

COMPREHENDING HOPI FOOTPRINTS: HOPI HISTORY AND TRADITIONS AT GLEN CANYON NATIONAL RECREATION AREA AND RAINBOW BRIDGE NATIONAL MONUMENT

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ABSTRACT

Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act requires federal agencies to identify, evaluate, and protect historic properties that fall under their jurisdictions. The Hopi Tribe has recently engaged in a collaborative research project at Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and Rainbow Bridge National Monument to identify historic properties significant to their tribe as part of the National Park Service's Section 110 compliance efforts. Understanding the values that tribal members ascribe to historic properties is essential for the National Park Service to appropriately protect and manage these places. The Hopi Tribe has broadly benefited from the NHPA because it has allowed them to engage with federal agencies and reconnect with their traditional cultural sites that exist well beyond the boundaries of their reservation.

INTRODUCTION

For more than 20 years, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office has been engaged in a long-term, wide-scale program to use the research mandated by the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) to comprehend Hopi footprints—to grasp their nature, significance, and meaning for both the Hopi people and the American public. This research program takes advantage of the opportunities provided by the NHPA to explore and document the geographical and temporal range of Hopi ancestral migrations (Bernardini 2005). By investigating Hopi ancestral sites found in a number of project areas close to and distant from the Hopi Reservation, the Hopi Tribe is slowly building important historical knowledge that is valuable for tribal members, and needed by federal agencies for compliance with the NHPA in a manner that is sensitive to Hopi tribal traditions.

Here we summarize the results of a study of Glen Canyon National Recreation Area (GLCA) and Rainbow Bridge National Monument (RABR) conducted by the Hopi Tribe and University of Arizona for the National

Park Service (Figure 1). This study illustrates how the Hopi Tribe uses the federal mandate for historic preservation to engage in archaeological and ethnographic research to increase its participation in the management of heritage resources. Collaborative research is essential for understanding the traditional beliefs and practices of Native Americans that are associated with historic properties, and that are necessary for the perseverance of their cultures. This type of research also educates non-tribal members, ultimately leading to more sophisticated views of history and better preservation practices. Previous studies conducted with the participation of the Pueblo of Zuni in New Mexico (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2012; Hopkins and Ferguson 2012), the O'odham tribes in Arizona (Darling and Lewis 2008; Johnson et al. 2013) and various other tribes across the U.S. Southwest (Price Steinbrecher et al. 2016) provide examples of these beneficial collaborations.

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK PROVIDED BY THE NHPA

Programmatic agreements executed by the Hopi Tribe, the National Park Service, and other parties specifically recognize the federal government's responsibilities under Section 110 of the NHPA to identify, evaluate, and protect historic properties within National Parks (Hopkins et al. 2013). This study of Hopi history and traditions related to GLCA and RABR was designed by Rosemary Sucec of the National Park Service under Section 110 to provide her agency with the information it needs to effectively manage heritage resources. The Hopi Tribe was interested in participating in this research because it provided an opportunity to document Hopi history and traditions in an area not previously investigated by the Tribe. The research results would thus fill in an-

