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Traditional History Study of Navajo National Monument

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An Ethnographic Literature Review of Publications on Hopi, Zuni, and Navajo

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Traditional History Study
of
Navajo National Monument

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An Ethnographic Literature Review
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Publications on Hopi, Zuni, and Navajo

by

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September 2001

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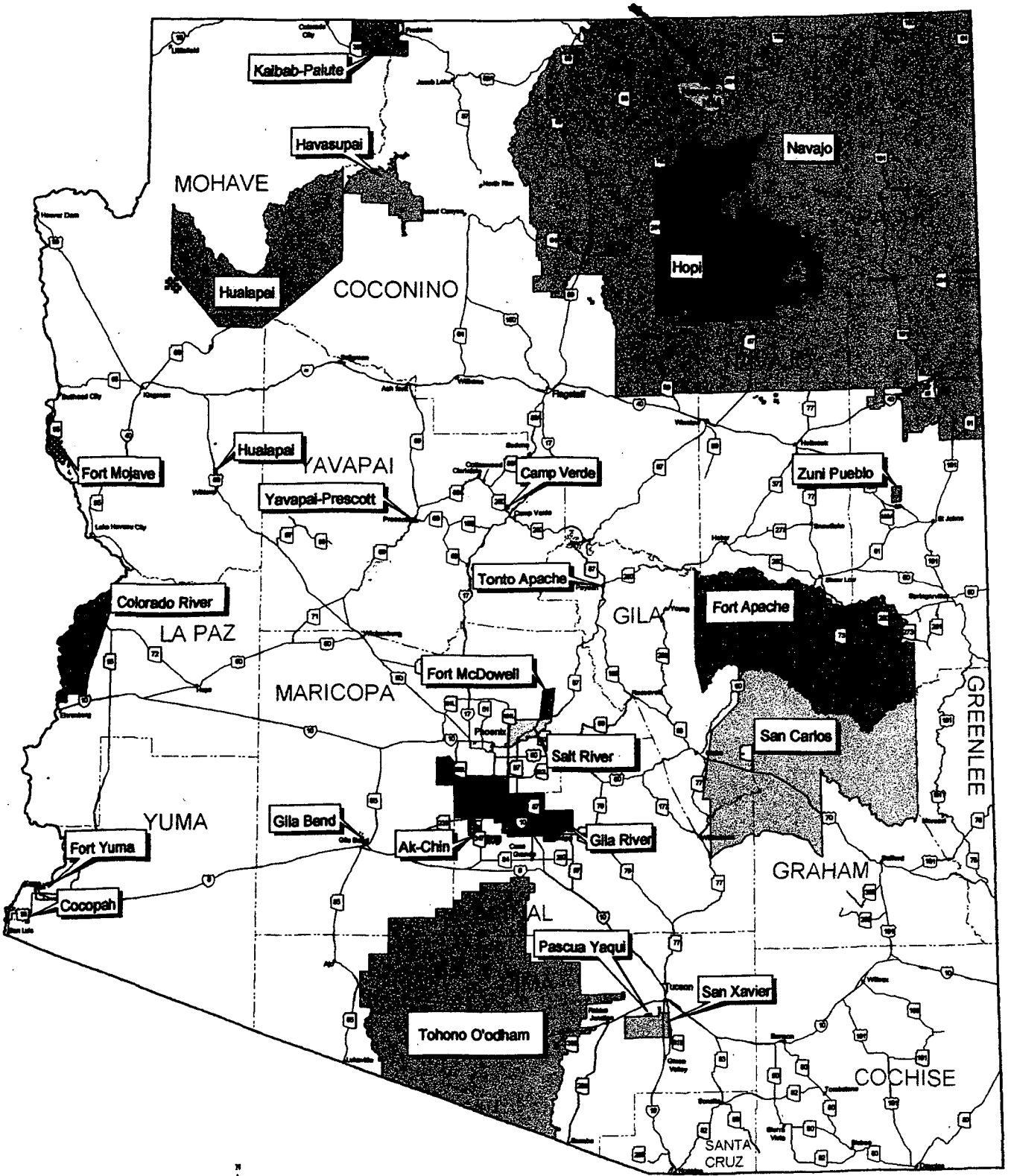
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Executive Summary

This Traditional History Study of Navajo National Monument in Tonalea, Arizona, is a contracted study funded by the National Park Service (NPS). The Traditional History Study is the Monument's first ethnographic report in a century of public service. The Scope of Work states:

> The Monument was established by Presidential Proclamation in 1909 to "preserve a number of prehistoric cliff dwellings and pueblo ruins...which are new to science and wholly unexplored, and...are of the very **greatest ethnological, scientific and educational interest.**" Since that time, the dwellings have been extensively explored and have fulfilled the scientific and educational interest for which they are preserved by the National Park Service (see Rothman 1991). Excavations of the sites and archaeological surveys of the areas surrounding them have contributed greatly to scientific interpretations of the pre-Columbian past. The ethnological interest noted in President Taft's proclamation, on the other hand, has received little attention (NPS Scope of Work dated August 15, 1995, emphases added).

This initial ethnographic study provides research on the cultural histories of three American Indian tribes, specifically the Hopi, Zuni and Navajo (Chapters 1, 2, and 3, respectively), that directly expressed cultural affiliation with Navajo National Monument to the National Park Service. Determinations of other tribal affiliations may arise from future studies such as an ethnographic overview or cultural affiliation study. This project is the first phase of a two-part ethnographic study designed to address the question of how associated tribal communities view the role of Navajo National Monument in their own cultural pasts. It precedes other studies because (a) funding was available at the time and (b) of immediate concerns facing the NPS on the issue of what names to use for individual archaeological sites and for the Monument itself. Park management needed to understand how the Monument's resources related to the cultural histories of each affiliated tribe.

The Traditional History Study is a first step in understanding diverse American Indian oral histories that relate to lands managed by the Navajo National Monument. It is intended to serve as an "ethnographic sourcebook" for NPs and tribal administrators and resource managers. It provides a reference tool for future NPS activities such as ethnographic interviews, tribal government consultations, site visits by elders, public interpretation of diverse cultural histories, issues of access and preservation of natural and cultural resources and repatriation.

Our research objective is to search anthropological monographs and manuscripts for explicit cultural references to the region and prehistoric cliff-dwellings that today are under federal management and known as Navajo National Monument (including Tsegi Canyon, Betatakin, Kiet Siel, Inscription House, Snake House, etc.). However, during the course of this study it became obvious to the project staff that site-specific statements are rare in the ethnographic literature. Two examples of specific cultural statements regarding the study area are: (1) the Hopi concept of "Kawestima" (refer to Chapter 1, Hopi Traditional History), and (2) anecdotal Navajo statements

statements during archaeological excavations recorded by Byron Cummings (refer to Chapter 4, Summary of Archival Collections). Overall, this literature review offers readers with ethnographic information on the social and cultural context of traditional narratives for three diverse peoples--Hopi, Zuni and Navajo. These different narrative traditions preserve distinct American Indian social histories; they are expressions of multiple and complex cultural identities today.

"Traditional history" is a term recently used by the National Park Service to signify "American Indian oral histories," - that is, narratives about the past that are continuously preserved and passed down to younger generations in a spoken rather than written form (refer to Downer, Roberts, Francis and Kelley, 1994, for a full discussion of the term). NPS defines traditional history as the oral "recounting of a community's past as the members of that community know it and tell it about themselves" (Ibid.).

Although "traditional history" is neither an anthropological nor an American Indian concept, it is generally understood as encompassing several types of narratives that invoke the memory and meanings of the cultural past of American Indian people. Narratives recorded by ethnographers (and others) document local meanings and community values about human interactions with their social and natural environment.

A. Project Description

On September 18, 1995, Dr. Marilyn Norcini responded to a National Park Service Request for Quotation (1443RQ712095003) for an ethnographic literature review and consultation with Hopi, Navajo, and Zuni tribes to document Traditional Histories for Navajo National Monument in Tonalea, Arizona.

The contract was awarded to Dr. Norcini on September 27, 1995 by Contracting Officer Tammy K. Gallegos at Bandelier National Monument. The Scope of Work was amended (letter from Gallegos to Norcini dated November 29, 1995) when it was agreed that there were insufficient funds to engage in ethnographic interviews. The original contract period was September 27, 1995 to September 30, 1997, however, the Contract Officer extended the deadline of the draft report to August 11, 1997 (letter from Gallegos to Norcini dated April 29, 1997). With an NPS and tribal review period of 6 weeks (due September 22 to contractor) and 3 months to revise the final report, the ending date became December 22, 1997. However, after an extensive review and revision process, the new extended deadline became mid-September 2001.

Dr. Alexa Roberts of the Southwest Support Office served as the Technical Officer. Project representatives at Navajo National Monument included Acting Superintendent Rose Clark and Park Ranger Russell Bodnar, and later the new Superintendent James Charles.

Following NPS consultations at Navajo National Monument and the Southwest Support Office in Santa Fe and initial research inquiries at libraries and archival repositories, the contractor submitted a Research Design for the Traditional History Study on March 15, 1996. It was reviewed by NPS and revised by the contractor.

B. Project Objectives

The purpose of the Traditional History Study is to inform NPS managers about Hopi, Zuni, and Navajo tribal histories pertinent to Navajo National Monument as a basis for future decision-making in cultural and natural resource management.

Traditional histories are defined for the purposes of this project as tribal histories, that is, recorded oral narratives about the past that are preserved and passed down to younger generations through stories. Traditional histories are systematic forms of indigenous knowledge that carry their own authority and legitimacy as ways of understanding the world. They frequently diverge from and enrich other types of knowledge such as archaeology, ethnology, natural history, Western American history, Spanish colonial history, or public history.

American Indian traditional histories include emergence or origin narratives, clan migration narratives, ruin narratives, and prophetic narratives. They comprise complex oral traditions that interpret the past according to different cultural perspectives and experiences. In oral traditions, there exist many variations upon the same narrative. Variations are embodied if different narrators, clans and societies, for each have unique historical perspectives and social functions within the communities. Consequently, the reader should not presume that there is one standard Emergence narrative but rather a range of variations that dynamically reflect a central core of cultural values.

This documentary research project surveys the literature on Hopi, Zuni, and Navajo traditional histories pertinent to the Monument's resources. Southwestern American Indian oral traditions were frequently recorded by ethnologists and archaeologists, and it is those published and manuscript accounts that are submitted to the Monument staff so that they can make culturally informed decisions regarding planning, interpretation, and resource management.

Traditional histories of American Indian tribes constitute living and on-going meanings that are passed down to younger generations today. Park resources are a part of an active temporal continuum that is significant to tribal people today.

A comprehensive traditional history study as defined by the National Park is composed of (1) a literature review of existing published accounts and archival records, and (2) ethnographic interviews with knowledgeable tribal elders. When the Scope of Work was modified, the realistic objective of this study was limited to the first phase of the research. Recommendations for budgeting and planning for the second research phase are reflected in the Chapter 6, Reflection and Recommendations.

The final report will provide an "Ethnographic Sourcebook" for the Superintendent and staff at Navajo National Monument who are charged with the stewardship of significant cultural resources.

C. Research Methods

There were several tasks to be performed for the Traditional History Study of Navajo National Monument.

Task 1
Consult with NPs personnel including Contracting and Technical Officers and Navajo National Monument staff

Task 2
Conduct a preliminary review of the anthropological literature for data on cultural histories linking Hopi, Zuni, and Navajo recorded oral histories to the Monument and its region

Task 3
Consult with knowledgeable anthropologists. Prepare a letter and mailing list for the Superintendent of Navajo National Monument to introduce the ethnographic research project on the basis of government to government relations.

Task 4
Review manuscript collections in archival repositories for unpublished field notes, reports, and photographs documenting traditional cultural histories pertinent to the Monument

Task 5
Prepare a working bibliography of publications and archival collections pertinent to the Traditional History Study.

Task 6
Prepare and submit a draft report on the Traditional History Study for NPS and tribal review

Task 7
Revise and produce a final report on a Traditional History Study for Navajo National Monument.

To accomplish these tasks, several sources in the anthropological literature were reviewed, analyzed, and annotated into the literature review section of the report based upon their value in providing sociocultural background and/or recorded narratives. Consulting anthropologists in Arizona and New Mexico were helpful in directing the project staff to relevant publications and to other scholars with expertise in the study area. Anthropologists were contacted by telephone, Fax, or visits to their work places. NPS consultations involved the contractor traveling to Bandelier National Monument, and the Southwest Support Office, and twice to Navajo National Monument. Communications included telephone, Fax, and correspondence. Periodic progress reports were also submitted.

Tribal consultation involved an official letter from the Navajo National Monument Superintendent introducing the ethnographic study. Dr. Norcini scheduled visits by telephone and fax, the drove to the government headquarters for the Hopi Tribe (Kykotsmovi, AZ), Pueblo of Zuni (Zuni, New Mexico),

and the Navajo Nation (Window Rock, AZ). She met with representatives of the Cultural or Historic Preservation Offices and when recommended she addressed an Advisory Committee of elders to discuss the project and solicit their responses. Park Ranger Russell Bodnar and Dr. Norcini made a presentation to the Hopi elders in Spring 1996. Each tribe has had an opportunity to review the sections of the study that address their own traditional histories and other pertinent background information. They were encouraged to offer responses to the contractor within 6 weeks upon receipt of the draft report. Copies of the revised final report will be sent to the three participating tribal preservation offices.

Library research methodologies included computerized searches, card catalogs, and bibliographies on Hopi, Zuni, and Navajo narratives. Numerous libraries were consulted in Arizona and New Mexico (cf., Acknowledgements) and required contractor travel. Archival research focused upon Arizona repositories, such as Special Collections in university libraries and museum archives (refer to Chapter 4, Summary of Archival Collections). After a manuscript collection was identified, finding aids, if available, provided a general description including biographies, scope and contents, size and condition.

In the normal sequence of NPS ethnographic studies, an Ethnographic Overview and Assessment would have supplied the Traditional History Study with an annotated bibliography. However, in this instance the ordering was reversed and the literature review from this study will contribute to this future baseline study.

Management recommendations are proposed in Chapter 6, the last chapter of the Traditional History Study.

D. Summary of formal contacts with three Tribal Governments

Government-to-government consultation is an important aspect of ethnographic work. Accordingly, the three designated tribes (Hopi Tribe, Zuni Pueblo, and Navajo Nation) received an official notification letter from Navajo National Monument Superintendent James Charles announcing the project and requesting their cooperation in the research. Norcini then contacted each delegated tribal representative at their offices on the reservations to explain the project, seek their advice and answer questions. Each tribe receives a copy of the chapter on its community along with any pertinent sections of the draft report. The Scope of Work allows a 45-day review of the draft report to provide comments.

Our tribal government consultation revealed that: (1) Cultural or Historic Preservation Offices are generally delegated by tribal officials to coordinate external research projects, but they generally do not have the authority or knowledge to speak on traditional ritual concerns; and (2) Cultural or Historic Preservation Offices frequently facilitate consultation by contacting a particular clan or society leader, individual chanters, or other knowledgeable individuals who have the religious or ceremonial knowledge and responsibility appropriate to respond to NPS inquiries. Consequently, NPS employees must factor a significant amount of additional time to allow for internal communications during the consultation process.

The Hopi Tribe

The Hopi Tribal headquarters are located on Third Mesa at Kykotsmovi, Arizona. Ferrell Secakuku was Chairman in 1996. The Chairman's Office delegates cultural issues to their Cultural Preservation Office (CPO) directed by Leigh Kuwanwisiwma (Jenkins). He and members of his staff (Leland Dennis and Jon Joshevama) cooperated with the project staff by scheduling a presentation with the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, consulting with Dr. Norcini, and allowing the project staff to borrow applied research reports.

On July 18, 1996, Dr. Norcini and NPS Ranger Russell Bodnar met with the Advisory Committee, that consists of male elders primarily from Second and Third Mesas, to provide an overview of the project and ask for their participation. Photocopies of a portion of the Research Design were distributed along with Navajo National Monument brochures.

The Hopi elders and CPO Director expressed concern about the public misinterpretation of prehistoric Pueblo ruins at Navajo National Monument. They raised these issues for future consultation:

1. Discuss replacing the term "Anasazi" (meaning "enemy" in the Navajo language according to the Hopi representatives) with "Hisatsinum," which is Hopi for ancestral Pueblo people [using "Kawestima" as the Hopi regional term for Betatkin, and Kiet Siel was also mentioned]
2. Conduct more dialogue on site interpretation. For example, Navajo National Monument is not a Navajo site according to Hopi consultants; the name misinterprets Pueblo prehistory to the general public (i.e., brochure and signage)
3. Discuss and resolve the name of the Monument, which is problematic; naming is an intertribal issue, not an NPS issue
4. Increase economic development opportunities and craft demonstrations for Hopis at the Monument.

Consultations with CPO staff offered several suggestions to improve consultations with the Hopi Tribe. Although the CPO is open throughout the year, meetings should be planned to avoid important cultural activities during July, November, December, January, and February so that Hopi religious leaders may attend. Ancestral sites at Navajo National Monument are affiliated with several Hopi clans. An April 19, 1996 letter from NPS American Indian Trust Responsibility Officer Edward Natay to Leigh Jenkins on NAGPRA issues confirmed its understanding of the Hopi identification of the major clans at the Monument as Fire, Rattlesnake, and Flute, and the regionally associated clans as Sand, Lizard, Coyote, Spider, Sun, Deer and Katsina. Leigh Jenkins suggests a protocol that he make the initial contact with the clans, such as the First Mesa Flute Clan leader, the Snake Society leader, and the Walpi Head Katsina Priest.

The final recommendation is a request that NPS award the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office future ethnographic contracts involving Hopi cultural studies (sole source contracts). Their trained staff can develop a budget, research design and literature review, coordinate visits by elders to archaeological and petroglyph sites, and conduct interviews with elders. A primary

concern is Hopi representation in studies involving their own communities.

The Zuni Pueblo

Upon receipt of the Superintendent's letter, Norcini traveled to Zuni Pueblo in mid-July 1996 to consult with Joseph Dishta, the incoming Director of the Historic Preservation Office. It was outgoing Director Roger Anyon's last day of work. As the new Director, Joseph Dishta reviewed the handout describing the research design. He discussed the literature review with Norcini, and he made recommendations on authors acceptable and unacceptable to the Zuni Tribe. The Zuni Atlas by T.J. Ferguson and Richard Hart was described as the best sourcebook to use for research at Zuni Pueblo. Dishta, a former councilman, made a general recommendation that work through the Zuni legislature in future consultations but was not specific on which issues would be appropriate. He volunteered to discuss potential Zuni clan affiliation at the Monument with members of the tribe in the future.

The Navajo Nation

Upon receipt of the Superintendent's letter, Norcini traveled to Window Rock, Arizona, to consult with Rena Martin, Program Manager for the Navajo Nation's Historic Preservation Department. Martin has a background in archaeology.

The Traditional Culture Program states that the policy of the Navajo Nation is to claim cultural affiliation with the "Anaasazi" as evidenced through oral histories. This includes Navajo affiliation with many prehistoric people because of a long tradition of contact, cultural borrowing, and relatedness through migration and intermarriage. Navajo clans adopted many Pueblo and Ute clans. According to Navajo Nation's Program Manager, Pueblo interpretation can be ethnocentric (i.e., Monument interpretation). Martin advised against cultural analogies. She recommended David Brugge and Beth King as consultants for future ethnographic studies.

In budget planning, consultations fees for ethnographic interviews on oral histories and site visits should be figured at approximately $50 per 1-2 hours for medicine people and $20 per hour for Historic Preservation Department staff. The Department recommends that NPS and its contractors consult directly with the Navajo Chapters that may be affected by the project. Chapter Coordinators will refer researchers to the traditional leaders. Martin identified local Chapter Houses that should be consulted in cultural and natural resource management issues at Navajo National Monument as: Shonto (520-672-2460); Olijeto in Utah (801-727-3259); Kayenta (520-697-5520); Red Lake (505-777-2302) and Inscription (520-672-2338). These recommendations should be followed in future NPS ethnographic studies and official government-to-government consultations.

E. Research Results

From our analysis of the ethnographic literature for the Hopi, Zuni and Navajo narrative histories, four major categories were identified. They are: **Emergence or origin narratives**, about the

creation of the world and humankind; **Clan Migration narratives**, about the travels and experiences of particular clans across a broad cultural landscape prior to settlement; **narratives**, about specific places such as prehistoric village sites; and **Prophetic narratives**, about events in the future. [Please note that ethnographic publications reflect the history of anthropological research and may not record all existing narrative histories. It is hoped that future consultation with American Indian communities will provide additional, unrecorded narratives in each of these categories.]

For each American Indian community, there is a complex sociology that structures who is permitted to have access to these narratives as systems of traditional knowledge. Limited access to knowledge (secrecy) within and outside of the community is a proven form of cultural preservation. Some narratives are controlled and guarded by a select few for ceremonial purposes during a ritual calendar year, in contrast to commonly known stories that are available to most community members throughout the year.

It is important for our readers to understand that traditional narratives of Southwestern American Indian tribes are culturally specific and constitute ongoing cultural practices and meanings that need to be respected as knowledge that belongs to them as intellectual property. We encourage NPS readers of this Traditional History Study to develop long-term relationships and cooperative consultations with appropriate representatives from Hopi, Zuni and Navajo tribal governments in planning cultural/natural resource management activities and park interpretive programs for the general public.

F. Project Personnel

Dr. Marilyn Norcini serves as the Principal Investigator of the Traditional History Study. She directs and administers the project, engages in archival and library research, conducts tribal government consultations, and writes the management sections. Norcini is a trained ethnographer (Ph.D., Cultural Anthropology and American Indian Studies, University of Arizona, 1995) and historian (M.A., History/Museum Studies, State University of New York, 1978). Her dissertation work explored the career of an American Indian anthropologist, Dr. Edward P. Dozier, from Santa Clara Pueblo, NM.

Norcini worked on several NPS contracts in applied anthropology and curation including: Ethnographer of Pueblo and Apache communities for the "Ethnographic Overview of Pecos National Historical Park" (1992-1993); Archival Specialist for Collection Management surveys of park archives in Arkansas, Texas, and New Mexico (1993-1995); NAGPRA researcher (Lake Meredith NRA/Alibates Flint Quarries National Monument); and Oral History Trainer for tribal interviews (El Malpais National Monument, 1993). In 1996, Norcini served as the Senior Ethnographer for the Department of Energy's Environmental Impact Statement of Los Alamos National Laboratory. She was the Director of the University Museum and an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at New Mexico State University in Las Cruces, NM. Currently, she is a Senior Research Scientist in the American Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, PA.

Nigel Holman served as a primary researcher for Zuni and Navajo literature reviews. Holman was the founding Executive Director of the A:shiwi A:wan Museum and Heritage Center at the Pueblo of Zuni (1992-95) and Director of Red Rock State Park Museum in Gallup, NM. He has a Master's degree in Archaeology and Anthropology from the University of Cambridge in Great Britain. Holman was the Exhibit Program Manager for the New Mexico Farm and Ranch Heritage Museum in Las Cruces, NM during the first phase of this study.

Dr. Louis A. Hieb has primary responsibility for the Hopi sections. Hieb is a Cultural Anthropologist (Ph.D., Princeton University, 1972) and a Librarian (M.L.S., Rutgers University, 1968). His dissertation research on "The Hopi Ritual Clown" involved fieldwork on the Hopi Reservation (1977). He taught American Indian culture and art at Washington State University (1972-78). Hieb served as an expert witness in the 1934 Navajo Reservation Litigation representing Hopi interests (1981). With other international Hopi scholars, Hieb organized the Hopi Cultural Properties Symposium at the Heard Museum in 1995. He was the Head Librarian of Special Collections at the University of Arizona (1978-1993) and Director of the Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico Library in Albuquerque. He currently works at the University of Washington Library in Seattle, WA.

Susanne King is the document editor. She has a degree in English from Bates College and currently works at Los Alamos National Laboratory as a writer, editor, and webmaster in the Computing, Communications and Networking Division office. She has worked for EG&G, BDM Corporation, the University of New Mexico, and the Public Service Company of New Mexico in a similar capacity.

Chapter 1. HOPI TRADITIONAL HISTORY

Itamuy it tuutuwutsit u'niy'yungqamuy sulawtiqw
I' pay pangso piw tuuvoyni
When we who remember these stories are gone,
then these stories will also disappear.
(Michael Lomatuway'ma in Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1987b:1)

A. Introduction: Narratives of Hopi Traditional History

The traditional histories of the Hopi people are "knowledge" (*navoti*) and are embodied in oral narratives. means, literally, "knowledge gained from hearing, i.e., not from seeing or experience" (Malotki and Lomatuway'ma 1987:58). There are many domains of this knowledge that are passed down from generation to generation. It is important to recognize that access to this cultural knowledge is privileged and stratified within Hopi society. The Hopi traditional histories (as *navoti*) considered in this study are the cultural patrimony of the Hopi people.

