *Hopimomngwit*: Hopi Leadership

by

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ABSTRACT

The Hopi people have the distinct term *mongwi* applied to a person who is charged with leadership of a group. According to Hopi oral history and some contemporary Hopi thought, a *mongwi* (leader) or group of *momngwit* (leaders), gain their foremost positions in Hopi society after being recognizably able to fulfill numerous qualifications linked to their respective clan identity, ceremonial initiation, and personal conduct. Numerous occurrences related to the Hopis historical experiences have rendered a substantial record of what are considered the qualifications of a Hopi leader. This thesis is an extensive examination of the language used and the context wherein Hopi people express leadership qualities in the written and documentary record.

DEDICATION

To my maternal grandmothers, Vivian Kopelva and Lorraine Matuck, and my paternal grandparents, Eugene Kaye and Joleen Kaye, whose teachings and loving support have provided me strength in all things I do. Also dedicated to my parents, siblings, Kaye family and *Isngyam* family. Thank you all for always being there for me!

Kwakwhá!

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

When my ancestral leaders met the powerful personage called *Màasaw*¹, he established for our people, who we were always meant to be. *Hopiit* (good people) continually striving to maintain *hopiqatsi* (a good life). Our forebears had just escaped *kooyanisqatsi* (a corrupt existence) and they were *qatsihepnumya* (seeking a new way of life). Since the time of the Hopis Creation, this act of spiritual recommencement had occurred three times before. This time, our fourth time, we committed ourselves once again to resume *hopivötskwani* (the Hopi lifeway), which became a premier stipulation for inhabiting our beautiful and final Fourth World.

In each stage of the preceding three mortal epochs there were those among us who were appointed to lead. When the people, who became known as Hopi, ascended into this Fourth World they were following *wimmomngwit* (religious leaders) and when separate groups of our people set-off to migrate across the Americas, we followed our *wukw'a'yam* (clan leaders), and when we came seeking permanent settlement at our current Hopi territory, we again recognized and requested permission from a *kikmongwi* (village leader). Leaders and leadership have always been a core part of the Hopi people.

The Hopi people today still occupy the region where we were lead to and ultimately received permission from past leaders to settle there. Most recently our oral histories of extensive migration and long-established settlement upon Black Mesa on the

¹ *Màasaw* is described as “a spirit being, lord of the Fourth world, god of life and death; totem of the Kookop clan.” The Hopi Dictionary Project, comp., *Hopi Dictionary Hopiikwalavàytutuveni: A Hopi-English Dictionary of the Third-Mesa Dialect* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona, 1998), 219.

Colorado Plateau in Arizona continue to be affirmed by archeological data, thus giving *Hopiit* (the Hopi people) the distinction of having the longest authenticated history of occupancy of a single area in the United States.² Hopi villages span across a landscape atop what are respectively called First Mesa, Second Mesa and Third Mesa. The Hopi people speak mutually intelligible but distinct dialects of the Hopi language that are roughly divided along affiliation with the aforementioned Mesas. Approximately fifty miles west of the village of *Orayvi* is the Third Mesa district community called *Mùnqapi*. Although not technically on a mesa, the *Mùnqapi* region has long been recognized as an original province of *Orayvi*, speaks *Orayeplavayi* (the Third Mesa dialect) and is thus considered a Third Mesa settlement. The *Mùnqapi* area is divided into two recognized villages: Lower *Mùnqapi* and Upper *Mùnqapi*. *Mùnqapi* is where I was raised.

My earliest conceptions concerning Hopi leadership were informed by the unique characteristics I observed about my home community of *Mùnqapi*. Among the earliest understandings I grasped about village political ideology and leadership had to do with issues involving the legitimation of Hopi tribal governmental authority over villages. Members of my maternal village of Lower *Mùnqapi* taught me early on that we were an affiliate of the village of *Orayvi* and as such, both villages maintained a conservative outlook about preserving customary Hopi village autonomy. This outlook expressed by these two villages' as non-acceptance of what each considered intrusive and possibly destructive non-Hopi influences, namely the Hopi Tribal Council and indoor plumbing

² Inter Tribal Council of Arizona et.al., *The State of Indian Country* (Arizona Board of Regents 2013). This distinction is in comparison with other American Indian tribes in the United States. *The State of Indian Country* states that this distinction stems from "The Hopi's continual occupancy of [the] northern Arizona area since 500 A.D."

and electricity. This position stood in stark contrast to my paternal village of Upper *Mùnqapi*, which demonstrated a type of Hopi progressivism by being an early supporter of the Hopi Tribal Council, establishing their own village constitutional government and having a non-traditional village layout oriented around paved roads flanked by homes replete with modern utilities.

I eventually learned that the political and public orientations present in my home community were but a microcosm of the ideological negotiations that persists in all modern day Hopi villages. These negotiations were initiated and continue to be discussed by individuals whom our people regard as their leaders: Who becomes recognized as a *mongwi* (leader) in Hopi thought and why?

Statement of the Problem

The Hopi canon is considerable; archival material examined for this study dates as far back as the early nineteenth century. In recognition of this, I set out to wade through as much literature on the Hopi people as I possibly could and deliver examples found within the documentary record that helps to shed a greater light on our understanding of *Hopimomngwit* (Hopi leaders). As an active speaker and learner of our Hopi language, I believe an authentic understanding of Hopi leadership is imbued with profound cultural teachings found only in the Hopi language—spoken and written. These important teachings bear themselves when one analyzes the type of Hopi language used to convey principles of Hopi leadership. Thus another objective was to find and extend Hopi language material that bore relevance to the topic of Hopi leadership.

While in carrying out this research, I came to realize that in presenting the Hopi language in its written form I am privileging the Hopi orthography as developed by the

Hopi Dictionary Hopìkwalavàytutuveni.³ Language loss has been a serious issue confronting Indigenous peoples worldwide, including the Hopi people whose worldview and life ways are intertwined with both practical and spiritual concerns through the Hopi language. As expressed by former Chairman Abbott Sekaquaptewa in 1980, “One of the biggest problems confronting Hopis in contemporary life is loss of language. Because knowledge of language is necessary to understand the history, the traditions, and the religious concepts of the people, the situation has become very critical.”⁴

In the act of including Hopi writings in this thesis I join a score of concerned American Indian Studies and other scholars who contemplate ways in which they can contribute toward efforts that thwart language loss. Seminole AIS scholar Susan Miller asserts that, “At the heart of the Indigenous decolonization movement is a desperate effort to bring back tribal languages. . . . Ultimate decolonization would involve the production of tribal literatures, including historiography, in tribal languages.”⁵

Traditional Hopi leaders of the past and present all must possess command of the Hopi language in order to execute the responsibilities of their respective offices. This tenet of Hopi leadership was not lost with the introduction of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which aimed to federate all Hopi villages under a central governing authority. Even now the requisite to possess fluency in the Hopi language for leaders of

³ Hopi Dictionary Project, *Hopi Dictionary Hopìkwalavàytutuveni*.

⁴ Abbott Sekaquaptewa, “The Hopi Nation in 1980,” in *Hopi Nation: Essays on Indigenous Art, Culture, History, and Law*, ed. Edna Glenn, John R. Wunder, Willard Hughes Rollings, and C.L. Martin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 31.

⁵ Susan Miller, “Native America Writes Back: The Origin of the Indigenous Paradigm in Historiography,” in *Native Historians Write Back: Decolonizing American Indian History*, ed. Susan Miller and James Riding In (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2011), 15.

the Hopi Tribal Council is still in effect. Article 4, section 9, of the Hopi Constitution, states, “The Chairman and Vice Chairman shall...speak the Hopi language fluently.” Thus, it is evident that dimensions of Hopi tradition continue to resonate and be a powerful influence in the lives of contemporary Hopis. It is highly possible that some of these concerns stem not so much from written records of Hopi culture and language but from Hopi oral teachings regarding attentiveness to the maintenance of the Hopi language.

Growing up in *Mùmqapi* I heard a repeated prognosis related to Hopi language loss. A time will come, it is said, when we will be separated as a people by our ability or inability to speak the Hopi language. Those who speak Hopi will be recognized as Hopi whereas those who do not speak Hopi will be alienated from identifying themselves as legitimate Hopi members. One version of this foretelling falls along these lines:

Our old people talk about the day we will all be judged by the Ah’alt⁶
(Two horns). We will all be lined up in a single file.

Then we will be pulled one by one to be judged. The head priest will grab a hold of our hair and pull us toward him.

Then he will ask us: ‘Are you a Hopi?’

We will nod our heads indicating that we are.

Then he will say to us: “If you are a Hopi, then speak to me in Hopi!”

If we know how, we will speak to the priest in Hopi. He will lead those who can speak Hopi to one side. Those who cannot speak Hopi he will put on the other side of him. This is how he will judge and divide us.

⁶ *Aa’alt*

Now those people who can speak Hopi will earn a right to stay here on our land for awhile (sic) longer.

Those who cannot will be told to seek places to live elsewhere.⁷

Still another aspect of this Hopi language test is said to occur when our mortal lives have ended and we come to a determining point on our individual journeys to the spirit world. In 2008 Sheilah Nicholas records a Hopi elder recount:

*“Kurpi itàanavotinoqw itam naat yangq it qatsit angqw haqamiwat hoyta. Itam yep mongvastote naat haqamiyani. Naat ita[m] pangsowatyaqw, pep hak itamuy himu’ytaqw pam naat itamumi hin hepni yawi. ‘Um lavayit, Hopilavayit tuuqayte’ pu’ um pan hu’wani.’ ‘Owi, nu Hopi.’ I’ naap nàaqay’ytanini. Pay kur um Hopi, um yukwatni.”*⁸

According to our beliefs, it is said that we are still going along this life path moving toward some place [the spirit world]. When we have completed our earthly task here, we will continue on to another place.

When we reach that place [the gateway], there someone or something [a greater power/guardian] will ask each of us to identify ourselves [test us], it is said. If you have learned the Hopi language, then you will be able to answer, ‘Yes, I am Hopi.’ [This gatekeeper] will be wearing a strand of

⁷ Hans-Ulrich Sanner, “‘Another Home Run for the Black Sox’: Humor and Creativity in Hopi Ritual Clown Songs,” in *Voices in Native American Literary Criticism*, ed. Arnold Krupat (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 167-68.

⁸ Sheilah E. Nichols, “Becoming ‘Fully’ Hopi: The Role of the Hopi Language in the Contemporary Lives of Hopi Youth - A Hopi Case Study of Language Shift and Vitality” (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2008), 268.

turquoise as earrings [as a mark of identity]. ‘It must be that you are Hopi, [this guardian will answer]; you will go here [in this direction prepared for the Hopi people].’⁹

Yet the ultimate urging in this ubiquitous story is found in the succinct statement that: “[S]omeone will come before the Hopi people and ask them individually one by one, if they in fact have placed enough value on the Hopi language to speak it.”¹⁰ The focus in the preceding statement by a Hopi male is in urging the Hopi people to actually *speak* the language. The importance of daily speaking in the household in which I was raised is precisely what allowed me to gain my own speaking ability. This ability later enabled me to comprehend the Hopi language in its written form. There is a distinction between first language learners, learners who usually acquire the language from daily oral interaction, and those learners who gain their language ability through literacy. Contemporarily, an added task for Hopi communities is to unite the oral and written means of Hopi communication. This approach could serve as a useful tool in the effort to mitigate our language loss.

Since I find that my own speaking ability was greatly helped through gaining literacy in the Hopi language, I consciously include Hopi terms and idioms whenever my writing is focused on Hopi subject matters. Of course, my own and other Hopi members’ ability to gain literacy in the Hopi language is hampered by the dearth of Hopi literature

⁹ Ibid., 268.

¹⁰ Ritva Levo-Henriksson, *Media and Ethnic Identity: Hopi Views on Media, Identity, and Communication* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 62.

presently available. This thesis is also a work that aspires to add to this literary area of need.

Sustained beliefs for the importance of and concern over the state of the Hopi language continues to be professed with an eye toward the future. As former Hopi Chairman Leroy Shingoitewa stated in 2006, “A related issue that will also become more pressing down the road is our continued ability to engage in our culture. In order to perform religious ceremonies you need to know the Hopi language. This is another factor that is finding its way into our discussions as we revise the constitution.”¹¹ It is clear that this deep concern regarding the future of the Hopi language compelled several individual Hopis to work toward establishing an orthography that could be utilized by the Hopi people. For me at least, the challenges of combating Hopi language loss and the concerns expressed by those who compiled an acceptable Hopi orthography provide substantial reason to utilize the Hopi orthography developed by the Hopi Dictionary Project.

It is quite telling that the Hopi Dictionary’s introductory remarks provides a brief comment regarding to the Hopis’ struggle to address Hopi language retention through the utilization of a standardized Hopi orthography. Its introductory passage, written entirely in Hopi by the authors, state:

***“Niikyangw haqam pumuy Hopilavayit tutuqaynayaniqat, pu’
hákimyaniqat, pu’ hinyaniqat hapi aw naat qa sun wuwni.”***¹²

¹¹ Leroy Shingoitewa, “Chair, Hopi Tribe Constitutional Reform Committee,” in *American Indian Constitutional Reform and the Rebuilding of Native Nations*, ed. Eric D. Lemont (Austin: University of Texas, 2006), 177.

¹² *Hopi Dictionary Hopiikwalavàytutuveni*, xii.

However, where they [should] teach the Hopi language, along with whom [will teach it], and how [the language will be taught] has not yet [provided] like-mindedness.¹³

In 2007, while serving as Vice Chairman of the Hopi Tribe, Wayne Taylor Jr. noted how changing times requires the taking of more proactive measures in matters of Hopi language retention, stating, “[T]he mood used to be that the language and culture do not belong in the schools. They belong in the homes, they belong in the kiva.”¹⁴ Implicit in Taylor’s message is the unfortunate condition of these traditional places losing capacity for the Hopi language to be transmitted to the younger generation and the Hopis gradual acceptance of the Hopi language to be taught in non-traditional settings and forms. With the advent of the Hopi orthography and a wider support for its usage, I provide Hopi writings as a matter of resolve and support for this added approach toward Hopi language learning.

As early as 1983 when the development of a Hopi orthography was in its early stages, eminent Hopi language scholar Emory Sekaquaptewa implored, “Much work has been done toward developing an orthography for the writing of the Hopi language, which now is used by both non-Hopi linguists and native speakers of Hopi... Any literature of a particular cultural domain should be a literature for the people of that culture, as well as for other people.”¹⁵ I accept Sekaquaptewa’s appeal to provide more writing in the Hopi language with the added buttress of my academic framework being rooted in the AIS

¹³ Author’s translation

¹⁴ Levo-Henriksson, *Media and Ethnic Identity*, 62.