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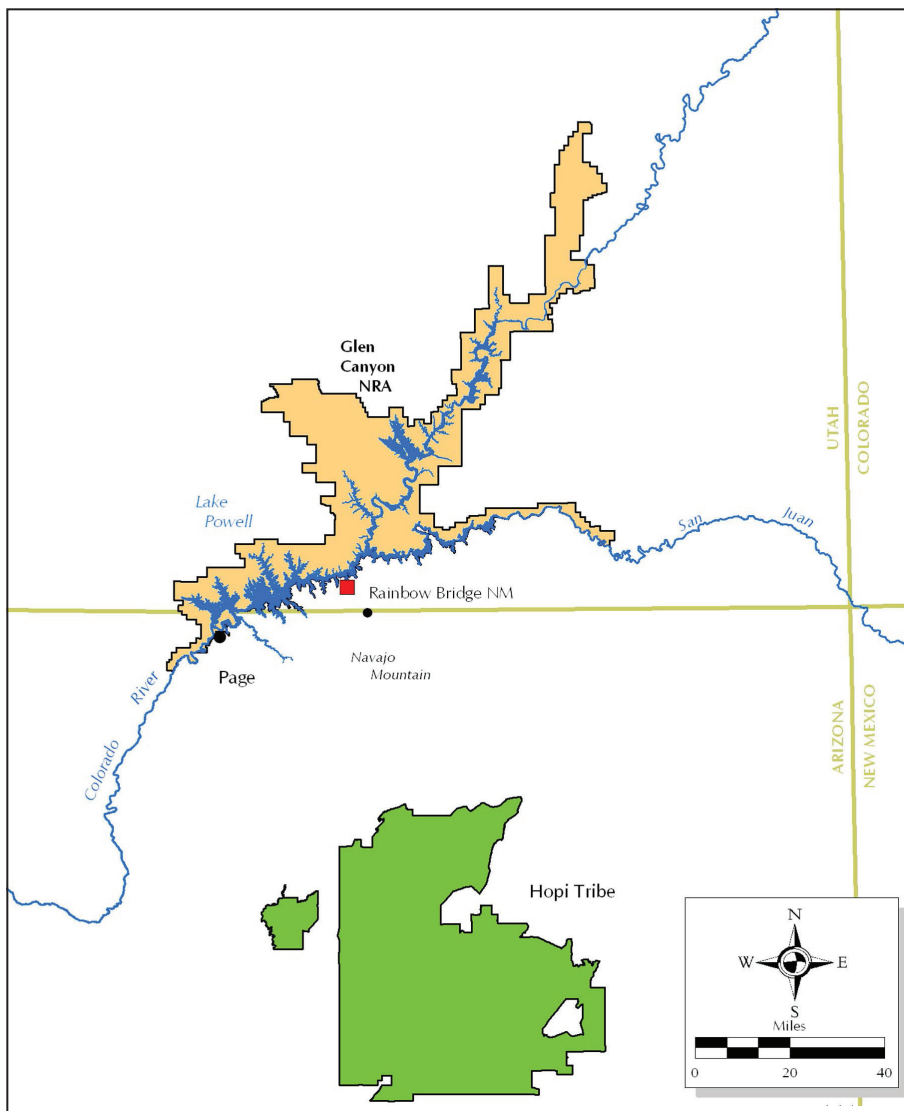


Figure 1. Location of the Hopi Reservation in relationship to GLCA and RABR.



Figure 2. Hopi cultural advisors at Lost Wolf pictograph panel. Left to Right: Noel Rupel, Maren Hopkins, Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa, Rosemary Sucec, Lawrence Namoki, Leonard Talaswaima, Riley Balenquah, Thann Baker, and T. J. Ferguson. Photograph by Jennifer Bishop, June 30, 2011.

other geographical piece of the historical puzzle of Hopi history, and increase understanding of how Hopi ancestral sites articulate in historic preservation and heritage management. The Hopi Tribe ascribes to a cultural landscape approach as a general research protocol for understanding and interpreting cultural and natural resources as interrelated components of Hopi history and cultural traditions.

THESE PLACES SHOULD ALWAYS BE REMEMBERED

Itaakuku—Our Footprints—is a historical metaphor that the Hopi people use to denote the places where the ancestors lived during the long period between emergence and migration to the present villages on the Hopi Mesas (Kuwanwisiwma and Ferguson 2004). Ang kuktota, literally “along there, make footprints,” was one of the instructions that the deity Máasaw gave to the Hopi to demonstrate that they had fulfilled their spiritual obligations as stewards of the land entrusted to them. Today, these footprints are recognized as the architectural remains, pottery, stone tools, petroglyphs and other

artifacts that constitute archaeological sites and historic properties.