At several points in this study, it will be important to note current efforts by the Hopi Tribe to preserve and protect its cultural heritage and intellectual property rights. To this end, the Hopi Tribe has found it necessary to engage in the legal, economic, and scientific discourses of the dominant culture and contest the published interpretations attributed to aspects of its *navoti* and its symbolic expression. The notion of "property" is one of these contested meanings, as Arnold Krupat, Professor of American Indian literature, Sarah Lawrence University, discusses:

> A 1995 document issued by the "Hopi Tribe Office of Historical and Cultural Preservation and Protection" states, "The Hopi people desire to protect their right to privacy in and to Hopi intellectual property...so as to protect the rights of the present and future generations of the Hopi people" (n.p.). The document continues, "The Hopi tribe reserves the right to *not* sell, commoditize or have expropriated from them certain domains of knowledge or information" (n.p.). Here we find the older sense of "cultural property" (control of the transmission of knowledge handed down from the past) carrying over into the newer term "intellectual property" (control of the production of knowledge as a salable commodity) (Krupat 1996:24).

Krupat continues by stating that "The Hopi use of 'intellectual property'...is clearly a necessary strategic move under current conditions." As will be clear, these issues of levels of access to Hopi knowledge for insiders and outsiders are not new.

The most significant recordings (texts) of Hopi traditional histories derive from the interactions between Hopis and others before the impact of anthropological publications (narratives and photographic images) on the public (non-Indian and community members) awareness of privileged sacred knowledge was fully realized by the Hopi people. The most sensitive of these ethnographic texts were recorded between 1883 and 1902 by Alexander M. Stephen (1880-1894), Jeremiah Sullivan (1881-1888), Frank Hamilton Cushing (1882), Jesse Walter Fewkes (1891-1894, Director of the Second Hemenway Expedition) and H. R. Voth (1893-1902).

While there is a substantial overlap in the narratives of Hopi traditional history, there are differences as well. These differences are important since they represent variations in the telling and presentation of oral traditions by different individuals, clans, villages and religious societies. For example, Jeremiah Sullivan, M.D., lived in the First Mesa village of Sichomovi from 1881-1888 and wrote an account of the Snake/Antelope ceremonies. He observed:

> There are three legends concerning this feast. One, which may be called the popular legend, as it is generally familiar to the people of all the villages; another is told by the "Keeper of the Gate" (one of the Antelope priests), which is known only to the members of the two religious fraternities--the Snake, and the Antelope; and one known only to the chief priests of these orders (Stephen 1940:2).
>
> Wiki, the chief priest of the Antelope Society, confided select portions of religious knowledge (*wiimi*) to Sullivan. However, other aspects were not communicated and remained privileged and secret. Sullivan explained:
>
> They jealously preserve the secrecy of this noon-day ceremony, and all my efforts to induce any of them to disclose the details have been fruitless. Wiki did begin, one night, to tell me, but after he had spoken a few words, his conscience failed him; he actually grew pale...and would talk no more that night on any subject (Stephen 1940:39).

Of the early ethnographers, Sullivan and Voth had the best command of the Hopi language. Stephen's texts appear to have been obtained, for the most part, through a shared knowledge of the Navajo language.

No information exists on the actual recording of traditional histories until the Hopi Hearings, requested by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1955. However, there is an internal consistency between the ethnographic and federal government texts that attests to the accuracy of the content recorded and its narrative form of expression.

It is important to emphasize that as background for cultural and natural resource management and public interpretation, the use of these narrative materials should be collaboratively approved through consultation with the Hopi Office of Cultural Preservation.

B. The Hopi Categories of Traditional Narratives

Hopis recognize two major categories of traditional narrative: *navoti* (teachings, traditions, body of knowledge, cultural beliefs) and *tuutuwutsi* (stories, legends).

In the history of the use of *navoti* and *tuutuwutsi* however, various subcategories have been termed, for example, "emergence myth," "coyote tale," etc. David Shaul's forthcoming work on Hopi narrative genres will contribute greatly to our understanding and appreciation of these distinctions. Our study proposes four types of Hopi narratives represented in the ethnographic

record that comprise "traditional histories." While there is no established way of referring to these narrative genres, Emory Sekaquaptewa suggests the following possible Hopi glosses and translations (Hieb and Sekaquaptewa, personal communication, 7/17/97). Selected types of Hopi traditional narratives:

1. **The Emergence narrative** (*qatsiyamakiwqat navoti* = "traditional knowledge relating to the emergence of life")
2. **Clan Migration narratives** (*qatsihepnumyaqat navoti* = "traditional knowledge relating to their search for a settlement/place to make a life")
3. **Ruin narratives** (*kiiqova hiniwtiput tuutuwutsi* = "stories about what happened along the ruins")
4. **Prophetic narratives** (*yuumoq qatsi hiniwmaniqat tuutuwutsi* = "about happenings that will happen in the life of the future")

The major distinction among narrative types is made between navoti (traditional knowledge) and tuutuwutsi (stories /tales/ possible fabrications) (cf., Curtis:1922:184, n.2). It is noteworthy that prophecy itself is a form of navoti while narratives about events believed to be the fulfillment of prophecy are tuutuwutsi. Traditional narratives are symbolic forms of explanation about culture history and philosophy. They should not be read as literal histories (cf., Eggan 1967; Loftin 1995). The Emergence, Clan Migration, Ruin and Prophetic narratives today are more than simply "located" in the past, they constitute an active and ongoing tradition of the Hopi people.

Emergence narratives record events prior to and including the Emergence of the Hopi and other peoples on the earth's surface. Clan Migration narratives describe the movements of the various clans at the Emergence from sipaapuni to the village of Oraibi (or another place portrayed as the "center"). These accounts become more specific as to directions taken, time (duration) and the locations of places where clans stayed as they approach the "center." In some Clan Migration narratives, there are specific references to the study area of Navajo National. Significantly, a number of contemporary Hopi clans express direct cultural affiliation to Betatakin, Keet Seel, Inscription House and Snake House. For example, in the Tsegi Canyon area, the archaeological sites of Kiet Siel and Betatakin are claimed as ancestral Hopi villages occupied by the Leengyan (Flute Clan), Kookopngyan (Fire Clan), Tsungyam (Rattlesnake Clan), Kuukutsngyam (Lizard Clan) and Piqosngyam (Bear Strap Clan). These ancestral sites are visited regularly by contemporary Hopis of the Hononngyam (Badger Clan) (Ferguson and Dongoske 1994:38).

Ruin narratives provide explanations for prehistoric and historic villages that are now unoccupied. A Ruin narrative and several Clan Migration narratives were recorded that describe the movement of people from Betatakin (Anon. 1939; Courlander 1971; Yava 1978). Prophetic s have a particular importance for this study as Kawestima figures significantly in discourses surrounding the Oraibi Split of 1906 (Whiteley 1988a, 1988b). Other forms of recorded discourse such as personal narratives supplement the prophetic narratives.

Hopi traditional narratives provide information on two key cultural concepts--Kawestima and Hopitutsqwa:

Kawestima is a Hopi concept that refers to an area as well as to specific archaeological sites. Kawestima is represented as the kachina home in the northwest cardinal direction. It is often

synonymous for Betatakin, a prehistoric Puebloan site located in Navajo National Monument. A number of contemporary Hopi clans express direct cultural affiliation to Betatakin and other archaeological sites in the study area. Of the many meanings of Kawestima, its place in the apocalyptic prophecies surrounding the Oraibi Split of 1906 is clearly a significant aspect of this study. Kawestima was the intended (but unreached) destiny of those Hopi who left Oraibi.

> ***Hopitutsqwa*** is a concept in Hopi sacred geography that derives from a spiritual pact made with *Maasaw*. He agreed to let the Hopis use his land if they would act as stewards of the earth. "By fulfilling their pact, the Hopis earned the right to use *Ma'saw's* land; *Mastutsqwa* became *Hopitutsqwa*. ... Hopis recognize the extent of *Hopitutsqwa* through the 'footprints' their ancestors used to mark the landscape (e.g., shrines, archaeological sites, and petroglyphs)." (Jenkins, Ferguson and Dongoske 1994:2-3).

While this study focuses on what anthropologist Paul Connerton has called "inscribed transmissions of memories" or texts (Connerton 1989:101-103), the social memory of the Hopi people is embodied not only, for example, in the "Legend of Tiyo, the Snake Hero" (Fewkes 1894:106-119). It is embodied in the stratified and privileged character of their social and ceremonial organization (Wiki tells us he alone or he and another have sole access to the knowledge/power of the Snake/Antelope ceremony), the Snake/Antelope ceremony itself, the built environment where the ceremony occurs (kiva, kisi, plaza, etc.) and the larger conceptual and physical environment in which the snakes are gathered and released, pilgrimages made, etc. The ruins in Navajo National Monument are a part of the embodiment of the Snake Clan Migration narrative. As Connerton observed, "images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past are conveyed and sustained by ritual performances" (1989:i). Thus, the migration narrative of Tiyo, the Snake Hero is traditionally recalled to mind, memory and body during the sixteen days of the Snake/Antelope ritual performance. Anthropologist Edward Kennard noted:

> What was determined in the beginning, at the time of the emergence, and by agreement with *Masawu*, the owner of the Earth when they arrived here, is still the basic fact around which life revolves. In Hopi speech, in songs, in formal address to the *Kachinas*, in announcements setting the date for the next ceremony, in advice given by ceremonial fathers to their sons at initiations, the same images are evoked and the same words and phrases are repeated. And often, the ritual acts, whose sequence in kivas is fixed, symbolize in acts what is otherwise symbolized in words (Kennard 1972:469).

The following sections discuss each of the four modern categories of Hopi historical narratives.

Hopi Emergence Narratives

Their notion of the form and constitution of the world is architectural;
that it is composed of many stories.
John Wesley Powell (1875)

The traditional histories of the Hopi people begin with the "Narrative of the Emergence of Humankind." The Danish historian of religion, Armin Geertz, collected and compared ten published accounts of Emergence narratives from the three Hopi mesas. The scope of the project included Hopi individuals from various backgrounds (Geertz 1994). The following list summarizes these Emergence narratives by mesa and village, narrator, date of narration, clan affiliation of the narrator and date of publication. The list is intended to sensitize non-Hopi

readers to the complexity and consistency of recorded traditional histories. The narratives must be understood within their specific cultural and historical contexts.

Hopi Emergence Narratives by Area

First Mesa

Honi 1893: Cactus lineage of the Snake clan, crier chief, Walpi (Stephen 1929: 7-10)

Second Mesa

Lomavantiwa 1903: Shipaulovi
(Voth 1905:10-15)

Humiyesva 1912: Hopi residing at Carlisle Indian School, Shongopovi
(Wallis 1936:2-17)

Nequatewa 1936: Sun forehead clan, Kwan (One Horn) society, Shongopovi
(Nequatewa 1936:7-37, 50-51)

Third Mesa: Oraibi

Talay'ima 1883: Spider clan, Momtsit chief
(Cushing 1924; Geertz 1994:368-374)

Yukiwma 1903 or 1904: Kookop (Fire) clan
(Voth 1905:16-26; Geertz 1994:375-384)

Tawakwaptiwa 1932: Bear clan, Village chief; a condensed version of his uncle Chief Loololma's narrative
(Titiev 1944:73-74; see James 1974:2-8 for a later version). A number of other texts primarily fromThird Mesa were recorded (cf., Geertz 1994:343-344, n.1).

Third Mesa: Hotevilla

Yukiwma 1911: Village chief, recorded after the Oraibi split
(abridged in Crane 1925:163-167; Geertz 1994:385-391)

Qotshongva 1935: Sun clan, co-ruler
(Geertz 1994:392-396)

Qotshongva 1970: Recorded two years before his death
(Geertz 1994:405-414)

Geertz summarized the progressive world stages in the telling of a Hopi Emergence narrative

> Emergence mythology is actually a depiction of a series of events which repeat themselves through four world ages. Each world begins more or less as a paradise that slowly and inevitably becomes disrupted through human inequity. Each world is destroyed by natural catastrophe, thus forcing the faithful to climb up to the next world level, the fundament of which is the sky of the lower level. Through the forced magical growth of a giant reed, the faithful create a means of transportation...and begin life anew at the next level. The life in the present fourth world has already become disrupted and will end in a manner similar to the primordial catastrophe. Thus, the very framework of the narrative is apocalyptic, i.e., it begins and ends with collective destruction (Geertz 1994:70).

The Emergence narrative is the starting point of all clan traditions. It is a core narrative which is shared with all clans, Geertz claims, "without exception"(Ibid.). It underlies Hopi prophetic

narratives, trickster tales, the moving of Hopi ancestral people from Betatakin, and the concept of the Hopitutsqwa. According to Geertz, the Emergence narrative consists of a series of stories that relate the following situations or events from the Third to the Fourth World:

1. The apocalyptic conditions of the primordial third world prior to the emergence;
2. The actual emergence to the fourth world;
3. The post-emergence creations of the heavenly bodies, the distribution of languages and foodstuffs, and the establishment of death;
4. The meeting with and/or the story of the two brothers and related prophecies;
5. The migrations of the clans [brief Clan Migration narratives]; and
6. The settlement of Oraibi and the meeting between the Bear clan and Maasaw (Geertz 1994:71).

In Table 1, the authors followed Geertz's analysis of the component stories that make up the Emergence narrative. There are some variations in the ten versions considered. Honi's First Mesa account (1893) lacks the first story, and those of Lomavantiwa (1903) and Talay'ima (1882) lack the final story. Otherwise, a remarkable consistency is found in the Hopi narratives across the mesas. No text of the Emergence narrative has been recorded in the Hopi language except Geertz (Geertz 1994:344-367). As Esther Goldfrank pointed out, most of the Third Mesa versions are not without political implications. All were told by the village chiefs, relatives of theirs or other leaders directly responsible for the split of Oraibi and the founding of Hotevilla in 1906 (Goldfrank 1948).

Table 1. Emergence Narratives: Frequency Comparison of Variants

Narrator and date of narration	1 Third World, birds	2 Emergence	3 Post-emergence	4 Maasawan d/or brothers	5 Migrations	6 Arrivals/ Maasaw
First Mesa						
Honi (1893))		X	X	X	X	X
Second Mesa						
Lomavantiwa (1901)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Humiyesva (1912)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nequatewa (1936)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Third Mesa: Oraibi						
Talay'ima (1882)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Yukiwma (1903)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tawawaptiwa (1932)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Third Mesa: Hotevilla						
Yukiwma (1911)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Qotshongva (1935)	X	X	X	X	X	X
Qotshongva (1970)	X	X	X	X	X	X

Based on Geertz 1994:72

Sources:
Honi (Stephen 1929:7-10)
Lomavantiwa (Voth 1905:10-15)
Humiyesva (Wallis 1936:2-17)
Nequatewa (Nequatewa 1936:7-37, 50-51)
Talay'ima (Geertz 1994:368-374)
Yukiwma (Voth 1905:16-26)
Tawakwaptiwa (Titiev 1944:73-74)
Yukiwma (Geertz 1994:385-391)
Qotshongva (Geertz 1994:392-396)
Qotshongva (Geertz 1994:405-414)

Synonymy: *Maasaw* (Whiteley 1988a, 1988b; Geertz 1994) = *Ma'saw* (Ferguson/Dongoske 1994; Jenkins/Ferguson/Dongoske 1994) *Masauwu* (Mindeleff 1891;Stephen [1893] 1936; Courlander 1971; Yava 1978; Page/Page 1982); *Masauwuh* (Fewkes [1891] 1894); *Masau* (Stephen [1885] 1929; Sullivan [1885] Stephen 1940; Eggan 1986); *Masou* (Curtis 1922); *Ma'cawa* (Wallis 1936)

Anthropologists and indigenous authors recorded Hopi Emergence s through a variety of filters, such as language, culture, politics and religion. For example, Cushing's version reflects his insider's knowledge of Zuni cosmology (Geertz 1984:219). Stephen's account reflects his prior interest in Navajo emergence and migration stories (Elsie Clews Parsons in Stephen 1929:2). Nequatewa's reflects a Christian influence (cf., Nequatewa 1993:110-113). Versions recorded by Frank Waters (1963) and Harold S. Courlander (1971), not considered above, are syntheses of several narrators' versions. Apparently overlooked by Geertz is a Third Mesa text developed through the expressed direction of the Hopi residents with ethnographer Peter Whiteley based on fieldwork in Bacavi during 1980-1981 (Whiteley 1988a:7-13).

As John Wesley Powell perceptively noted following an 1875 visit, the Hopi "notion of the form and constitution of the world is architectural; that it is composed of many stories" (Powell 1972:34). In Hopi thought, the present Fourth World is one of several worlds, cosmographically situated one upon the other. Some versions picture a series of caves resting one upon the other, and in others a series of kivas (Voth 1905:169-172). Alexander MacGregor Stephen, who recorded various aspects of Hopi social and ceremonial life, commented upon the kiva version of the Emergence narrative submitted for Victor Mindeleff's study of Hopi architecture:

> ...from many suggestive allusions made by the various kiva chiefs and others, [Stephen] also has been led to infer that [the *kiva*] typifies the four "houses," or stages, described in their creation myths. The *sipapuh*, with its cavity beneath the floor, is certainly regarded as indicating the place of beginning, the lowest house under the earth, the abode of *Myuingwa*, the Creator; the main or lower floor represents the second stage; and the elevated section of the floor is made to denote the third stage... It is also to be noted that the ladder leading to the surface is invariably made of pine, and always rests upon the platform, never upon the lower floor, and in their traditional genesis it is stated that the people climbed up from the third house (stage) by a ladder of pine, and through such an opening as the *kiva* hatchway; only most of the stories indicate that the opening was round. The outer air is the fourth world, or that now occupied (Mindeleff 1891:135).

In a discussion of Hopi concepts of cosmology and place, Geertz observes that the Emergence narrative begins by describing the conditions of the Third World prior to the emergence to the present Fourth World (Geertz 1988:220-221). The paradise existing there is destroyed through disobedience, evil magic and sexual immorality. The Chiefs gather together to discuss the options. The possibility of traveling to the next world level is considered, as tradition warrants. Since the Chiefs heard footsteps in the sky, they decide to send a bird to find Whomever is up there and attempt negotiations. After three attempts, the bird sent by the Kwan (One Horn) Society succeeded in piercing the sky. Shortly afterwards, this bird meets the tutelary deity of the Society, namely, Maasaw, who lives at the present site of Orayvi.

Maasaw is the ruler of the Fourth World. In the Hopi view of the world, he became the protector of the Hopi, the god of fire and of the dead, as well as the purifier who will return on the last day of this Fourth World existence. Maasaw is asked by the bird, on behalf of the humankind, for

permission to bring the people up and to live on his land. Maasaw agrees but on the condition that they follow his way of life. The bird returns to the Hopi people with this message.

The Chiefs begin once again to use their ritual powers. They plant several types of trees which are to provide them with the means of transporting themselves to the world above. After the third try, the cane reed (paaqavi) is the only plant strong enough to pierce the sky while still holding itself up. Upon this Emergence of Humankind from this hole, which is called sipaapuni, the cane reed is ripped up to prevent the evil ones from following them. Languages and the different maize types are distributed among the tribes of people after their arrival in the Fourth World.

The Fourth World was soft and without heat or light, except for Maasaw's fire. So, the sun and moon are created by the newly emerged Hopi leaders. When the village chief's son dies, this is interpreted as proof that a witch escaped with them in the confusion of the flight from the Third World. As the Chief is about to throw the exposed witch back into the hole of Emergence, the witch pleads with the Chief to look into the sipaapuni. Upon doing this he sees his dead son in the Underworld, very much alive, happily enjoying the paradise of the dead. The witch is allowed to live since death is obviously a transition to another and better life form. Then, the human tribes disperse over the continent.

As commanded by Maasaw, the goal of these migrations was to explore the continent and for each clan to acquire specific ritual power. Each clan has its own migration history. In their movements, they were directed to return to Maasaw's land, especially Oraibi. Little by little, each clan arrived at Oraibi. They were permitted to enter only after demonstrating their particular ritual abilities. If they were allowed to remain, each clan was allotted plots of land for farming.

As soon as the people emerge, the place of the Emergence or *sipaapuni*, becomes a true World Center. The sipaapuni is "the place from which the people emerged" (Mindeleff 1891:135) and is a significant concept in Hopi cosmology. It is also a geographical place, which is located at the bottom of the Grand Canyon. F. B. Eiseman provides the following description of the place of Hopi emergence:

> This structure is a rounded travertine dome, approximately 30 yards in diameter, roughly round at the base, about 20 feet high, and with a flat top about 15 feet in diameter. The stream side of this dome is somewhat higher than the north side. A pool of yellow water about 10 feet in diameter occupies most of the top of the dome. Gas bubbles ascend constantly through the water. The depth of the pool was not ascertained, but it must be fairly deep, since the pool was opaque and a sample of the water taken in a cup appeared almost colorless. A travertine-encrusted log lies wedged in the pool. The pool spills over the east side of the dome down a chute, colored bright yellow by the mineral deposit to the river below (Eiseman 1959:27).

Sipaapuni, as a symbol of the place of Emergence, is represented in diverse natural and architectural forms. Alexander M. Stephen, who lived at Keams Canyon near the Hopi First Mesa from 1880 until his death in 1894, recorded that:

> When a new village site is chosen, first of all a temporary *si'papu* is constructed, in some fissure or cavity. Then the chief selects a place for the permanent si'papu and around this the houses are built, on three or four sides of a square. The *si'papu* should be as near the center of the village as possible. The si'papu may not be marked by other than by a flat stone...but from the *si'papu* come the *kachinas*, and at it they perform their first ceremonies when they "return".... The ancients knew all about choosing a village site and about *si'papus*, they knew how to make them; but now no one knows how to make them. That is why you see so many ruins. People then could go anywhere and build villages anywhere because they knew how to make *si'papus*. *They did not choose sites for beauty or for abundance of water, these and all other blessings would come from the si'papu.* Now should we leave this mesa, we would have no *si'papu*, and in a year, within the cycle of our feasts, all would die, the gods would be angered (Stephen 1936:1295, emphasis added).

It was Stephen's conclusion that the levels of the kiva floors represented the three lower worlds. The opening in the floor of the kiva and the hatchway from the kiva were identified as sipaapuni. Indeed, elsewhere Stephen noted:

> When the people came up from the underground they made the *kiva* to commemorate their early home; they could not use the reed (*ba'kabi*) as ladder, but the mythic pine and spruce grew up through the reed opening, so people took pine or spruce and made a ladder of either. The hatchway is typical of the size and form of the first hole in the earth crust (Stephen 1936:151).

In the cultural geography of the Hopi, place (in nature and in architecture) embodies the meanings expressed in Emergence narratives.

Hopi Clan Migration Narratives

Masau then said: "You and your people are strong of heart.
Look in the valleys, the rocks, and the woods,
and you will find my footsteps there.
All this is mine, but by your courage you have won it.
All this I give you, all this is yours forever,
because you met me and were not afraid
(Wiki to Jeremiah Sullivan, 1885, in Stephen 1940:8).

Hopi Clan Migration narratives describe the movement of various clans from the Emergence place until they arrive at the mesas. Although there are several Hopi clans that claim affiliation to specific sites at the Navajo National Monument, the authors chose to examine in detail the migration narratives of the Snake Clan because of the strong relationship between the Hopi Clan Migration narrative and the Snake Clan society house (as explicitly expressed by Hopi elders fortuitously and informally with a Hopi elder on a site visit with Norcini and Ranger Bruce Mellberg on December 1, 1995). This clan affiliation was reiterated in a consultation meeting with the staff of the Hopi Office of Cultural Preservation (Norcini and Hieb on December 17, 1997).

Between 1885 and 1902, thirteen versions of the Snake Clan Migration narrative were recorded (an additional version was recorded shortly after the turn of the century by Edward S. Curtis (Curtis 1922)). It is interesting to note that these thirteen texts were recorded prior to the Oraibi Split of 1906 and they describe the pact with Maasaw and the early definition of (Hopi land). It is not until 1971 that another version of the Snake Clan Migration narrative appears in print (Courlander 1971). This account makes specific reference to; the kachina home representing the northwest cardinal direction) and the ruins in the Navajo National Monument area.

Summarized below is a listing of the sixteen texts in which the Snake Clan Migration narratives were published. The following list gives location, narrator, approximate date of narration, clan affiliation of the narrator and the date of publication of the texts.