¹⁵ Emory Sekaquaptewa, “Hopi Voices: Recollections, Traditions, and Narratives of the Hopi Indians,” (Book Review), *Arizona and the West* 25, no.3 (Autumn 1983): 288.

paradigm, which tasks researchers to “privilege oral history and traditional knowledge.”¹⁶

The innumerable attached meanings that are revealed when describing Hopi leaders and their actions in the Hopi language is impressive. And although I am not an expert speaker of the Hopi language and do not possess any formal linguist training, I set out in this thesis to convey important Hopi views on Hopi leadership as best as I possibly can, in both the English and Hopi languages. In doing so I find that an ultimate objective for the Hopi people in this type of work is so that:

Itam itaahopinvoitit ahoy naptotini (We shall reclaim our Hopi knowledge).

Literature Review

The Hopi people have been a popular subject of study for anthropologists and ethnologists since the late nineteenth century.¹⁷ The pervasiveness of this research encouraged anthropologist Peter Whiteley to write, “Anthropology practically begins at Hopi and Hopi is substantially represented, both descriptively and analytically, in virtually every theoretical paradigm since Morganian evolutionism.”¹⁸ Since the existing literature on the Hopi people shows a great deal of variety, background information concerning Hopi *momngwit* (leaders) appears in a diverse range of literary sources.

Much of the literature by non-Hopis pertains to the Hopi history and culture with varying degrees of information about Hopi *momngwit* (leaders). These studies agree that traditional Hopi leadership is inseparable from Hopi religious practices. As early as 1901,

¹⁶ James Riding In, “Editors Commentary: An American Indian Studies Paradigm Statement,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 26 (Fall 2011): 7.

¹⁷ Lomayumptewa C. Ishii, “Hopi Culture and a Matter of Representation,” in *Native Historians Write Back: Decolonizing American Indian History*, ed. Susan Miller and James Riding In (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2011), 52.

¹⁸ Peter M. Whiteley, *Rethinking Hopi Ethnography* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998), 7.

missionary and ethnographer H.R. Voth published detailed accounts of Hopi ceremonies with an early glossary of Hopi words. It contains common phrases and ceremonial speeches often spoken by Hopi people during their religious observances. Typical descriptions of Hopi ceremonial traditions include a brief introduction of the *momngwit* (leaders) involved in the ceremony's planning and execution. For example, Voth's account of the Hopi *Powamuya* ceremony begins with, "The ceremony herein described is celebrated under the direction of the chief priest of the Powamu fraternity [*Powamuymongwi*] who is assisted by the Katsina chief [*Katsinmongwi*]." ¹⁹ The *momngwit* (leaders) described here are the *Powamuymongwi* and the *Katsinmongwi*; both of which could be inclusively labeled *wimmomngwit*²⁰ (ceremonial chiefs). Yet other forms of Hopi literary documentation provides insight into "the most important of a series of formally instituted offices";²¹ that of the Hopi *Kikmongwi* (village chief).

Recorded as Hopi mythology, Hopi Emergence narratives provide a primordial Hopi glimpse at the roles and responsibilities of the *Kikmongwi* and his *mongnanasngwam* (fellow chiefs). According to Hopi belief, three worlds of life preceded humanity's current existence, each of these early worlds being destroyed when reaching the apex of moral decay. In his 1929 *Hopi Tales*, Alexander Stephen mentions a *Kikmongwi* (village chief), *Qaleetaqmongwi* (war chief) and interestingly a "*moñwi*

¹⁹ H.R. Voth, *The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony*, (Chicago: Field Columbian Museum, 1901), 71.

²⁰ "*Wim-* is from *wimi*, meaning, roughly, 'religious practices'". Peter Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture Through the Oraibi Split*, (Tucson, University of Arizona, 1988), 319.

²¹ Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, (1988), 66.

*wuhti*²² (woman chief) as being existent during the Hopi people's genesis into the present earthly (fourth) world.²³

Whiteley noted the discrepancy between the former *Orayvi* village chief *Tawakwaptiwa* and his rival *Yukiwma* (who would eventually found the village of *Hotvela*) renderings of offices charged with village leadership. *Tawakwaptiwa* provides officers from the *Soyalangw* ceremony versus *Yukiwma*'s rendering of ceremonial heads (including the head in *Soyalangw*) collectively called *wimmomngwit*. Nonetheless it is recognized that the positions of *Kikmongwi* (village chief) and *Qaletaqmongwi* (chief of defense) are consistently present in any renderings of Hopi leadership offices. Thus Whiteley concludes that, "A useful analogy to the complementary roles of *Kikmongwi* and *Qaletaqmongwi* may be drawn from ceremonies having both a *mongwi* (chief-priest) and a *qaleetaqa* (guardian)."²⁴ This type of observation reveals that responsibilities undertaken in the role of a *mongwi* (leader) in Hopi society bear consistent similarities and expectations. Accordingly, despite differing contexts where the term *mongwi* (leader) is applied to persons, the traditional responsibilities attached to a *mongwi* (leader) or *momngwit* (leaders) remains the same.

Scholarly probing of Hopi storytelling traditions reveals the position and role of Hopi *momngwit* (chiefs). Stories recorded by Ekkehart Malotki provide a rich source of

²² This is an unusual attempt by Stephen to provide the label "woman chief" by utilizing *mongwi* (chief) and *wuuti* (female). Conjugating *mongwi* and *wuuti* would provide *mongwuuti* but this is an erroneous conjugation and this term does not exist in the Hopi language.

²³ Alexander M. Stephen, "Hopi Tales," *The Journal of American Folklore* 42 (Jan.-Mar., 1929): 4.

²⁴ Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, (1988), 67.

information for an understanding of the idealized role of a *mongwi* (chief) as presented in the Hopi storytelling (*tutuwutslawu*) tradition. In these stories the *Kikmongwi* (village chief) often withstands the temptations that had overcome his fellow villagers. Yet in other instances, the *Kikmongwi* (village chief) enlisted the aid of supernatural beings to punish his wayward villagers who shunned the principles of *hopivötskwani* (the Hopi lifeway). Finally, these *tutuwutsi* (stories) divulge the suspicious attitude Hopis held toward those individuals with extraordinary abilities. As Malotki has stated himself, “Of the hundreds of narratives I have recorded in the field, dozens feature the sinister machinations and misdeeds of witches.”²⁵ This Hopi attitude pertains to the accountability of power-holders to their people and the cautious relationship they have with power in general, which they believe could easily be corrupted by negative usage. Thus it was not uncommon for even a *mongwi* (leader) to be accused of being a witch (*powaqsasvi*).

Yet, as noted, religious precepts permeate Hopi society. Voth and other scholars have concluded that Hopi society operates under a theocracy. However, Hopi leadership and governance demonstrates a multi-layered interconnected existence that includes prerequisite qualifications for traditional Hopi leadership (*mongqeni*) involving an amalgam of gerontocratic, religious, social, and political concerns.

It is true that a majority of scholarship involving Hopi leadership has largely been written against the backdrop of studies concentrating on historical events particularly consequential to the Hopi politico-religious order. Scholars have been particularly

²⁵ Ekkehart Malotki, *Hopi Ruin Legends: Kiqötutuwutsi*, (Lincoln, University of Nebraska, 1994), 150.

interested in Hopi factionalism that developed as a result of the 1906 *Orayvi* Split and the 1936 adoption of the Hopi Constitution and By-Laws, both of which are discussed in Chapter 5.

Thus, this body of literature provides a discursive commentary on the role, behavior and ideation of the Hopi *mongwi* (leader) without specifically working to collate past research documented in the Hopi language. Filling this void in the literature is a primary intent of my thesis. For contemporary Hopi people, the Hopi literary archive represents a unique opportunity for Hopi students to research, understand and reclaim the qualities of Hopi leadership, among other topics.

Methodology

This thesis is about Hopi leadership from an insider's perspective. It examines published and documented Hopi statements relevant to the study of Hopi leadership concepts. It focuses on specific references in Hopi expressions and Hopi terminology utilized by the Hopi people to describe the origin, role, conduct and transformations of the Hopi *mongwi* (sg.)/*momngwit*(pl.). Because non-Hopi anthropologists have produced most of these writings, the Hopi people have criticized this body of literature as being too revealing, unethical, and irreverent to the Hopi peoples' principles of respecting esoteric knowledge. As non-Hopi/Native anthropologists who have been employed by the Hopi Tribe note, "While recognizing the value of some of this research, many Hopi feel that much of that research was conducted under false pretenses for the personal gain of non-Indian scholars who benefit financially and professionally from the publications they

write.”²⁶ Indeed, these questionable research practices induced Hopi scholar Lomayumptewa Iishi to characterize late nineteenth-century scholarship as lacking “Hopi intellectual authority” and therefore, Iishi argues, “there is no real Hopi history, only a contrived rendition of Anglophone recursive ideation about each author’s own intellectual and academic authority.”²⁷

However, factors such as language loss and cultural erosion have encouraged Hopis to embrace non-Hopi methods of collecting and sharing information about Hopis in past and present settings. In fact, some Hopis consider it a privilege to work side-by-side with curious academicians. Those experiences induced them to consider publishing works about Hopi subject matters as valuable documents to the Hopi people. As Leigh Jenkins Kuwanwisiwma shares in his forward to Whiteley’s *Bacavi*, “In the process of this work I also learned much about our past and ultimately concluded that written documentation is of the essence to preserve historical events for posterity.” More recently, the Hopi people themselves have begun to develop what may be called the Hopi literary canon through their own scholarship and independent publications.

The information contained in this thesis comes from various sources. A majority of published primary and secondary materials cited in this thesis was obtained from the Arizona State University (ASU) library system. ASU Inter-library loan services enabled me to acquire a dissertation from the University of Arizona. I also, made several visits to Northern Arizona University’s Special Collections to review Hopi materials archived

²⁶ Kurt E. Dongoske, T J Ferguson, and Micheal Yeatts, “Ethics of Field Research for the Hopi Tribe,” *Anthropology News* 35 (January 1994): 56.

²⁷ Lomayumptewa C. Ishii, “Hopi Culture and a Matter of Representation,” in *Native Historians Write Back: Decolonizing American Indian History*, ed. Susan Miller and James Riding In (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2011), 52.

there. Additional sources include materials contained in Hopi produced publications, approved and archived by the Hopi Tribe's Cultural Preservation Office and material from the local non-profit Hopi language revitalization organization Mesa Media Incorporated. Finally, Hopi statements by Hopi people in video documentaries made available to the public through purchase or library borrowing and one posted on the public video forum website YouTube, have been transcribed by the author for purposes of analysis and discussion of *Hopimomngwit*.

Recordings of Hopi individuals recounting of Hopi events and Hopi culture derive from media found in the public domain are transcribed and translated as they were heard by this researcher. I determined this to be most practicable and important for a number of reasons. First, students (such as myself) who oftentimes are away from a living Hopi language community and carry a desire to hear and view the Hopi language in aural and written form will most likely do so through accessing immediate channels found in the public domain.

Because most research on the Hopi people have been recorded and translated by non-Hopis who either lacked in-depth knowledge of the Hopi language or who have yet been unable to shed additional understanding on past works, I found it important as a Hopi speaker to re-examine these materials and provide my own interpretation of their significance in matters pertaining to Hopi leadership. Second, it is most practicable to bring the Hopi language echoing Hopi leadership concepts into conformity with the 1998 *Hopi Dictionary Hopiikwalavàytutuveni*, which serves as a standard of orthography for the Hopi Tribe. By transcribing and translating the Hopi language from this source it is most convenient to compare the verbage used in various sources to describe the

characteristics of Hopi leadership. An analysis of even one word in Hopi speech, for example, can provide Hopi language referents that allows for an investigation of Hopi leadership to be done with more detail, accuracy and sensitivity than research produced by non-Hopis. Third, because of a dearth of published materials about Hopi leadership, it is a prerogative to integrate existing works and Hopi orthography in an effort to achieve a more thorough understanding and honoring of Hopi leadership traditions.

The qualitative research approach for this study embraces key principles of the American Indian Studies Paradigm (AISP) authored by Dr. James Riding In, an associate professor at Arizona State University. The following elements of this paradigm have relevance to my research:

1. AISP is grounded in the experiences of American Indian communities from an American Indian perspective.
2. AISP privileges oral history and traditional knowledge.
3. AISP calls for tangible and sensible solutions rooted in Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge to address problems facing American Indian nations.
4. AISP trains future leaders and intellectuals to meet challenges of an ever-changing world.

In the AISP elements listed above, one need only insert “Hopi” where the nouns “American Indian” and “Indigenous” occur to understand the relevance of these four standards in approaching the research subject of Hopi leadership. As Maori scholar Linda T. Smith points out, “Indigenous methodologies are often a mix of existing

methodological approaches and indigenous practices.”²⁸ Consequently, as an Indigenous Hopi researcher I aim “to present meaning in a way that honours [Hopi] knowledges” and while “operating under an Indigenous paradigm [I] recognize patterns that transcend the local and the particular...[and in] ascribing to [a Hopi] tribal methodology will likely return to the particular and local to validate claims because our truths are found in our place.”²⁹

Organization of Study

In keeping with the Hopi (AIS) research paradigm, I provide a synoptic category for various epochs said to have taken place in the remembered history of the Hopi people prior to and including permanent settlement in *Hopitutskwa* (Hopi land). T. J. Ferguson et al. have identified some consistencies in scholarship addressing this extensive history of the Hopi people. The following is their listing:

1. Emergence from an earlier world characterized by kooyanisqatsi, “life of moral corruption and turmoil (re life of a group), life out of balance.”
2. An encounter with Måasaw, steward of the present (fourth) world, and god of fire, death and agriculture.
3. A series of migrations, with each Hopi clan or each group of clans (phratry) traveling different paths to Tuwanasavi, the earth center on the Hopi Mesas

²⁸ Linda T. Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, (London: Zed Books, 2012), 144.

²⁹ Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

4. The creation of a covenant between Måasaw and the Hopi, resulting in Hopi stewardship of the earth as long as they uphold *hopivötskwani*, the Hopi path of life.
5. The allotment of land to each group in order of their arrival.
6. The establishment of a political organization based on the religious ceremonies brought by each group ranked in terms of importance and order of arrival.³⁰

This thesis includes of discussion of the episodes mentioned above with an emphasis on *Hopimomngwit* (Hopi leadership) as they appear in these periods of time. Discussion of *Hopimomngwit* in this thesis is carried out by utilizing an outline segmented into four (a number considered significant to Hopi culture) and focuses on four areas a Hopi individual must gain exposure to in order to form one's own understanding of Hopi knowledge. Hopi knowledge is acquired through a combination of factors including an individual's exposure to Hopi stories, Hopi songs, Hopi ceremonial speech, and self-experience with the Hopi language in Hopi society. Finally, I categorized Hopi knowledge into three levels (ceremonial, clan, popular) in order to arrive at the fourth category of producing and dispensing shared knowledge with non-Hopis (in this instance a written thesis).