“These places should always be remembered. We should never forget them,” Leonard Talaswaima remarked during our fieldwork in GLCA. He was one of a team of four Hopi tribal members who conducted research in GLCA and RABR to explicate how Hopi stories and knowledge acquired through generations of travel became an integral part of the Hopi religion, and how the events and places associated with particular clans are maintained through ritual events, prayers, and pilgrimages (Figure 2; Table 1). During our fieldwork, we were able to visit 10 cultural sites and fly over 2 others (Figure 3, Table 2). The information documented during fieldwork was supplemented with knowledge shared in fifteen ethnographic interviews (Table 3). The cultural values and knowledge associated with archaeological sites and historic properties were inherited from clan ancestors, and this heritage is what makes these places

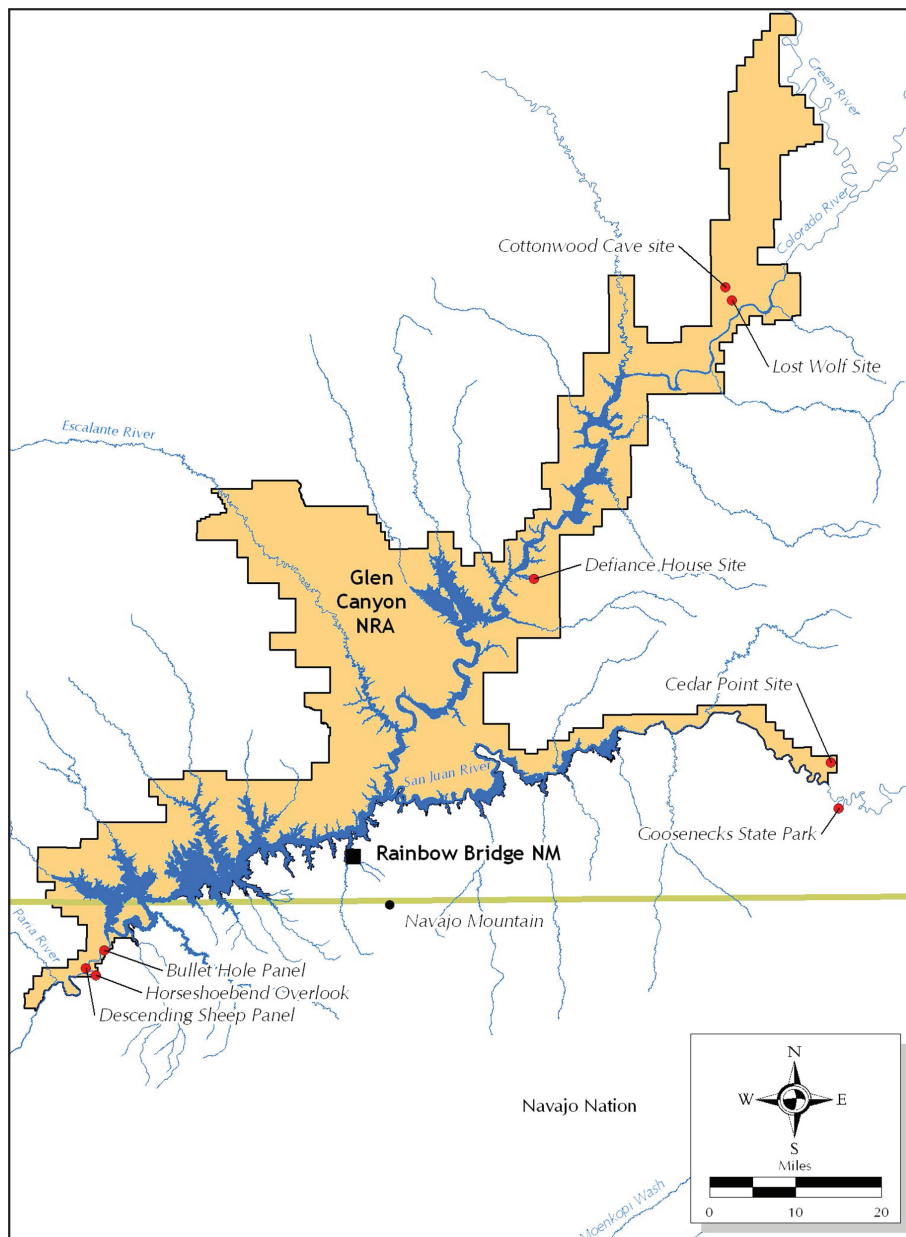


Figure 3. Research stops made during the Hopi land-use and cultural affiliation study at GLCA and RABR are denoted with a red dot. The research team also discussed the cultural significance of Rainbow Bridge and Navajo Mountain during airplane flights near these areas.

doing human history ... a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities." When indigenous people visit an ancestral landscape that they have not personally experienced before, there is a palpable and immutable process of discovery and revelation that grounds their understanding in traditional history and religious concepts (Morphy 1993). During our research in GLCA and RABR, we found that our work provided a mechanism for the Hopi on our research team to renew their cultural links with specific places that had been forgotten or irregularly visited, and to place these sites into a framework congruent with the NHPA.

HOPI VALUES AND USE OF CULTURAL AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Our work documented 26 Hopi clans with migration histories associated with Glen Canyon, Pisisvayu (Colorado River), Toko'navi (Navajo Mountain), and Namiqw'wunu (Rainbow Bridge) (Table 4). Clan migration histories are complex, and often contain details that are not openly shared with people outside the clan (Hopkins 2012). The general versions of Hopi clan histories that have been published, however, reveal that the Mountain Lion and Dove people were among the first Hopi clans to arrive in the area around Toko'navi, and