Snake Clan Migration Narratives

First Mesa

Anon., "an ancient chieftain," 1882
(Keam 1883:14-15)

Nasinawebi, 1/16/1884, Cedarwood-Coyote Clan, Keeper of the West Gate, Antelope Society, Walpi
(Stephen 1929:40-43)

Wiki, 1885, Snake Clan, Chief of the Antelope Society, Walpi
([Sullivan] Stephen 1940:2-8)

Wiki, 6/6/1885
(Stephen 1929:35-40)

Wiki, 8/7/1885
(Stephen 1929:43-45)

Anon., narrator not a member of the Snake/Antelope Society, 1885 (Stephen 1888:109-114; 1929:45-50)

Anon., "a member of the Snake Order now residing in Zuni," 1890
(Stevenson 1892:261-265)

Masiumptiwa, 8/18/1891, Badger Clan, Antelope Society, Sichomovi
(Stephen 1936:636-637)

Wiki; Masiumptiwa; Wikiatiwa, Snake Clan, younger brother of Wiki, Antelope Society, 1891, Walpi
(Fewkes 1894:106-119; cf. Mullett 1979:7-43)

Anon., 1900
(Curtis 1922:74-78)

Anon., three consultants, including [Albert Yava], 1970, Walpi, Polacca, New Oraibi
(Courlander 1971:90-95)

Albert Yava, 1978, Hano
(Yava 1978:55-61)

Second Mesa

Anon. [Lomavantiwa] 1901 [Shipaulovi]
(Dorsey and Voth 1902:255-261)

Lomavantiwa, 1902, Shipaulovi
(Voth 1905:30-35)

Sikanakpu, 1909, Mishongnovi (Voth 1905:35-36)

Third Mesa: Oraibi

Anon., 1902
(Voth 1903:349-353)

The basic elements of the Snake Clan Migration narrative are as follows. A youth named Tiyo, curious to know where the waters of a stream go, embarks in a boat. At the edge of a great body of water he encounters Spider Woman. After giving prayer offerings, he is given directions by Spider Woman. Tiyo descends through the sipaapuni to the underworld and ultimately arrives at a kiva whose occupants can transform from human into snakes (and vice versa). From among the Snake People he chooses a bride, and from them, too, he learns the secrets of the Snake ceremony. Before starting his journey home, Tiyo accepts the Sun's invitation to accompany him on his rounds. Soon after completing this adventure he returns to the Snake people, claims his wife, and departs for his home. There he introduces the Snake ceremony and lives happily until his children are born as a brood of snakes. The Snake children bite the other children and Tiyo and his family are forced to leave. Eventually, they encounter Maasaw Because the Snake Clan family show no fear of him, Maasaw gives them his land.

The Snake Clan migration narrative as consists of a series of stories which describe a sequence of events:

1. Tiyo wonders where the waters go; constructs a boat to explore
2. He meets Spider Woman at the edge of a great body of water
3. In the underworld, Tiyo enters the Snake *kiva* and learns the secrets of the Snake ceremony
4. He accompanies the Sun on its travels
5. Returning to the Snake *kiva*, Tiyo takes his gifts of a "rain-cloud" and a maiden who become his wife
6. Hearing the petitions of his people, Tiyo returns to his father's village where the Snake ceremony brings rain
7. The Snake maiden gives birth to numerous small snakes who bite the children of the village and Tiyo and his family are forced to leave
8. On their migration from the north, the Snake people establish settlements along the way
9. Their migrations lead to an encounter with *Maasaw* with whom they form a pact for the land (*Hopitutsqua*)

Of the several versions analyzed, only the version narrated by Wiki, his son Wikiatiwa and Masiumptiwa in 1891 includes all of the separate events.

Table 2 suggests a considerable consistency in these versions. The initial story of Tiyo constructing a boat to explore where the waters go is almost a "signature" feature, yet there is considerable variation in detail, structure of the narrative and emphasis placed on certain elements. These differences are important since they represent variation in traditional histories between the different villages. As many of the versions are from First Mesa, it is important to recognize the

position of the narrator. For example, Wiki was Chief of the Antelope Society, whereas other narrators were "outsiders" to the Snake or Antelope Societies (Stephen 1888).

Table 2. Snake Clan Migration Narratives: Frequency Comparison of Variants

Narrator and date of narration	1 Tiyo's Boat	2 Spider woman	3 Snake ceremony	4 Sun's Travels	5 Maiden/ wife	6 Return home	7 Forced to leave	8 Migrations	9 Maasaw's pact
First Mesa									
Anon. (Keam) (1883)	X				X	X	X	X	
Nasinawebi (1884)	X				X	X	X	X	
Wiki (Sullivan) (1885)	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Anon. (Stephen) (1885)	X		X		X	X	X	X	
Wiki, et al.(1891)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Anon.(Curtis) (1900)	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Yava (1978)	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Second Mesa									
Lomavantiwa (1901)	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Sikanapu (1902)	X								
Third Mesa									
Anon.(1902)	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	

Sources:
Anon. (Keam) (Keam 1883:14-15)
Nasinawebi (Stephen 1929:40-43)
Wiki (Sullivan) (Stephen 1940:2-8)
Anon. (Stephen) (Stephen 1888:109-114; 1929:45-50)
Wiki, et.al. (Fewkes 1894:106-119)
Anon. (Curtis) (Curtis 1922:74-78)
Yava (Yava 1978:55-61)
Lomavantiwa (Dorsey and Voth 1902:255-261)
Sikanakpu (Voth 1905:35-36)
Anon. (Voth 1903:349-353)

Of particular significance to this study is the land pact made with Maasaw A pact is the basis of the concept of Hopitutsqwa (Hopi traditional lands) and significantly includes the ruins of Navajo National Monument. In the earliest First Mesa version from Wiki by Jeremiah Sullivan about 1885, the Snake People traveled to a place where they found footprints, forming four concentric circles. The narrative continues:

> For four days our uncles searched for the maker of the footprints, when our oldest uncle saw, coming over the west mesa, a who-was-it. Our uncle went to meet the stranger...
>
> They kept walking toward each other, when they came together our uncle took hold of him, and it was *Masau* (god of the metamorphoses of nature). *Masau* spoke first and said, "You are strong of heart and know no fear--Good--let us sit down." *Masau* then took his own head off; he began at the chin and turned his head back, and lifted it off, and placing it upon the ground he sat upon it, and behold! *Masau* had become a handsome youth. He produced a large clay pipe from his ribs, and he filled it with tobacco and gave it to our uncle to smoke. *Masau* then said: "You and your people are strong of heart. Look in the valleys, the rocks, and the woods, and you will find my footsteps there. All this is mine, but by your courage you have won it. All this I give you, all this is yours forever, because you met me and were not afraid" (Stephen 1940:8).

The First Mesa narrative of Wiki, Wikiatiwa and Masiumptiwa recorded by Stephen in 1891 is richer in detail. As the migration of the Snake People came closer to First Mesa, "they saw a fire moving back and forth along the base of the mesa" and "they sent Dove forth to discover, and he found that it was Masauwuh." The narrative continues:

> Dove saw the tracks of his large, bare feet, and he followed them around a great circle, encompassing *Nuvatikyauobi* (place of snow speaks, San Francisco Mountains) on the west; *Palabaiya* (Red River, Colorado Chiquito) on the south; *Wukobaiya* (Great river, Rio Grande) on the east, and *Hopkoyilabaiya* (from *hopoko*, the northeast, the San Juan River) on the north.
>
> For a long time they saw nothing but his tracks... One day the Walpi chief called all his bravest men to go with him and try to find *Masauwuh*, and they met him about halfway to the middle mesa... Then said the deity, "I see you are strong of heart; I designed to kill you all if your hearts had been weak; now I am satisfied." ... Then he said: "I also am large of heart; all this land is mine, and all that lies within the limits of my footprints is yours, for you have won it because you met me and were not afraid. My house is there (pointing to a rocky spot close to the west side of the mesa), and there you must place the *paho*... (Fewkes 1894:118).

The narrator of the Snake Clan Migration narrative recorded by Curtis tells us of footprints and the vow made by Masau that delineated Hopitutsqua, the sacred lands of the Hopi that include what became in the early twentieth century Navajo National Monument (Curtis 1922:78).

We turn next to two Clan Migration narratives which make specific reference to Kawestima. "Tokonave: The Snake and Horn People" uses narrative materials collected by Harold Courlander (1971) from Hopi consultants living in the villages of Hano (Tewa Village), Walpi and New Oraibi. These versions are composites of two migration narratives of the Snake Clan and the Horn Clan. [It is very likely that Albert Yava of Hano is the source of much of this narrative since

a very similar version appears in his book, Big Falling Snow, which was edited by the same researcher, Harold Courlander (1978).]

In the 1971 composite Snake and Horn clan accounts, the "ancient migrations" from sipaapuni bring the people to "Tokonave, Black Mountain, which the Whites later named Navajo Mountain." At Tokonave they build a village, Wuhkokiekeu. The story of the Snake Clan involves a young man and his wife, "who had come from the village of the Snake People." They eventually arrive at Wuhkokiekeu where he tells his father, the kikmongwi (village chief) about his journey. The Snake ceremony is performed, but afterwards the kikmongwi's son and all those who assisted in the ceremony are forced to leave. The migration continues:

Then they traveled east of Tokonave. And when the summer was almost gone they came to a canyon where other people were already living, not far from the present town of Kayenta. There were several villages in the canyon, but they were small. Numerous clans were there, including the Water Coyotes and a branch of the Fire Clan. The place was called, where still to be seen are the ruins now known as Betatakin, Keet Seel and Inscription House. The people from Tokonave build their own village in Kalewistima and remained there a long time, one generation after another, and came to be known as the Snake Clan.

> It is said that the people of ***Kalewistima*** eventually left that place because of a drought, but that was at a much later time. When the Snake Clan lived there life was good. There was plenty of water and plenty of corn. Because life was so good to them the people did not work as hard as they had in earlier times. They also began to forget the ceremonies and all the things they were supposed to remember. The old men began to worry. They said: "We chose the blue corn at the sipapuni, and with it a hardworking life. Here at ***Kalewistima*** things are too easy. It will end in our destruction. Let us move on before it is too late."
>
> And so the day came when the Snake Clan people abandoned their village at ***Kalewistima*** and journeyed south to find the other clan that were there, first making their marks on the rocks to show that they had lived in that place and then moved on (Courlander 1971:91-93, emphasis added).

Eventually the Snake Clan people arrive at First Mesa. The migration narrative continues with the departure of the Horn Clan:

> Now, many years after the *kikmongwi*'s son and the other Snake People left their ancient home at *Tokonave*, trouble came to the village of *Wuhkokiekeu*. The rain stopped falling and the corn did not mature. The old men said, "Our ancients told us that our corn would guide us. Now we must go somewhere where our corn will grow properly." Others said, "If we could find the Snake People who departed from here long ago we could be assured of rain for it is they who own the ceremony for calling the clouds." And soon afterwards the people abandoned their village and their fields. ... Each clan went a different direction. The Horn Clan traveled east. Here and there it discovered signs made on the rocks by the Snake Clan, and left its own marks to be read by others who might pass that way.

> It went on to ***Kalewistima***, where it was learned that the Snake Clan had long ago departed from that place. [Emphasis added] (Courlander 1971:94)

Eventually, the Horn (by then the Horn-Flute) People arrive at First Mesa. Albert Yava's narrative begins with the Snake Clan Migration narrative and follows with that of the Horn Clan:

> The people went on till they reached ***Kalewistema***, where those cliff ruins are in **Tsegi Canyon**, west of Kayenta. It's an important place in Hopi tradition. A number of Hopi clans lived there at one time or another, including the Water Coyotes. While the Snake Clan was living at ***Kalewistema*** they heard that there were Bear Clan villages down here on the Hopi mesas, so they moved in this direction. Part of the clan broke-off and went west to Oraibi, but the main body came to First Mesa.
>
> ...Quite some time after the Snake Clan left *Tokonave*, the people still living there began to have difficulties. ... The Horn Clan went eastward... Every now and then the Horn Clan discovered pottery or signs engraved on the rocks showing that the Snake Clan had passed this way ahead of them. In time they reached ***Kalewistema***, the canyon of cave villages near Kayenta, and learned that the Snake Clan had been there a long time ago. How long the Horn Clan stayed at ***Kalewistema*** isn't known... (Courlander 1978:57-59).

A Piikyas (Corn) Clan version of the "Emergence of Humanity and the Great Migrations" in which Kawestima also figures as a significant place in the migrations was recorded and translated by Armin Geertz (Geertz 1994). This Third Mesa version was transcribed by Michael Lomatuway'ma and describes the movements of groups of related clans (phratries in the anthropological literature) from Kawestima to Oraibi:

> "Now, let's set out. I, *Maasaw*, am going ahead. I am going before you. I will be going and await your arrival at Oraibi." Thus, he set out for that location.
>
> Then they followed after him. He preceded them as they commenced towards Oraibi. Because they were to follow him, some said, "We won't accompany the *Kwan* members [One Horn Society who had gone hunting, successfully, and feasted before proceeding on their journey four days later]. They will not be able to find a way for us, and they won't be able to find food. They won't bring anything worthwhile to us. We'll go to ***Kawestima***," some decided and proceeded to ***Kawestima***.
>
> But we [the *Piikyas*] were to follow them (the *Kwaakwant*). The Parrot clan, the clan that owns the Corn (*Piikyas* clan), and the Bear clan, only these few clans followed the *Kwan* Society to Oraibi. These were the only followers they had when they migrate towards Oraibi.

Meanwhile the various other clans went on to Kawestima.

"We will go with them. We have brought along something good. We have an old woman. Because we have *Maasaw*, we will somehow endure. So we will travel with the *Kwan* Society," they said, and then they went on. Only those few went with them. There weren't many that went along. The others followed those who did not take anything of value along.

Now they continued on their journey. They established settlements as they went along. Those who proceeded to ***Kawestima*** arrived there. They were to plant crops upon their arrival at ***Kawestima***. They arrived there around planting time and were just about to do that, but the weather did not warm up. The Spider clan had a cicada as their clan "pet" (or "totem"), and the poor thing chirped constantly. It was his chirping that brought about the warmth. It was he who possessed the ability to produce heat. But he was unable to overcome (the cold). The poor thing froze to death.

The people then retreated from there. They were angered. Surely the others lived prosperously. And due to this prosperity, they had most likely reached their destination, and so they pursued them (Geertz 1994:350-351, emphasis added).

Hopi Ruin Narratives

So sacred are these places to the Hopi
that they are associated with tribal gods and clan tutelaries;
consequently, proprietorship in them is not abandoned
even when clans in their migrations seek new building sites
(Fewkes 1906:346-347).

Ruin narratives provide explanations for the prehistoric and historic villages which are now unoccupied. Ekkehart Malotki provides the Hopi gloss, kiqotutuwutsi, which may be understood simply as "ruin stories" (Lomatuway'ma, Lomatuway'ma and Namingha 1993:ix). Emory Sekaquaptewa did not find this word to "ring true" and suggests, instead, kiiqova hiniwtiput tuutuwutsi, "stories about what happened along the ruins" (Hieb and Sekaquaptewa, personal communication 7/17/97). Although Ruin narratives exist as separate stories in the ethnographic literature, they are also found in Clan Migration narratives and in the accounts describing the movement of the "Hostiles" from Oraibi in 1906.

A brief Ruin narrative was anonymously recorded in 1939 regarding Betatakin, which many Hopis refer to as Kawestima (Anon. 1939). The narrative describes "Betata'kin" as an ancestral home of the Hopi from which the people moved after three plagues: rattlesnakes, drought and hard winter (Anon. 1939:4). It is useful to compare the Betatakin account with explanations of other Hopi ruins legends:

Sikyatki: Destroyed by Hopis from Qootsaptuvela at the request of its own village chief to terminate intra-village animosities resulting from an unjustified life-and-death race demanded by the sorcerer faction in the community.

Hisatsongoopvai: Destroyed by an earthquake triggered by the Water Serpent gods residing in the local village spring when implored to flatten the land for greater planting convenience.

Pivanhonkyapi: Destroyed by fire at the request of the village chief to cleanse the community of its evil ways brought on by a gambling craze.

Huk'ovi: Abandoned due to an act of sorcery perpetrated by a Hopi girl against neighboring Pivanhonkyapi.

Qa'otaqtipu: Destroyed by fire, initiated by its chief to avenge a crime committed by neighboring Matsonpi, consumes Qa'otaptipu instead.

Hovi'itstuyqa: Destroyed by enemy raiders when persuaded to do so by a man from Tupats'ovi who loses his wife through adultery committed by a man from Hovi'itstuyqa.

Awat'ovi: Destroyed in 1700 by a contingent of Hopi warriors from Oraibi, Mishongnovi, and Walpi at the request of its leader when Awat'ovi's residents, twenty years after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, readmit Spanish missionaries, thereby creating a state of koyaanisqatsi, or "social chaos," among the town's residents (Malotki in Lomatuway'ma, Lomatuway'ma and Namingha 1993:x-xi).

These Hopi narratives offer more than an explanation of what occurred at specific villages. They become a "charter for social action" (Malinowski 1948) and "deliberate acts" by Hopi leaders (Whiteley 1988b).

In another tale, Voth recorded a Third Mesa story at Oraibi that gives social meaning to Hopi ruins:

> One time the children (people) of the chief in Oraibi were very bad and the chief concluded that he would punish them. So he went over to the warrior chief in Walpi. [There follows an account of a trick in which the "children" are lured out of Oraibi to attack Walpi and are killed on their return journey.] This is the way chiefs often punished their children (people) when they became "bewitched." That is one reason there are so many ruins all over the country (Voth 1905:255-156).

Not all Ruin narratives are as apocalyptic as those recorded on Third Mesa. Consider the First Mesa account of ancestral Hopi clan migrations to and from Kawestima.

> It is said the people of ***Kalewistima*** eventually left that place because of a drought, but that was at a much later time. When the Snake Clan lived there life was good. There was plenty of water and plenty of corn. Because life was so good to them the people did not work as hard as they had in earlier times. They also began to forget the ceremonies and all the things they were supposed to remember. The old

men began to worry. They said: "We chose the blue corn at the sipapuni, and with it a hardworking life. Here at ***Kalewistima*** things are too easy. It will end in our destruction. Let us move on before it is too late" (Courlander 1971:91-92).

Courlander records that the Horn Clan left its ancestral home at Wuhkokiekeu when "the rain stopped falling and the corn did not mature" and went in search of the Snake Clan. It went on to Kawestima, "where it was learned the Snake Clan had long ago departed from that place."

They continued on in their search for the Snake Clan and its ceremony which brings rain, finally reaching First Mesa (Courlander 1971:94-95).

The Ruin narratives which make reference to Betatakin reflect only part of a larger Hopi traditional history. For example, in Hopi Dictionary/Hopiikwa Lavaytutuveni the phrase "*Kawestima angqw yaw haqawat ngyam Oraymi oki*" means "They say some clans came to Oraibi from Kawestima" (1998:137).

Hopi Prophetic Narratives

Another genre of Hopi traditional history, Prophetic narratives, correlates Betatakin and the Tsegi Canyon region with the Kawestima described in the Clan Migration narratives.

Prophetic discourse related to the 1906 Oraibi Split on Third Mesa has implications for prehistoric histories and prophecies concerning Kawestima. In 1906, a factional dispute that had been brewing for over a quarter of a century culminated in the disintegration of the village of Oraibi. Some anthropologists have studied the underlying causes of the dissension, convinced that in Hopi factionalism lay the key to understanding the events of 1906. It was generally agreed that the cause of the Split was an internal village dispute over the appropriate response to U. S. Federal Indian policies (e.g., removal of children to boarding schools). As a consequence, the factions were referred to as Friendlies and Hostiles (later as Progressives and Conservatives) because of their respective positions to federal economic and education policies.

A few noteworthy anthropologists have challenged this political interpretation of the Oraibi Split. Mischa Titiev (1944), Fred Eggan (1950) and Richard Maitland Bradfield (1971) explained Hopi factionalism as the consequence of a fragile social structure unable to maintain unity when faced with a rapidly changing physical, social, or political environment. Although acknowledging these factors, many Hopis believe that the Split was the fulfillment of an ancient prophecy. In this indigenous history, the ceremonial leaders of both factions consciously conspired to bring the prophecy to its preordained conclusion by arranging for the disintegration of the village (cf., Sekaquaptewa 1972:247-248). Peter Whiteley supports the Hopi position that the events of the dissolution were "deliberate acts" decided upon by the leaders of each faction in collusion (Whiteley 1988b). His synopsis of the Hopi perspective of the Oraibi Split is as follows:

> The Hopi analysis of the Oraibi split, which I have offered as that made by the more knowledgeable sector of the society, concentrates on a set of features:
>
> 1. The split was a deliberate plot, brought into operation by Oraibi's active *pavansinon*, or politico-religious leaders, via the subtle mechanisms of Hopi

political action.

2. The split was foretold in a body of prophecies, recorded in ritual narrative and song, and the years prior to the split were recognized as fulfilling the conditions set forth in the prophecies as appropriate to the destruction of the village.
3. The split's primary purpose was radical change in the structure of society.
4. Such radical change was directed particularly toward the politico-religious order, which was regarded as the central axis of the social system (Whiteley 1988b:283).

The Oraibi Split serves as background for an understanding of the cultural significance of Kawestimain Third Mesa narratives. Consider this statement of Kawestima by Hopi individuals:

> ***Kawestima*** is a ruin situated under an overhang somewhere far away northwest of Oraibi. When Tawakwaptiwa threw out Yukiwma during the Oraibi split, the latter chose ***Kawestima*** as his destination. But he never reached the place. Instead, he settled at Hotevilla (Lomatuway'ma, Lomatuway'ma and Nahmingha 1993:439, emphasis added).

Kawestima was "their prophesied destination" (Whiteley 1988b:112; Sekaquaptewa 1972:247-248). Consider the following version from Old Oraibi:

> Now *wiimi* [religion], that was ended at Oraibi in 1906. They purposefully destroyed it. All the head priests at Oraibi decided that no one should carry it on. Even the people who went away [the Hostiles] made a vow not to practice it. This is what was agreed upon. It was ended. ... The split was carried out based on *navoti* [knowledge, here prophecy]. Using this they planned the destruction of the ceremonies. But after they sat down and really talked about it, they saw that they could fulfil the prophecy [on the destruction of Oraibi] easily by taking into consideration that Oraibi was overpopulated, water was scarce, and good farming land was depleted. So the old chiefs pondered and talked about this situation of hardship. It was decided that the only way for the people to survive was to split up. All the chiefs agreed and it was decided on in good faith and with no ill feelings toward each other. Yukioma agreed to lead one group out of Oraibi, and in this way he would fulfil his clan's prophecy of return to their ruins at ***Kawestima*** ... But Yukioma had a change of heart: he refused to go on his own and carry out his promise. ... Some of us who knew little of the plan between Loololma, Tawaquaptewa, and Yukioma saw the bitterness as real. We *sukavungsinom* ["common people," those without offices in the religious societies or without significant social or supernatural power] started the real fighting and were truly bitter toward each other--it was not supposed to go this far (Whiteley 1988b:257, emphasis added).

Whiteley goes on to explain, "According to these versions, those who left Oraibi were supposed to go to Kawestima (generally thought to be Keet Seel in TsegiCanyon, although this is debated). When they reached Kawestima, they might have reconstituted the ceremonial cycle, but they forfeited the right to do so when they returned to Oraibi" (Whiteley 1988b:257-258, emphasis

added). [It should be noted that Kawestima is often used to refer to a general area which includes various ancestral habitations, among them Keet Seel.]

Underlying the Oraibi split were prophecies linked to the apocalyptic expectations of the Emergence narrative:

The world had ripened to where events signaled fulfillment of the prophecy on the destruction of the central axis of Oraibi society, its wiiwimi or ritual matrix. This prophecy held that after Oraibi's division the ejected party would return to destroy the village completely. The attack was supposed to be launched from the ruined village of Huk'ovi, about two miles to the northwest of Oraibi, which is where the departing Hostiles should have gone first. After destroying Oraibi, they would return to Kawestima, making three stops on the way; they would rest at each stop for four year (the archetypal measure of Hopi sacred narrative is four units)--time to raise enough corn for the journey to the next resting spot. At Kawestima they would reconstitute wiiwimi (particularly the first-order societies) on the lines of Oraibi, but this should not be done at any of the temporary settlements. Meanwhile, if Oraibi was not completely destroyed, it would gradually decay anyway into a ghost town. Sometime in the future, after renewed nomadic migrations with no permanent homes (similar to the period after the Hopi emerged from the world below), people will return to Oraibi, crawling on their hands and knees. After this, Oraibi will rise again to be a flourishing community (Whiteley 1988b:269-270, emphasis added).

Two days after the split, Tawaquaptewa and other Friendlies told Agency Superintendent Theodore G. Lemmon:

> ...that it was a Hopi prophesy that all this would come about and that whichever party was vanquished must leave the village and the Hopi country for ever. That they must go far to the north to the land of ***Ka-weis-ti-ma***, told of in their religious songs; that nobody knows where this is or when it will be reached but the initiated have such a description of it that they will recognize it when they reach it (quoted in Whiteley 1988b:265, emphasis added).

Of the many meanings of Kawestima, its place in the apocalyptic prophecies surrounding the Oraibi Split of 1906 is clearly a significant aspect of this study.

The meaning of Kawestima is defined in the Hopi Dictionary/Hopiikwa Lavaytuttuveni as the kachina home representing the northwest cardinal direction. Kawestima is one of four kachina homes located at one of the four Hopi cardinal directions.

Shortly after the summer solstice of 1893, Alexander M. Stephen wrote to his employer Jesse Walter Fewkes, Director of Second Hemenway Expedition, to tell of his discovery of a conceptual difference in directions between Euro-Americans and the Hopi:

> The Hopi orientation bears no relation to North and South, but to the points on the horizon which mark the places of sunrise and sunset at the summer and winter solstices. He invariably begins his ceremonial circuit by pointing (1) to the place of sunset at the summer solstice, next to (2) the place of sunset at the winter solstice,

> then to (3) the place of sunrise at winter solstice, and (4) the place of sunrise at summer solstice, &c. &c. Doesn't that please you? ... As soon as it flashed upon me, I hastened in to apply the key to some of the old fellows' knowledge boxes. And they one and all declared how glad they were that I now understood, how sorry they had been that I could not understand this simple fact before (quoted in McCluskey 1982:32).