As mentioned above, Hopi society explicitly recognizes that there exists esoteric and privileged knowledge that should not freely be dispensed to the general public without increased scrutiny as to how that knowledge will benefit a student learner or

³⁰ T.J. Ferguson et al., *Yep Hisat Hoopog'yaqam Yeesiwa (Hopi Ancestors Were Once Here): Hopi-Hohokam Cultural Affiliation Study*, (Kykotsmovi: Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, 2003), 125.

inquirer (i.e. researcher) into Hopi ideas. Thus, my ability to arrive at my own understanding (the final category of knowledge which is individually shared knowledge) of what a *mongwi* means in Hopi society is a culturally sensitive synopsis. It is a careful review of:

1. What can be shared regarding Hopi ceremonial knowledge (often esoteric).
2. Hopi clan knowledge (often privileged and specific).
3. Existing publicly shared information regarding the Hopi people (popular or public knowledge provided by Hopis and non-Hopis)

Isolating the most important and useful knowledge from these listed categories of Hopi knowledge helps in providing an important groundwork from which a Hopi person can ethically share Hopi knowledge commonly held by the Hopi people.

In reiterating transmuted written accounts of past events that were traditionally passed on orally by the Hopi people in the Hopi language, this study is also a Hopi historiography. As Indigenous historians Susan Miller and James Riding state, “Indigenous historiography upholds oral history as a vehicle for taking us into the Indian past” and “the methodology of Indigenous discourse differs significantly from that of non-Indigenous historiography” in that “Indigenous methodology privileges traditional tribal historical narratives and upholds Indigenous lifeways over those of nation-states.”³¹ Cree scholar Michael Hart posits that “Indigenous methodologies are those that permit and enable researchers to be who they are while they are actively engaged as participants

³¹ Miller, Susan and James Riding In. Introduction, in *Native Historians Write Back: Decolonizing American Indian History*, ed. by Susan Miller and James Riding In, (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2011), 2-3.

in the research process.”³² Thus, as a young Hopi man I possess a Hopi clan, village affiliation, and a certain level of fluency and literacy in the Hopi language which all subjectively influence my understanding and research on Hopi leadership, I have “incorporated my subjective insights, meaning that I will self-reflect, analyze, and synthesize my internal experiences in relation to research that I am partaking.”³³ This type of synthesizing or reflectivity occurs throughout my thesis. In extending my use of this Indigenous discourse, I follow the cue provided by Indigenous historian Susan Miller by placing the Hopi villages and their peoples “at the center of historical narratives and [work] to reflect their behavior and motives in terms of their own realities.”³⁴

As a Hopi citizen and inside researcher, I utilize paradigms found in American Indian research as a means to Indigenize my writing and further develop my own Hopi paradigm. I approach my writing with conscious decisions to formulate and approach my research subject in a manner that, I believe, is ethically acceptable to the sensitivities of the Hopi people.

³² Michael A. Hart, “Indigenous Worldviews, Knowledge, and Research: The Development of an Indigenous Research Paradigm,” *Journal of Indigenous Voices in Social Work* 1, no.1 (February 2010): 9.

³³ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁴ Susan Miller, “Native America Writes Back: The Origin of the Indigenous Paradigm in Historiography,” in *Native Historians Write Back: Decolonizing American Indian History*, ed. Susan Miller and James Riding In (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2011), 17.

Chapter 2

CREATION

In Hopi belief the creation of life was accomplished by the joint efforts of Hopi gods, each of whom administered their distinct powers in the commission of creating the first human beings. This initial understanding of Hopi gods conjoining their supernatural abilities for the benefit of mankind is the system upon which the traditional organization of Hopi leadership, which exists today, is modeled.

“Hopi hiita hintsakninik pam hisat taawit akw enang hiita

hinstakngwu.”³⁵

“When a Hopi does something, he usually does this to the accompaniment of a song.”³⁶

Harry James records, “Hurung Whuti³⁷ of the East created a man and woman out of the same kind of clay and covered them with the same cloth. Again the Hurung Whuti sang their special songs, and the man and the woman were endowed with life.”³⁸ In several versions of the Hopi Creation story, one finds that there is incredible importance given to Hopi songs. Another version tells of *Kòokyangwso ’wùuti* (Old Spider Woman) who combines her saliva and *tusna* (epidermis body dirt) to fashion two miniature beings. *Kòokyangwso ’wùuti* then covers her two creations with an *oova* (white wedding robe)

³⁵ Ekkehart Malotki, trans. ed., *Hopi Animal Tales* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1998), 504.

³⁶ Ibid., 505.

³⁷ *Huru ’ing.wùuti*

³⁸ Harry C. James, *Pages from Hopi History* (1974; second printing Tucson: University of Arizona, 1976), 2.

and sings a song to bring the first man and woman to life.³⁹ With this Hopi understanding of songs having created humanity, it is no wonder that the Hopi people continue this time-honored tradition.

Traditional Hopi leaders are often those individuals who possess the requisite songs to complete ceremonies. Indeed those who are to become Hopi leaders are individuals who will be entrusted with learning certain songs. Retention of songs elevates an individual's personal power as a repository of Hopi specialized knowledge and a cultural bearer of Hopi wisdom. As one ethnographer noted about a certain Hopi individual, "He knew most of the ceremonies, and people came to him to check the songs in their memories."⁴⁰

Song language and special terms used in Hopi ceremonies demonstrate that Hopi people are a living history of their ancestors' experiences. George List describes the importance of songs in Hopi culture when he states that, "Song is an integral part of the culture. It serves in religious ceremony; it cures the sick; it accompanies dance, game, and work; it soothes the infant; it is a didactic force."⁴¹ The didactic role of song for the Hopi people is identifiable in the songs sung by *katsinam* (kachinas). *Katsinam* are beneficial spirit helpers who, appearing in physical form, arrive in Hopi villages during particular times of the year. *Katsinam* are an integral part of Hopi religion and Hopi prayers are directed to these highly revered spiritual beings that most often appear in Hopi villages to ceremonially dance and sing for Hopi villagers. Sekaquaptewa et al.

³⁹ Frank Waters, *Book of the Hopi* (New York: Penguin, 1963), 4.

⁴⁰ Leo W. Simmons, *The Role of the Aged In Primitive Society* (New Haven: Yale University, 1945), 134.

⁴¹ George List, "Song in Hopi Culture, Past and Present," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 14, (1962): 30.

draw attention to *katsina* song content as being “a way of talking about wisdoms of the past that embody the ideals of humility, mutual care, and mutual respect that should guide life at all times.”⁴² And while “*Katsinam* have fascinated many non-Indian observers,” Ferguson et al. caution those “who characterize Hopi religion solely based in terms of Katsina ceremonies miss integral parts of the Hopi religion.”⁴³

Indeed, *wimmomngwit* (ceremonial leaders) also carry out “the yearly calendar of ceremonies to ensure, rain, fertility, good crops, and a long life,”⁴⁴ with accompaniment of songs.

“*Pu’ soosoy himu wiimi taawitsa akw pasiwta. Noq pu’ ima Wuwtsimt, Mamrawt, katsinam, tsetslet, tsutskut, ii’ima soosoyam nanap taawi’yyungwa.*”⁴⁵

“All rituals are complete only with song. Thus, the members of the Wuwtsim and Maraw societies, the kachinas, the social dancers, and even the clowns all have their individual songs.”⁴⁶

Thus the *Wuwstimmongwi* (leader of the a Wuwstim order), the *Marawmongwi* (leader of the Maraw society), the *katsinamongwi* (leader of a kachina society), *tsukumongwi* (leader of the clowns) and all other *Hopimomngwit* (Hopi leaders) strive to practice the moral instructions heard in *katsinatawi* (kachina songs) and other ritual

⁴² Emory Sekaquaptewa, Kenneth C. Hill, and Dorothy K. Washburn, *Hopi Katsina Songs* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2015), 21.

⁴³ T.J. Ferguson et al., *Yep Hisat*, 24.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴⁵ Malotki, *Hopi Ruin*, 476.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 477.

songs.⁴⁷ In this sense their actions are modeled on a dutiful restatement of spiritual responsiveness found in history of the long ago.

This spiritual responsiveness in terms of practicing joint leadership and employing songs to resolve Hopi concerns is said to have happened as part of the planning process for ascending into this Fourth World. Those remembered actions also ordained the manner in which leadership would be organized in this current world.

In order to understand the manifold Hopi concepts attached to leadership following the period of Creation, one must recognize that the diversity in traditions has arisen due to distinct teachings which are exclusive to an individual Hopi's understanding of clan history and religious training, all of which is imbedded in the those individual's understanding of Creation and Emergence. The Hopi religion and the clan leaders charged with oversight and recollection of these early episodes of Hopi existence are understood as having preordination following the Hopi's emergence into this earthly Fourth World.

⁴⁷ See leaders in *Hopi Dictionary Hopìkwalavàytutuveni*, 829.

Chapter 3

EMERGENCE ORIGIN

Much of Hopi ontology is concerned with a leadership and a leader's ability to secure and protect Hopi people and lifeways. Accounts of the Third World are among the first examples of explicitly recognized leadership. It is an episode in which the *wimmomgwit* (religious officers) seek a new life amid their recognized state of corruption. The events that unfold during planning and executing this escape from the Third World possesses a heavy driving force behind the sustained identity of the Hopi people. As Harry James observed, "Although it would seem that Hopi history rightly begins with the story of creation, many Hopi commence their accounts with the emergence of mankind from the underworld."⁴⁸ Thus this episode could be called the Emergence origin.

According to a *Piikyaswungwa* (Young Side-Corn Clan) version when we lived below, "*pep hak aawatwungwa kikmongwi*"⁴⁹, a member of the Bow Clan was village chief. In this underworld, which is considered the Third World of existence for the Hopi, life initially followed an ideal pattern of benevolent living until it succumbed to the same type of disorder that led to the destruction of the prior First and Second Worlds. As the *Piikyaswungwa* elder from the village of *Hotvela* recounts:

***"Itam hapi qa yep as yeese. Itam haqam atkyhaqam hopiikiningwuniqw
pep as itam yesngwu...Pu' puma pepaqam pas qa unangwtalya. Pu'***

⁴⁸ Harry C. James, *Pages from Hopi History* (1974; second printing Tucson: University of Arizona, 1976), 2.

⁴⁹ Armin W. Geertz, *The Invention of Prophecy: Continuity and Meaning in Hopi Indian Religion* (Denmark, University Aarhus, 1992), 425.

*puma as qa tiivanikyangw pay puma sutsep mamantuy kivaapeq
tangay'yungwa. Niikyangw pu' puma imuy momoymuy okiw
timuy'yungqamuy enangtota. Okiw pumuy tsaatsakwmuy namat
amumum qa tokngwu.*⁵⁰

“We did not live here. We used to reside somewhere down below where there was a Hopi settlement... They led a chaotic life. Even though they were not going to perform a (social) dance, they kept company with young women in their kivas. (As time went on) they also had (sex with) women with children. The fathers of these youngsters tended them all night without sleep.”⁵¹

Hopi leaders are often dependent on the cooperation of other mortal leaders and supernatural beings. Even among a council of powerful chiefs, the leaders beckon for the assistance of other beings to ask if they will be willing to work on their behalf. Much of Hopi leadership is concerned with a leader's ability to secure the mercy of supernatural beings whose powers are needed. The Bow Clan *kikmongwi* (village chief) and his *mongnanasngwam* (fellow chiefs) are said to have brought a bird to life through song and then subsequently requested that he investigate an area they recognized as existing above them.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 72.

*“Paasat pu’ yaw puma put hongvi’ayay wangwayyaqe pu’ put
pitsinyaqw pu yaw pam pumuy amumi pangqawu, ‘Ta’ay, ya uma
hintiqw pas nuy kyeteynanawaknay?” kita yaw pam pumuy amumi”*.⁵²

“They now summoned their strong one, and, after successfully bringing him to their presence (i.e., creating him), he asked them, “Alright, what is it that needs my immediate attention?”

The bird they created was successful in reaching the land above their world. The bird then finds what appears to be a large man living alone in this world above and asks him if the people below could be granted permission to ascend into his territory. This personage is *Màasaw*, who from this meeting forward would occupy omnipresence in “the whole spectrum of Hopi reality.”⁵³ In fact, *Màasaw* would come to be understood by the Hopis as a “half man, half deity”⁵⁴ who is “lord of the Fourth World and death, [and] totem of the Kookop clan.”⁵⁵ Despite initial reluctance to allow the people’s ascent, *Màasaw* self-deprecatingly states his own living conditions and provides that these are qualities the people will have to accept if they are going to ascend onto his land.

*“Is ohi okiway, pay qa himu inuupe nukngwa. Pay nu’ pas panis
yankyangw yep qatu...”*⁵⁶

“How very sad, I possess nothing of value. I live here just as you see me
now...”⁵⁷

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ekkehart Malotki and Michael Lomatuway’ma, *Maasaw: Profile Of A Hopi God* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1987), vii.

⁵⁴ Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts*, (1988), 79.

⁵⁵ See *Hopi Dictionary Hopiikwa Lavaytutveni*, 219.

⁵⁶ Geertz, *Invention*, (1992), 426.

“Nu’ hapi pay panis soyay’ta. Panis nu’ poshumiy’ta, kuywikiy’ta...”⁵⁸

“All I own is a planting stick, some seeds, [and] a canteen of water...”⁵⁹

**“Noq oovi nu’ umumi pangqawni, kur uma pas antsa nuy hin qatuqw
put aw um suutaq’ewye’, inun yesniqey naanawakne...”⁶⁰**

“Therefore, let me tell you this: if you are willing to lead my kind of life,
if you really desire to so...”⁶¹

**“Pi uma’ay. Pay pi uma angqwyaniqey naanawakne’ pay pi uma
angqeyaniy.”⁶²**

“This is up to you. If you want to come [up here], then [go ahead and]
come.”⁶³

Having gained consent to ascend, the bird delivers the news to the *momngwit* (leaders) in the underworld and they make preparations to ascend. After planting three various trees to help them ascend into the upper world without success, it is the fourth planting of a *paaqavi* (reed) that is able to reach the top.

**“Paasat pu’ yaw puma it nöngantawit akw nönganta. Paasat pu’ yaw
puma put paaqavit ang nönganta.”⁶⁴**

“Then they sang the going-out-song⁶⁵ as they climbed up. They then
ascended and emerged through the reed.”⁶⁶

⁵⁷ Ibid., 73.

⁵⁸ Malotki and Lomatuway’ma, *Maasaw*, (1987), 82.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 81.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid., 72.

⁶³ Author’s translation

⁶⁴ Geertz, *Invention*, (1992), 427.