traditional cultural properties, as defined in the NHPA (Parker and King 1998).

The Hopi ability to know and interpret ancestral sites is understandable in terms of cultural landscape theory that explains how historical memory is embedded in the land, and how the names of places and their physical manifestation as landforms and cultural sites situate the Hopi people in historical time and space. Storied landscapes provide powerful metonyms of narratives that symbolize and recall the past (Young 1987:4–9). Experiencing places and landscapes, as Basso (1996:7) observed, provides "a venerable means of

Table 1. Hopi Cultural Advisors Involved in Fieldwork at GLCA and RABR

Name	Age	Village	Clan
Riley Balenquah	68	Paaqavi	Tsu'wungwa (Rattlesnake)
Stewart Koyiyumptewa	40	Hotvela	Honanwungwa (Badger)
Lawrence Namoki	60	Wàlpi	Lenwungwa (Flute)
Leonard Talaswaima	64	Supawlavi	Paatangwungwa (Squash)

Table 2. Places Visited During Hopi Research at GLCA and RABR

Place Visited	Date Visited
Gooseheads State Park, Utah/San Juan River	27-Jun-2011
Cedar Point Site (42SA24365)	27-Jun-2011
Horseshoe Bend Overlook, Arizona	28-Jun-2011
Lees Ferry	28-Jun-2011
Colorado River	28-Jun-2011
Bullet Hole Panel (AZ Z:3:6 [ASM])	28-Jun-2011
Descending Sheep Panel (AZ C:2:38 [ASM])	28-Jun-2011
Defiance House (42SA00598)	29-Jun-2011
Cottonwood Cave site (42GA3335)	30-Jun-2011
Lost Wolf Panel (42GA03339)	30-Jun-2011
Rainbow Bridge (fly-over)	01-Jul-2011
Navajo Mountain (fly-over)	01-Jul-2011

they were soon followed by the Rattlesnake, Sand, and Deer clans (Curtis 1922; Fewkes 1900; Mindeleff 1891; Stephen 1936; Voth 1905). Eventually these clans migrated to villages on the Hopi Mesas. Hopi petroglyphs in the Glen Canyon region that date from A.D. 1300 to the present are interpreted by archaeologists as representing revisitation to the area by Hopis, evidence that is supported by the presence of datable Hopi ceramics that are associated both with the petroglyphs as well as other archaeological sites (Adams 1986; Turner 1963). During our fieldwork, we observed Hopi cultural advisors leaving prayer feathers and other offerings at ancestral sites, continuing a long tradition of honoring ancestors and the places that they lived in Glen Canyon.