The historian of science Stephen McCluskey concurs in saying that:

> The four cardinal directions of Hopi cosmology...are not the four directions which the European tradition derives from an abstract geometrization of space. Rather their cardinal directions are the empirically observable ones defined by observations of sunrise and sunset at the winter and summer solstices (Ibid.).

The solstice points are known, Stephen wrote to Fewkes on December 21, 1893, as Sun's houses, especially the point in the southeast where the sun rises at the winter solstice and the diametrically opposite point in the northwest where the sun sets at the summer solstice (McCluskey 1982:34). The significance of the Sun's houses is provided by Mischa Titiev. He characterizes the Hopi concept of a "dual division to time and space between the upper world of the living and the lower world of the dead." He elaborates on Hopi thought regarding the natural rhythms of time and space:

> This is expressed in the description of the sun's journey on its daily rounds. The Hopi believe that the sun has two entrances, variously referred to as houses, homes or *kivas*, situated at each extremity of its course. In the morning the sun is supposed to emerge from its eastern house, and in the evening it is said to descend into its western home. During the night the sun must travel underground from west to east in order to be ready to arise at its accustomed place the next day. Hence day and night are reversed in the upper and lower worlds (Titiev 1944:173).

> The four cardinal directions are *kwiniwi* 'northwest' (at the horizon point of the summer-solstice sunset), *tevena* 'southwest' (winter-solstice sunset), *tatoqa* "southeast' (winter-solstice sunrise), and *hopoqa* 'northeast' (summer-solstice sunrise). In addition are *omi* 'above' and *atkami* 'below' which are also treated as primary directions. In ritual practice, this spatial orientation constitutes an elaborate system of directional symbolism (cf., Hieb 1972:577-578; Bradfield 1995:92-93). Stephen conveys a sense of the richness of this construct as he relates colors to the directions:

Northwest	1.	*Kwini'wi*, yellow (*sikya'*): 'because the anthropomorphic deity who sits there is yellow, wearing a yellow cloud mask which covers his head and rests upon his shoulders; a multitude of yellow butterflies constantly flutters before the cloud, and yellow corn grows continually in that yellow land'; i.e., northwest.
Southwest	2.	*Te'vyuna*, blue-green (*sa'kwa*); i.e., southwest.
Southeast	3.	*Ta'tyuka*, red (*pa'la*); i.e., southeast.
Northeast	4.	*Ho'poko*, white (*ko'tsa*); i.e., northeast.

Above	5.	*O'mi*, black (*ku'mbi*); i.e., the Above.
Below	6.	*At'kyami*, all colors (*na'naluna*): 'and here sits the deity regarded as the maker of all life germs [i.e., *Muy'ingwa*]. He sits upon a flowery mound on which grows all vegetation. He wears a mask of clouds of all these five colors, and before it flutter all the butterflies. Speckled corn and sweet corn grow there, and melons, cotton, beans, squash, etc'; i.e., the Below. (Stephen 1898:261-262)

There are two directional systems in Hopi cosmology. One that includes six directions (the four cardinal directions, zenith and nadir) and a second that includes four. It is in this latter concept that Kawestima has significance:

> *Katsinas* live at four cardinally extended homes: *Nuvatukya'ovi* (San Francisco Peak) to the (south)west, *Kiisiwu* (a spring) to the (north)east, *Weenima* (near Safford or Springerville) to the south(east) and ***Kaawestima*** (Ruins) to the north(west) (Geertz 1984:234, emphasis added).

Likewise, in the Hopi Dictionary/Hopiikwa Lavaytutuveni, Kawestima is directionally identified (primarily by Third Mesa elders) as:

> ***Kawestima***...an Anasazi ruin in the Navajo National Monument, the kachina home representing the northwest cardinal direction (Hopi Dictionary Project 1998:137).

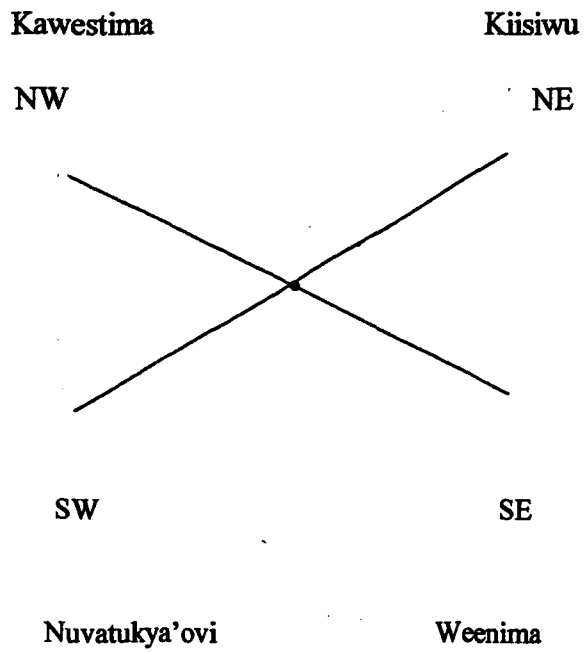
Matters are further complicated by the fact that the locations of the kachina homes in these Third Mesa sources differ from the one instance collected on First Mesa. Thus, in his Journal for July 8, 1893, Alexander M. Stephen writes:

> The *Shoyo'him kachina* dwell at four terrestrial places in the directions of the four world quarters: Toward the Northwest, at *Kishyu'ba*; Southwest, at *Nuva'tikyauobi* (San Francisco Mountains); Southeast at *We'nima* (Zuni, Koclawalaiye); Northeast, at *Nuva'tikyauobi* (San Mateo Mountain or Mt. Taylor) (Stephen 1936:442, n.1).

For reasons which are not clear, Stephen uses the same term, *Nuva'tikyauobi*, for both the San Francisco Mountains and San Mateo Mountain or Mt. Taylor. What is of specific interest to this study is the use of *Kishyu'ba* (shaded water), said to be a spring on Black Mountain, as the kachina home of the northwest (Stephen 1936:1158). As noted earlier, these differences are important since they represent variations in the oral traditions of different individuals, clans, villages and religious societies.

Table 3 is a visual summary of the Third Mesa conception of the cardinal directions and their associated sacred places.

Table 3. Katsina Homes of the Cardinal Directions (Third Mesa)



Peter Whiteley's observations about the source and meaning of Kawestima suggest not one source but several overlapping sources:

> "***Kawestima***" may not be originally a Hopi word; "*ka*," as contrasted with "*qa*," is not, according to Malotki (n.d.), a word-initial Hopi syllable. Emory Sekaquaptewa (1972:248) suggests the name derived from the former Village Chief's name. It may also derive from the Keresan term for a northern sacred mountain (spelled "***Kawestima***" by White 1942:83). Possible confirmation of the latter is found in Hopi oral traditions that locate Keresan-speaking peoples in the general Navajo Mountain area prehistorically (Whiteley 1988b:328, n.3).

These differences aside, what is important is that Kawestima is regarded by Hopis as a kachina home in the northwest where specific kachinas live. These "homes" are places to which prayers and prayer offerings continue to be made and from which the kachinas bring their gifts and blessings. Consequently, Kawestima is a significant concept in Hopi spirituality and, as such, features importantly throughout this traditional history of Navajo National Monument.

Table 4 summarizes the narrative contexts in which Kawestima appears. Two general observations are to be made: (1) the concept appears primarily in narratives recorded on Third Mesa (exception: Yava 1978); and (2) it appears most frequently in Hopi prophetic narratives. That the concept appears to be unique to the history of the Third Mesa community (Oraibi) accounts for its importance in the prophetic narratives. It is a reflection of scholarly interest in the

Oraibi Split that so many prophetic narratives have been recorded. However, it may also be the case that this form of prophetic expression has its source in the uniqueness of the Third Mesa Emergence narrative.

Table 4. Kawestima: Frequency Comparison of Narrative Contexts

Narrative:	Emergence Narrative	Clan Migration Narrative	Run Narrative	Prophetic Narrative	Other contexts
Sources:					
Courlander (1971)		X	X	X	
Courlander (1981)			X		*Hopitutsqwa*
Ferguson/Dongoske (1994)					
Geertz (1984)					Kachina Home
Hopi Dictionary Project (1998)					Kachina Home
James (1974)				X	
Jenkins et al. (1994)					*Hopitutsqwa*
Levy (1992)				X	
Nequatewa (1936)				X	
Page (1982)					*Hopitutsqwa*
Page/Page (1982)					
Sekaquaptewa (1972)				X	
Titiev (1944)	X[1932]			X	
Waters (1963)		X			
White (1960)					Keresan source?
Whiteley (1988a)	X			X[1906]	
Whiteley (1988b)				X[1906]	
Yava (1978)		X		X	

Synonymy: *Kawestima* = *Ka-weis-tima* (1906; Whiteley 1988a, 1988b)); Kawish-tima (1936; Nequatewa 1936); *Kalewistima* (1971; Courlander 1971, Yava 1978); *Ky westima* (1982; Page/Page 1982); *Kaawestima* (1984; Geertz 1984); all other sources use *Kawestima*.

C. Summary

This study uses ethnographic data on recorded Hopi cultural and narrative traditions to illustrate the importance of the Navajo National Monument area in the navoti (knowledge) of the Hopi

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This study uses ethnographic data on recorded Hopi cultural and narrative traditions to illustrate the importance of the Navajo National Monument area in the navoti (knowledge) of the Hopi people. In introducing the concept of "traditional history" into the literature of the Southwest in 1891, Cosmos Mindeleff regarded the navoti expressed in the Hopi Emergence and Clan Migration narratives as a form of prehistory to which various narratives of Euro-American history were added to bring the "traditional history of Tusayan" up to date. We agree with Roger Anyon et al. in regarding these narratives as ways of 'knowing the past" which represent the "collective memory of generations" (Anyon, et al. 1997:78, 86). While the focus here is on traditional narratives, it is clear that this knowledge is actively embodied and sustained in ritual performances, prayers, and sacred places. The Snake Clan Migration narratives identifies the importance of the Navajo National Monument area as a shrine for the Snake Clan (and for many other Hopi clans as well). For example, on a visit to Betatakin (Hieb and Ralph Salina, Shungopavi, June 1970), a Hopi elder from the Blue Bird clan made prayer offerings at the spring below that village. Kawestima has a significant place in Hopi religious thought (wiimi) and ritual practice.

Kawestima was and continues to be a place of cultural history and spiritual destiny. In the concept of Hopitutsqua (Hopi land), as a pact between the Hopi people and Maasaw, Kawestima is an important shrine to and through which Hopis make prayer offerings as a part of their stewardship of the earth. In some ethnographic accounts, Kawestima is Betatakin and in others Kawestima refers to the general region (Navajo Mountain-Kayenta). Kawestima, in Hopi religious belief and symbolic expression, is the kachina home of the northwest. This sacred place is a vehicle through which prayer offerings are made to the spiritual world beyond. It is important to recognize and respect the significance and validity of Hopi navoti as cultural knowledge that embodies the identity and life of the Hopi people.

D. Introduction to the Hopi Literature Reviews

The following ethnographic literature review provides detailed bibliographical and biographical information regarding each source. The period of field research and the identity of Hopi consultants, if provided, is given. There are also key words at the top right of each listing that serve as a general index. Each literature view provides a summary of the publication with highlights applicable to the general objectives of this study. Taken as a whole, the Hopi Literature Reviews emphasize the value of ethnographic research to management and program activities at Navajo National Monument.

E. Hopi Literature Review

How Hopis Explain Abandonment of Betata'kin **Ruin narrative**

Anon
United States. National Park Service. Clip-Sheet: Facts and Artifacts, p. 4
1939 (September)
Article
Place and date of research not given
Hopi consultant not identified

Hopi bibliographer W. David Laird records a "Hopi tradition that Betatakin was a Hopi ancestral home abandoned after three plagues: rattlesnakes, drought, and hard winter" (1977:303). This type of narrative provides a Hopi explanation for the demise of villages that now lie in ruins.

The word "abandonment" used in the title of this essay and in narratives by Hopis and others throughout this study is a problematic word to contemporary Hopis. As will become clear, what is meant is a movement through these regions as these places continue to be "occupied" or meaningful in many ways regarded as sacred.

This brief article is listed in W. David Laird's Hopi Bibliography (entry 1301). However, it was not available for review. Various regional and NPS libraries have been checked for a copy and an Inter-Library Loan request proved unsuccessful.

In summary, this article has been included because, however abbreviated, it represents fragments of one or more clan migration narratives and should be understood in that larger narrative context.

Notes on Hopi Economic Life **General ethnology**

Ernest Beaglehole
1937
New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 88
Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 15
Monograph in a series
Field research: Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi, 1932, 1934 (summers)
Hopi consultants: Sak'masa and Roy (Mishongnovi); Yusi'ima (Shipaulovi)

Ernest Beaglehole (1906-1965; Ph.D., Psychology, London School of Economics) worked as an ethnologist with support from the Commonwealth Fund and Yale University. He conducted field work on the Hopi Second Mesa in 1932 and 1934. His dissertation research concerned the psychological basis of the acquisition of property with an emphasis was on the social psychology of the material cultures and economic activities of a people.

Notes on Hopi Economic Life begins with a description of the organization of Hopi household, kin and clan units as background to a more general study of "Hopi economic processes and values" (5).

Beaglehole starts his consideration of "ownership and control of property" with the statement: "The patterns of ownership in any community are essentially those which regulate the behavior of an individual or a group of individuals in relation to the objects of material culture, the natural resources, and sometimes, to the more immaterial goods which are at the command of a social unit" (10). Under this rubric he describes "the rights of the individual or group of individuals and the reason, nature and extent of control exercised" with regard to personal property, group ownership and land ownership. Within "land ownership," Beaglehole describes the nature of boundaries between villages, between clan lands and the "limits" of family land. Included here is a Coyote Clan narrative regarding the division of lands which is "located" within the Coyote Clan Migration narrative (cf. 14-15).

Beaglehole's description of Hopi agricultural practices (choice and preparation of land, planting and cultivation, harvesting and ritual in agriculture) draws on first-hand observation. This should be considered in conjunction with Bradfield's study of Third Mesa agriculture (1971).

Under "Secondary Productive Activities" Beaglehole considers "hunting and herding" (noting changes from practices observed by Fewkes in 1890) and the "gathering of natural products." Descriptions of Hopi gathering of salt, pigments and wood are detailed. Given Mindeleff's rich account (Victor Mindeleff 1891), Beaglehole provides only a brief account of "house building."

Pearl Beaglehole, whose field work tenure paralleled that of her husband, provides a detailed account (60-71) of "Foods and Their Preparation"--largely derived from Irene (Shipaulovi)--and includes a lengthy narrative account of Hopi response to drought (70-71).

With his emphasis on economics, Ernest Beaglehole's account of "the distribution of native wealth through ceremony and exchange" considers an area of traditional ethnography from a fresh perspective:

> The household group is the ultimate unit in the distribution and consumption of goods, and from one point of view it is largely self-sufficient in its economic organization since most of the wealth that is produced is used to satisfy the physical needs of the members of the group, to provide them with food, shelter and clothing. But, as already shown, the household is linked up with wider kin and clan units. It becomes necessary, therefore, to set aside part of the household wealth to fulfill social obligations arising from patterns of hospitality and from kin and clan ties, while another part is used in payment for services rendered the household or to procure other desired goods through exchange and barter. Distribution of goods in return for specialized service has been mentioned earlier. Here then, one may pass to a brief analysis of the manner in which social bonds newly cemented at times of personal ceremonial [birth and naming, initiation, marriage, death] are validated by the distribution of native wealth through feasting, gift or gift exchange and further implemented by the forging of immediate or consequent economic obligations. Similarly one may note briefly the manner in which religious ceremonial and trading activities act as an incentive to increased production and at the same time form the rationale and the occasion for the distribution and consumption of wealth among larger social groups. (72)

In summary, although the Beagleholes' fieldwork on Hopi economics has no direct bearing on the traditional histories, it provides a fuller understanding of social psychological considerations of land use.

The Changing Pattern of Hopi Agriculture **General ethnology**

Richard Maitland Bradfield
1971
London: Royal Anthropological Institute, pp. 66
Occasional Paper of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, No. 30
Monograph in a series
Field research: Oraibi; 1966 (April-May), 1967 (October), 1969 (October-December)
Hopi consultants not identified

Richard Maitland Bradfield (Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Cambridge) carried out field work at Oraibi for a total of eight months between 1966 and 1970. Bradfield's initial research concentrated on Hopi agriculture and resulted in The Changing Pattern of Hopi Agriculture.

Bradfield's purpose is to establish three things:

1. "why the Hopi make their fields where they do: or, more precisely, what factors dictate their choice of field site?"
2. "what were the consequences, economic or social (or both), of the dissection of the wash below Oraibi around the turn of the century--and when, exactly, did the dissection take place?"
3. "what have been the long-term effects on Hopi farming, and in particular on the pattern of land use in the Oraibi valley, of the introduction first of draught animals and carts, and more recently of pick-ups and tractors; and how far did the first of these two 'revolutions' offset the effects of the dissection of the wash?" (1)

Bradfield describes the physiography of Black Mesa and then the geological structure and land forms of the Oraibi valley. Working with Hopi farmers, he learns the controlling factors of Hopi agriculture: (a) snowfall, frost and summer rains; (b) vegetation, and soils. He then considers the social correlations of land use to 1906 and from 1906 to the present.

In his account of the Oraibi Split, Mischa Titiev implicates disputes over land and the inherent fragility of a social system that pits clan ties against allegiance to the village (Titiev 1944: 69, 92-93). Bradfield attempts to explain these disputes by claiming that Oraibi's fields were being destroyed by erosion at the same time that the population was growing and exceeding the carrying capacity of the land, that population pressure on limited resources reached a critical point before 1906 and the split occurred in direct response (29-30). Alternative explanations of the Oraibi Split have been put forward by Whiteley (1988b) and Levy (1992) which are also reviewed in this study. Whiteley, particularly, is critical of Bradfield's analysis of Third Mesa agricultural land because he considers only the Oraibi Valley. In Whiteley's perspective, Bradfield ignores lands already used (according to documentary and Hopi sources) in the 1890s for maize-beans-squash agriculture--at Moencopi, around the Dinnebito Wash and at No-Trail Mesa--all of which were made more accessible by the acquisition of wagons in the 1890s (Whiteley 1988b:249). Nevertheless, Bradfield's study remains the basis for these and other studies of Hopi agriculture.

It will be useful to quote in full Bradfield's conclusions regarding the three questions set out at the beginning of his work:

As to the first question, I conclude that the primary factor determining the choice of field site is, and has always been, the availability of water in the form of surface run-off, either directly from an adjoining talus slope or indirectly via a tributary water-course: and secondary to this, the capacity of the subsoil to retain the moisture that reaches it. Both factors are reflected in plant cover, and Hopi know best where to make their fields by looking at the vegetation. The great majority of fields in the Oraibi valley are, indeed, the classic 'flood-water' type described by Kirk Bryan, ranging in size from half-acre plots sited in narrow gullies at the mesa foot to hundred-acre fans at the lower end of big tributary watercourses--even to the 800 acres of farm land at one time fed by the flood waters of the main wash. Certainly, fields dependent on direct precipitation alone have also been made, both on sand slopes and also, in places, on the side valley slope; but such fields have always (in my view) been 'marginal', and liable to be abandoned as soon as the climate takes on of its periodic turns to dry.

As to the second question, the consequences of the dissection of the wash below Oraibi: I hold that these consequences were extremely grave. At a blow, a third of the best farm land in the valley was lost, and this, I believe, was the immediate cause of the split of the old village in 1906 and of the lesser migration to Moenkopi that followed the split. Had the dissection of the wash taken place twenty to thirty years *earlier*, that is to say sooner after the introduction of burros and horses, the lost land might have been replaced by newer fields at the head of the valley; but by 1905-6, the opening-up of new land that followed the introduction of draught animals had already been offset by a corresponding rise in population, so that by then there was no other source of cultivable land within the valley to turn to.

As to the third question, if the evidence will bear the weight I have put on it, the introduction of draught animals had three main effects on the pattern of land use in the Oraibi valley. It led to the clearing of fields in the upper third of the valley, which took place between c. 1870 and 1900; by reducing the labor required for agriculture, it opened the way for the great increase in sheep-herding which characterized the first three decades of the present century; and when the effects of the climatic shift of the last thirty to forty years began to bite, the use of draught animals (and ploughs) facilitated the abandonment of 'marginal' land, the concentration of farming resources on those field that best respond to Hopi farming methods (even when they were some miles distant from the village), and their grouping into larger and more economical holdings. The introduction of pick-ups and tractors in the last fifteen to twenty years has done little more, I think, than carry this last process, i.e., the grouping of fields into larger holdings at a distance from the village, a stage farther.

In summary, while Bradfield's study does not have a direct bearing on the form or content of Hopi traditional histories of the Navajo National Monument area, it does provide background for an understanding of the Oraibi Split and the Prophetic narratives relating to (see, especially,

Whiteley 1988b). It is an excellent introduction to factors considered in the location of fields, historic and prehistoric.

Interpretation of Hopi Culture **General ethnology**

Richard Maitland Bradfield
1995 [1973]
Derby, England: The Author, pp. xi, 492
Monograph
Field research: Oraibi, 1966-1970 (eight months)
Hopi consultants not identified

Richard Maitland Bradfield (Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 1974) carried out field work at Oraibi for a total of eight months between 1966 and 1970. Bradfield's initial research concentrated on Hopi agriculture which resulted in The Changing Pattern of Hopi Agriculture (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1971). His major work, reviewed here, is largely a synthesis of published materials on the Hopi which "centres on the emergence of an ecosystem embracing the Hopi villages, their dependent farmland and the wider tract of country over which they ranged for hunting and gathering, and on the part played by cultural factors, notably the ceremonial cycle and by the ritual fraternities which had charge of its successive stages, in setting a limit to the Hopi's own use of the resources upon which they were dependent for life and so in maintaining the stability of the ecosystem" (Bradfield 1995:iv). An Interpretation of Hopi Culture is largely extracted from his two volume work, A Natural History of Associations: A Study in the Meaning of Community (London: Duckworth, 1973) as it consists of the nine Southwestern chapters published in 1973, plus an "Epilogue" written in 1985.

Bradfield's own summary of the book is as follows: "The book falls into four Parts. In the first three, the author describes the daily round of traditional Hopi life, the part played in it by the ceremonies which make up the religious year, and the underlying concepts upon which the ceremonies rest. In Part four, and in the Epilogue, he outlines the ecology of the Great Basin Shoshoni, traces the emergence in the San Juan drainage of settled farming communities living in stone-built pueblos, and defines the ecosystem to which the 7 historic, Hopi villages belonged. As the ecosystem to which the villages belonged depended for its stability on certain values implicit in Hopi culture, the Hopi themselves, he argues, could only survive in that environment, and in that way, so long as they continued to hold those values, i.e., to be that kind of person. In a final section, he recounts the sequence of events that led to the breakdown of the ecosystem--and to the disintegration of the old pueblo of Oraibi."

His most interesting interpretations deal with the relationship of the multiple clan names, not to social organization, but to the relationship to the natural environment and to ritual. He traces part of the Hopi ritual system to the hunting activities of their linguistic relatives in the Great Basin. Bradfield tells us how he came to his realization:

> When I first approached the Hopi thought-world, I did so with the idea that the Hopi were, first and foremost, a corn-squash-and-bean-growing people, who incidentally practiced some hunting, chiefly of rabbits, and some gathering of seeds and roots. I expected to find the primacy of agriculture reflected in their world-view, as indeed it is at many points, and with this notion in mind, the chapter was first drafted. Gradually however, under the influence of the material presented

> here, my own thinking changed, and I came to regard the Hopi, both in point of historical development and in the image which they hold of themselves in relation to their environment (in so far as that image can be inferred from the evidence furnished by their clan names), primarily as a hunting-and-gathering people who incidentally practice some agriculture. In short, I came to realize the truth of Mauss's remark—*'L'agriculture, c'est un cas de l'ethnobotanique'*--as applied to the Hopi. This change in attitude was completed when I found how closely many aspects of the hunting-and-gathering side of Hopi life, as reflected in the grouping of clan names, are foreshadowed in the culture of the Great Basin Shoshoneans. (1995:234 or 1973:II:217).

Bradfield illustrates the role of different levels of Hopi cultural development by reference to the bear. In all the major villages today the Bear clan is preeminent, furnishing the leadership in both ceremonial activities and daily life. The "origins" of the Bear clan are noted in the Clan Migration narratives. As the people traveled around after the emergence from the underworld, one group came upon a dead bear and were called the Bear clan (honaw). Later groups cut straps from the bear skin, or saw spiders spinning a web in the bear's eye sockets, etc., and became members of the Bear-Spider phratry grouping of clans. The importance of the Bear is said to derive from the fact that the Bear clan was the first arrival at the Hopi mesas, and as such provided the village chieftainship and the Soyal ceremony, the most important Hopi ritual. As other groups with similar "experiences" arrived they were asked to demonstrate their ceremonial powers and if successful were provided with lands and a place in the village.

In the Great Basin populations, leadership was in the hands of a headman who was knowledgeable as to food resources and who organized the fall festival after the pinon nut harvests and the occasional rabbit or antelope drives. Religious practices centered on shamanism, and there were a number of specialists, of which the Bear shaman was particularly important. The bear--both the black variety and the grizzly--was common in the Great Basin, and was considered a strong animal with powerful "medicine" and the only animal that couldn't be easily handled. Bears were a source of curing power for shamans, and they were a potential source of food in the spring when they emerged from hibernation.