When the people make their successful ascent through a reed, the chief then asks his *hongvi'aymat* (strongmen) to meet with *Màasaw*.

“*Noq pu' yaw oovi pam mongwi imuy hohongvituy amumi pangqawu yaw awyaniqat.*”⁶⁷

The leader, therefore, ordered several of his strongmen to move toward the location.”⁶⁸

Upon approaching the formidable looking man, the men lose heart and turn back in fear. After their failed attempt to meet with *Màasaw* the first contingent of *hohongvit* (strong ones) return and again the *mongwi* (leader) requests for a group of men to meet with *Màasaw* but now no one is willing to go until:

“*Hisatniqw pu' yaw hakim naalöyöm tootim naa'o'ya.*”⁶⁹

“Finally, after a good length of time had elapsed, four young men volunteered.”⁷⁰

In numerous episodes of Hopi history there is always the presence of four. *Naa'o'ya* (giving oneself over or volunteering for a task) is also a leadership attribute. It is further evident in these readings that *hongvi'aya* (strong one) is also an important term which is attached to ranks in Hopi leadership. This term is also used to describe the

⁶⁵ *nöngàntawi* (a song for exiting a kiva). See *Hopi Dictionary Hopiikwalavàytutuveni*, 333 and 848.

⁶⁶ Author's translation

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

katsinam, a larger number of which accompanied the Hopi during Emergence and remained with them in their early clan migrations.⁷¹

***“Pu’ pam pumuy amumi pangqawngwu pumuy hongvi’aymuyatuy
amumi tunglay’ta, pumuy amumi yankyangw put hintsakni.”***⁷²

“The he tells them that he wants their strong helpers (the katsinas); he will rely on them as he performs the ceremony.”⁷³

Hongvi’aya is one stage in the ranks of leadership. *Hongvi’aya* is a leadership attribute while also being a term designated to those assisting the main leadership of a group. This recurring term is used to describe the *Kookoyemsim* (Koyemsi Kachinas) who assist the *Warwarkatsinam* (Racer Kachinas) with their foodstuff during their trek and arrival into a village. Upon arriving, the *katsinam* request that the village’s *hongvi’aymat* (strong men) race with the arriving *katsinam* as a test of the village’s health. Thus the strongest of the village are called upon to represent the village.

Hongvi’aya is an important term in the language of Hopi leadership because it denotes the ability to not only possesses physical strength but mental endurance as well. It is understood for example that when the Hopi people were finally able to gain communication with *Màasaw*, he put them under a test.

“Noq antsa mongwimat ang puma pay ang su’ömaatota, naanaqasya.

Noq suukya yaw pam i’sustsava sowiwa yaw peeti. Put yaw ep

nuutungkniiqe kwusiqe pam yaw kur hopi. Hopiniiqe put ang kwusu.”⁷⁴

⁷¹ Mischa Titiev, *Old Oraibi: A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1944), 109.

⁷² Armin W. Geertz and Michael Lomatuway’ma, *Children of Cottonwood: Piety and Ceremonialism in Hopi Puppetry*, (Lincoln, University of Nebraska, 1987), 274.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 65-66.

Then the leaders hastily picked one up in a rush to beat each other. Indeed there remained one ear of corn; the smallest in size. This piece of corn is the one that the last person picked up and this person was consequently understood to be Hopi. He was Hopi and thus picked this one up.⁷⁵

The selection of the last and smallest blue corn presaged for the Hopi people that they were to endure a life plan characterized with constant hardship but it would be a lifeway that would persevere over all others. It also taught the Hopi people that their leaders were to be ones with humble hearts and carry themselves with non-aggression.

When analyzed, terms in the Hopi language attached to leadership in the Hopi Emergence narratives are understood to transcend time. All terms used in the Hopi language harkens back to this respected episode in Hopi history. Thus even the term *hopi* is a referent to the beliefs and values embodying an ideal state of human development.

⁷⁴ Author's transcription of Hopi elder, in "Hopi Indian Film - Techqua Ikachi," YouTube video, 1:55:27, posted by "KnewWays," September 1, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=baqkrKIZQko&list=PLdnuRVBfp2UJaNAbYILiXjrtWWgA2OTZC>

⁷⁵ Author's translation

Chapter 4

MIGRATION

Ang kuktota, the Hopi Migration, becomes highly consequential to the organization of Hopi leadership because it established clan identities for migrating family units after Emergence and the acquisition of ceremonial knowledge specific to Hopi clans. The migration of these family units provides every Hopi family lineage direct affiliation with these historic clan groups and “much of the discourse about Hopi ceremonial organization revolves around clans because they are named and highly visual social groups” and “the controlling clan curates ritual paraphernalia, and the leading lineage in the clan furnishes the chief priest for the ceremony.”⁷⁶

As Edward Kennard explains, “What is distinctive is the great weight placed upon their separation into groups that wandered over the earth and by various events acquired a clan name and identity, until they finally approached the village where their descendants are now living.”⁷⁷ Furthermore, migration became an incredibly important event among the Hopi villages because it recounts how every Hopi clan retained their responsibility to live in accordance with the original instructions of *Màasaw*. Wesley Bernardini also states that, “The migration of Hopi clans was a quest to perfect the practice of *hopivötskwani* to the best of their ability, but having not yet found Tuuwanasavi, the

⁷⁶ T.J. Ferguson et al., *Yep Hisat*, 29.

⁷⁷ Edward A. Kennard, “Metaphor and Magic: Key Concepts in Hopi Culture and Their Linguistic Forms,” in *Studies in Linguistics in Honor of George L. Trager* 1, (1972): 469.

Earth Center on the Hopi Mesas, where their spiritual compact with *Màasaw* would be fulfilled.”⁷⁸

Clan migrations give Hopi people a legitimate ancestral claim to historic places, the mesas they eventually settled on and the surrounding lands. As the late *Orayvi* elder Mina Lana stated, “[We] the Hopi people were the first to set our foot on this continent. No other people have set their footprint before our footprint.”⁷⁹ Indeed Ferguson and Lomaomvaya reiterate this point when they write:

“As directed by the Ma’saw, the guardian of the earth, the Hopi set their “footprints” on the landscape by establishing ritual springs, sacred trails, trail markers, shrines, and petroglyphs. As the Hopi people moved on to new areas, they left behind ruins, potsherds, and other physical evidence that they had vested an area with their spiritual stewardship and thus fulfilled their pact with Ma’saw. From the Hopi perspective, these archeological sites provide physical evidence verifying Hopi clan histories and religious beliefs.”⁸⁰

As can be seen, the importance of clan in Hopi thought cannot be discounted. Bernardini further adds that, “Hopi theories of the past involve a spatial geography recounted in traditional clan histories, and this is more important than time as an absolute,

⁷⁸ Wesley Bernardini, *Hopi History in Stone: The Tutuveni Petroglyph Site*, (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2007), 57.

⁷⁹ *Partition of the Surface Rights of Navajo-Hopi Land: Hearing, Before the Subcommittee On Indian Affairs Of The Committee On Interior And Insular Affairs U.S. Senate, 93rd Cong. 1st sess.*, (1973), 166 (statement of Mina Lansa, Chief of Old Oraibi).

⁸⁰ T.J. Ferguson and Micha Lomaomvaya, *Hoopoq ’yaqam niqw Wukoskyavi (Those Who Went to the Northeast and Tonto Basin): Hopi-Salado Cultural Affiliation Study* (Kykotsmovi: Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, 1999), 76.

linear scale.”⁸¹ Since during migration “clans moved in tandem with other clans, and these groups split up, converged, and reconstituted themselves many times as they undertook their journey. [The] migration histories are thus complex, and there is significant variation in clan traditions that is related to the specific history of individual villages.”⁸²

Curiosity as well as the opportunity to conduct my research of the Hopi clan system, led me to examine the history of my own Coyote Clan and our clan’s leadership position. The phratry to which my clan belongs includes the *Isngyam* (Coyote), *Paa’isngyam* (Water Coyote), *kwanngyam* (Agave), *hongyam* (Juniper), *leengyam* (Indian Millet), *letayngyam* (Fox), *masngyam* (Màasaw), and *kookopngyam* (Fire). The “kwanngyam” (Agave Clan) is an extinct clan⁸³ and the agave plant is said to be a *wu’ya* (guiding clan totem) of the *Kookopngyam* (Fire) and *Isngyam* (Coyote). Agave is further “affiliated with the Kwan society traditions as it’s origin and representation.”⁸⁴ As Geertz explains, with respect to the Coyote and Water Coyote Clans, the two clans “are associated with an important phratry that includes the Maasaw, the Kookop, and the Kwan [Society’s associated] clans, all of which have the greatest significance in the Hopi emergence mythology, eschatology, and initiation ceremoniology.”⁸⁵ It is perhaps from

⁸¹ Leigh Kuwanwisiwma and T.J. Ferguson, “Ang Kuktota: Hopi Ancestral Sites and Cultural Landscapes”, *Expedition* 46 (July 2004): 28.

⁸² Ferguson et al., *Yep Hisat*, 65.

⁸³ Thus “kwanngyam” is absent in the current Hopi orthography. For a listing of clans see *Hopi Dictionary Hopìkwalavàytutuveni*, 88.

⁸⁴ Ferguson and Lomaomvaya, *Hoopoq’yaqam*, 245.

⁸⁵ Armin W. Geertz, “Review: “Hopi Coyote: Trickster, Corpse, or God?” *History of Religions* 27 (August 1987): 91.

this type of understanding that Thomas Banyaca (*Paangaqya*) is motivated to state, “The main one [clan] in village ceremonies is the Coyote Clan.”⁸⁶

According to *Hotvela* (Hotevilla) elder Dan Qötshongva (*Taawawungwa* [Sun Clan]), the *Isngyam* (Coyote Clan) were permitted to enter Oraibi “with the agreement that they would act as protection, and in time speak for the chief should difficulties arise.”⁸⁷ Frank Water’s *Book of the Hopi* also lists the *Paa’iswungwa* (Water Coyote) as being among the Hopis principal clans. The Coyote Clan’s role as *tuutuwalyaqam* (guards or protectors) has qualified some of their male members and subsequent incumbents from this clan to hold the leadership position of *Qaletaqmongwi* (War Chief).⁸⁸ The recognition of the traditional leadership role of the *Qaletaqmongwi* persisted in spite of a Hopi individual’s contestations being influenced by factional loyalties. Historical accounts in U.S. government and anthropological literature would render a labeling of opposing groups known as ‘friendly’ or ‘hostile’ and a later group dichotomy called ‘traditional’ or ‘progressive’. Although there are conflicting accounts of the type of positions that provide the basis for village leadership based on Hopi religious

⁸⁶ Sandy Johnson, *The Book of Elders: The Life Stories of Great American Indians* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994), 37.

⁸⁷ Dan Katchongva, “Hopi: A Message For All People,” *Akwesasne Notes* 1, no. 3 (December 1995): 1-12.

⁸⁸ Mischa Titiev, *Old Oraibi: A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1944), 60. It is also noted by Titiev that at *Orayvi* (Old Oraibi) a Water Coyote clan member, who was the father of a young *Looloma* at the time, held the position of *kikmongwi* (village chief) *pro tem*. This was the case until *Looloma* was old enough to take on the *kikmongwi*’s prescribed duties and responsibilities himself.

organizations, the *Qaletaqmongwi* (War Chief) is continually acknowledged by Hopis in their references to an approved orthodox cadre of Hopi leaders.⁸⁹

Providing phratry clan relationships and prescribed duties attributed to the *Isngyam* (Coyote Clan) may appear overarching in this particular work but it is provided in order for reader's own suggestive relief, on how my clan membership may serve as consequential to the manner in which I undertake my discussion of *Hopimomngwit*.

Indeed, "The clan is, primarily, the unit for the transmission of rights—rights over house sites, fields, cisterns, eagle-nesting cliffs, political and ceremonial office, esoteric knowledge; it takes its name from an object (or being) in the natural world, with which the members of the clan are held to have a special affinity."⁹⁰ Titiev further provides two points that are prominent and generally respected by traditionally informed Hopi thought, which are that: "Clan privileges are so incontrovertible that under no condition may they be transcended"⁹¹ and "When a succession to office fails within a clan, the Hopi commonly seek a successor from another clan in the same phratry."⁹²

Hopi clan identification provides group affiliation and independence. In this understanding, "Hopi clans are sufficiently autonomous to follow their own particular rituals and traditions. Clan autonomy, on the other hand, is clearly one of the major

⁸⁹ Whiteley, *Deliberate*, 67-68. As mentioned earlier (see literature review), Whiteley noted the discrepancy between officers who participate (in one important ceremony,) the *Soyalangw* ceremony versus the ceremonial heads (which includes the head in *Soyalangw*) of the various religious fraternities called *wimmomngwit*. The offices of *Kikmongwi* and *Qaletaqmongwi* are the only two that are readily consistent in both descriptions of accepted village leadership offices as rendered by *Tawakaptiwa* and *Yukiwma*.

⁹⁰ Richard M. Bradfield, *A Natural History of Associations: A Study in the meaning of community*, (New York, International Universities Press, 1973), 303.

⁹¹ Titiev, *Old Oraibi*, 80.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 201.

sources of conflict and tension in Hopi society.”⁹³ The implications of clan membership within the ranks of Hopi leadership are also manifold. Clan affiliation of Hopi leaders was also a major force in how Hopi leadership was defined and distributed in Hopi society along with how these arrangements came to be the source of ongoing negotiations with the introduction of non-Hopi elements.

⁹³ Armin W. Geertz, “Ethnohermeneutics and Worldview Analysis in the Study of Hopi Indian Religion,” in *Brill* 50, no.3 (2003): 328.

Chapter 5

SETTLEMENT

Hopi leadership finds its original base in the leadership powers that were bestowed upon a chief clan who, after Emergence spent subsequent years in migration toward an eventually finding of primary settlement in *Orayvi* (Old Oraibi). The *Honngyam* (Bear Clan) were the first to arrive and take permanent settlement in *Hopitutskwa* (Hopi country), it provides the abode for current Hopi villages.⁹⁴

Titiev quotes Henry Voth, as relating the story that “the Bear clan leader, Matcito (*Matsito*) asked Masu’u (*Máasaw*) to give him land and to be the chief of his people.”⁹⁵ Indeed in this interaction *Matsito* inquired,

“*Pay hapi sen as um hin nuy nakwhanaq w pay nu’ yephaqam uqlap qatuptuniy.*”⁹⁶

“I just wondered if you’d give me permission, I could live here somewhere next to you.”⁹⁷

Máasaw replied affirmatively by granting consent. *Máasaw*’s⁹⁸ bestowal of leadership responsibility to the Bear Clan was given because the clan leader’s group was the first to achieve counsel with and approval from *Máasaw* for permanent settlement in present-day Hopi country. A premier principle of Hopi leadership is to always ask

⁹⁴ According to Waters’ *Book of the Hopi*, the Bear Clan undertook their migratory journey with groups of other clans; the *Paa’iswungwu* | **Water Coyote** being one among them. My great-grandmother substantiates this claim and further imparts that following extensive years of migration with these clan groups, they arrived in *Orayvi* with the Bear clan group that would be the village’s founders.