In addition to ancestral sites, our project documented the plants, animals, water sources and landforms of Glen Canyon that constitute an important part of what the Hopi people cognize as Hopitutsqua—Hopi land (Hedquist and others 2014, Kuwanwisiwma and Ferguson 2014). The springs and water sources, in particular, are cherished resources with spiritual as well as economic importance. The Hopis use many springs as shrines where religious offerings are deposited. As Leonard Talaswaima told us, “We should never forget them. We should honor our ancestors by making prayers and depositing prayer feathers to

honor their gifts today.” The documentation of natural resources with cultural importance to the Hopi people has relevance for future NEPA and NHPA studies.

SIGNIFICANT HOPI HISTORIC PROPERTIES IN GLEN CANYON AND RAINBOW BRIDGE

Here we highlight a few of the historic properties in GLCA and RABR that our study revealed are important to the Hopi people (Figure 3).

Toko’navi (Navajo Mountain) is located south of Glen Canyon and west of Rainbow Bridge (Figure 4). Its massive landform creates an important cultural and visual landmark for the Hopi people. It is here that Tiyo is said to have brought home a snake wife after a harrowing journey down the Colorado River, establishing the Rattlesnake Clan and introducing the Snake Dance into Hopi religion (Hopkins 2012, Secakuku 2006). Today Toko’navi is venerated as a shrine used during the homvi’ikya pilgrimage to make ritual offerings that pay homage to the entire domain of Hopi stewardship.

Namiqu’wunu—Rainbow Bridge—is associated with the Rattlesnake, Flute, Deer, Fire, Bearstrap, and Butterfly clans (Figure 5). A Hopi shrine is known to have been present at Rainbow Bridge before it was submerged during high water levels in Lake Powell (Ferguson 1998; Fewkes 1906). Members of the Hopi clans associated with Rainbow Bridge still visit the area to deposit prayer feathers, and members of the Rattlesnake Clan continue to collect water from a nearby sacred spring. An image of the natural bridge occurs on one of the altars of the Flute Clan.

Table 3. List of Interviewees for the GLCA and RABR Hopi Research Project

Name	Age	Village	Clan	Interview Date
Alph H. Secakuku	72	Supawlavi	Tsu’wungwa (Rattlesnake)	22-Jun-2011
Mervin S. Yoyetewa	57	Musangnuvi	Tsu’wungwa (Rattlesnake)	22-Jun-2011
Floyd Lomakuyvaya	62	Songdopavi	Piqöswungwa (Bearstrap) and Kookyangwungwa (Spider)	02-Aug-2011
Gilbert Naseyowma	75	Munqapi	Taawawungwa (Sun)	04-Aug-2011
Leigh J. Kuwanwisiwma	61	Paaqavi	Tepwungwa (Greasewood)	22-Jun-2011
Lyle Balenquah	36	Paaqavi	Tepwungwa (Greasewood)	15-Sep-2011
Morgan Saufkie	75	Songdopavi	Honwungwa (Bear)	05-Aug-2011
Raleigh H. Puhayaoma Sr.	77	Supawlavi	Qalawungwa (Sun Forehead)	04-Aug-2011
Riley Balenquah	68	Paaqavi	Tsu’wungwa (Rattlesnake)	01-Jul-2011
Leonard Talaswaima	63	Supawlavi	Paatangwungwa (Squash)	01-Jul-2011
Rod Duwala	50	Orayvi	Qa’öwungwa (Corn)	05-Aug-2011
Susan Secakuku	42	Supawlavi	Poovolwungwa (Butterfly)	15-Sep-2011
Wilton Kooyahoema	70	Hotvela	Kookopwungwa (Fire)	02-Aug-2011
Lee W. Lomayestewa	52	Songdopavi	Honwungwa (Bear)	15-Sep-2011
Donald Dawahongnewa	54	Songdopavi	Patkiwungwa (Water)	15-Sep-2011



Figure 4. Toko'navi, seen on the distant horizon, is a central feature of the GLCA and RABR landscape. Photograph by Maren Hopkins, June 29, 2011.