Bradfield then considers a number of linguistic terms for bear in the Great Basin. In the central and northwestern area, including the main body of the Shoshoni, and northern groups of Northern Paiute, the ordinary word for bear is *wida*, while the term for the grizzly is *paoda*, a term also applied to shamans who were able to transform themselves into bears. In the southwestern region, and particularly in the Owens Valley and vicinity, the ordinary word for bear was *palavika*, but in the southern half of the Owens Valley this term was replaced by *unu'u*; Bradfield, citing Julian Steward, adds that shamans got power from the bear and could transform themselves into one. Such "transformed doctors" were called *unu*. Bradfield notes that *unu'u* is the only 'bear' root in the Shoshonean languages corresponding to the Hopi term for bear, honaw, and that "the association of the latter, in the remote past, with Great Basin shamanism, furnishes, we may suppose, the original sources of the spiritual authority of the Hopi kikmongwi" (235). This hypothesis helps explain many aspects of the Hopi "political" organization, and Bradfield suggests that the Hopi Powamu ceremony, in which the Bear clan leader plays an important part, may be

the analogue of the Bear Dance. The head of the Bear clan is the keeper of the Bear mask; he may still be symbolically transformed into a bear.

Bradfield's work, coupled with that of David Shaul in linguistics and Fred Eggan on social organization combine to give strength to the suggestion of a Great Basin origin of the Hopi, with the study area here under consideration an important "stepping stone" to the historic Hopi village locations. Bradfield quotes from the Oraibi version of the Emergence narrative as recorded by Voth (1905:23-25) and continues:

> Now this account of the building-up of the villages, by the arrival of successive clan-groups previously resident in the surrounding country, probably reflects actual conditions around 1150 to 1300 A.D. The area in the immediate vicinity of the Hopi villages still awaits detailed archaeological investigation; but studies carried out to the north and west respectively, in the region to the north of the Klethla Valley centered on Kiet Seel and Betatakin, and to the west of the Little Colorado river around Wupa'tki, show that, while both areas were relatively heavily settled by sedentary agricultural communities from c. 1050 to 1250 A.D., the majority of the settlements were abandoned, perhaps as a consequence of arroyo cutting, in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Similarities in kiva- and house-building styles, in methods of agriculture, in corn-grinding techniques and in social structure, suggest that groups of their inhabitants moved across to the vicinity of the present-day Hopi villages and joined up there with the resident population, already established in village-settlements along the principal washes since about 1050 A.D. Out of this amalgam, perhaps with further influences from Canon de Chelly in the east, emerged--around 1300--the definitive Hopi culture, the final phase of which was observed by Stephen, Fewkes and Voth 600 years later. (227-228)

For a parallel treatment, see Levy (1992:16-22).

In summary, Bradfield is concerned with basic relationships among habitat and its resources and cultural means for exploiting those resources. In achieving this perspective, he provides a distinctive introduction to the Hopi thought-world and the ecosystem to which the Hopi villages belong. Little of this book is directly related to Navajo National Monument. On the other hand, Bradfield's work is significant in efforts to reconstruct the development of Hopi culture and the movement of the people we know as Hopi through the study area.

"Then Will You Rise and Strike My Head from My Neck": Hopi Prophecy and the Discourse of Empowerment

Prophetic narrative

Richard O. Clemmer
1995
American Indian Quarterly 19:31-73
Article
Field research: 1968, 1969, 1970 (summers), more recent visits 1979-1987
Some Hopi consultants identified in the text

Richard Ora Clemmer (194 -; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Illinois (Urbana)) did field work on the Hopi Second and Third Mesas during the summers of 1968-1970 which led to his dissertation, "Directed Resistance to Acculturation: A Comparative Study of the Effects of Non-Indian Jurisdiction on Hopi and Western Shoshone Communities" (1972) and provides the basis for the study reviewed here. Clemmer has taken the position that anthropologists should be advocates of the communities they study and to this end has supported the resistance of the Hopi "Traditionalists" to Hopi Tribal Council and Federal policies and to various forms of non-traditional economic development. His Roads in the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change (1995) reflects this position but while it draws on nearly twenty years of research is marred throughout by factual inaccuracies. Clemmer is associate professor of anthropology at the University of Denver.

Croce's observation that all history is contemporary history is especially evident in Richard Clemmer's analysis of Hopi prophetic discourse over the past century. In the Hopi and particularly in the discourse of prophecy he finds a model for the empowerment of peoples "persecuted and/or oppressed" by the "political economic conditions" of the modern world. Clemmer's stated purpose is as follows:

> My purpose here is to explain why Hopi prophecy contains these two elements--the stabilization of uncertainty on the one hand and the introduction of instability on the other--by suggesting that "punishment" is a metaphor for the loss of political and economic autonomy and the "punisher" is a metaphor for re-empowerment. All other referents in the prophetic mythic complex serve to connect it to specific symbols from Hopi tradition, culture, and religion; to symbols familiar to non-Hopis; and to the flow of historical events. The effect of all these referents is to confirm the validity of the mythic prophecy to a multi-faceted audience of Hopis--who seek empowerment--and non-Hopis, who must be persuaded not to deny power to them. (32-33)

Clemmer begins with Cushing's 1882 recording of the emergence narrative made at Oraibi. This is a remarkably apocalyptic version. As this NPS study makes clear, the distinctively apocalyptic emergence narratives are unique to Third Mesa as is the bulk of recorded prophetic discourse. For the most part the prophetic discourse Clemmer considers derives from the Third (and Second)

Mesa Traditionalists with whom he worked as an advocate in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This is to suggest a more careful consideration of the specific historical context is needed.

Clemmer situates his analysis of prophecy in the context of Peter Whiteley's analysis of the Oraibi split (in Deliberate Acts (1988)) and Armin Geertz's extended analysis of Third Mesa Hopi prophecy (in The Invention of Prophecy (1994)). Clemmer is particularly interested in narratives about "*Pahaana,*" the [White] Elder Brother of the Hopi who leaves, promising to return to the Hopi. He summarizes:

The Hopi "*Pahaana*" mythic prophecy is a set of constructed rhetorical statements that speak directly to the struggle of Hopis for a diminished autonomy in the face of conditions of increasing political and economic dependency. Although grounded in the origin myth that anticipates a cyclical serious [sic.!] of destructions and creations of the world, the *Pahaana* mythic prophecy has become elaborated in far greater detail than the origin myth itself. Far from destroying Hopi mythic discourse, Hopis' contact with Anglo-American culture and society has promoted and assisted its formation. Hopi prophecy represents a system of "alternative meanings, alternative values, alternative versions of history" as a "potential challenge" to the dominant political economic system, presenting a thinly veiled resentment against disempowerment and anticipating re-empowerment. (36-37)

Clemmer considers four case studies: the narrative recorded by Cushing in Oraibi, 1882; Yukiwma's narrative following the Oraibi split, Hotevilla, 1909; Wilson Tawakwaptiwa's prophecy regarding the end of ceremonies in Oraibi, 1936-1964; and the modern Traditionalist prophecies, 1946-present. From these he concludes the following:

> Hopi prophecy is a special mythic structure corresponding closely to what has been identified in anthropological and sociological literatures as an extremely widespread millennial theme: The world has become a corrupt and unjust place, in which certain peoples are unfairly persecuted and/or oppressed, and the only way to remedy this situation is through a destruction of the world and a reconstitution of human society. In this reconstitution of human society, only those people who are prepared will survive, and the only way to be prepared is to heed the message of those who adhere to the millennia theme. (66)

Clemmer's recognition of the millenarian character of the discourse raises the interesting possibility of a millenarian movement without a leader or, rather, a series of leaders who embody momentarily the discourse and the appropriate course of action.

Clemmer sees prophetic discourse as a "cultural resource that Hopis 'use in varying configurations...to construct strategies of action'" (using Ann Swidler's language) (66). This echoes Kenneth Burke who regarded metaphor, humor and various other forms of discourse as "strategies" as well.

In summary, Clemmer's perspective on prophetic narrative is included in this study as representing an alternative view to that of Peter Whiteley and Armin Geertz. Clearly, there is no

direct relevance of Clemmer's work to Navajo National Monument. However, it does represent a different (and widely read) view of Hopi prophetic discourse, one which sees Hopis using prophecy as a strategy to deal with the "current political economic organization of the world."

The Fourth World of the Hopis

Emergence narrative

Clan Migration narrative
Personal narrative

Harold Courlander
1971
New York: Crown Publishers, pp. 239
Monograph
Field research: 1968, 1969, 1970; all three Hopi mesas and Moencopi
Hopi consultants: Ten individuals not named but numbered and identified with a village

Harold Courlander (1908- ; folklorist) had a long career with the United States Information Agency and with the U.S. Mission to the United Nations as a writer and editor. He was the recipient of numerous research grants (American Council of Learned Societies, American Philosophical Society, Wenner-Gren Foundation and Guggenheim) for the study of African and African American cultures. Later, he compiled and wrote four popular books on the Hopi: People of the Short Blue Corn; Tales and Legends of the Hopi People (1970); The Fourth World of the Hopis (1971); (with Albert Yava) Big Falling Snow (1978); and Hopi Voices: Recollections, Traditions, and Narratives of the Hopi People (1982).

The twenty texts (chapters) of The Fourth World of the Hopis include an Emergence narrative ("The Four Worlds"), Clan Migration narratives--including one which links the Snake, Horn and Water Coyote clans to Kawestima, Ruins narratives and historical narratives regarding the destruction of Awatovi, a Navajo attack on Oraibi, the founding of Moencopi and the breakup of Oraibi. Most of the texts are "composites combining information or details provided by a number of persons." For example, of the Emergence narrative, Courlander states: "Numerous informants contributed to this section, but primarily informants 1, 2, 5, 7, 10 [who are from Hano, Moencopi, Walpi, New Oraibi and Shongopovi] (206).

Chapter VI presents a narrative entitled "Tokonave: The Snake and Horn People" providing, significantly, the only one of two Clan Migration narrative mentioning Kawestima [here: Kalewistima] located in published literature on the Hopi (cf., Geertz 1994). Courlander gives as "informants": 1, Hano (Tewa Village); 5, Walpi; and 7, New Oraibi. The migration is to First Mesa, making this the only First Mesa narrative in the literature reviewed for this study to mention Kawestima. As introduction to this Clan Migration narrative, Courlander records:

> At the time of the most ancient migrations some of the people left the sipapuni and traveled an erratic course, finally going westward and settling in what is now known as California. Their village was called Taotoykya, and they came to speak a language akin to Paiute. They lived on there for many generations, after which they abandoned Taotoykya and journeyed to the east, coming at last to Tokonave, Black Mountain, which the Whites later named Navajo Mountain. At Tokonave they build another village, Wuhkokiekeu, where they remained a long while. As yet they had no clans, and were known merely as the people of Wuhkokiekeu, or the Tokonave people. (82)

The story of the Snake Clan follows with the young man and his wife, "who had come from the village of the Snake People," eventually arriving at Wuhkokiekue where he tells his father, the kikmongwi, about his journey:

> His son told everything, and spoke about the knowledge given to him by the Snake People. "They are now my Snake Fathers," he said. "They gave me the secrets to bring back, and the chants to call rain. Is this what was in the prophecy?"
>
> "The details were never told to us," the kikmongwi said, but surely this is what the prophecy meant. What is more important than the knowledge of how to summon rain?"
>
> The village of Wuhkokiekeu lived on. The young man and his wife made a house of their own. They also lived on. There came a summer without rain, and the corn in the fields dried up. Then the kikmongwi's son said to his father, "Surely now is the time to apply the knowledge brought from the Snake People."
>
> The kikmongwi answered, "Yes, let us get on with it." (90)

The Snake ceremony is performed and rain comes, sparing the village from famine.

The narrative continues:

> In time the young man and his wife had a number of children. As they grew, the children played with other children in the village. But sometimes they bit the children with whom they played, causing them to become sick or even to die. The people of Wuhkokiekeu were angered. They said, "This cannot go on. Our children are dying from the bites of the Snake People. The Snake People must leave."
>
> And so the kikmongwi's son and all who assisted him in the ceremonies gathered their possessions and left the village, camping for a while near a good spring. Then they traveled east of Tokonave. And when the summer was almost gone they came to a canyon where other people were already living, not far from the present town of Kayenta. There were several villages in the canyon, but all were small. Numerous clans were there, including the Water Coyotes and a branch of the Fire Clan. The place was called **Kalewistima**, where still to be seen are the ruins now known as Betatakin, Keet Seel and Inscription House The people from Tokonave built their own village in **Kalewistima** and remained there a long time, one generation after another, and came to be known as the Snake Clan.
>
> It is said that the people of **Kalewistima** eventually left that place because of a drought, but that was at a much later time. When the Snake Clan lived there life was good. There was plenty of water and plenty of corn. Because life was so good to them the people did not work as hard as they had in earlier times. They also began to forget the ceremonies and all the things they were supposed to remember. The old men began to worry. They said: "We chose the blue corn at

the sipapuni, and with it a hardworking life. Here at Kalewistima things are too easy. It will end in our destruction. Let us move on before it is too late."

and so a day came when the Snake Clan people abandoned their village at **Kalewistima** and journeyed south to find the other clans that were there, first making their marks on the rocks to show that they had lived in that place and then moved on. They stopped at one place and another to build temporary villages and to renew their stocks of corn. Sometimes the people asked, "Where are we going?" And the old men answered, "To the south somewhere is the place that was prophesied in ancient times. It is called Sichtilkwi, Flower Mound. That is what we are looking for."

It was a long journey, but at last the Snake Clan came to Wepo Valley, and there they camped by a spring...

Now, from the top of the mesa...Masauwu, the god of fire and death, saw the Snake Clan people down below in Wepo Valley. He went to the kikmongwi of Koechaptevela [the village at the place called Flower Mound], saying, "In the valley down there, new people are coming. Go down and see who they are."

But the kikmongwi declined. He said, "No, all this land around here belongs to you. It is more fitting that you find out who they are."

So Masauwu changed his appearance to make himself look human, and he went to where the Snake Clan was camping near the spring. He spoke to the clan chief, asking, "Who are you people and why are you here?"

The clan chief said, "We are the Snake Clan. Though our language is somewhat different from yours, we are Hopis. We come from **Kalewistiwa**. Before that we lived at Tokonave. Our ancients told us that some day we would meet with other Hopis at Flower Mound. Now we have almost concluded our journey. We want to join those other Hopis living up there on the mesa. We have something to contribute. We have the Antelope Society. We have the Snake Ceremony and the secret of calling the clouds." (91-93)

After demonstrating the Snake Ceremony, the narrative continues:

The people stayed by the spring in the valley for four days. On the fourth day a messenger came from the village. He said, "Come and build your houses near ours. When we need rain you will perform your ceremonies for us." So the people of the Snake Clan at last moved into the village of Koechptevela. There they remained.

Now, many years after the kikmongwi's son and the other Snake People left their ancient home at Tokonave, trouble came to the village of Wuhkokiekeu. The rain stopped falling and the corn did not mature. The old men said, "Our ancients told

us that our corn would guide us. Now we must go somewhere where our corn will grow properly." Others said, "If we could find the Snake People who departed from here long ago we could be assured of rain for it is they who own the ceremony for calling the clouds." And soon afterwards the people abandoned their village and their fields. "By this time the people had organized into clans. Among them were the Horn Clan, the Divided Spring Clan and a number of others. Each clan went in a different direction. The Horn Clan traveled east. Here and there it discovered signs made on the rocks by the Snake Clan, and left its own marks to be read by others who might pass that way.

It went on to **Kalewistima**, where it was learned that the Snake Clan had long ago departed from that place. It reached a village called Lenyanovi, Place of the Flute, where the Flute Clan people were living. There the Horn Clan remained for some time, during which it combined with the Flute Clan. When the combined Horn-Flute Clan abandoned Lenyanovi it went on, reading the signs on the rocks, until it arrived at the site of a spring called Kwaktapavi. There it camped while scouts went out in search of the Snake Clan. In a few days the scouts returned with the news that the Snake Clan was living at Flower Mound in the village of Koechaptevela, less than a day's journey away. So the Horn-Flute People continued their journey, passing by Wepo Spring, Kanelva and Gogyengva, meaning Spider Spring, which was just at the base of that part of the mesa on which Koechaptevela was situated. At Spider Spring they rested long enough to cleanse themselves of the dust of their travels, and from there they went directly up to Koechaptevela. At the village edge they were met by the kikmongwi and the chiefs of the clans.

They were asked, "You people, who are you, where do you come from, and why are you here?"

The Horn-Flute leader said, "Do you not recognize us? We come from Tokonave. We are searching for our cousins, the Snake People, who left us many years ago. We wish to be reunited with them."

The Snake Clan chief came forward. He said, "Is it you?"

The Horn-Flute chief said, "Yes. We are the ones who lived with you at that place, in the village of Wuhkokiekeu. Surely you can tell by the language we speak, which also was your language. Permit us to enter and make our lives here. We come in a spirit of harmony, and we bring with us our Flute Ceremony."

The Snake Clan chief said, "Yes, we recognize you as our cousins. Enter the village. We will show you where to build your houses. We will assign fields where you can plant. You are welcome to Koechaptevela."

Then the kikmongwi and the chiefs of the various clans moved aside, opening the way, and the Horn-Flute People entered the village. (94-95)

Courlander annotates these Clan Migration narratives

> The journeys of the Snake and Horn clans from Tokonave in the north and of other clans from **Kalewistima** in the Kayenta region appear to be recollections of actual migrations... **Kalewistima** was a complex of old villages, some of them cliff settlements, in which various clans lived before going on to the Hopi mesas. When in recent historical times the village of Oraibi was fragmented (see the story, "The Breakup of Oraibi") the First [Fire?] and Water Coyote clans were expected to go back to their ancient homes in **Kalewistima**. (211)

Chapter XX, "The Breakup of Oraibi" describes the events of the Oraibi Split of, a composite perspective drawing on the voices of four Hopis: one each from Hano (Tewa Village), Moencopi, New Oraibi and Oraibi. The full text is beyond the interest of this study. However, an exchange between the leaders of the two factions reveals something of the significance of Kawestima in the events leading up to September 8:

> Seeing how things were going, Tawakwaptewa said, "It has been bad in Oraibi ever since the Fire Clan arrived and demanded to lead us. Now it is worse. It cannot go on this way. The Fire Clan and its affiliated clans can return to the cliffs at **Kalewistima** from where they came. Let them take with them all the others who want to make trouble."
>
> He went to Yukioma. He said: "Well, now, we have come to the end. Take all your people from Oraibi. We can no longer live together. The village is dying. You say you came from **Kalewistima**. Very well. Return to **Kalewistima** and leave us in peace."
>
> Yukioma replied angrily, "No, on the contrary, it is you and your people who will leave."
>
> .Tawakwaptewa ordered the Hostiles to leave, and each time Yukioma declared that it was the Bear Clan and its followers that would have to go...
>
> Tawakwaptewa decided that he could not delay any longer. Early on the morning of September 8, 1906, the Friendlies went from house to house rounding up all the Hostiles and taking them to a flat, rocky place just a little north of the village. The Friendlies said, "This is not your home any longer. Go back to **Kalewistima**" (197)

Eventually the push-war took place: Yukioma was pushed across a line and he and his people left and moved north. The narrative continues:

> When the Hostiles departed from Oraibi they camped first at one place and then another. They came in time to the ruins of the old village of Huckovi and they stayed there for a while. It was expected by many that the Fire and Water Coyote clans would return to **Kalewistima** in the north, where the ancient cliff villages of

> Keet Seel and Betatakin are still standing. But instead of going to that place they traveled a little farther to the north and west, and there, only a few miles from Oraibi, they settled and made a new village which they called Hotevilla. (199-200)

In his notes on Chapter XX, Courlander records a variant narrative that gives an exchange between Tawaquaptewa and Yukioma. "Our chief [Tawaquaptewa] said, 'You people of those clans are supposed to go out where you came from, Kalewistima'" (228).

In addition to notes on the texts, Courlander also provides a "Glossary and Pronunciation Guide" which includes:

> **KALEWISTIMA** (kah-leh-WIST-I-mah)--The Hopi ancestral villages in the Tsegi Canyon complex about fifteen miles west of Kayenta, Arizona. They include the cliff villages now identified as Betatakin, Keet Seel and Inscription. (233)

On a map which serves as the frontis to the volume, Courlander indicates "Snake and Horn clans emigrated from here" (i.e., Tokonave or Navajo Mountain) and "The Fire and Water Coyote clans went south after living here" (i.e., Kalewistima or Keet See/Betatakin).

In summary, Courlander's narrative, collected ca. 1970 from several sources, locates in the Clan Migration traditions of Hopi First Mesa and, as such, is one of the most significant sources in the literature reviewed for the study area. The recollections of the events of the Oraibi Split also inform the meaning Kawestima has for Hopis today.

Hopi Voices; Recollections, Traditions, and Narratives of the Hopi Indians

Harold Courlander
1982
1983

Emergence narrative
Clan Migration narrative
Personal narrative
Hopitutsqwa
Kawestima

Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. xli, 255
Monograph
Field research: 1968-76, 1981; all three Hopi mesas and the Moencopi area
Hopi consultants: each narrative (three exceptions) is "signed with the name of the contributor"

Harold Courlander (1908- ; folklorist) had a long career with the United States Information Agency and with the U.S. Mission to the United Nations as a writer and editor. He was the recipient of numerous research grants (American Council of Learned Societies, American Philosophical Society, Wenner-Gren Foundation and Guggenheim) for the study of African and African American cultures. Later, he compiled and wrote four popular books on the Hopi: People of the Short Blue Corn; Tales and Legends of the Hopi People (1970); The Fourth World of the Hopis (1971); (with Albert Yava) Big Falling Snow (1978); and Hopi Voices: Recollections, Traditions, and Narratives of the Hopi People (1982).

In contrast to the composite texts developed from several consultants, as in The Fourth World of the Hopis, Courlander here provides narratives--given in English--that are "Hopi voices":

> The texts in this collection include myths, legends, and clan chronicles; stories of migrations and events behind the abandonment of villages; tales of adventure, personal exploits, human endurance, and macabre happenings; and comments on or explanations of traditions, beliefs, and history. They come from tape recordings made in or near the Hopi villages at various times during the years 1968-76, and again in 1981, and have been transcribed as literally as possible, though with occasional minor rephrasing and editing for readability. Tenses and genders sometimes have been altered to avoid confusion. Any other alterations by the editor appear within brackets, and footnotes are employed for general observations that might be of value to readers. (xvii)

Hopi Voices consists of 74 texts of various lengths, arranged into the following categories [not Hopi genres]: myths and legends [includes Emergence, Clan Migration, Ruin narratives], recollections and explanations [includes the texts regarding Ancestral Boundaries reproduced below], adventures and exploits, games and pranks of the warrior brothers, and tales about coyote and other animals.

In his introduction, Courlander makes a number of observations which are relevant to this study. In discussing "narratives as property and history" he provides several helpful examples:

> Certain stories or accounts or explanations are, in effect, properties of particular clans or fraternities. Asked to speak of details of his clan's origins, a Hopi might

> respond that he had been warned never to talk about such things. Or he might say that he first must consult with his "uncle" (a clan senior or a ceremonial sponsor), who would advise him whether he could say anything. On occasion, a Hopi would indicate that a particular story belonged to a different clan and that he didn't have the right to tell it. In part, this reluctance or inhibition reflects a sense of property as well as an awareness that the true facts about a particular tradition are known only to authorized custodians of that tradition. It would be presumptuous for a member of the Tobacco Clan, for example, to try to explain the meanings and symbolism of a Snake Clan ritual. ... Thus each clan is shown respect, its knowledge and status defined, as well as its rights. (xxiii-xxiv)

Much of Courlander's introduction to Hopi Voices is concerned with "recurring themes in Hopi narrations" and these include "flight from evil," "hard work in a hard land," "running, racing and gambling," "transformations: man-to-animal, animal-to-man," "animals as messengers or agents," "journeys to distant lands," "the number four," and "miniature magic."

Under the heading, "hard work in a hard land," Courlander refers to Kawestima:

> In Hopi tradition, hard work in an inhospitable environment is both a virtue and a fulfillment of prophecy... [At the emergence] Each tribe received a different variety of corn and a corresponding group personality and a destiny. The Hopis received the short blue ear, the symbol of a hardworking life. ...
>
> Some accounts of the destruction of Palatkwapi, for example, say that life became too easy for the people, and that life became corrupt. ... Likewise, clan stories explaining the abandonment of **Kawestima**--the complex of cliff dwellings in the area of Kayenta, Arizona--say that water was too abundant there and crops too bountiful, for which reason the chiefs ordained that the people must move to a less favored region so that their religious values could be preserved. (xxviii)

Although Courlander does not cite a source of this narrative, one text is included in his book, The Fourth World of the Hopis (91-92; see review of this title).