⁹⁵ Titiev, *Old*, 61.

⁹⁶ Malotki, *Maasaw*, 80.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Anglicized possessory form of *Máasaw*. Repeated elsewhere.

permission where it is due and to respect the prior rights of all other living beings. Since it was understood by the Hopi people that *Máasaw* is the owner of all land and they would be living under conditions of his domain, the Hopi logically presumed that he would be their leader. In notice of *Máasaw*'s possessory rights over all land in the Fourth World, the Hopi expressed their willing acceptance of *Máasaw*'s dominion, saying to him,

“*Noq pay oovi sonqa um itaamongwiniy.*”⁹⁹

“Our leader most assuredly has to be you.”¹⁰⁰

However, *Máasaw* immediately declined this conjecture by the Hopi people and instead addressed the Bear Clan leader saying,

“*Nu pay son mongwini, Um pi yep mongwini.*”¹⁰¹

“No, I shall not be chief, You shall be chief here.”¹⁰²

Máasaw then continues with,

**“*Pi pay um pew imuy tsamvaqe pay son um qa naap amumi
mong’iwtani, naap um moopeq’iwtani.*”**¹⁰³

“Clearly you brought these people here and your prerogative to be a leader to them is apparent, you shall take on the foremost position yourself.”¹⁰⁴

Before his departure, *Máasaw* formally consecrated the Bear Clan’s authority by washing the leader’s head. *Máasaw*’s recognition of the leadership clan demonstrated to

⁹⁹ Malotki, *Maasaw*, 82.

¹⁰⁰ Author’s translation

¹⁰¹ Author’s translation of Titiev’s English text. See next footnote.

¹⁰² Titiev, *Old Oraibi*, 61.

¹⁰³ Malotki, *Maasaw*, 82.

¹⁰⁴ Author’s translation

them that they had successfully fulfilled the migration promises made with him following Emergence.

Following the founding Bear Clan's consecration, subsequent clans began arriving at the founding village and requested permission to permanently settle but their request was now directed to the founding Bear Clan leader. The order of a clan's arrival or the importance of a ceremony they brought with them positioned these clans within an understood hierarchy of leadership positions. A number of major Hopi religious ceremonies were bestowed upon clans in the Underworld by Hopi deities and yet other ceremonies were learned at later times following the Hopi Emergence.¹⁰⁵ In each of these cases "the leading lineage in the clan furnishes the chief priest for the ceremony."¹⁰⁶

These leadership positions were related to duties prescribed to religious practices that take place at various times of the Hopi ceremonial calendar and provided reference for future successor rights to the position of village (*Kikmongwi*) chief should members of the Bear Clan become exhausted in the founding village. Since *Màasaw*'s edicts for the Hopi lifeway are understood to be "most of all a life based on humility"¹⁰⁷, one major part of the *Kikmongwi*'s¹⁰⁸ duty was to assess the degree to which these arriving groups adhered to this teaching.

¹⁰⁵ Ferguson and Micha Lomaomvaya, *Hoopoq'yaqam*, 28.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, "Hisat Hopisinom Pew Öki: Emergence of the Hopi People," in *Hopihiniwtipu: Significant Events for Hopi People*, eds. Anita Poleahla and Kristin Harned (Polacca: Mesa Media, Inc., 2012), 17.

¹⁰⁸ Anglicized possessory form of *kikmongwi*. Repeated elsewhere.

*“Pu yaw kur pay hinwat kwivilavaytiq pu yaw pay amumi
pangqawngwu, ‘Pay uma yuq taatöwatyani; pang panyùngqam yeese’
kitote, pumuy pay qa yayvanayangwu.”*¹⁰⁹

Then if (the group represents themselves) in some manner (of) boastful speech, then it is said to them, ‘You all can move on toward the southeast; along there are people with similar temperament,’¹¹⁰ with this said they are then not allowed to ascend (into Orayvi).¹¹¹

Arriving clan groups requesting residence in *Orayvi* were also being judged in their ability to contribute to the whole community’s quest to live in a manner congruent with *Màasaw*’s corn lifeway since “the corn is the foundation of the covenant as it truly represented the life way of who *Maasaw* is.”¹¹² As Emory Sekaquaptewa reasserts, “we [the Hopi people] have a commitment to raise corn. We committed ourselves to live by that law and the law is corn.”¹¹³

With no further explicit instructions from *Màasaw* and the intermittent arrival of more clans, the Hopi people were now left to fulfill the additional (and on-going challenging) aspect of their covenant with *Màasaw*: to live a *hopi* way of life until his return for reclamation of his land. The continuing challenge posed to the Hopi people has been how to genuinely live up to the tenants of a *hopi* way of life and has been the source of Hopi internal debate and strife.

¹⁰⁹ Author’s transcription of Hopi elder, in “Hopi Indian Film - Techqua Ikachi,” September 1, 2011.

¹¹⁰ Alternate translation: Along there are (*panyùngqam*): ones like that.

¹¹¹ Author’s Translation.

¹¹² Kuwanwisiwma, “Hisat Hopisinom,” in *Hopihiniwtipu*, 17.

¹¹³ Emory Sekaquaptewa, in *Hopi: Songs of the Fourth World*, (Ho-Ho-Kus, NJ: New Day Film Library), Directed by Pat Ferrero, Ferrero Films, 1983.

European Contact

The challenge to live a *hopi* lifeway was amplified with the arrival of the first Europeans to *Hopitutskwa* (Hopi lands). Spanish contact is recorded to have taken place in 1540 with the arrival of the Coronado expedition to the Hopi mesas.¹¹⁴ The Spanish period is recorded as lasting from 1540-1821¹¹⁵ with a brief period of rule under the Mexican government between 1821-1848.¹¹⁶ During this time, the Hopis were introduced to some practices that have persisted into the present. This would include the adoption of maintaining livestock (sheep and cattle) and peach orchards along with the use of metal implements.¹¹⁷ The current Hopi language exhibits several Spanish loan words (mainly in the form of nouns) such as *kastilla* (Spanish *Castilla* = Castile), *mooro* (Spanish *burro* = donkey), *kaneelo* (Spanish *carnero* = sheep), *kaphe* (Spanish *café* = coffee).¹¹⁸ As can be seen, a number of Spanish practices and words were incorporated into the lives of the Hopi then and now. However, when it came to the Spanish religion, the Hopis negative experiences would lead to a persistent rejection of Christianity.

The Hopis recall that under Spanish rule there existed the suppression of Hopi religion and a condition of abuses suffered at the hands of Catholic priests. The term *tota'tsi* meaning “tyrant” or “dictator” has especial reference to the Catholic priests

¹¹⁴ Whiteley, *Deliberate*, 13.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Tracy L. Brown, *Pueblo Indians and Spanish Colonial Authority in Eighteenth Century New Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2013), 2.

¹¹⁷ Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, “Spanish introduce new animals, tools, and plants,” in *Hopihiniwtipu: Significant Events for Hopi People*, eds. Anita Poleahla and Kristin Harned (Polacca: Mesa Media, Inc., 2012), 85.

¹¹⁸ See 13.2 Loanwords from Spanish in *Hopi Dictionary*, 895.

(Franciscans) during this period.¹¹⁹ The Hopi *kiva* 's¹²⁰ (underground ceremonial chambers), being the central meeting place for religious activity, were targeted by the Spanish religiosity and filled with sand in an effort to force their disuse.¹²¹ Catholic priests are remembered as doling out whippings to Hopis for practicing their ceremonies and a priest sending Hopi husbands long distances to fetch water so that he could take sexual advantage of the Hopi men's wives during their absence.¹²²

This ruthless treatment under Spanish imperial control would induce the Hopi people to participate in pueblo wide revolt, extending to the pueblos of the Rio Grande, in 1680. The Spanish would revisit the Hopis following reconquest of the New Mexico pueblos by De Vargas in 1692 but with no success in persuading the Hopi villages (with the exception of *Awatovi*) to reestablish Catholic missions.¹²³ As Leigh Kuwanwisiwma articulates:

***Niqw oovi peqw i'himu catholic church pu himu Spain pam hapi qa
hisat piw pew haqami ahoy paki.***¹²⁴

Therefore, the Spanish and the Catholic Church never returned to Hopi.¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ See *tota'tsi* in *Hopi Dictionary*, 607.

¹²⁰ Anglicized plural of *kiva*. See *Hopi Dictionary*, 143.

¹²¹ Terrance Talaswaima (Honvantewa), "The Hopi Way: Art as Life, Symbol, and Ceremony," in *Hopi Nation: Essays on Indigenous Art, Culture, History, and Law*, ed. Edna Glenn, John R. Wunder, Willard Hughes Rollings, and C.L. Martin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 72.

¹²² Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, "Hopi people kept their ceremonies secret," and "The water at Yamtaqa," in *Hopihiniwtipu: Significant Events for Hopi People*, eds. Anita Poleahla and Kristin Harned (Polacca: Mesa Media, Inc., 2012), 89.

¹²³ Whiteley, *Deliberate*, 18-19.

¹²⁴ Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, "Spanish Returned to Hopi," in *Hopihiniwtipu: Significant Events for Hopi People*, eds. Anita Poleahla and Kristin Harned (Polacca: Mesa Media, Inc., 2012), 93.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

Following the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe de Hidalgo between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic in 1848, the Hopi people would fall under the governmental umbrella of the U.S. government. October 1850 would be the first meeting (away from Hopi land) between a Hopi delegation and James S. Calhoun, U.S. superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of New Mexico (whose jurisdiction at the time included lands in present-day Arizona).¹²⁶ Calhoun would write to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Orlando Brown that what he learned from the encounter was that each of the Hopi pueblos “was an independent republic” and that it was impressed upon him that the village of *Orayvi* was substantially larger in size and population than that of the Zuni pueblo.¹²⁷ Indeed the reputation of *Orayvi* being the largest Hopi village is recorded among the earliest Spanish explorers. Recalling a 1775 visit by the young friar Vélez de Escalante to the Hopi mesas, Adams describes *Orayvi* as “the largest and most important of the Hopi pueblos.”¹²⁸

Following a 1906 internal divide among villagers in *Orayvi*, the 1775 description and Calhoun’s thoughts would hold no longer. The 1906 Split of *Orayvi* has been a special area of focus for researchers of Hopi and with a substantial record of what unfolded during this time, the event and its aftermath provides for several dimensions of Hopi leadership to be analyzed

¹²⁶ Whiteley, *Deliberate*, 30-31, and Peter Iverson, “The Enduring Hopi,” in *Hopi Nation: Essays on Indigenous Art, Culture, History, and Law*, ed. Edna Glenn, John R. Wunder, Willard Hughes Rollings, and C.L. Martin (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 144.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹²⁸ Eleanor B. Adams, “Fray Silverstre and the Obstinate Hopi,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 38, (April 1963): 105.

Several painful episodes in the memory of Hopis provide some perspective on the severity of conflict that arose in the village of *Orayvi* culminating in its split. Among the most astonishing accounts is in reference to the conclusion of a kachina *Niman* (Homegoing) Dance held in *Orayvi* during those tumultuous years. Helen Sekaquaptewa recounts:

As the kachinas came to a narrow passage, where two houses were only ten feet apart, they found their way blocked by strong men¹²⁹ of the Friendlies who had stationed themselves strategically and stepped out quickly forming a line shoulder to shoulder, barring the way and preventing the kachinas from going through.

It was beneath the dignity of the kachinas to physically contest this challenge. They argued for about an hour rehearsing the traditional respect due them, to no avail. In humiliation the kachinas turned back and retired from the plaza.¹³⁰

This particular memory provides the extent to which one opposing faction (known as Friendlies) was willing to go to show their disapproval of their rival's (known as Hostiles) caretaking of the *Niman* kachina ceremony. It is a particularly disheartening account because every Hopi person understands the incredible esteem with which the Hopi people hold the *katsinam* (kachinas). Equally compelling is an account describing the hardship experienced following the ousting of the Hostile faction.

¹²⁹ Here too is an example of factions having their own *hongvi'a'yam* ("strong men"). See Chapter 3.

¹³⁰ Helen Sekaquaptewa, *Me and Mine: The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa as told to Louise Udall*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969), 67.

*“Is okiwa! Itaa kur hiita nöönösani. Qa haqam himu nöösiwqa. Itam ngasta kiiyungqa. Pu — that was in September, it’s getting cold!”*¹³¹

Poor things! We would not eat anything. There was no food anywhere. We had no home. Then — *that was in September, it’s getting cold!*¹³²

Memories such as these provides context for the animosity later held by generations of Hopi who left *Orayvi*, casting the *Orayvi* versions of the Split as being incapable of thorough authenticity.

*“Pu son oovi Orayvi hiniwtiqat, put pam ep hiniwtapnaqe, son pam put su’an yu’a’atani. It pi puma wuko qa’antotiqe.”*¹³³

Now undoubtedly¹³⁴, [the] *Orayvi* version of what happened, how at that village they caused this to take place, their descriptions won’t be correct. It is upon this that they committed a huge wrong that’s why.¹³⁵

After the split at *Orayvi* the group that departed was under the leadership of *Yukiwma* (Spider Clan). *Yukiwma* and his followers would found the village of *Hotvela* (Hotevilla). The succession of leadership at *Hotvela* after the death of *Yukiwma* provides the contemplations of one village’s views on village leadership succession. Following his

¹³¹ Author’s transcription of Hopi elder, in “Hopi Indian Film - Techqua Ikachi,” September 1, 2011.

¹³² Author’s translation

¹³³ Author’s transcription of Hopi elder, in “Hopi Indian Film - Techqua Ikachi,” September 1, 2011.

¹³⁴ “Now for that reason” is probably a more literal translation of *Pu son oovi Orayvi*. However, the purpose of the entire statement is to forewarn culpable bias on the part of *Orayvi* loyalists in their recounting of The Split. With this in mind, prefacing his statement with the expression “*Pu son oovi*”, can more fittingly be interpreted as providing an initial expression of “it goes without saying” or “without a doubt” the *Orayvi* people “won’t tell it right”(i.e. “their descriptions won’t be correct”).

¹³⁵ Author’s translation

father's death, Dan *Qötshongva* (Sun Clan) rose to prominence by being an outspoken advocate of traditional values for his village and the Hopi people generally.