The Hopi name for the Colorado River is Pisisvayu. In the words of Susan Secakuku, Pisisvayu is “a main water thoroughfare, or blood vein.” The watershed that forms the Colorado River has cultural importance because of its role in religious beliefs and practices. “Hopis believe anytime you collect something from the river,” Leonard Talaswaima told us, “you have to honor it by giving back; this is part of the Hopi commitment to stewardship.” One of the many Hopi offering places along the

Table 4. Hopi Clans or Wu'ya Associated with GLCA and RABR

Clan or Wu'ya	Hopi Name	Reference
Antelope	Tsöfngyam	Ferguson 2007
Badger	Honangnyam	Ferguson 2007
Bear	Honngyam	Ferguson 1998, 2007
Bearstrap	Piqösngyam	Ferguson 2007
Bow	Aawatngyam	Ferguson 2007
Burrowing Owl	Kokopngyam	Ferguson 2007
Butterfly	Poovolngyam	Ferguson 2007
Coyote	Isngyam	Ferguson 1998; Sucec 2006
Deer	Alngyam	Ferguson 2007
Dove	Höwingyam	Ferguson 2007
Eagle	Kwaangyam	Sucec 2006
Fire	Kookopngyam	Ferguson 2007
Flute	Lenngyam	Ferguson 2007; Sucec 2006
Greasewood	Tepngyam	This Report
Lizard	Kuukutsngyam	Ferguson 2007; Sucec 2006
Mountain Lion	Tohòngyam	Ferguson 2007
Rattlesnake	Tsu'ngyam	Ferguson 2007; Sucec 2006; Turner 1963
Reed/Bamboo	Paaqapngyam	Ferguson 2007; Turner 1963
Roadrunner	Hospo'ngyam	Ferguson 2007
Sand	Tuwangyam	Ferguson 2007; Sucec 2006
Squash	Paatangnyam	Ferguson 2007
Spider	Kookyangngyam	Ferguson 2007; Turner 1963
Tobacco	Pifngyam	Ferguson 2007
Tit-Mouse	Huktsirongyam	Turner 1963:41
Water	Patkingyam	Ferguson 2007; Turner 1963
Water Coyote	Paa'isngyam	Ferguson 2007

Colorado River is Neneqqi Wuansivu, now known as Lees Ferry, where Hopis also hunted and continue to fish. When he visited Pisisvayu during our project, Mr. Talaswaima was inspired to recount Tiyo's journey, and the deities that helped him along the way, including Huru'ingwúuti (Hard Objects Woman), Kòokyangwso'wúuti (Old Spider Woman), and Pòqangwhoya and Palöngawhoya (the Warrior Twins).

The San Juan River, known to the Hopis as Yotse'vayu, or “Ute River,” is revered because of its association with the Hopi clans descended from the ancestors who are associated with the archaeological cultures of the San Juan valley (Yava 1978:36). As Morgan Saufkie said, “A lot of clan people went up through that area, the Bear Clan went up through there. The San Juan River is our aboriginal land. We claim up the San Juan, our Songòopavi claim (quoted in Albert and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007:2–35). Yotse'vayu formed a cultural boundary, with the Utes to the north and the Hopis to the south.