Of particular relevance to this study are two texts which make specific reference to and to the concept of Hopitutsqwa. These are reproduced below in their entirety:

Ancestral Boundaries, I

> When it came time for the migrating clans to become the Hopi people, there were certain staging areas from which they came to the three mesas. They were the last staging points of a long series of migrations. Some of these places are identified by their Hopi names, like **Kawestima**, those ruins over by Betatakin north of Kayenta. And Tokonave, Navajo Mountain. And Wupatki, near Flagstaff, is another one. And Chevelon Cliffs, south of Winslow. Another one is at Lupton Point. It's primarily a shrine with a lot of petroglyphs. And north from there it goes to White House [ruins] at Canyon de Chelly, then back to Loloma Point and

over to Navajo Mountain. These points mark the boundaries of what the Hopis consider to be their ancestral lands.

Eugene Sekaquaptewa
Kikeuchmovi, June 1981

Ancestral Boundaries, II

There are eight major Hopi shrines that mark the extent of our traditional Hopi country. One is at Tokonave, Black Mountain (the whites call it Navajo Mountain) in the north. Another is on the Supai Trail west of Grand Canyon Village. One is at **Kawestima**, those ruins north of Kayenta. Another one is near Williams [Arizona]. It is called Tesktumo, meaning Grass Hill. Another is on the San Francisco Peaks. Another shrine is on Woodruff Mountain south of Holbrook. Another is at a place called Namiteika, near Lupton. Another is on the Apache Trail on the Mogollon Rim. I have been to all of these shrines except one. They mark the lands we Hopis have always claimed as ours. All the land between the shrines belonged to us.

Bert Puhueyestewa
Mishongnovi, June 1981

In summary, the modern statements defining Hopitutsqwa as well as the brief account of a Ruins narrative regarding Kawestima are basic to an understanding of modern Hopi perceptions of the Navajo National Monument area.

[The Hopi] **Clan Migration narratives**
Edward S. Curtis
1922
Norwood, MA: Plimpton Press, pp. 291
The North American Indian, vol. 12
Monograph in a set
Field research: all Hopi villages, with an emphasis on Walpi, 1900-1919
Hopi consultants: identified for some narratives but not the Clan Migration legends (see "list of principal informants" (224)

Edward S. Curtis (1868-1952; photographer) first visited the Hopi in 1900 and took a substantial number of photographs that year on all three mesas. Curtis began his life's work of photographing and recording American Indians and their cultures after becoming a professional photographer in Seattle, Washington in 1891. He took his first photographs of Puget Sound's Coast Salish Indians in the mid-1890s and joined the Washington (D.C.) Academy of Science's Harriman Alaska Expedition of 1899 as chief photographer. As a result of this work, he became acquainted with Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt and J. P. Morgan became his patrons, the former supporting and the latter financing Curtis' monumental work, The North American Indian; Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Alaska (Cambridge, MA: University Press, and Norwood, MA: Plimpton Press, 1907-1930). Five hundred sets of the first edition were planned, but the full edition was not completed. Published in twenty volumes with twenty accompanying portfolios, only volume 12 is dedicated in its entirety to one people--The Hopi. After his initial visit to the Hopi in 1900, Curtis returned several times (1902, 1904, 1906, 1911, 1912 and 1919). A Hopi man, John Mahkewa, served as Curtis's interpreter:

> Tsozoma (bluebird he has), otherwise John Mahkewa, born about 1878, the son of a Shipaulovi woman of the Reed clan and Walpi man of the Cloud clan. At about fourteen years of age he was initiated into the Wuwutsim-wimi fraternity at Shongopavi, at which village all Middle Mesa initiates are taken in, although each village holds its own ceremony in the years when there is no initiation. He was educated at Keams Canon, Grand Junction, and Hampton Institute, and has a good understanding of the native life. Throughout this work he was the interpreter. (224)

In addition, Curtis had the "continual collaboration" of a Mr. W. E. Myers in describing Hopi culture, with Walpi regarded as exemplary. In 1922, Volume 12 was published on the Hopi. Although infrequently consulted, Curtis' volume on the Hopi provides a good general overview, with a substantial number of texts in English (184-218).

After a lengthy introduction, Curtis provides the Migration narratives for the Rattlesnake Clan, Horn Clan, Cloud Clan, Tobacco Clan, Reed Clan, Badger Clan and the Asa Clans. Unfortunately Curtis does not provide information regarding the Hopi consultant who narrates, the place or date. Wiki's narrative, as recorded by Stephen (1888; Fewkes 1892), as well as narratives recorded by Voth (1905) would have been available to Curtis, however the narrative style and many differences in content indicate this text represents a separate narrative from First

Mesa, recorded in the early years of the 20th century. It has been told or "retold" in a voice consistent with the other narratives. In a footnote, Curtis provides significant information regarding the different genres of Hopi traditional narrative:

> Traditions are called *wuyulvaiyi* ("old man talk"), and, being regarded as true throughout, are opened with the word *yohisato* ("long ago").
>
> Tales recognized as inventions for the amusement or instruction of the audience, even though the invented elements are added to a groundwork of fact, are called *tuwutsi* ("story"), and Walpi narrator invariably begins with the exclamation "*I-tuwutsi* ('my story')*!*" The audience respond, "*Oui* ('yes')*!*" At Middle mesa and Oraibi such tales begin with the term *Aliksai* (*ali*, delightful, the exclamation with which one contemplates good food)*!*"
>
> Simple folktales, usually regarding animals and children and teaching a moral lesson, are distinguished by *tsako-tuwutsi* ("child's story"). (184, n.2)

Given its relevance to the Navajo National Monument area, the entire text of "Migrations of Rattlesnake Clan" follows:

> When all the race of human beings emerged from the lower world at Sipapuni, the tribes scattered, each going in the direction it chose. The Cougars and Doves proceeded northward along the east side of the canon, and on a high mesa at Tokonabi they built a village of stone houses, and called it Tokona.
> One day the son of the Cougar chief stood looking down at the rushing river, and he began to wonder whither all this water went. With such a volume constantly flowing into it, a place should soon become full, and overflow. He decided to find that place and ascertain why it did not overflow. When he mentioned the plan to his father, the chief said, "My son, you cannot go."
>
> "Yes, but I must find whither this water goes."
>
> "When, then, will you start?"
>
> "I shall start in four days," said the youth. "Now I am going to devise something in which to travel. I want my sisters to prepare food for my journey, and you must make pahos."
>
> Then the youth descended to the stream and found a large cottonwood log, which he hollowed out with fire and provided with a round door at each end. His father summoned the head men and they prepared pahos, and on the fourth day the chief's son placed in the hollow log his food and his pahos, a gourd full of water, and a short, pointed stick which his father had given him with the advice that if the log became stranded he should prod its side in order to cause it to start on. While his sisters and the people wept, he entered the log, and from the inside he sealed the doors with pinon-gum. The men rolled it into the stream, and it drifted away and soon disappeared.

For many days the log was carried onward, but at last it stopped and failed to move when he prodded the side with his stick. Cautiously, little by little, he opened the door, and no water entered. He removed the door altogether, and found himself on the edge of a great expanse of water, where the waves had cast him up. Then he crept out, and said to himself: "I wonder where I shall go? It is my own fault that I am here alone. But I will do the best I can." He beheld a ladder projecting from the middle of the ocean, and he said to himself, "I wonder if that is the place to which I am going?" He opened his bundle of pahos, selected the one that had been made for the person who lived in the ocean, and fastened it to his belt. He made a ball of meal and cast it toward the ladder. It rolled away over the water, straight to the ladder, down which it disappeared. Behind it the waters divided, and on this path the youth proceeded to the ladder, dry of foot. A voice invited him to descend, and in a moment he found himself in a kiva, in the presence of an old woman who merely remarked, "Have you come?"

"Yes," he answered.

"You arrived a long time ago," she said, "but you did not know it. I am Huzuin-wuhti ['shells woman']."

The youth gave her a paho, saying: "This is for you. My father made it for you."

"Thank you!" she said. "Nobody has made for me anything like this for a long time, and I am very glad to have it."

Soon the ladder began to shake, and a handsome man came down with many pahos and much cornmeal, all of which he gave to the woman, who sorted out the pahos, muttering to herself, "This is for good crops, and this is for rain, this for children, this for game." Some she angrily threw aside, because they had been planted for evil [that is, for sorcery].

Now the Sun spoke to the youth: "For a long time it has been your desire to come, and now you are here. You must look closely, and heed what I say. Your father has made these pahos for Nananivo-monwituyu ['world-regions chiefs']. It will be that there will be plentiful crops, and all will be well with your people. It is a long time you have been traveling, and the people are growing anxious. You must go home. I will take the rest of these pahos to those for whom you father made them, to those who live underground. You have seen what I brought. I have brought pahos for both good and evil, and you have seen the scalps I brought. There has been a fight this day, and I am always the first one in any battle: I get the first scalp, and after that the warriors may take scalps. People who ask for good, for long life, for good crops, and everything that is good, shall always ask in the morning, and people who ask for the bad shall always ask at any time of the day, at noon or at evening. These bad things I have sometimes granted."

Then the Sun descended through the floor of the kiva, and on the following morning Huzuin-wuhti told the youth that he would find his home by directing his course to a certain mountain in the north. So he returned to the shore over a path made by casting

another ball of meal, and started northward, following the river.

Now when he arrived at the foot of the mountain in the north, he came upon many rattlesnakes lying everywhere. He stopped and inquired if they would harm him, and when they assured him they would not, he went on, picking his way among them. More and more numerous they became, and on the top of the mountain he was compelled to tread on many of them. At the very peak of the mountain he found a ladder, and descending it he beheld many people, relatives of the reptiles he had seen on the mountain. The chief said" "You are a man! You have entered our home. You are the only one who has ever done so."

"I do not know," he said. "I do not think I am a man. But you are men."

They gave him a smoke, and, having finished, he told them that Huzuin-wuhti had sent him to ask their aid in getting home. But they said: "We are not the ones to grant this. We are only the guards. We guard our chief, who is below." So they allowed him to pass down another ladder, and there was Isanavaiya, the Rattlesnake chief, sitting alone. He looked up and demanded: "How is it that you have come? How is it that my guards have admitted you? You must be a man!"

"No, I do not think I am a man. I have come a great distance, and I will have a hard time returning home. I do not know how to find food, and I come to you for help."

Then the chief taught him the Snake ceremony and the songs, and sent him up the ladder. In the upper room he found a girl prepared for the journey, and the two started northward, the Rattlesnake girl carrying food in a bundle on the top of her head. She never ate with the young man, and whenever his food gave out, she would remove her belt and shake her body, and food would fall down from it. For the Rattlesnake people had food under each overlapping scale of their bodies.

After years of traveling they reached Tokonabi, and in due time the girl gave birth to many little rattlesnakes, and, though they were reptiles, the people were fond of them. But when the rattlesnakes bit some of the children the people became angry and departed southward, leaving the rattlesnakes behind. At every camp, as they journeyed, they erected the Snake altar and sang for rain, and the rain always came. After a long time they arrived at the village Wuko-ki ['great house'], where the Lamati dance was in progress, and here they met other wanderers, the Squash people and the Flute people, and the two bands united.

From Wuko-ki a runner Tsamaheya went eastward in search of people, who, it was rumored, had emerged from the earth in that quarter. He reached the mountains in the east, and, going to the top to look for signs of people, he found two little boys playing shinny. These were the war gods Pokan-hoya ["--------- little"] and Palonao-hoya ["echo little"]. In reply to their questions he said: "I am searching for people. But I am exhausted. Can you help me?" Although they assured him they were no better travelers than he, going

always on foot and driving their shinny-balls before them, they said they would ask their brother, meaning Arrow, the Arrow feathered with feathers from the wings of a bluebird. They shot an arrow southward, and it traveled far onward to an inhabited place, and there thrust it into the ground.

"Somebody has come!" shouted the people, and they gathered around. "I am searching for people," explained Arrow. "Our elder brother has been going about, but he has become exhausted and I am traveling for him."

The people said: "We have just come out from the underworld, and we are waiting for instructions from our chief." They sat in a circle about their chief, who was a Kachina. Then the chief uttered the cry of a Kachina and motioned with his head toward the northwest, and the people said, "By the gesture of our chief, we are going toward the place from which your elder brother has come." Then the Arrow took the message to Tsamaheya, who at once started homeward; but at Akuka-vi-tuqi ["Acoma place mountain"--Mesa Encantada] he stopped, and lived with the people there.

When the people at Wuko-ki, after waiting long realized that Tsamaheya would not return, they sent Antelope to find him. By following his trail Antelope discovered him at Akuka-vi-tuqi; but Tsamaheya declared that he would remain there, and said that when the people were holding the Snake ceremony they should beat on the floor and he, hearing the sound, would come to help them bring rain. [Curtis notes "The asperger in the Snake ceremony bears the official title Tsamaheya."]

In company with the Flute and the Squash people, the clans from Tokonabi departed from Wuko-ki, and near Oraibi wash they divided, the Squash clan founding Munya-ovi, near the present Oraibi, and Chukubi. The Flute clan went eastward and settled at Lengyaobi [about thirty miles northeast of Walpi], while the clans from Tokonabi continued their march eastward. Midway between East and Middle mesas they established a village.

One day footprints were discovered in the sand, and the chief, searching among the rocks that were piled up on that part of the mesa now occupied by the central houses of Walpi, found there a man, a tall, handsome man living alone. This was Masou. He said he had long been wishing that people might come, and promised to visit their village on the following day. The next morning the people saw Masou start from the foot of the mesa on the west side, masked, carrying a short club filled with all kinds of seeds. When he neared the village, he ran toward the people and threw his club over their heads, in order to frighten them, but they stood fast, unafraid; and the chief ran to him and embraced him. Then Masou told of a vow he had made, that if they proved to be people of courage, they should have his land. "This will be the first and the last meeting between us," he said. "From this time on I shall be invisible. I go below, but I shall always live here." Then he left them and from that time he was invisible, except that very rarely he has been seen dimly at night.

Not long after this the people moved toward the mesa and built the village Kuchaptuvela

> on the northern side of the terrace below the present Walpi. Later they built Kisakobi on a slightly higher level, and after the destruction of the Spanish priests [in 1680] they founded Walpi on the very top of the mesa. (74-78)

In summary, from a comparative perspective, Curtis offers a version of the Snake Clan Migration narrative which differs in many details from those recorded by Sullivan and Stephen. While not directly linked to the study area, it serves as a contrast to other texts which are more closely linked to Navajo National Monument (see narrative). The footprints of Masou serve as the basis for a definition of the Hopitutsqwa in other Snake Clan Migration narratives.

Origin Myth from Oraibi

Emergence narrative
Hopitutsqwa

Frank Hamilton Cushing
1923
Journal of American Folk-Lore 36:163-170
Article
Field research: Oraibi, December 1883 [i.e., 1882]
Hopi consultant not identified

Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1900; ethnologist) is best known for his "participant observation" among the Zuni, between 1879 and 1884, work that was publicized as much by the journalist, Sylvester Baxter, as by Cushing's own efforts. Working as an Ethnologist for the Bureau of American Ethnology, this "Origin Myth" was recorded by Cushing during a visit to Oraibi during December, 1882. In the fall of 1882, John Wesley Powell ordered Victor Mindeleff to begin a collection of "ethnologic specimens" and Mindeleff determined to begin at Oraibi as the middle mesa villages would be nearer his supplies at Keams Canyon. Cushing was assigned as Mindeleff's advance man and began the work of collecting at Oraibi including, apparently, the present text. Before Mindeleff could leave First Mesa, however, a confrontation developed between Cushing and the Oraibi "hostiles" and on December 23, 1882 Cushing sent word of his "eviction"! This is a part of Cushing's description of what happened:

> I was sitting in the middle of the room in front of the fire. When as many as could find room on the platform beyond the ladder, had entered, one small elderly man threw his robe from his naked shoulders and demanded that I cease, saying:
>
> "Stranger, *Tehano*." (American),--"...You are a heap of dung in our plazas, you stink of your race. Leave or we will throw you off the mesas, as we throw dung out of the plazas."
>
> "Ah, no. I must know why you hate the Americans... I must know what to tell my fathers, Washington..."
>
> They deliberated a moment and then directed me to get paper and a writing stick quickly... As soon as I had sat down by the fire, they gave me in substance, the following myth of Creation, which, for the sake of clearness I give rather as a myth, than as an infuriated argument interspersed with the most insulting messages to Washington, and demands that he should send his soldiers without delay to destroy or attempt in the face of their magic (the prophecies of the myth). (quoted in Clemmer 1995:31)

Cushing then provides the first full account of the Hopi Emergence narrative. The narrator is not identified. Goldfrank (see review) speculates that it is Lomahongyoma of the Spider Clan and a leader of the Hostiles until 1901; Geertz (see review) suggests it is Talay'ima. The following abstract was prepared by Elsie Clews Parsons who edited and published the manuscript:

I. Four lightless worlds. Lowest cave world overcrowded, no room even to spit.

II. Two boys pierce roofs of cave worlds, and descend. Try out all plants as ladder for people to ascend. Climb up to second world by cane.

III. Pull up cane ladder, leaving others below. They ascend later, "our brothers to the westward."

IV. Second cave world overcrowded. Ascent to third world. Fire and torchlight from "The Two."

V. Women crazy to dance, neglect offspring.

VI. Ascent to fourth world, this world is dark and damp, surrounded by waters. Tracks of Corpse demon. [Maasau]

VII. With men are Spider, Vulture, Swallow, Coyote, Locust. Spider spins cotton mantle, to give light. Deerskin shield sent to East to become the sun. Cotton mantle, to West to become the moon. Coyote opens heavy jar, stars fly out.

VIII. Vulture fans away the waters. "The Two" cut water channels to drain the land. Prints left, as land hardens into stone.

IX. Daughter of chief priest killed by jealous girl. Detection through ball of meal and pollen. Dead girl seen living in underworld. Descendants of murdered girl, witches.

X. Locust killed and revives, turning black. Taken as medicine for wounds.

XI. Swallow sent back for seed corn by God of Dew. He gives the seed to the Corn Clan who can raise corn in a single day. Slow crops today due to witches.

XII. War with people of an earlier emergence, and with one another. Navajo an enemy to all.

XIII. Mexican made of clay, and breathed upon. Of a bad color, he is washed to whiteness. From washed-off epidermis and flesh, horse and burro created. Mexican departs to return later.

XIV. First from cave worlds, the Americans. Prediction by Younger Brother (Oraibi) to Elder Brother (American). (163)

Although there is a description of Maasau, here called "Death" and "Corpse Demon," his tracks are not linked to place or given place names.

In section IX, in the lower world, the priest's daughter is seen dancing after her death, "amid plains of beautiful flowers, in a land of everlasting summer and fruitfulness" (167). However, much of this version is filled with darkness and hostility, as in the final "prediction:"

> And when our older brother (the Americans) separated from his younger brother (the Oraibi) the younger brother commanded him, saying, "Brother Older, you go toward the country whence come out the sun. Toward the country of great rivers and great trees you

> go. There you will find a home. Many men's ages shall pass while we are apart. Your children shall increase, and mine. Your children shall fill the world whither you go. Then you shall turn back to the place of your birth, seeking a country more spacious wherein to dwell. It is then that you will meet me again. You will find me poor, while you will return in the grandeur of plenty, and in the welfare of good food. You will find me hungry and offer me nourishment; but I will cast your morsels aside from my mouth. You will find me naked and offer me garments of soft fabrics, but I will rend your raiments and trample them under my feet. You will find me sad and perplexed, and offer me speeches of consolation and advice; but I will spurn your words, I will reproach, revile, and despise you. You will smile upon me and act gently; but I will scowl upon you and cast you aside as I would cast filth from my presence. Then will you rise and strike my head from my neck. As it rolls in the dust you will arrest it and sit upon it as upon a stool-rock. Then, nor until then, may you feed my belly or clothe my body. But a sorry day will it be for you when you sit upon my head as upon a stool-rock, and a glad day for me. For on that day you will be divide the trail of your own life with the knife that severs my head from my body, and give me immortal life, liberty, and surcease from anxiety. (169-170)

In summary, although there is no mention of Kawestima here, no anticipation of the Oraibi Split, there is a clear sense of apocalyptic frame of mind in the narrator's voice. Thus, while not directly related to the study area, this narrative is important for comparison with other Emergence narratives and as background to the Oraibi Split in which Kawestima becomes the focus of an apocalyptic prophecy.

Archaeological Cultures and Cultural Affiliation: Hopi and Zuni Perspectives in the American Southwest

Regional archaeology

Kurt E. Dongoske, Michael Yeatts, Roger Anyon, and T. J. Ferguson
1997
American Antiquity 62:600-608
article
Field research not given
Hopi consultants not identified

Kurt E. Dongoske (M.A., Anthropology, University of Arizona.) Between 1989 and 1991, Dongoske was employed by the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department as supervisory archaeologist and project director. Since 1991 he has been tribal archaeologist with the Hopi Tribe's Cultural Preservation Office. Michael Yeatts is also a member of the Hopi Tribe's Cultural Preservation Office. Roger Anyon was director of the Zuni Archaeology Program and Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office from 1985 until 1996. He is now on the staff of Heritage Resources Management Consultants. T. J. [Thomas John] Ferguson (1950-; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico), is an independent consultant specializing in the archaeology and ethnohistory of the southwestern United States. He has worked on a variety of projects implemented by southwestern tribes (most notably, Zuni and Hopi) to apply anthropological research in the preservation and management of cultural resources. Ferguson worked for the Zuni Archaeology Program from 1976-1981 and 1984-1985. At the time of this publication, he was Director of Southwest Programs, The Institute of the NorthAmerican West. He is now on the staff of Heritage Resources Management Consultants.

While this essay is of general interest to this study, it also contains specific information regarding Hopi "traditional history." It will be useful to reproduce the abstract to contextualize the information provided regarding Hopi narratives

> Archaeologists and Native Americans apply different concepts to classify ancient groups of people who lived in the past. This is a topic of current interest because many archaeologists in the United States are now having to determine the cultural affiliation of the materials they study to comply with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. The Hopi and Zuni tribes in the American Southwest are used as case examples to examine how and why archaeological and tribal views of cultural affiliation are divergent. We suggest anthropological perspectives of culture need to be reintegrated into archaeological theory in collaboration with Native Americans in order to interpret the past in a manner that is both useful and interesting to the multiple audiences interested in our work. (600)

The authors provide a brief historical overview of approaches to tribal histories and archaeology before taking up the case examples of the Hopi and Zuni. It will be useful to quote the materials relating to Hopi, in full, as they are directly relevant to the purpose of this study:

> The Hopi and Zuni are living dynamic cultures. Their traditional histories are long and incorporate many individual groups of people, each with unique histories. Thus, not one,

> but multiple tribal histories operate on multiple levels. The history in oral traditions is embedded in moral and religious precepts, and much of this knowledge is therefore esoteric.

One of the contentions of this NPS study is that an analytic distinction must be made between history as "event" and history as "construction and representation." We argue that "history" signifies both past events and their construction and representation in the present. Thus, when Dongoske et al. speak of "traditional histories" here they appear to refer to "past events" and in speaking of "oral traditions" they seem to be referring to the "construction and representation" of these past events in the present. Unfortunately, there is a tendency to equate reality and representation and to treat these "oral traditions" as being another source of "event" information which may be correlated with the construction and representation of past events as found in archaeological narratives. While these oral narratives may and often do embody "event" information, it is a mistake (if not fundamentally disrespectful of their meaning and purpose) to regard them as narratives whose purpose is to provide "explanations" like those given in archaeological narratives.

These considerations aside, the authors go on to provide valuable information regarding, especially, the different "location" of oral traditions in the social organization of the Hopi and Zuni. Dongoske et.al. write about Hopi traditional histories, clan migrations, and identities:

> In the Hopi culture, each clan and religious group has a unique tradition that specifically accounts for how and why it came to be at Hopi. There is general agreement on the main tenets of Hopi origin and migration, but many accounts show considerable variation in specific details. A key element in the Hopi origin account is the covenant made with Ma'saw, Guardian of the World, when Hopi ancestors emerged into the Fourth World from the *Sipapuni* (place of emergence). This led to the migration of more than 100 clans to the *Tuuwanasavi* (earth center) on the Hopi Mesas.
>
> Individual clan histories recount in detail the gradual movement of these clans across the Southwest. In many respects, the very concept of "Hopi" as a distinct cultural and ethnic unit does not really have a reality until the "gathering of the clans" on the Hopi Mesas. Before that, the ancestors of the Hopi were organized not as a single tribe but as many distinct clans. Some Hopi clans have direct ancestral ties to the *Motisinom* or "first people" (which some archaeologists might identify as the Archaic or perhaps Paleo-Indian cultures of the Southwest). These ancestors were joined by other clans that fled from the ancestral village of Palatkwapi located far to the south. The combination of these groups is now collectively referred to by the Hopi as the *Hisatsinom*, or "people of long ago". The Hopi believe these clans ranged far and wide in their migrations and were components of many different archaeological cultures, including the Anasazi, Mogollon, Hohokam, Salado, Cohonina, Fremont, and Mimbres. None of these archaeological cultures by themselves are thus adequate to incorporate all of the Hopi and their ancestors. (603; citations omitted)

In summary, this essay is of importance to the readers of this study for three reasons: First, it is the most current strategic statement of several leading scholars working with two of the tribes in this study, the Zuni and the Hopi. Second, it provides both historic and current perspectives on

the concept of "traditional history" as now employed in archaeology. Third, it provides clear information on significant differences in the social organization of oral, historical narratives at Hopi and Zuni. See the literature review on the Zuni.