Helen Sekaquaptewa, however, echoes the sentiment that Dan *Qötshongva* was not a legitimate village chief when she writes that before his death in 1928, *Yukiwma* had “directed that none should succeed him, especially not his son Dan. Dan was an active Traditionalist all his days.”¹³⁶ In 1958, Titiev writes, “Moreover, Dan Katchongva (*Qötchongva*), son of Hotevilla's founder, Yokioma (*Yukiwma*), who is often cited as a “traditional chief,” had no right by Hopi custom to claim Hotevillas' chieftainship. It should have passed to Yokioma's sisters son, and many of his fellow-villagers regard Dan as a trouble-maker.”¹³⁷ Scholar's of Hopi who gained an understanding for the marginality of certain Hopi clans, would use this understanding as a basis for pointing out clan incongruence for holding positions of leadership in Hopi society. Not only would Dan *Qötshongva*'s claims to leadership continue to be called into question but other Hopi individuals as well.

Armin Geertz's publications (1987 and 1992) highlights certain Hopi individuals perceived to be claiming leadership as being disregarded because of their respective clanship. For example, one leader in *Hotvela* “criticized the present leader of the Traditionalist faction, David Monongya, because he is a member of the Pumpkin Clan and therefore one of the *söqavungsinom*.”¹³⁸ The marginality of certain clans being caste

¹³⁶ Sekaquaptewa, *Me and Mine*, 88.

¹³⁷ Mischa Titiev, “The Great Resistance: A Hopi Anthology” (Book Review), *American Anthropologist*, 60, (June 1958): 620-621.

¹³⁸ Geertz and Lomatuway'ma, *Children of Cottonwood*, 143.

as *söqavungsinom* (commoners) and its application to leaders within the Traditionalist Movement is repeated in the case of Thomas Banyaca (*Paangaqya*).

Quoting Nagata (1978), Geertz belabors Nagata's point that Thomas *Paangaqya*'s "roots in traditional Hopi society are not significant. A member of the Coyote clan, which is not very important in the assumption of ceremonial roles, he is also a member of the Kachina society, which is a minimal requirement for entry to more esoteric ones."¹³⁹

Geertz, goes on to repeat Clemmer's (1978) (incorrect) claim that Thomas *Paangaqya* was a member of the *Paaisngyam* (Water Coyote Clan)¹⁴⁰ and relies on Ekkehart Malotki's (1985) publication to emphasize the marginality of the *Paaisngyam*. Geertz writes, "The Water Coyote clan is especially despised for a variety of reasons even by their relatives the Isngyam."¹⁴¹ On this point of inter-phratry clan conflict the additional commentary provided by one of Malotki's consultants is revealing:

***“Niikyangw pay soosokmuy ngyamuy angqw pam panta. Pay hakim
naamahin hakimuy amumumyakyangw pay hakim mimuywatuy son
amumum hiita ep qa hintotingwu. Noq oovi hisat ima wuuwuyoqam
hakimuy amumi pangqaqwangwu pay yaw itam qa pas pumuywatuy
amuupungyalyani.”***¹⁴²

“But this attitude is widespread among all clans. Even though there may exist a special relationship among certain clan groups, one clan is bound to

¹³⁹ Geertz, *Invention*, 306.

¹⁴⁰ On this matter, I have only been able to consult a few of my close *Munqapi* and *Hotvela* relatives who are *Paaisngyam* elders. All continue to affirm that Thomas Paangaqya was not *Paaiswungwa* (Water Coyote Clan).

¹⁴¹ Geertz, *Invention*, 307-308.

¹⁴² Ekkehart Malotki, *Gullible Coyote/Una'ihu: A Bilingual Collection of Hopi Coyote Stories* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1985), 13.

have some differences with another related group. Little wonder then that in the past the elders did not encourage their own clan members to become too involved with other phratry groups.”¹⁴³

Specific clan membership is not the only criteria that the Hopi people refer to in judging their fellow Hopis status as leaders. Hopi leaders are required to display substantial characteristics of humbleness. Indeed, even when a Hopi individual is recognized by his community to possess a leadership title, that person will make efforts not to stand out or seem more important than others. For example,

“*Hakimuy wukw’aya’am pay sutsep naasöqavungwtangwu.*”

“One’s clan leader will always call himself a commoner (to indicate humbleness).”¹⁴⁴

Vanity is one of the most despised human characteristics for Hopi because it is understood to be a premier antithesis to *hopi* behavior. The term *hopi* is often regarded by the Hopi people as a religious and cultural value. It is a term in the Hopi language that embodies meanings of ideal human conduct that is to be strived for by individuals and larger society. As is explained in the *Hopi Dictionary Hopiikwa Lavàytutuveni*, a *hopi* is a “behaving one, one who is mannered, civilized, peaceable, polite, who adheres to the Hopi way.”¹⁴⁵ As Bernardini describes further, “From the Hopi perspective, “Hopi” is not an ethnic identity per se, but a life philosophy.”¹⁴⁶ With regard to leadership, the implicit understanding here is that you cannot be a Hopi leader if you are not a foremost example

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ *Hopi Dictionary*, 530.

¹⁴⁵ Capitalizing ‘*hopi*’ to Hopi means a Hopi person. Ibid., 99.

¹⁴⁶ Bernardini, *Hopi History*, 57.

of ideal *hopi* behavior. A portion of Hopi clowning during some summer *katsina* (kachina) dance ceremonies is an excellent contrast to the ideals of a Hopi leader. The Hopi clowns are understood to behave in a wholly unconventional Hopi manner and this is also displayed as a message to Hopi leaders.

During a portion of the Hopi *katsina* dance ceremony the Hopi clowns will find the *katsina* song leader and each clown will provide a short speech to this *katsina* leader. In beginning his speech, each clown will loudly declare that they too are leaders because of one or another attribute that the Hopi clown thinks justly qualifies him to be known as a *mongwi* (leader). According to one Hopi consultant, “This is to remind the elders, the high priests, that they are to be humble. They are not to put themselves forward, to be aggressive or ambitious.”¹⁴⁷ When a Hopi is raised to prominence and starts to become recognized as a leader, legitimization and maintaining that recognition will be scrutinized if it is believed that he or she is being overly ambitious or self-serving. This is another accusation that was put forth in the case of Dan *Qötshongva* from *Hotvela*. As *Qötshongva* recounts himself, during a public dispute over electricity lines being introduced into *Hotvela*, a fellow Hopi onlooker had this to say to *Qötshongva*:

***“Pay um qa hinggalawni! Pay pi um qa mongwiniikyang, um pas
kwiiviniqe, oovi it aw hintsaki! Pu pay ima yanq uumi hakim Paahanam
ökiwtaqam puma pay nuunukpant’u. Puma pu ung hiita qa antaqat***

¹⁴⁷ Louis A. Hieb, “Hopi Ritual Clown: Life As It Should Not Be,” (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1972), 175.

*navotniwya, Pu i'Paangaqya pay piw (panta), qa ung hiita qa su'an
navotniima, oovi um antsa yanta!*"¹⁴⁸

Just you don't say anything! You not a chief anyway, your very vain,
that's why you're doing this here! And these people, [the] White people
who come [to you], they are no good. They are telling you things that
aren't true and this *Paangaqya*¹⁴⁹ just as well is relating matters to you
that aren't correct, that's why you're like this!"¹⁵⁰

The scrutiny of leaders behavior by the Hopi people is present because it is
expected that Hopi leaders be charged with striking a balance between obligation and
privilege. For example, prominent Hopi clans possessed ceremonial and leadership
privileges that provided them concomitant titles to land usage.¹⁵¹ As a former religious
officer from *Songòopavi* explains about the fields he cultivates,

*"Kur nu wuuyotinikt, [paasat]¹⁵² nu ayo waayanikt, pu hak i'qeni aw
pakinikt pu pam piw yep it uylawni. I put himu'at. I'mongvasa
songyawnen i'yepe."*¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ Author's transcription of Dan *Qõtshongva*, in "Hopi Indian Film - Techqua Ikachi,"
September 1, 2011.

¹⁴⁹ Referring to Thomas Banyaca (*Paangaqya*).

¹⁵⁰ Author's translation

¹⁵¹ Titiev, *Old Oraibi*, 201.

¹⁵² I could not ascertain the exact Hopi word used here when listening to the video's
audio. *Paasat* or some other modifier indicating "at the point that" or "when" is most
likely spoken in this instance.

¹⁵³ George Nasafotie, in *Natwaniwa: A Hopi Philosophical Statement*, VHS, (New York,
NY: Norman Ross Pub. Inc.), Directed by Denny Carr, University of Arizona Radio-TV-
Film Bureau, 1981.

If it happens that I get old and move out of here, then someone will enter into my position and he too will plant here. This is that. This is a chief's field, basically, this here.¹⁵⁴

Hopis who possess formal title within the Hopi religious organization are likely to be *wukw'a'ayam* (clan leaders). Thus, the Hopi people respect Hopi leaders as office holders while they also know the clan bias of leaders. The employ of clan knowledge is exemplified in several instances relating to land claims and its concomitant use. These clan land claims can become the especial source of intra Hopi clan conflicts. An account of one clan's migration route and the accompanying rationale for the subsequent clan privilege of gathering eagles for ceremonial usage is one case in point. The following dialogue is between two members of the same clan. One recounts their clan migration and land claims while the other (identified as "Jr." in the quoted translation) calls into question the interference of what he now believes to be his clan's rightful use of that land for eagle gathering.

Speaker 1: "*Paasat pu' puma kya pi oovi pangqw aatavangqöymiq hangqe pangqw pu' puma nankwusaqe pu' pay puma oovi yang hihin tuphaykye'ya. Nüiqe pay pi puma oovi piw pang put himuy'yungwa. Puma pi pay oovi put itaatutskway ep kiitota, mima. Meh, pam pi pay kwaanipkya itaahimu.*"¹⁵⁵

Speaker 1: "Now they went to the west side and proceeded along the edges of the mesas. Thus, they also own the area along there. So the

¹⁵⁴ Author's translation.

¹⁵⁵ Geertz, *Invention of Prophecy*, 430.

people established a settlement on our land. See, the eagle nesting place belongs to us.”¹⁵⁶

Speaker 2: “*Noq hintiq oovi pu’ hisat Julius yepeq pituuqe pangqawlawu itamumi? Pumuy itam pangqw kwaatuy kwusuyaqw. Hintiqw piw pam put ep hingawlawu?*”¹⁵⁷

Speaker 2: “[Jr.:] Then why did Julius come to us recently and was complaining to us? When we took eagles from there. Why did he have something to say about it.”¹⁵⁸

Speaker 1: *Ispi puma pi pay put itamumi kyaakyawnayaqe’e. Puma pay puuvut kyaakyawnaya. Puma pi pay panyungwni.*”¹⁵⁹

Speaker 1: That’s because they don’t want us to have it. They don’t want anyone to have it. That’s just their nature”¹⁶⁰

Conflicts over clan traditions regarding land rights would not be confined to traditional uses. Indeed these types of clan debates would appear in instances related to modern development projects. The Pages were able to record an instance of debate over land to be used for a potential housing project and relate a story about conflicting land claims between the villages of *Songòopavi* and *Supawlavi*. When a member of the *Piqösngyam* (Bear Strap Clan) concluded his testimony regarding a plot of disputed land, an elder of the *Tsorngyam* (Blue-Bird Clan) followed. The Pages write:

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 80-81.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 431.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 80-81.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 431.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 81.

“The meeting resumed at the Tribal Council Hall, and David testified in behalf of Shipaulovi (*Supawlavi*) and the housing project. He told the Bear Strap Clan plaintiff that he had the story wrong. The plaintiff said that he had told it as his uncle had told it to him. David replied, “Well, my uncle told me that your uncle didn’t know nothing.”¹⁶¹

The account above denotes an example of the important relationship between uncle and nephew. Hopi people who are intuitively aware of family (clan) relationships are aware that restricted clan knowledge and leadership knowledge is knowledge that is oftentimes passed down from uncle to nephew. As Simmons once observed about one Hopi individual, “He is a very important man and is supposed to know everything that his old uncle knew before him.”¹⁶² This important relational quality was the basis of Emory Sekaquaptewa’s argument pointing out that one of Mina Lansa’s sons would rightfully succeed her brother as *Kikmongwi* of *Orayvi* since they were her brother’s *tiw’ayam* (nephews).¹⁶³ Since this traditional succession of leadership for *Orayvi* failed to occur and due to other reasons, *Tawakwaptiwa* (Tewaquaptewa) is referred to as being the last legitimate chief of *Orayvi*.¹⁶⁴ However, following the 1906 Split, it was felt that “The

¹⁶¹ Susanne Page and Jake Page, *Hopi* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 33.

¹⁶² Simmons, *The Role*, 135.

¹⁶³ Emory Sekaquaptewa, “Preserving the Good Things of Hopi Life,” in *Plural Society in the Southwest*, ed. Edward H. Spicer and Raymond H. Thompson (New York: Interbook Inc., 1972), 253.

¹⁶⁴ Albert Yava states that, “Tawaquaptewa was the last real chief of Oraibi.” Albert Yava, “The Burning of the Altars,” in *Hopi Voices: Recollections, Traditions, and Narratives of the Hopi Indian*, ed. Harold Courlander (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 129.

close-knit traditions that had given the Chief his influence were broken, members of clans and families were on opposite sides, and Tewaquaptewa was Chief in name only.”¹⁶⁵

As has been described, clan-family relationships play a pivotal role in the way that leadership responsibilities are passed on in the form of requisite knowledge. In addition to these family analogues, the term *mongwi*, in certain instances, has its own familial quality. The Hopi people will inevitably use the term *mongwi* (leader/chief) to describe persons in supervisory roles but a parental quality is applied to a *Kikmongwi* (village chief). Titiev notes for example that the Hopi people “would never call the village chief and his wife anything but our father and our mother.”¹⁶⁶

The parent analogy as attached to leaders is not limited to the father figure. Mina Lansa, for example, in providing Congressional testimony extends the parent relationship to that of a mother. She states, “As a mother, I look to all living things on this earth as my children - plant life, birds, animals - all living things that have spirit. I take care of them as a mother would these children.”¹⁶⁷

In analyzing the roles and responsibilities of traditional Hopi leaders, we find that there exist numerous expectations and obligations for Hopi leaders to fulfill. The traditional Hopi leader is expected to be knowledgeable about their respective clan and to know their clan’s place in the traditional leadership succession that begins with the *Honngyam* (Bear Clan). These leaders are expected to be versed in the migration routes

¹⁶⁵ Sekaquaptewa, *Me and Mine*, 89.

¹⁶⁶ Mischa Titiev, “The Hopi Use of Kinship Terms for Expressing Sociocultural Values,” *Anthropological Linguistics* 9, no. 5 (May 1967): 47.