Petroglyph styles and chronologies established by archaeologists in the Glen Canyon area were referenced during our research (Turner 1963). We spent several hours at the Cedar Point Petroglyph Site (42SA24365), near Cedar Mesa, where there are numerous images executed in the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style (Figure 6). Among the images, the Hopi research team identified Qöqlö, a katsina with a duck on his head that appears in the Hopi villages in December (Figure 7). On Second Mesa, Qöqlö is a storyteller associated with the Badger Clan. Other images at the site depicted the Yayat, a Hopi religious society associated with a pole dance where people swing out over the edge of mesa while tethered with a rope, and a Kwan priest as-

sociated with the One-Horn Society. Hopi wuuya, or clan symbols, observed at the site included the marks of the Badger, Flute, Greasewood, Rattlesnake, and Reed clans. Hopi deities were also represented in the petroglyphs, including Muy'ingwa (God of Geminatation) and Ma'saw, the owner of the Fourth World. Several petroglyphs were interpreted as maps showing rivers and a route to the mountains. After viewing the petroglyphs, Hopi cultural advisors concluded they are ancestral to Hopi. Riley Balenquah remarked, "I feel comfortable my ancestors were here."

Hopi researchers interpreted variation in the anthropomorphic petroglyphs at the Bullet Hole Panel (AZ C:3:6), executed in the Glen Canyon Linear style, to represent social interaction among different groups of people. Images associated with the Hopi Two-Horn Society were documented at this site. At the Descending

Sheep panel (AZ C:2:38), petroglyphs executed in the Glen Canyon Linear style were interpreted as depicting a hunting party that came into the canyon to hunt game. Hopi researchers thought that these images depicted antelope rather than mountain sheep. At some petroglyph panels, the images were esoteric and Hopi advisors were not willing to discuss them openly.

Hopi researchers spent a morning visiting Defiance House, an Ancestral Pueblo site built into an overhang in Forgotten Canyon (Figure 8). The site consists of a small pueblo with a kiva, and there are distinctive pictographs showing human figures with weapons on the cliff wall above the architecture (Figure 9). Circular pictographs were interpreted as migration symbols indicating how Hopi ancestors came to the site. After a long exploration of the site, Leonard Talaswaima said "This is yufqöyve and it is part of Hopi migration history. When Hopi an-

cestors were on migrations, they were instructed by Ma'saw to leave their mark so that the Hopis in the future know where they have been. Yufqöyve is the Hopi word for faraway place, or the "land beyond the horizon." Before leaving Defiance House, Hopi researchers formed a smoking circle and ritually passed around a pipe containing piiva (native tobacco) while they prayed. Feathers were tied onto prayer sticks, and left with an offering of hooma (prayermeal) in a secluded part of the site. The rain that came a short time later was seen by the Hopi research team as answered prayers. One Hopi team member entered the kiva and gently sang a Long Hair katsina song, which



Figure 5. Aerial view of Namiqw'wunu. Photograph by Stewart B. Koyiyumtewa, July 1, 2011.



Figure 6. Leonard Talaswaima points out a "map" of the landscape at the Cedar Point site. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, June 27, 2011.



Figure 7. Petroglyph figures at the Cedar Point site remind Hopis of a katsina figure known as a Qöqlö. Photographs by T. J. Ferguson, June 27, 2011.



Figure 8. Defiance House is an Ancestral Pueblo site built into an overhang in Forgotten Canyon. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, June 29, 2011.



Figure 9. Ancient images of warriors are painted on the walls at Defiance House. Photograph by Maren Hopkins, June 29, 2011.

invoked an important spiritual being associated with moisture. Visiting Defiance House was a moving emotional experience for the Hopi research team, and their ritual activities demonstrate their strong cultural ties to this ancestral site.

At the Cottonwood Cave site in Clearwater Canyon, the Hopis inspected a series of large anthropomorphic pictographs that they thought depicted a family portrait. The stone cysts at this site were interpreted as storage containers for the ancient farmers who painted the im-

ages on the cliff wall, an idea that was reinforced by the manos observed at the site. Lawrence Namoki explained that it was difficult to adequately express the feelings he experienced at Cottonwood Cave. He said the storage pits evoked thoughts of the people who lived at the site and their search for a place to settle in the land that the Creator had provided for them. As with the other ancestral sites, the Hopi research team left prayer offerings here that reinforced the cultural connection between this place and their contemporary religious practices.