The Mishongnovi Ceremonies of the Snake and Antelope Fraternities

Clan Migration narrative

George A. Dorsey and H. R. Voth
1902
Chicago: Field Columbian Museum, pp. 165-261
Field Columbian Museum, Publication 66. Anthropological Series, Vol. III, No. 3
Monograph in a series
Field research: 1901
Hopi consultants not identified

George A. Dorsey (1868-1931; Ph.D., Anthropology, Harvard University) received the first Ph.D. in anthropology awarded in the United States. During 1891-1892 he made anthropological investigations and collections in South America for the 1893 World's Columbia Exposition. On his return to the United States he was made Superintendent of Archaeology at the Exposition's Department of Anthropology. After teaching for a year at Harvard (1895-1896), he became Assistant Curator in charge of physical anthropology at the newly organized Field Columbian Museum in Chicago. In 1898 he was made Curator of Anthropology, a position he held until 1915. Dorsey's relationship with H. R. Voth began in 1897 and in the next few years they collaborated in field research which led to the present volume and to Dorsey's The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony (1901).

H. R. Voth (1855-1931; missionary, ethnologist). A member of a German Mennonite community, the Rev. H. R. Voth established a mission at Oraibi, where he lived from 1893-1902. He began immediately to learn the Hopi language and to embark on a systematic study of Hopi social organization and ceremonies in order to understand better their religious life. In 1897, through the encouragement of George A. Dorsey, he prepared a collection of Hopi material culture for the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago. Dorsey interested Stanley McCormick of the wealthy Chicago family in supporting Voth's collecting efforts and in publishing Voth's accounts of Hopi ceremonies and traditional narratives. All of Voth's publications from 1901 until 1912 were brought out under the auspices of The Stanley McCormick Hopi Expedition. "The Snake Legend," considered here, was collected in the vernacular and without an interpreter.

The Dorsey and Voth account of the Snake-Antelope ceremony at Mishongnovi has more pages of photographs than it does of text! Provided here is an overview of previous accounts of the Snake-Antelope ceremony, descriptions of the kivas used, preliminary ceremonies, the ceremony itself and activities following. Appended to the descriptions and photographs is a text of the Snake Clan Migration narrative. Although the narrator is not identified, there are clear similarities in content with "The Snake Myth" given by Lomavantiwa of Shipaulovi in Voth's The Traditions of the Hopi (1905:30-35). Unlike the Snake Clan migration narratives originating at First Mesa, Maasau is not mentioned here. Rather, the Snake Clan seeks the permission of the village chief to enter (as in other Clan Migration stories):

> The man having returned, he and his wife emigrated, going in a southeasterly direction and stopping at different places. Finally they saw smoke and a village in the distance. They came near it and found it to be Walpi. Stopping at the foot of the mesa they sent up word requesting to be admitted to the village. The chief of the village came down to them and at

> first refused to admit them, saying they were perhaps *nukpana* (dangerous). But when they gave assurance that they were good and promised to assist the villagers in making ceremonies for rain the chief took them up to the village and they lived there. The woman after that bore human children which are now the Snake clan in Walpi, and of whom there are only a few left. (260)

In summary, no direct connection in made between the migrating Snake Clan and the Navajo National Monument area. Moreover, the absence of an exchange between "the man" (Tiyo in other accounts) and Maasau does not provide an additional or different perspective on the Hopitutsqwa. However, this narrative does represent, perhaps, the only recording of a Snake Clan Migration narrative from Second Mesa.

The Social Organization of the Western Pueblos **General ethnology**

Fred Eggan
1950
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 17-138 (373)
Monograph
Field research: Oraibi, summer 1932 (for dissertation; see below)
Hopi consultants not identified

Fred Eggan (1906-1991; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Chicago) did his initial field work at Oraibi in the summer of 1932, following which he submitted his dissertation, "The Kinship System and Social Organization of the Western Pueblos with Especial Reference to the Hopi." He added brief periods of research during 1933-34 and 1937. In 1940 Eggan began a study of social and cultural change in New Oraibi which was to continue, periodically, for most of a decade. Eggan was initially influenced by the British social anthropologist, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, in his study of social systems. He interpreted patterns of differences in the kinship and social organization of the Western Pueblos as representing change through time and reflecting the influence of ecology. Eggan's writings, most notably The Social Organization of the Western Pueblos (1950) are characterized by elegant syntheses of complex social and cultural data brought into focus around the underlying structures of social life. Eggan served as an advocate for Hopi interests in a number of contexts, including his service as an expert witness in the 1934 Navajo Reservation litigation.

The Social Organization of the Western Pueblos is a much revised and expanded version of his doctoral dissertation. Here he summarized the social organization of the Hopi and compared it with four other western Pueblo groups. From this structural-functional analysis he showed a basic uniformity among the western Pueblos in which matrilineal clans, matrilocal households, and Crow-type kinship systems predominated. This pattern contrasted with that of the eastern Pueblos, whose social organizations featured dual divisions, bilateral kinship systems, and an emphasis on relative age. Forming a bridge between these two types, both structurally and geographically, were the Keresan Pueblos. Thus Eggan demonstrated that underlying the apparent homogeneity of Pueblo culture were distinct types of social structure. He offered historical hypotheses about the way these variations could have evolved from a common type.

Chapter II of Eggan's classic provides a detailed account of "The Social Organization of the Hopi Indians."

In summary, while no mention is made of the Navajo National Monument area, Eggan's work remains the best introduction to Hopi social organization, especially the clan system.

From History to Myth: A Hopi Example **Historical narrative**

Fred Eggan
1967
The Hague: Mouton, pp. 33-53
Studies in Southwestern Linguistics, Dell H. Hymes and William Bittles, eds.
Essay in a collection
Field research: not applicable
Hopi consultants: not applicable

Fred Eggan (1906-1991; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Chicago) did his initial field work at Oraibi in the summer of 1932, following which he submitted his dissertation, "The Kinship System and Social Organization of the Western Pueblos with Especial Reference to the Hopi." He added brief periods of research during 1933-34 and 1937. In 1940 Eggan began a study of social and cultural change in New Oraibi which was to continue, periodically, for most of a decade. Eggan was initially influenced by the British social anthropologist, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, in his study of social systems. He interpreted patterns of differences in the kinship and social organization of the Western Pueblos as representing change through time and reflecting the influence of ecology. Eggan's writings, most notably The Social Organization of the Western Pueblos (1950) are characterized by elegant syntheses of complex social and cultural data brought into focus around the underlying structures of social life. Eggan served as an advocate for Hopi interests in a number of contexts, including his service as an expert witness in the 1934 Navajo Reservation litigation.

Fred Eggan here adds to the literature exploring the relationship between "myth" and "history." He begins by quoting Robert Lowie:

> Indian tradition is historically worthless, because the occurrences, possibly real, which it retains, are of no historical significance; and because it fails to record, or to record accurately, the most momentous happenings." (33)

Eggan, as will become apparent, disagrees and proceeds to examine the question of "the extent to which the memory of actual events is retained in oral tradition" (34). The "historical problem": "how can we identify the actual events in myth and tradition and what historical conclusions may safely be drawn from given oral traditions?" (35). He continues:

> What we would like to know, to begin with, is what a particular group does with significant events in terms of cultural values, social structure, and world view. If we can discover this we may have a means of segregating history from myth. (35)

So, Eggan begins a "study of the process of myth-making" by examining an event in Hopi history for which we have "independent historical controls." The particular event which we know from other various sources occurred between 1853-1856 involved an attack on several Hopis by a band of Navajos near Fort Defiance. The circumstances were described to Alexander M. Stephen who recorded them in 1892 and, again--from another source [a Tewa named Djasjini who had been a participant in the encounter], just three weeks later in 1892. Eggan tells us:

> Hopi accounts of observed events, as Stephen notes, are remarkably accurate and detailed.

> Hopi returning from a journey were expected to give their kiva and village mates a minute account of everything seen and done before going about other business. The practice is still followed in conservative villages. (40)

However, Eggan does not consider that even an "account of everything seen and done" involves a selection, that such a narrative "account" is--by virtue of being a narrative--a construction, an explanation "of everything seen and done."

Eggan here considers two Hopi narratives. As the historian Louis O. Mink reminds us, "a narrative is more than a conjunction of statements, and insofar as it is more it does not reduplicate a complex past but constructs one." The structure of most of the narratives considered in this report is provided by space, not time. So, while they are somehow located in the past and somehow informed the [then] present and future, there is no sense of chronology or of the indexical system of time which is fundament to Western conceptions of chronology or historical narrative. The ultimate difficulty with Eggan's analysis is that he tries to make these narratives into something they are not.

Having reproduced the two texts from Stephen, Eggan proceeds to put them in historical context (as we know it), "repair[ing] Djasjini's chronology" where needed.

Eggan examines the place of the various Hopi participants in the clan organization of First Mesa. In Hopi tradition, the village chief comes from the Bear clan. However, the Bear Clan on First Mesa had evidently died out before 1850 and Mashali, a member of the Dove Clan in the Snake phratry group had assumed the role of village chief. Meanwhile the Spider Clan, in the same phratry grouping as the Bear, "moved into the Bear clan house and took over the ceremonies and masks belonging to the Bear clan, but were apparently too weak to maintain control of the village chieftaincy." When Mashali, who is portrayed as going to Fort Defiance simply out of curiosity, was killed by the Navajo along with several others, it raised questions about the powers of his clan and the village elders looked to a different phratry (Horn) for leadership. Simo, a young man from the Millet clan (Horn phratry), was chosen and succeeded--not only in the efficacy of the rituals he controlled but also in developing good relations with the Navajo. In the first account recorded by Stephen, we are told "Djasjini lay close to the ground, holding a saddle blanket over his head, heard bullets and arrows pelting against it. A bullet cut his leg" but he survives (36). We are told no more and yet Mashali, the chief, was killed.

Djasjini's account is much richer in detail. Curiously, in spite of the circumstances Eggan outlines which might have led a different portrait of Mashi, Djasjini speaks of him as "a good man...a great and good chief."

The next piece in Eggan's puzzle is provided by Edmund Nequatewa (see review) who records another narrative of the "event" published in 1936, entitled "How the Hopi Marked the Boundary Line Between Their Country and That of the Navajo." Eggan concludes here:

> This account, which is interesting in its own right, gains significance when it is compared with Djasjini's eyewitness account. The personnel and the outline of events are similar, but the whole motivational structure is changed, and the account is on its way to becoming tradition and myth.

Eggan continues:

> In Hopi belief important events are predestined, but the individual is thought to be responsible for the decision as to how and when they will take place. Here [in Nequatewa's 1936 version] Masale (Mashali) and Tawupu are cast as rivals over a woman, and their motive for the journey is to "commit suicide" by arranging for the Navaho to kill them, thus showing the woman how brave they are and sacrificing themselves for the benefit of the people by leaving their skulls to mark the boundary line. (47)

Here, too, Eggan looks to changes in Hopi social and ceremonial organization, themes in "myth" (rivalry over women, self-sacrifice), Nequatewa's own experience of seeing skulls on the trail at the boundary between Hopi and Navajo and the history of the conflict between the two peoples to understand both the change and continuity in the content of the narrative.

Lowie had questioned whether "they recollect the happenings that are historically significant." Eggan states, "In this case the Hopi have not only remembered historical events with considerable accuracy, but have remembered significant happenings" (52).

Arguably Eggan has provided us with a brilliant historical contextualization and explication of these texts, relating them to problems of village organization and various themes in Hopi "myth." Yet few are convinced that he has demonstrated the transformation of history into myth. Eggan ends his essay by stating, "We want to understand history in Hopi terms as well as those of the objective world" (52).

In the years which have passed since Eggan wrote this essay, we have come to realize that, in one sense, "to understand history in Hopi terms" means "to understand something of the various narrative genres of the Hopi." In other sense--but hardly "of the objective world"--we are also interested to place various "events" in the past of the Hopi people in those narrative genres we create to construct, to make sense of, to explain the past (and/or the present). There is much about Eggan's essay which is insightful with regard to Hopi relations with the Navajo and to the culture and social organization of the Hopi in the late 19th century. At the same time his essay underscores the enormous complexity of the relationships between narrative and event, the structure and content of the narratives under consideration in this study, etc.

In summary, like essays by Loftin and Goldfrank (see reviews), Eggan's study does not relate directly to the Navajo National Monument area. However, it provides an informed analysis of several Hopi narratives and, at the same time, raises questions about the nature of "historical" narratives. Throughout this literature review, a multiplicity of representations of the past are found in the various Hopi narrative genres as well as in the narratives of professional anthropologists and archaeologists.

The Hopi Indians, With Special Reference to Their Cosmology or World View, as Expressed in Their Traditions, Religious Beliefs, Practices and Social Organization

Hopitutsqwa
General ethnology

Fred Eggan
1986 [1994]
Manuscript, pp. 27
Field research: not applicable
Hopi consultants: not applicable

Fred Eggan (1906-1991; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Chicago) did his initial field work at Oraibi in the summer of 1932, following which he submitted his dissertation, "The Kinship System and Social Organization of the Western Pueblos with Especial Reference to the Hopi." He added brief periods of research during 1933-34 and 1937. In 1940 Eggan began a study of social and cultural change in New Oraibi which was to continue, periodically, for most of a decade. Eggan was initially influenced by the British social anthropologist, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, in his study of social systems. He interpreted patterns of differences in the kinship and social organization of the Western Pueblos as representing change through time and reflecting the influence of ecology. Eggan's writings, most notably The Social Organization of the Western Pueblos (1950) are characterized by elegant syntheses of complex social and cultural data brought into focus around the underlying structures of social life. Eggan served as an advocate for Hopi interests in a number of contexts, including his service as an expert witness in the 1934 Navajo Reservation litigation.

Serving as an expert witness for the Hopi Tribe, Eggan prepared this essay for the 1934 Navajo Reservation litigation. The essay, revised and expanded but omitting the final discussion of the Hopi tutsqwa, was published in Kachinas in the Pueblo World (Eggan 1994). Unfortunately, much of Eggan's discussion of the concept of tutsqua throughout was also eliminated in the revision. As a result, we have reproduced some of his observations below, beginning with his opening introduction:

> Understanding Hopi use, occupation, and possession of their lands as of 1934 requires a brief summary of Hopi cosmology. As with most other cultures, the day-to-day activities of the Hopi people are tied directly to their beliefs concerning the nature and principles of the universe. Actions which impact practices associated with a culture's cosmology ultimately result in conflict with the cosmology itself.
>
> The Hopi culture among American Indians is unique in the intricate interdependence of its various aspects. For example, the Hopi religious practice of gathering live eagles from nesting areas throughout Hopi country is directly tied to many other religious and secular activities. This practice, essential to maintain the fabric of Hopi culture, is one of many ways the Hopi used their lands in 1934. Similarly, the recognition by non-Hopis of the significance of this practice and the right of Hopis to engage in it, demonstrates Hopi occupation of the area. In addition, Hopi (and other non-Hopi) designation of certain areas as "belonging" to certain clans for the purpose of eagle gathering represents one measure of Hopi possession of those areas. (1)

Following the Introduction, Eggan summarizes Hopi cosmology and then Social Organizations in which he states:

> It is a fundamental Hopi belief that the deity Masau assigned to the Hopi the Tusqua, or sacred land, and charged the Hopi with a sacred stewardship over the area. The Hopis were and still are responsible under this stewardship to mark the boundaries of their area and to live and carry out various religious practices within it. The first Hopi clan to settle in the Mesa area according to Hopi tradition was the Bear clan. When the Bear clan received the land from Masau they became the leading clan. Later clan arrivals had to demonstrate their prowess of bringing rain, or as warriors and protectors, or some other useful function, before being allowed to settle in the village. Once settled in a village, new clans were given land in exchange for their performance of ceremonies or of special ritual services to the Bear clan chief, who became the village chief. (6)

Following a description of Hopi ritual organization and the shift from ceremonial activities centered on hunting and gathering to agriculture, Eggan writes about prayer and prayer offerings:

> The basic means of securing rain and good crops is by prayer offerings--pahos and other ceremonial gifts to the deities and katsinas. These items are placed on altars or shrines or in springs and fields to secure their aid in the growth of crops or other needs. The Hopi have a large number of shrines, some associated with the emergence of the Hopi from the Underworld in the Grand Canyon, some derived from the experiences of various clans in their wanderings, some at earlier sites (now ruins) where they lived for a period, and others in and around their present villages, or in neighboring mountains and springs associated with the Katsinas. (13-14)

Thus, the ruins, springs and other features of the Navajo National Monument area have these meanings and purposes. Eggan continues:

> Archaeological sites, representing the original homes of particular clans, are sacred areas which are visited periodically to make offerings to ancestors, with requests for aid in growing crops. Ruins are visited in connection with particular ceremonies to notify the deceased relatives buried there that the ceremony is in progress and that the dead should do their part. (15)
>
> ..Throughout the year offerings are made to the springs and other sources of water. Springs are sacred, being inhabited by water serpents who are mythical creatures quite separate from the ordinary snakes. The earth is thought to rest on two gigantic water serpents, or pololokong, who may punish the Hopis by turning over and thus causing earthquakes, or by causing floods or other disasters. In tradition, a village chief might have to sacrifice a son or daughter to appease them.
>
> The exterior boundaries of the Hopi domain (Tusqua) are likewise marked by a series of shrines which the Hopi elders revisit from time to time as recent study by the author confirmed. The Shungopavi leaders have taken the initiative in these visits and in the post-war period have listed the shrines without revealing to the public their exact location. At one point, the secrecy of such visits by the Hopis led some observers to believe erroneously that these sites were not being visited. (17)

Eggan then recounts the experiences of Jake and Suzanne Page (see below in this literature review). After describing their 1,100 mile, four day journey around the Hopi homeland, Eggan summarizes:

> The Hopi ancestral domain...occupies a diamond-shaped region from Lupton, Arizona, in the east to the junction of the San Juan and Colorado Rivers in the north to Bill Williams Mountain in the west and the Chevlon Cliffs in the south. Within this area is all of Black Mesa and virtually all of the region provided as the reservation for the Navajo and "such other Indians..." in the "1934 Boundary Bill." The San Francisco Peaks, rising just to the north of Flagstaff in the southwest center of the area, is one of the most important of the sacred areas. As the major home of the katsinas, who are thought to use the entire surface of the peaks to prepare the making of rain and snow, and who manifest themselves daily as clouds above the peaks, as well as appearing from December to July as spirit dancers in the Hopi villages, the peaks are extremely sacred and the shrines on their tops are essential in Hopi ritual. The high spruce forests on the Peaks furnish important portions of the Katsina costumes, as the Katsina join with the men of the village to pray and dance in the kivas and plazas. With the passage of the Arizona Wilderness Act in 1984, the federal government recognized the continuing importance of this area to the Hopi by designating the peaks as the Katchina Wilderness Area.
>
> To the north and west of the San Francisco Peaks is the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, another very sacred and secret area for the Hopi. Already noted, here is their "source" in the physical presence of the sipapu, the place of emergence from, and entrance to, the underworld. Here deceased Hopi live and respond to the prayers of their descendants. Here the Hopi gathered salt essential to their diet until recently, and here are many of their early villages in which their world view was shaped, and which are still shrines to their descendants.
>
> Usually at least annually, the Hopis also visit clan shrines, eagle shrines, ancestral ruins, salt sources, places associated with the katsinas or ceremonies, and other places still kept secret. Because of the life-and-death importance of water to the Hopis in this arid land, it is not surprising that virtually all springs have been well-known for centuries and most has been marked with sacred shrines. (19-20)

Eggan concludes his evidence and arguments in support of Hopi interests in the 1934 Navajo Reservation area by quoting at length from a Hopi statement prepared some years later in another Hopi effort to assert their claims to their homeland, the Hopitutsqwa:

> As the Hopis say, "Our land, our religion and our life are one, and our leader, with humbleness, understanding and determination, performs his duty to us by keeping them as one and thus insuring prosperity and security for the people." The traditional uses of the Hopi Tusqua are listed as follows:
>
> 1. It is from the land that each true Hopi gathers the rocks, the plants, the different woods, roots and his life, and each in the authority of his rightful obligation brings to our ceremonies proof of our ties to this land. Our footprints mark well the trails to these sacred places where each year we go

in performance of our duties.

2. It is upon this land that we have hunted and were assured of rights to game such as deer, elk, antelope, buffaloes, rabbit, turkey and the like. It is here that we capture the eagle, the hawk, and such birds whose feathers belong to our ceremonies.
3. It is upon this land that we make our trails to our salt supply.
4. It is over this land that many people have come seeking places for settlement, and finding Shungopavi established, asked our leader for permission to settle in this area. All the clan groups named their contributions to our welfare and upon acceptance by our leader were given designated lands for their livelihood and for their eagle hunting, according to the direction from which they came.
5. It is from this land that we obtain the timbers and stone for our homes and kivas.
6. It is upon this land that we are bringing up our younger generation and, through preserving our ceremonies, are teaching the proper human behavior and strength of character to make them true citizens among all the people.
7. It is upon this land we wish to live in peace and harmony with our friends and with our neighbors.

This statement was part of the petition prepared for the Claims Case of the Hopi Indians against the Government in 1951, and indicated the importance of the sustaining area outside the residential regions, not only for material products but for religious reasons and spiritual support, as well. (22-23)

In summary, Eggan's statements have been taken out of an elegant and systematic description of Hopi cosmology and social organization. Since the more basic document is readily available, the intent here has been to emphasize those parts of his evidence and arguments pertain to the concept of Tutsqua, an area which includes Navajo National Monument. Note: an important distinction is made between *tutsqwa* (land as a geo-political construct) and *Hopitutsqwa* (Hopi land, a religious concept; see review of Jenkins, Ferguson and Dongoski).

The Hopi: Their History and Use of Lands **General ethnology**

Florence Hawley Ellis
1974 [ca. 1960?]
New York: Garland, pp. 25-277 (233 pp. in original; new pagination added in the Garland edition)
Hopi Indians (United States. Indian Claims Commission. Docket 229)
Document in a collection
Field research: not given
Hopi consultants not identified

Florence Hawley Ellis (1906-1991; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Chicago) was an archaeologist, professor at the University of New Mexico (1934-) and beginning in the 1950s assisted Zia, Santa Ana, Jemez, Nambe, Taos, Acoma, Laguna, Hopi and Santo Domingo in their claims to land and water rights.

This report was prepared for the Indian Claims Commission and labeled Docket no. 229, Defendant's Exhibit E500. From citations it appears to have been prepared circa. 1960 and is based entirely on published sources. Ellis is here representing the United States.

The report consists of six chapters.

Chapter I is an introduction to the Hopi with a brief resume of the Hopi towns and their early contacts with whites. Ellis draws heavily on Donaldson's Moqui Indians of Arizona and Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (1893), Laura Thompson's Culture in Crisis (1950) and shorter works by Katherine Bartlett and Harold S. Colton, both of the Museum of Northern Arizona.

Chapter II describes the local physiography and climate, making extensive use of John T. Hack's The Changing Physical Environment of the Hopi Indians of Arizona (1942). Although there are minor references to Gregory and Bryan, this chapter derives almost entirely from Hack's work (see review).

In Chapter III Ellis discusses the ancestry and affiliations of the Hopi and Jeddito peoples. Here Ellis uses Hopi Migration narratives to describe the ancestry of various Hopi clans. In doing so, she relies almost entirely on Mindeleff's "Traditional History of Tusayan" (see review) adding information on the occupation of the Jeddito area from work by Lyndon Hargrave. She concludes "We have no basis for separating the Jeddito pueblos from the pueblos of the Hopi mesas" (99/135).

Chapter IV is concerned with Hopi land use "especially that near the mesas." Here she draws on the work of Mischa Titiev (spelled "Tietiev" throughout). She quotes from Gordon B. Page's "Hopi Land Patterns" in which he describes the parameters of the Hopitutsqwa. Ellis considers the "Home area of villages, fields and flocks" drawing on Page and then on C. Daryll Forde's "Hopi Agriculture and Land Ownership" (1931), a detailed study of Hopi First Mesa, quoting extensively with regard to village lands and boundaries. Additional information is drawn from Titiev, John G. Bourke's Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona (1884), and Edward P. Dozier's The Hopi-Tewa of Arizona (1954). Information on Hopi plant use is quoted from Whiting (see

review) and Hough (see review). Ellis also looks at "sheep and horses" and "coal, clay and pigments."