¹⁶⁷ U.S. Government. *To Authorize the Partition of the—: Hearings before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs House of Representatives on H.R. 11128, H.R. 4753, and H.R. 4754. (Serial No. 92-44). 92nd Cong. 2nd sess., (1972).*

of their respective clan and to understand how this clan knowledge bestows contemporary clan privileges to land and religious obligations in ceremony.

A *Kikmongwi* (village leader) is expected to have inherited his position due to possessing a certain clan and having his title passed on to him by a clan uncle or older clan relative who held this position prior to him. The *Kikmongwi* and his wife understand that they are not only leaders in their village community but are considered parents by their fellow villagers.

All traditional leaders are expected to be highly knowledgeable about Hopi customs and practices while never displaying too much pride in their abilities. Humbleness in leadership is an obligation of Hopi leaders because it presents for the Hopi people this premier and unbroken teaching passed down from *Màasaw* during Emergence.

What constitutes an ideal Hopi leader and Hopi leadership are understood to have establishment from the time of Creation onward and reminders of this are found throughout Hopi tradition. When the Hopi people are introduced to new modes of leadership they readily will compare how these modes fit within their traditional conceptions of leadership. For example, one Hopi woman speaking about her grandmother provides an observation that Hopi leaders are distinguished from White leaders precisely because of the attribute of humbleness, “She is not proud like a white *monge*¹⁶⁸ [“leader”—she held some position at Moencopi]. She was taught this way.”¹⁶⁹ These powerful Hopi traditions regarding leadership may help to explain the resistance

¹⁶⁸ *mongwi*

¹⁶⁹ Richard B. Brandt, *Hopi Ethics: A Theoretical Analysis*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1954), 118.

and negotiation that took place among the Hopi people regarding the enactment of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) upon the Hopi villages.

The IRA Hopi Constitutional Government

The Hopi people readily contrast between indigenous Hopi leadership and the type of leadership displayed by white Americans. The Hopi people understand that,

“It Pahaanat mongwi’atniqw pu’ Hopit mongwi’at puma qa sunta.”¹⁷⁰

“[A] white man’s ‘chief’ and the mongwi of the Hopi are not synonymous.”¹⁷¹

The Hopi people would propel this argument forward following the 1934 Congressional passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). Also known as the Wheeler-Howard act of 1934, the IRA would allow American Indians residing on reservations to “organize themselves as a business corporation, adopt a constitution and bylaws, and exercise certain forms of self-government.”¹⁷² Following its widespread implementation in American Indian communities, the IRA “would set the foundation for present-day tribal governments.”¹⁷³ The champion of the IRA was then Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier. After the federal legislation’s passage, Commissioner Collier sent his representative, anthropologist Oliver LaFarge to persuade the Hopi villages “to

¹⁷⁰ Michael Lomatuway’ma and Ekkehart Malotki, *Hopi Ruin Legends*, (Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University), 490.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 491.

¹⁷² Vine Deloria, Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), 5.

¹⁷³ Donald L. Fixico, *The Modern West: Indian Resilience and Rebuilding: Indigenous Nations in the Modern American West*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 78.

establish a central Hopi Tribal Council and to adopt a tribal constitution.”¹⁷⁴ John Collier would use various arguments to gain support of the IRA including appeals to have American Indian governments modeled on democratic principles. Collier writes, “We want something else than any kind of totalitarian state, communistic, fascistic, or merely political and bureaucratic.”¹⁷⁵ It is possible that these sentiments about the goal of establishing IRA tribal governments were sufficiently shared with the Hopi community. Consequently, some Hopis positioned themselves in a manner that was against maintaining the customary Hopi leadership system. Justification for taking these positions may be an echoing of the types of arguments made by non-Hopi officials to establish a constitutional government for the Hopi people. For example, Sam Shing from the Upper Village of *Mùnqapi*, provides the following statement in 1955:

The Hopi form of government is a Monarchy government which intends to dictate and intends to drive the people...Anything the Kikmongwi says we are servants unto him...Our constitution is patterned after the constitution of the United States Government...I think we are fortunate to be one of those conquered by a nation who has this form of government...I think [those opposing the Hopi Tribal Council] would realize that we are very fortunate to be under the United States Government.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Pat Sekaquaptewa, “Evolving the Hopi Common Law,” *The Kansas Journal of Law & Public Policy* 9, (Summer 2000): 4.

¹⁷⁵ Allan G. Harper, “Election Day at Hopi,” *Indians At Work* (United States Office of Indian Affairs) 4, no.7 (November 1936).

¹⁷⁶ Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Hopi Hearings. July 15-30, 1955*, United States Department of Interior Bureau of Indian Affairs, Phoenix Area Office, Hopi Agency: Keams Canyon, AZ, (July 1955): 318.

In October 24, 1936, four years following the IRA's passage, the Hopi people would vote on a tribal wide constitution and despite the United States providing official recognition of Hopi constitutional ratification in December of that year, "The legality and fairness of that 1936 election has been a matter of great controversy ever since that time."¹⁷⁷ In speaking about the ratified constitution, Field Representative Allan G. Harper writes, "The document which finally emerged represented an agreement between nine independent villages, among whom the tradition of tribal action had been historically weak, and who presented the difficulties of two unrelated languages (Hopi and Tewa) and various dialect, important social differences, unlike interests, rivalries, and extreme divergence in the acceptance of the white culture."¹⁷⁸

It has been estimated that when the 1936 Hopi election took place, the total population of the Hopi was 4,500¹⁷⁹ out of which there were 1,500 eligible voters (according to the BIA reporting). In the end, the election resulted in "755, or approximately half, cast[ing] their ballots - with these results: 651 For the constitution and by-laws; 104 Against."¹⁸⁰ Wilkins writes, "Opponents of the BIA's proposed Tribal Council system, rather than vote in the BIA election, simply stayed home."¹⁸¹ Despite this traditional mode of opposition being evident during the election, the IRA constitution

¹⁷⁷ Indian Law Resources Center, "Report to the Hopi Kikmongwis and Other Traditional Leaders on Docket 196 and the Continuing Threat to Land Sovereignty," Washington D.C., Indian Law Resources Center, Vol. 1 (March 1979): 28-9.

¹⁷⁸ Allan G. Harper, "Election Day at Hopi," *Indians At Work* (United States Office of Indian Affairs) 4, no.7 (November 1936): 31.

¹⁷⁹ Indian Law Resources, "Report," 47.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁸¹ Charles F. Wilkinson, "Home Dance, the Hopi, and Black Mesa Coal: Conquest and Endurance in the American Southwest," *Brigham Young University Law Review* 1996, (2): 458.

for the Hopi people was certified by the Department of Interior, establishing the Hopi Tribal Council. Following its adoption, “Hopi factionalism has been organized by the adherents of the Tribal Council and those against the Council.”¹⁸²

The IRA’s attempts to create a centralized governmental authority for all Hopi people immediately ran afoul the age-old respect accorded to individual villages to govern their own affairs. Thus in the mind of several orthodox Hopi people, the IRA constructed Hopi Tribal Council represented an unequivocal assault on the Hopi lifeway (*Hopivötskwani*) as they understood it.

“Antsa i’ qa haqam panta. It Hopinvotit ep’e. Ima, imuy hiituy Tribal Council pumuy tutwaniqat qa haqam yanta pumuy form’totaniqa qa panta haqam. Noq pu oovi ima hapi pantoti Hopiit. Niique pantotiqe pu ima pay songyawnen, owi pay imuy momngwituy pay qa hiitatota, songyawnen kitotaqe ayo yukuya meh. Qa pumuy paapu mongwimuy’yungwni. Pumuy piw ayo yukuya songyawnen. Puma hapi pay o’ pantoti.”¹⁸³

Indeed, it is not anywhere that way in Hopi teachings/[prophecy]. [That] these, those so called Tribal Council to be found is not anywhere in this way [in Hopi knowledge]. [For them] to be formed, it is not like that anywhere. [Nevertheless,] that is what they did, the Hopis. So after they did that then they basically, very well these chiefs weren’t [any longer]

¹⁸² Shuichi Nagata, “Dan Kochhongva’s Message: myth, ideology, and political action among the contemporary Hopi [1]”, in *The Yearbook of Symbolic Anthropology I*, ed. Erik Schwimmer, (London: C. Hurst, 1978), 73.

¹⁸³ Author’s transcription of Hopi elder, in “Hopi Indian Film - Techqua Ikachi,” September 1, 2011.

important, basically [that's what they] said and [were] finished with them you see. No longer would they have them as their leaders. They did away with them basically. That's what they did.¹⁸⁴

Further exacerbating the situation was the realization that a number of initial supporters of the IRA constitutional government were Christian converts.¹⁸⁵ In spite of the fact that "Christian missionaries have been active in Hopi country from the sixteenth century"¹⁸⁶ onward, the conversion rate has always constituted a substantially small minority among the Hopi people.

Nonetheless, some key articles respecting the role and requisites of traditional *Hopimongwit* are included in the Hopi Constitution, most notably the recognition of *kikmomngwit* (village chiefs) and a requirement for the highest office holders on the Hopi Council to have command of the Hopi language. The Hopi Constitution, in article 3, section 3, pronounced that, "Each village shall decide for itself how it shall be organized. Until a village shall decide to organize in another manner, it shall be considered as being under the traditional Hopi organization, and the Kikmongwi of such village shall be recognized as its leader."

The Hopi customary rule of a *mongwi* (leader) being able to speak *Hopilavayi* (the Hopi language) was also clearly repeated and upheld when the Hopi Constitution was written. The Hopi Constitution, in article 4, section 9, asserts that, "The Chairman and Vice Chairman shall...speak the Hopi language fluently." Admittedly, no matter

¹⁸⁴ Author's translation

¹⁸⁵ Indian Law Resources, "Report," 62.

¹⁸⁶ Edward A. Kennard, "Metaphor and Magic: Key Concepts in Hopi Culture and Their Linguistic Forms," in *Studies in Linguistics in Honor of George L. Trager* 1, (1972): 469.

what stance is taken with regard to the establishment of the Hopi Tribal Council, the Hopi Constitution demonstrates that the new Hopi IRA government accorded some due respect to at least two noticeably important components of traditional Hopi leadership.

It is apparent that a reading of Hopi history through the lens of the Hopi language reveals a turbulent and complex view of Hopi leadership. However, there is value in learning about the history of Hopi leadership in this manner. When one understands that Hopi concepts of traditional leadership have been resilient despite aggressive interruptions, one appreciates the fortitude of *Hopimomngwit*. In consideration of this, it is evident that remembering, recognizing, and practicing tenets of Hopi leadership provides an important guide toward a Hopi self-determined future.

Chapter 6

LIMITATIONS

It has been largely non-Hopi speakers who undertook the earliest writing of the Hopi language and Hopi literacy supported and created by Hopi people is recent, but of course not without some clashes. As T. J. Ferguson notes, “During more than a century of anthropological research, scholars have used an often bewildering variety of phonetics to write Hopi words.”¹⁸⁷ Indeed the innovative yet challenging means to listen and phonetically spell Hopi words (to develop an orthography) is not confined to anthropological researchers. Phonetic spelling of the Hopi language developed (and persists) as a practice among Hopi people themselves. As explained in the Hopi Dictionary:

***“Itam haqawat it aw tumàltoaqam momotihq pay as pas nanap
itàalavayiy hin aw maatsi’yyungqey pan pentota”***

Those of us who worked on this [Hopi Dictionary] at first were simply spelling our language according to our own understanding.¹⁸⁸

The practice of native Hopi speakers using ad hoc spelling of Hopi words prior to the dictionary’s publication can be seen in the past work of the eminent Hopi language scholar, Emory Sekaquaptewa (*Poliwisiwma.niipu*).¹⁸⁹ Sekaquaptewa was a major driving force behind and contributor to the Hopi Dictionary project. In his chapter contribution to the anthology *Plural Society in the Southwest* published in 1972,

¹⁸⁷ T.J. Ferguson et al., *Yep Hisat*, 4.

¹⁸⁸ *Hopi Dictionary Hopìkwalavàytutuveni*, xiii.

¹⁸⁹ *-niipu* is a respectful way to indicate that a person is no longer living; it is a normative practice in Hopi speech.

Poliwisiwma renders words such as *goh-aya*,¹⁹⁰ *diingavi*,¹⁹¹ and *diio ayam*.¹⁹² The *Hopiikwa Lavàytutuveni* would later standardize these words with the spellings: *qöö'aya*, *tiingavi*, and *tiw'ayam* respectively.

Phonetic spellings can also problematize a researcher's attempt to index a Hopi word with the Hopi Dictionary's orthography and render a lost opportunity in providing greater context for Hopi word usage when translating into English. An example of such a case is provided by *Poliwisima*'s phonetically spelled *goh-aya* and his accompanying translation of "tending the fire." Guided only by this English translation one could possibly confuse this to mean an "appointed firewood fetcher."¹⁹³ This would become the case when compounding *ko* meaning "firewood", and *aya* meaning "appointed one" to render the term *ko'aya* (i.e. *goh-aya*). Despite the dictionary's publication the practice of Hopi members rendering their own phonetic spelling persists. Examples of Hopi tribal members providing their own phonetic spellings of Hopi words can still be found in print mediums like the Hopi Tribe's newspaper the *Hopi Tutuveni*. Once again this can also prove problematic when trying to verify such spellings to the Hopi Dictionary's orthography.

The litany of spellings has pushed scholars of Hopi to convert past Hopi text into the *Hopi Dictionary Hopiikwalavàytutuveni* orthography. The Hopi Dictionary was initially released in 1998. However, as Nichols notes in her 2008 dissertation, "Although the Hopi language is written, the number of individuals literate in the currently adopted

¹⁹⁰ Sekaquaptewa, "Preserving," 242.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 247.

¹⁹² Ibid., 253.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 242.

writing system is minimal.”¹⁹⁴ The effort of those fortunate enough to gain literacy in the Hopi language is to share this skill with other Hopis.

A reaction I’ve personally heard from older Hopi individuals who are fluent in the language but are not literate in the current orthography is usually something along the lines of “*Uti kur um put aw maatsi’ta!*” “Wow you are able to read that!” I take these reactions to be positive reinforcement for the value of the Hopi orthography while recognizing there is still much more work to be done to spread Hopi language literacy and address other challenges present in the use of a Hopi orthography.

Since the orthography is new, certainly mistakes will happen in attempting to transcribe the language with accuracy. For instance, accommodating for Hopi dialectal differences or representation of phonetic contracts is not always clear. More recent scholarship attempts to attune for these dialectal differences, as can be found for example in the 2014 article on recording Hopi toponyms by Hedquist et al. where the authors state that, “For the first time, our study systemically represents several dialects of Hopi.”¹⁹⁵ In addition, despite the Hopi Dictionary conforming to the dialect of Third Mesa, Hopi authors from other Hopi villages have been able to adapt this orthography to reflect their respective dialects.