Another panel of large anthropomorphic figures, painted on a vertical cliff face in the Barrier Canyon style, was examined at the Lost Wolf Panel (42GA03339). Here the Hopis thought the figures wore ceremonial garb that was reminiscent of that of the Tsa'kwayna, including shell necklaces (Figure 10). This invoked a discussion of how the Tsa'wayna Clan came to the Hopi Mesas from the Rio Grande area. The Tsa'kwayna were warriors and proficient at making rain. There is still a place on First Mesa where the ritual paraphernalia of the Tsa'kwayna ceremony is stored. A serpent depicted alongside one of the figures is associated with water, and similar to a deity of the Water Clan. After a long discussion, the Hopi research team concluded these pictographs were made by bands of people during their migrations, but not from clans that are familiar to Hopis today. The NPS personnel with us at this site discussed recent research that proposes that Barrier Canyon pictograph sites are associated with topographic settings that produce echoes. This prompted Leonard Talaswaima to sing a Hopi song that exhorted the people

listening to come in with a good heart and a happy mood, and be thankful. The echo of this song bounced off the surrounding cliff faces as the research team quietly left the site.

Finally, although they did not visit the Willow Gulch Site (42A04084), the Hopis viewed photographs showing a pictograph panel associated with a small granary and artifact scatter. They remarked about the Kwan (One-Horn) and Aa'alt (Two-Horn) figures that are reminiscent of priests that play a key role in manhood ini-



Figure 10. Pictograph images at the Lost Wolf Panel depict spiritual deities that traveled with Hopi clans. Photograph by Maren Hopkins, June 30, 2011.

tiation ceremonies at Hopi. These figures carry staffs adorned with feathers that symbolize their authority, as depicted in the pictographs.

FUTURE RESEARCH PLANS

The next step in Hopi research at GLCA and RABR is to study a sample of the materials that were collected during the salvage archaeology associated with the construction of Glen Canyon Dam. This work, recently funded by the NPS, will enable Hopi tribal members to conduct research of the Glen Canyon collections curated at the Museum of Northern Arizona and Natural History Museum of Utah. We anticipate that new interpretations of material culture recovered from archaeological sites in the Glen Canyon area will enhance our understanding of Hopi footprints in the Southwest.

CONCLUSION

As the Glen Canyon project demonstrates, the NHPA has increased the participation of the Hopi Tribe in heritage management. Hopi cultural advisors were able to visit ancestral sites in remote areas that they would otherwise not have access to. They identified 33 cultural resources that have traditional associations with the Hopi people. The Hopi researchers explicated how place-names and stories are connected to the land and preservation of Hopi traditional cultural practices. While esoteric elements of these traditional practices need to be protected from dissemination, the documentation of traditional cultural properties is important because it enables the Hopi Tribe to work with the National Park Service and other federal agencies to identify and pro-

tect these heritage sites. Understanding the value of these sites to the Hopi people is essential for the National Park Service to be able to develop appropriate management and treatment measures for them.

In conclusion, we note that the increasing number of Hopi tribal members working as professional archaeologists and ethnographers is changing the paradigmatic basis of our discipline in new and exciting ways. The perspectives that Native Americans offer about the relationships between archaeology, history, cultural patrimony invigorate anthropology by challenging all scholars to acknowledge the limitations of our own values, beliefs, and assumptions, and continuing to work together to expand and improve them. Non-Indian and Indian archaeologists and ethnographers need to continue to collaborate in research, and both groups need to continue working with traditional Native peoples in the study of the past. In so doing, the research being conducted for and by Native Americans under the auspices of the NHPA will help to restructure our discipline and enrich our intellectual understanding of the archaeological record.

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