Another challenge in developing a Hopi orthography is determining what linguistic knowledge is appropriate to include. As noted earlier, true Hopi knowledge is imbedded within Hopi esoteric knowledge. The challenge for undertaking ethical research as a Hopi person is to separate *wim.navoti* (sacred knowledge) from what is

¹⁹⁴ Nichols, “Becoming,” 289.

¹⁹⁵ Saul L. Hedquist et al., “Recording Toponyms to Document the Endangered Hopi Language,” *American Anthropologist* 116 (June 2014): 326.

appropriate to share from sources of *ngyam.navoti* (clan knowledge) and *su'ove.navoti* (public knowledge).¹⁹⁶

There are other areas of knowledge too that entire villages may not be comfortable sharing. This point is made clear by one Hopi elder who questioned a Hopi judge trying to elicit village knowledge for purposes of a court case involving land inheritance practices. The elder asks:

“Um it kitsokit—um navotiyat uma hintsatsnaniqe oovi [?]”

This village—it’s knowledge, what are you going to do with it that’s why?¹⁹⁷

This attentiveness on the part of Hopis with regard to knowledge has its own purpose as well. Protecting knowledge in a manner where not every single Hopi is privy to certain knowledge is also a practice of the Hopi way. It ensures that powerful knowledge is not concentrated to one group or individual so that, as Ishii asserts, “In this way, the village is ceremonially integrated; at the same time, sacred knowledge is spread in such a way that no single individual knows everything.”¹⁹⁸

Ishii’s observation on how Hopi knowledge is restricted and dispensed is particularly enlightening. He states:

“[T]his is precisely what a Hopi perspective encompasses. Different parts come together to form a whole. But this is a very difficult thing to achieve.

¹⁹⁶ I am indebted to one of my *Hotvela* clan relatives for providing these helpful categories of Hopi knowledge.

¹⁹⁷ Justin B. Richland, *Arguing with Tradition: The Language of Law in Hopi Tribal Court* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2008), 78.

¹⁹⁸ David L. Shaul, *Hopi Traditional Literature* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2002), 11.

I seriously doubt that anyone could put all the pieces together. Even a sensitively trained Hopi historian would only have access to a limited amount of history since most of it is kept in secret, and more importantly, is perpetuated in ceremony. That is also proprietary knowledge.”¹⁹⁹

Another difficulty resides in the language itself. One Hopi comments that the “Hopis speak two ways, the higher and the lower language.”²⁰⁰ The older people have their own way of speaking and thus this dialogue is lost over time. Indeed it is stated that:

“Pay son hak wukwnavotit pas sòosok pasiwtani”

It’s doubtful that anyone is completely knowledgeable in all traditions of the elders.²⁰¹

Contemporary challenges are also reflected upon by the Hopi people, as one Hopi states, “Our languages are mixed together. We are now interjecting English into our Hopi. Therefore, we are speaking a truly different language.”²⁰² The practice of ‘mixing’ our language is not new. This especially becomes the case when there are words that are shorter in the English language, words for which there exists no synonymous Hopi word, and especially concepts of Euro-American practice that would not sound accurate if trying to translate into Hopi. In fact when viewing a video posting on YouTube of

¹⁹⁹ Lomayumtewa C. Ishii, “Voices from Our Ancestors: Hopi Resistance to Scientific Historicide” (PhD diss., Northern Arizona University, 2001), 177.

²⁰⁰ Homer Cooyama, “The Burning of the Altars,” in *Hopi Voices: Recollections, Traditions, and Narratives of the Hopi Indian*, ed. Harold Courlander (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1982), 125.

²⁰¹ *Hopi Dictionary Hopiikwalavàytutuveni*, 748.

²⁰² Sheilah E. Nichols, “Language, Epistemology, and Cultural Identity: “Hopiqatsit Aw Unangvakiwungwa” (“They Have Their Heart in the Hopi Way of Life”),” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 34, no. 2 (2010): 133.

Techqua Ikachi, I was caught off guard when one Hopi elder (clearly advanced in age) interrupted his passionate expression of feeling destitute after his group left *Orayvi* in 1906:

“Is okiwa! Itaa kur hiita nöönösani. Qa haqam himu nöösiwqa. Itam ngasta kiiyungqa. Pu — that was in September, it’s getting cold! Noq pu...”²⁰³

Poor things! We would not eat anything. There was no food anywhere. We had no home. Then — *that was in September, it’s getting cold!* And then...²⁰⁴

After his short English phrase, the elder briefly pauses and clearly looks off to the side (I suspect a person standing or sitting in this vicinity) out of camera range. My presumption is that the elder wished to convey the brief sentence to an Anglo or perhaps a Hopi individual who does not understand the Hopi language, the elder looks in this direction either to indicate through his gaze just exactly who he is addressing or to observe a response from whomever is in this field of view. There are definite limitations to providing written analysis from a secondary sources. In this one instance we do not know if the elder is emphasizing the point of weather conditions to augment his Hopi narrative or providing a brief interruption to provide an English translation that ensures all those who are present are aware of what he has been recounting entirely in Hopi. Of course these two presumptions for the elder’s motivation to speak English is speculative. However, when a fluent Hopi speaker employs the use of English it certainly

²⁰³ Author’s transcription of Hopi elder, in “Hopi Indian Film - Techqua Ikachi,” September 1, 2011.

²⁰⁴ Author’s translation

demonstrates a primary underlying desire of the speaker: to be understood by interlocutors.

Indeed all the aforementioned challenges are challenges precisely because they share a key characteristic. That is, the Hopi people wish to understand, expand, and sustain the use of the Hopi language. I found the act of writing my native language to be one means to achieve this desire of the Hopi people. The responsibility of a Hopi scholar is similar to how our Hopi leaders are expected to work. We must demonstrate and share our work in efforts to understand how each individual contribution will strengthen our resolve to address the concerns of our Hopi communities. Language retention continues to be a concern for all Hopi communities so we must work through the limitations that present themselves in the best manner possible.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

Contemporary Hopi people and their leaders are a diverse people with a multitude of perspectives. Adherence to traditional ways of Hopi living have been seriously complicated by our changed relationship to land and the strenuous battle to retain our Hopi language and oral traditions. For example, traditionally Hopi farming was employed by means of a *tepsoya* (greasewood planting stick). Steel hoes and modern tractors for corn planting have majorly replaced this method. Yet the effort is the same: to maintain the act of planting and living a corn lifeway. Writing our Hopi language and learning about our *Hopimomngwit* through written methods does not replace the original means by which we learned about these important matters. It supplements and hopefully strengthens it. The ultimate objective of co-optation practices of the Hopi people and their leaders have always been a balance between being practicable while working to protect Hopi traditional practices.

The traditional system of Hopi leadership is rooted in respect for autonomous powers held by religious societies and their leaders. The knowledge held by these specialized groups is given its own time for practice within the Hopi ceremonial calendar. These groups' powers are also conjoined for the ultimate objective of benefitting all Hopi people, mankind and living beings. In practicing this type of joint power holding and practice, *Hopimomngwit* are engaged in a practice that resembles the conjoining of power that took place among Hopi deities that commissioned the creation of the Hopi people. Every Hopi leader, just as is recognized among the Hopis' supernatural progenitors, is

recognized as possessing songs and ritual knowledge that maintain *Hopivötskwani* (the Hopi lifeway).

The Hopi people often turn to clan identity and family lineage to determine who is best qualified to fulfill leadership roles. Traditional leadership incumbents will oftentimes inherit specialized knowledge from uncles or older relatives in the same clan. Respect is accorded to the oldest living members of a clan and *Hopimomngwit* will oftentimes be persons who occupy simultaneous roles as *wukw'a'yam* (clan leaders) and *wimmomngwit* (religious society heads). In the case of the *Kikmongwi*, he and his wife are considered by their respective villagers as their father and mother and will be addressed accordingly. The familial quality present among *mongnanasngwam* (fellow chiefs) ensures that clan identity and autonomy are upheld and respected in Hopi society. However, it is recognized that this premier quality of respect accorded to the Hopi clans can also be the source of competing claims related to land rights and arguments that certain clans are *söqavungsinom* (commoners) with no legitimate claim to occupy *mongqeni* (leadership positions). It may be possible that Hopi individuals who are caste as nothing more than *söqavungsinom* (commoners) would not mind being called so, since even legitimate office holders will *naasöqavungta* (call themselves commoners) in conforming to the Hopi leadership custom of humbling oneself.

Humbleness in conduct as a Hopi leader is a foremost tenant of Hopi leadership. *Hopimomngwit* practice humility because this is a Hopi characteristic gained at the time of Emergence. Hopi humility is an emulation of *Màasaw*'s deportment. Despite holding multiple highly respected roles in Hopi society, much like *Hopimomngwit* themselves, *Màasaw* carries his responsibilities and awesome abilities with a lack of vanity.

At the very least, a firm and fundamentally shared belief among all Hopi villages is that *Mâasaw* is the ultimate custodian of land in this Fourth World. When confusion arises among the Hopi people about the role of Hopi leaders, I implore the Hopi people to look to the humble example set by *Mâasaw*.

In working to maintain *Hopivötskwani* (the Hopi lifeway), *Hopimomngwit* concomitantly worked to maintain the Hopi language. *Hopimomngwit* have committed to memory the necessary Hopi songs and prayers that, when recited in the appropriate manner, have the ability to effectuate benevolent changes that are part of all the Hopi people's prayers. The specialized songs and ritual knowledge that have continual practice through *Hopilavayi* (the Hopi language) is also an evocation of *Hopilavayi* (the Hopi language) as the language of *Mâasaw*. Indeed, *Hopimomngwit* continue to remind Hopis and non-Hopis about the important words and teachings *Mâasaw* imparted at Emergence and during the first settlement at *Orayvi*. The *Hopimomngwit* who dedicate their lives to maintain *Hopivötskwani* are well aware that *Hopilavayi* is a requisite in our ability to genuinely call ourselves and be recognized as *Hopiit* (Hopi people).

The Hopi people and their *momngwit* (leaders) have confronted formidable challenges as they transitioned from their primordial worlds to their final settlement in *Hopitutskwa* (Hopi land). The rapid changes taking place for the state of the Hopi language will perhaps be one of the most difficult challenges the Hopi people and their leaders will need to confront. In the compendium of Hopi oral knowledge, the Hopi people are familiar with the inevitability of Hopi language loss, a state where the Hopi people will no longer be able to identify themselves as legitimate *Hopiit*. As one Hopi prophecy, repeated by Harry Kewanimptewa goes:

“Hakàapiy²⁰⁵ yaw itam suup lengi’yvayani.”²⁰⁶

“The time will come, it is said when we [humanity in general] will all speak one language.”²⁰⁷

Similarly, *Hopinvoti* (Hopi knowledge) also teaches the Hopi people that there will continue to be stages in our existence where we confront foreign influences and the impositions of a lifeway that is in total opposition to our own Hopi way of thinking and living. Oftentimes Hopi knowledge bluntly calls to mind for the Hopi people their own mortality and the finality of their rich culture. However, the recognition that the Hopi people are mortal beings who must confront challenges that work toward hastening Hopi cultural demise does not stop the Hopi people from working toward achieving the benefits reaped from living a *hopi* life. At every stage where a threat to Hopi existence presented itself, it has always been a lone *mongwi* or group of *momngwit* who put their best efforts forward to confront the challenge. *Hopimomngwit* are those individuals who show the Hopi people what is possible in seemingly impossible situations.

In this thesis I have limited my discussion of *Hopimomngwit* to transcriptions and translations as can be derived from the literature and existing video recordings. It will take Hopi leaders of another sort to begin seriously expanding the Hopi literary canon and exploring solutions to address the complexities of transitioning culturally appropriate aspects of the Hopi oral tradition into written form. The leadership exhibited by the scholarship efforts of some Hopi individuals demonstrates unique strides toward

²⁰⁵ *Haqàapiy*. See *Hopi Dictionary Hopiikwalavàytutuveni*, 60.

²⁰⁶ Peter Whiteley, “Do “Language Rights” Serve Indigenous Interests? Some Hopi and Other Queries,” in *American Anthropologist* 105, (December 2003): 712.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

including Hopi orthography and an initial foothold of Hopi literacy for the benefit of Hopi people. The imperative to intensify this difficult effort finds its reason in the reality that the younger generations of Hopi are deserving of any and all efforts to pass on to them their Hopi birthright of gaining an understanding of *Hopilavayi* (the Hopi language).

The ultimate teaching that *Hopimomngwit* provide for the Hopi people is hope. It is the example of faith seen in all *Hopimomngwit* that has sustained the Hopi people since our acceptance to follow *Hopivötskwani*. As the late Starlie Lomayaktewa, *Iswungwa* (Coyote Clan) elder from *Musangnuvi*, provides:

Pam hapi panta...Hopi put hapi kwusanaqe paasat pu hapi meh, yanta enang'a meh, yanta hapi paavamhimu'u meh: Tuwat akw qatuniqe naawakne...namahin yaasava sowiwa pam pay ani hiikyata; pam pay niitiwta! Yanta hapi yaw i'i meh. Noq oovi qa peeewnaqe it hapi yantaqat tuft²⁰⁸: akw qatuni naawakne!²⁰⁹

It is this way...Hopi picked that up, so now in this aspect, in additional consideration of this aspect, all of this is to be understood this way look: If one wishes to make a means of living from it...even though the corn was this [small in] length, its worth is tremendous; it is more than enough! So

²⁰⁸ The elder is not from Third Mesa and thus the “f” sound appears where “p” is usually present in the Third Mesa dialect. I have taken “tuft” to mean *tuptsiwq* from the root *tuptsiw*: 1. believe. 2. believe in. See *Hopi Dictionary Hopiikwalavàytutuveni*, 672.

²⁰⁹ Author’s transcription of Starlie Lomayaktewa, in *Hopi: Songs of the Fourth World*, VHS, (Ho-Ho-Kus, NJ: New Day Film Library), Directed by Pat Ferrero, Ferrero Films, 1983.

this is how it is said to be understood see. So that's why the one who does not doubt this matter: will live off of it if they are willing!²¹⁰

Hopimomngwit and the people who follow their lead, *Hopiit*, will always be recognizable by their willingness to speak the Hopi language and to live in like manner to that of *Màasaw* in *Hopitutskwa*: by means of a planting stick, seeds, and a gourd of water. These humble substances of Hopi inheritance may not seem to possess great value at first but when we consider how far it has carried the Hopi people, we can confidently speculate as to how much further we can go. If our people are strong of heart and we pick up these Hopi possessions and make every effort to pass them on to future generations of Hopis, the Hopi people will continue to recapitulate their existence as a rich people with strong leaders once again.

²¹⁰ Author's translation

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