In Chapter V Ellis describes "extensions of land use: inner to outer area--animals and birds utilized." Here she draws again on Hough and adds, significantly, material from Fewkes' "Property-Right in Eagles among the Hopi" (1900). She quotes Fewkes:

> One of the oldest, if not the most ancient of all the Walpi clans, is the Snake, which formerly lived at a place called Tokonabi, near Navaho mountain, far north of the Hopi mesas. ... The eagle nests of the Snake clan are situated a few miles north of Walpi, not far from one of the abandoned Snake pueblos; they claim others north of this which, however, they never visit. In most ancient times this clan doubtless had eagle-nests at Tokonabi, but as it drifted southward and the country which they left became occupied by hostiles, visits to these nests were gradually dispensed with. Those which they still claim are near their last settlement, but visits to them became more or less dangerous after the hostile Ute raided the Hopi farms not many years ago. (149/189)

The final seventeen pages of this chapter are concerned with "Hopi shrines and sacred places" (171/211-187/227). Ellis describes the purpose and construction of shrines, drawing on Fewkes' "Hopi Shrines Near the East Mesa" (1906). Ellis writes:

> The shrines at or near abandoned villages are considered to still belong to the people, or the specific clan, which formerly occupied that village or built or used the shrine. Fewkes points out the identification of the use-group for such shrines as a method of checking on clan legends claiming former occupation of certain ruins and recalls, as example, the fact that when the sacred images of the Alosaka, earth mother, were removed by someone from the old shrine near Awatobi and taken to Thomas V. Keam's trading post to be offered for sale, the post was at once visited by almost the entire population of Mishongnovi, descendants of Awatovi clans, begging for the images. He gave them to their priests. Several Awatobi springs and shrines were being used ceremonially by certain clans at Hopi who claimed them through their ancestors (citing Fewkes 1906:347-348). (177/217-178/218)

Ellis notes that the same is true for sites at much greater distances and adds, "Some shrines are given the name of pueblos, now ruins, formerly occupied by ancestors of those who now recall that pueblo by the shrine set up nearer to the present villages" (178/218). Still drawing on Fewkes, Ellis notes, "Water from sacred springs, especially those associated with early migrations, is considered the most efficacious in 'medicine making.' Water from traditional springs is also used otherwise in ceremonies and prayer offerings are left at these spring shrines when water is taken" (178/218-179/219). Drawing on A. M. Stephen and Fewkes, Ellis ends this chapter with a list of 85 "Hopi Shrines (apart from those in the villages) of First Mesa." Included in this list:

> 71. Toko'nabi--Navaho Mountain associated with Snake clan, bounds their eagle territory, ancient kivas of the Snake and Antelope societies here, early home of this group of Hopi. Snake, Sand, Laguna, and Akokabi clans all from here, and Puma and Dove clans lived here. (186/226)

Finally, in Chapter VI, Ellis confronts the question as to "the basis of their claim:"

> Briefly, one basis for the thinking of these tribesmen is that they have not always been a homogeneous unit: at various times in the past, large and small groups have come to join the Hopi nucleus. Although the original homes of these emigrating peoples are not claimed, the various pueblos which legend (supported by archaeology) indicates were occupied shortly before the newcomers moved into the Hopi-Jeddito area are claimed. Moreover, in many cases the area of such pueblo ruins has continued to be used for turtle and eagle hunting, shrines, etc., by the specific clans which came from those sites. In other cases such lands simply have been generally used by the Hopi in their hunting

Ellis turns to H. S. Colton's Prehistoric Culture Units and their Relationships in Northern Arizona (1939) in which he argues that the Kayenta Anasazi joined the Tusayan Anasazi about 1300 and these, in turn, were joined by the Winslow Anasazi. These three, with perhaps "some others," are the origin of the modern Hopi. This is Ellis' forte and she reviews subsequent archaeological literature towards defining the "boundary for the Hopi country." Of relevance to this study she writes:

> To the northwest, the Kayenta or Tsegi area was directly related to the Hopi-Jeddito area of the period from shortly after the time of Christ through P III (to 1300), and the people who left the more northern area at the time of the Great Drought appear to have moved in with the Hopi. (213/254-214/255)

To this she adds, "The picture, then is one of the direct Hopi ancestry being the people of the Tsegi and Hopi territory. To those in the Tsegi was added one increment from the San Francisco Mountain area (Sinagua). Other groups moved toward the Little Colorado, lived there for a period, and moved to Hopi. The Tsegi people moved to Hopi" (221/262). She closes her summary with a brief historical review of Navajo movements into Hopi country after the Navajo Treaty of 1868:

> Like the other Pueblos, the Hopi were prohibited by Unites States law from resorting to arms to drive off invading peoples: the result was loss of exclusive utilization of their old territory after 1868. (222-b/ 265)

In summary, there is little of Ellis' own perspective in this report. Her task was to provide a review of the literature supportive of an understanding of Hopi land use in prehistoric and historic times. Thus, Ellis provides a review of the "classic" literature on Hopi land use. The brief review of relevant Clan Migration narratives is derived from summaries developed by Cosmos Mindeleff and Jesse Walter Fewkes. In Ellis' view, there is no question that the ruins in Navajo National Monument are ancestral Hopi.

Navajo Transmission Project EIS:
Hopi Ethnographic Overview

Hopitutsqua
Kawestima

T. J. Ferguson and Kurt Dongoske
1994
Phoenix: Dames & Moore, pp. 12-67
EIS document
Field research not given
Hopi consultants not identified but produced in cooperation with the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, The Hopi Tribe

T. J. Ferguson (1950-; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico), Director of Southwest Programs, Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson, Arizona. Ferguson worked for the Zuni Archaeology Program from 1976-1981 and 1984-85. Kurt Dongoske is Tribal Archaeologist, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, The Hopi Tribe.

The "Hopi Ethnographic Overview" addresses a number of issues of central importance to this study of traditional histories of the Navajo National Monument area. Moreover, Ferguson and Dongoske had access to research in support of previous litigation involving the general area as well as interviews with Hopi tribal members. Note: an important distinction is made between *Tutsqwa* (land as a geo-political construct) and *Hopitutsqwa* (Hopi land, a religious concept; see review of Jenkins, Ferguson and Dongoske).

The first major section of this study considers "Hopi religion, culture, and philosophy of environment" beginning with "Hopi oral traditions about origin and clan migration":

Hopi accounts of origin and migration are part of an ongoing religious tradition known as *Navoti*. *Navoti* is an oral tradition and it is primarily transmitted in ritual settings. As Peter Whiteley (1988[b]:255) has observed, the rich intellectual tradition called *Navoti* is "...a system of knowledge that includes philosophy, science, and theology, and incorporates conceptual models for explaining the past and predicting or 'prophesying' future events ... in short, it is a sort of Hopi hermeneutics." The theological aspects of Hopi oral narratives are also referred to as *Tutavo*, meaning teachings, instructions and guidance. The prophetic aspects of this tradition are specifically referred to as *Wuknavoti*, literally "old people's knowledge." (25)

Significant to this study, Ferguson and Dongoske provide a "synopsis" of traditional Emergence and Migration narratives from a work "co-authored by Hopi tribal members and non-Hopi anthropologists working for the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office" (26), perhaps representing a new genre of Hopi narrative:

> *Aliksa'i!* Listen! What follows is an account of the Hopi origin. The Hopis emerged into this, the Fourth World, from the *Sipapuni* in the Grand Canyon. Upon emerging, they encountered *Ma'saw*, the guardian of the Fourth World. A spiritual pact was made with *Ma'saw*, wherein the Hopis would act as the stewards of the earth. As a part of this pact, the Hopis vowed to place their footprints throughout the lands of the Fourth World as they migrated in a spiritual quest to find their destiny at the center of the universe. Hopi

> clans embarked on a long series of migrations that led them throughout the Southwest and beyond, settling for a time in various places. Following divine instructions, the Hopis continued their migrations until after many generations they arrived at their rightful place on the Hopi mesas.
>
> During the period of migrations, the Hopi clans established themselves throughout the land by cultivating and caring for the earth. As directed by *Ma'saw*, the setting of Hopi "footprints" included the establishment of ritual springs, pilgrimage trails, shrines, and petroglyphs. As the Hopis migrated they left behind the graves of their ancestors, as well as ruins, potsherds, grinding stones, and many other artifacts ... as evidence that they had vested the land with their spiritual stewardship and fulfilled their pact with *Ma'saw*. These archaeological sites today constitute monuments by which the Hopi people verify their clan histories and religious beliefs. Archaeological sites thus provide physical proof that the Hopis have valid claims to a wide region. Yes, this is the way it is. *Ta'ay, yanhaqam.* (26)

Ferguson and Dongoske identify two key elements in this synopsis:

> The first is the spiritual pact the Hopi people made with *Ma'saw* to act as stewards of *Tuuwaqatsi.* ... The second key element in the Hopi origin account is the migration of the clans to the *Tuuwanasavi* ("earth center") on the Hopi Mesas. (26)

Another section of the "Hopi Ethnographic Overview" documents, in detail, the "Hopi *Tutsqwa*":

> The Hopi's close attachment to the land is often rhetorically phrased in terms of *Tutsqwa,* the historic Hopi heartlands. *Tutsqwa* covers a large area, beginning at *Tokonavi* (Navajo Mountain), and extending to southwestward to *Ongtupka* ("Salt Canyon" or the Grand Canyon), *Koonihahawpi* ("Havasupai descent trail"), *Tusaqtsomo* ("grass hill" or Bill Williams Mountain), *Hoonawpa* ("Bear Springs"), *Yotse'hahawpi* (Apache descent trail), *Tsimontuqwi* ("jimsonweed bluff" at Woodruff Butte), and *Nuyavawalsa* (Lolomai Point), from whence the description returns to *Tokonavi*. These points are all shrines on a religious pilgrimage undertaken to pay homage to *all* ancestral Hopi lands, including lands that lie far beyond the area demarcated by the shrines.
>
> Many other shrines and place names are often associated with *Tutsqwa,* including *Nuvatukyaovi* (San Francisco Peaks), *Potavetaqa* ("migration-spiral symbol place," close to *Kooninhahawpi*), ***Kawestima*** (Tsegi Canyon area), *Wukopacavi* (Ganado), *Qao'uytaqtipu* (Burnt Corn), *Sakwavaya* (Chevlon Cliffs), *Pohoqha* (Blue Ridge along the Mogollon Rim), and *Sio Onga*, (Zuni Salt Lake), to mention only a few. (33-34)

Ferguson and Dongoske review various historical references to Tutsqwa making an effort to redefine the meaning of the concept:

> The demarcation of *Tutsqwa* is often referred to in terms of "boundaries," as if the shrines delineating the area marked a fixed geo-political territory. The concept of "boundary," however, is too narrow a term to capture the true meaning of *Tutsqwa*. It is true, as Whiteley states, that "***Hopitutskwa*** means 'Hopi land,' but *Tutsqwa* represents far more than just the area circumscribed by shrines that are ritually visited on a religious pilgrimage. These shrines do not constitute the "boundary" of Hopi lands, only a symbolic

> representation of them. Hopi *Tutsqwa* as a delineated area represents the "plaza" of Hopi land, implying that there is a larger "village" of Hopi lands lying outside of it (Dalton Taylor, personal communication, 1993). (35)

They add the additional point that "the Hopis had historical ties, knew about, and used land far beyond the shrines that delineate the Hopi Tutsqwa" (35).

In a third section of their study Ferguson and Dongoske provide several helpful perspectives regarding "Hopi ancestral archaeology." They remind the readers:

> The Hopi people do not conceptualize prehistory in the same terms as those used by archaeologists. The Hopi people use the term *Motisinom* ("first people") to refer to what archaeologists call the Paleo-Indian and Archaic. The Hopi term *Hisatsinom* is used to refer to what archaeologists call the Basketmaker and Anasazi. *Hisatsinom* is literally translated as "people of long ago" but the Hopis generally use the term to mean "ancestral people." Many Hopis find the use of the term Anasazi to be offensive since it is derived from a Navajo word meaning "ancient enemies" (citing Plog). (38)

For this study of the Navajo National Monument area, one of the most important sections of this report identifies Hopi clan claims to specific archaeological sites in Tsegi Canyon:

> Hopi oral histories of clan migrations have sometimes been correlated with the occupation of specific archaeological sites. For example, in the Tsegi Canyon area the archaeological sites of ***Kawestima*** (Kiet Siel) and *Talestima* (Betatakin) are claimed as ancestral Hopi villages occupied by the *Leengyam* (Flute Clan), *Kookopngyan* (Fire), *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake Clan), *Kuukutsngyam* (Lizard Clan) and *Piqosngyam* (Bear Strap Clan). These two sites are visited regularly by contemporary Hopis of the *Honanngyam* (Badger Clan), and are also visited during the pilgrimage to shrines representing the Hopi *Tutsqwa*. Tsegi phase archaeological sites are also located at *Tokonavi* (Navajo Mountain), the location of another pilgrimage shrine related to the *Tutsqwa*. The Hopi *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake) and *Aalngyam* (Deer) Clans migrated from *Tokonavi* to the Hopi Mesas. (38-39)

Ferguson and Dongoske also briefly consider Hopi perspectives on the archaeological concept of "abandoned" which is frequently encountered in works by non-Hopis and in the translated works of Hopis:

> These archaeological sites are considered to be ancestral Hopi sites. Many of these ancestral ruins are the subject of clan oral histories encountered in ritual contexts in Hopi kivas. The Hopis believe that these archaeological sites were not "abandoned" by the *Hisatsinom*. (41)

There follows a long consideration of Hopi shrines. Ferguson and Dongoske draw heavily on Jesse Walter Fewkes' essay, "Hopi Shrines near the East Mesa, Arizona" (American Anthropologist 8:346-375) which does not deal with the Navajo National Monument area but does provide an important Hopi perspective on shrines:

> Fewkes agreed with Hough that Hopi clans have a proprietary interest in shrines and

> spring near the ruins of villages they formerly inhabited. He stated "Ownership in shrines and springs, like that in eagle nests, is hereditary in clans among the Hopi. The right to a spring is one of the most ancient of all ownerships in realty. So sacred are these places to the Hopi that they are associated with tribal gods and clan tutelaries; consequently, proprietorship in them is not abandoned even when the clans in their migrations seek new building sites" (Fewkes 1906:346-347). (48)

To which Ferguson and Dongoske add, "For the Hopis, all shrines remain sacred forever" (48).

Although not directly linked to the Navajo National Monument area, the authors go on to examine eagle shrines and collecting areas; religious use areas; plant collection; hunting; rock, sand, clay, and dye collection areas; and trails and pilgrimage routes.

In summary, this is a significant work for understanding the perspective of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office as it seeks to protect Hopi intellectual and/or cultural properties. It is, at the same time, a significant work regarding many aspects of the Navajo National Monument.

Preliminary Report on a Visit to the Navaho National Monument, Arizona

Clan Migration narrative

Jesse Walter Fewkes
1911
Washington: Government Printing Office, pp. v, 35
Monograph in a series
Field research: September, 1909; May, 1910
Hopi consultants not identified

Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850-1930; Ph.D., Zoology, Harvard University) began a career in the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard and was widely known as a marine zoologist, producing 69 titles in this field. In 1888, on a trip to California, he became interested in ethnology and began ethnological studies among the Puebloan peoples under the patronage of Mary Hemenway. He did field research at Zuni, 1889-1890, and much of that work was published in A Journal of America Ethnology and Archaeology (5 volumes, 1891-1895) which he edited. His field research among the Hopi began in 1890 as Director of the Second Hemenway Expedition. He hired Alexander MacGregor Stephen to record Hopi social and ceremonial life and much of what he published is indebted to Stephen (often more than he acknowledged). The Snake-Antelope ceremony was of particular interest to Fewkes and he was initiated into the Antelope and Flute Societies. In 1895 he carried out exploratory excavations at Awatobi and Sikyatki. Fewkes acquired the Keam/Stephen collection of Hopi pottery and much of his subsequent archaeological research and publication in the Southwest was concerned with ceramics. He joined the Bureau of Ethnology as an ethnologist in 1895 and was appointed chief in 1918 and position he held until 1928. His background in natural history is reflected in his descriptive ethnography.

In September, 1909, and May, 1910--nearly twenty years after his initial field work among the Hopi--Jesse Walter Fewkes visited the ruins now located in Navaho National Monument. Especially in his "Tusayan Migration Traditions" (1900; see review), he had analyzed and published Alexander M. Stephen's texts. Not surprisingly, one of the major reasons for recommending the preservation of these ruins is their place in Hopi migration traditions:

> ...a scientific study of them is important, for they are connected with Hopi pueblos still inhabited, in which are preserved traditions concerning the ruins and their ancient inhabitants. (1)

Specifically, Fewkes notes the association of Snake, Horn, and Flute clan traditions and he recalls a conversation he had at Walpi some years before:

> "The ancient home of my ancestors," said the old Snake chief to the writer, "was called Tokonabi, which is situated not far from Navaho mountain. If you go there, you will find ruins of their former houses." (2)
>
> The writer heard the Hopi tell of their former homes among the "high rocks" in the north and at Navaho mountain, fifteen years ago, at which time they offered to guide him to them. The stories of the great cave-ruins to the north were heard even earlier from the lips of Hopi priests by another observer. Mr. A. M. Stephen, the pioneer in Hopi studies,

> informed the writer that he had learned of great ruins in the north as far back as 1885, and Mr. Cosmos Mindeleff, aided by Mr. Stephen, published the names of the clans which, according to the Hopi, inhabited them.

Fewkes reproduces the text of the Horn and Flute clan migration narratives recorded by Stephen and summarized in Victor Mindeleff's A Study of Pueblo Architecture (1891; see review of Cosmos Mindeleff's "Traditional History of Tusayan). At one point, Mindeleff's text gives the location of "permanent houses" as being in a "canyon with high, steep walls, in which was a flowing stream; this, it is said, was the Tsegi (the Navajo name for Canyon de Chelly)." Here Fewkes corrects Mindeleff by stating:

> ...there is little doubt that when the Hopi gave to Stephen the tradition of their former life in "Tsegi," they did not refer, as he interpreted the narration, to what is now called Canyon de Chelly, but to Laguna canyon, likewise bordered by high cliffs, which the Navaho also designate *Tsegi*. (3)

Having taken the traditions as referring to the cliff dwellings of Navajo National Monument, he puzzles over the subsequent migration which was said to gone south and west "from Tokonabi to Wukoki" (5, 7-8).

In passing, Fewkes notes that in the West there are "small areas of pasturage owned by a few Navaho who inhabit this region" (5).

Towards the end of the report, as he considers "miscellaneous objects" noted during his explorations, he draws particular attention to some materials which he identifies as being Hopi in appearance:

> On one of the roofs at Kitsiel there was picked up a curved stick identical with those placed by the Walpi Snake priest about the sand-painting of their altar. [In note c: These sticks, or "crooks" (*gnela*), found on the Antelope altar in the Walpi Snake ceremony are reported to have been brought to Walpi from Tokonabi.] ... A flute identical with those used at the present day Flute priests at Walpi was found at Betatakin, thus tending to support the legend that the Flute clan once lived at the latter pueblo. (30)

Finally, in his "summary and conclusions" Fewkes questions the antiquity of the ruins in Navaho National Monument, at the same time reiterating, if tentatively, his acceptance of Hopi traditions:

> The writer does not regard these ruins as of great antiquity. ... The Navaho ascribe the buildings to ancient people and say that the ruined houses existed before their own advent in the country, but this was not necessarily long ago. Such evidence as has been gathered supports Hopi legends that the inhabitants were ancient Hopi belonging to the Flute, Horn and Snake families. (34)

On the basis of his visit he recommends the excavation, repair and preservation of either Betatakin or "Kitsiel" as "type ruins" and that this work be supplemented by the excavation and repair of Inscription House which should be added to Navaho National Monument.

In summary, Fewkes finds support for Hopi narrative traditions--notably of the Horn, Flute and Snake clans--in the architecture and other material objects found at Betatakin, Kiet Siel and Inscription House. He corrects Stephen/Mindeleff as wrongly equating" with Canyon de Chelly

and suggests instead that the Tsegi referred to in the narratives is Laguna Canyon. He notes, too, the Navajo perspective that the ruins were built before their arrival in the area.

The Snake Ceremonies at Walpi

Clan Migration narrative
Hopitutsqwa

Jesse Walter Fewkes
1894
A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology 4:3-126
Article
Field research: 1883-1893 (by A.M. Stephen)
Hopi consultants: Wiki, Wikyatiwa and Masiumtiwa (Walpi)

Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850-1930; Ph.D., Zoology, Harvard University) began a career in the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard and was widely known as a marine zoologist, producing 69 titles in this field. In 1888, on a trip to California, he became interested in ethnology and began ethnological studies among the Puebloan peoples under the patronage of Mary Hemenway. He did field research at Zuni, 1889-1890, and much of that work was published in A Journal of America Ethnology and Archaeology (5 volumes, 1891-1895) which he edited. His field research among the Hopi began in 1890 as Director of the Second Hemenway Expedition. He hired Alexander MacGregor Stephen to record Hopi social and ceremonial life and much of what he published is indebted to Stephen (often more than he acknowledged). The Snake-Antelope ceremony was of particular interest to Fewkes and he was initiated into the Antelope and Flute Societies. In 1895 he carried out exploratory excavations at Awatobi and Sikyatki. Fewkes acquired the Keam/Stephen collection of Hopi pottery and much of his subsequent archaeological research and publication in the Southwest was concerned with ceramics. He joined the Bureau of Ethnology as an ethnologist in 1895 and was appointed chief in 1918 and position he held until 1928. His background in natural history is reflected in his descriptive ethnography.

Vol. 4 of A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology (1894) contains just one article, "The Snake Ceremonials at Walpi," by J. Walter Fewkes, assisted by A. M. Stephen and J. G. Owens. It is a description of the Snake Ceremony at Walpi are performed in 1891, with minor revisions and additions in light of the 1893 observance. Appended to this is the "Legend of Ti-yo, The Snake Hero." As an introduction to the narrative, Fewkes writes:

> When the priests were asked the meaning of the Snake Ceremonial and the accompanying dramatization, they always referred to a strange legend of the adventures of a youth in the under-world. There are several variants of this story, the details of which differ widely, but throughout them, notwithstanding many inconsistencies, there is a remarkable similarity. It is not repeated at any set time in the course of the ceremonies, and there is no one version which may be perfectly exact. In view of these facts, we must also remember that we are considering a legend which has no doubt been more or less modified from one generation to another, and may have suffered somewhat in translation, but however mutilated, it explains many things in the dramatization ceremony.
>
> The different fraternities have their own traditional lore in keeping with their respective chiefs, and some portions of this story of *Tiyo* are found more or less modified in nearly all of them.
>
> This lore is the sole history which they have, and in many cases is supported by ceremonial dramatizations; but it would be unscientific to build any theories of their religious beliefs

on such doubtful foundations. (106)

In a study which focuses primary on various narrative genres as a basis to appreciate and understand the meaning and significance of Kawestima and the Navajo National Monument area, the relationship between "myth and ritual" should not be overlooked. Fewkes recognized this interdependence. As Paul Connerton has put it, "images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past are conveyed and sustained by ritual performances." He continues, "performance memory is bodily [and] bodily social memory is an essential aspect of social memory" (1989:i).

The "Legend of Ti-yo, The Snake Hero" both informs and is informed by the sixteen days of ritual performance.

The text which is reproduced below is not that of Fewkes, who published it, nor of Stephen, who recorded it, nor of Wiki, who narrated it, but rather it is a part of the social memory of the Antelope Society priesthood and, more generally, of the Hopi people of First Mesa ca. 1891. Wiki's version of "Legend of Ti-yo, The Snake Hero" was also recorded in 1885 by both Jeremiah Sullivan and Alexander M. Stephen (see literature reviews). In a note to this ca. 1891 narrative, Fewkes tells us, "This version was collected by Mr. A. M. Stephen, who received it from the Antelope chief Wi-ki. On account of difficulty in communicating with him, owing to extreme deafness, Wi-ki was assisted by Wi-ki-a-ti-wa and Ma-si-um-ti-wa" (106, n.2). Masi, in turn, provides the brief version which Stephen also recorded in 1891 and is included in his Journals (see literature reviews). In a sense, this version reflects not memory as an individual faculty but through the combined voices of Wi-ki, Wi-ki-a-ti-wa and Ma-si-um-ti-wa memory as a cultural facility.

The text is reproduced in its entirety here as a convenience to the users of this report and because it is probably the most complete and accurate text from First Mesa before the turn of this century. Fewkes' practice of hyphenating the syllables of Hopi words and names is disregarded here.

Legend of *Tiyo*, The Snake Hero.

Far down in the lowest depth of *Pisisbaiya* (the Colorado Grande), at the place where we used to gather salt, is the *sipapu*, the orifice where we emerged from the under-world. The Zunis, the Kohoninos, the Pah-Utes, the white men, all people came up from the below at that place. Some of our people traveled to the north, but the cold there drove them back, and after many days they returned.

The mothers, carrying their children on their backs, went out to gather seeds for food, and they plucked the prickly pear and gave it to the children to still their cries, and these have ever since been called *Ucenyumuh*, or the Prickly Pear People.

Morning dove flew overhead, spying out the springs and calling us to come, and those who followed him, and built their houses at the waters he found, are still called after him the *Huwinyamuh*, or Morning Dove People. All that region belong to the Puma, Antelope, Deer, and other horn people, and *Tohoa* (puma) led my people, the *Tohonyumuh*, to Tokonabi, and the Sand people and the Horn people also dwelt in the same region.

We built many houses at Tokonabi, and lived there many days, but the springs were small, the clouds were thin, rain came seldom, and our corn was week. The *Kimonwi* (village chief) of the *Tohonyumuh* had two sons and two daughters, and his eldest son was known by the name *Tiyo* (the youth). He seemed to be always melancholy and thoughtful, and was wont to haunt the edge of the cliffs. All day he would sit there, gazing down in the deep gorge, and wondering where the ever-flowing water went, and where it finally found rest. He often discussed this question with his father, saying, "It must flow down some great pit, into the under-world, for after all these years the gorge below never fills up, and none of the water ever flows back again." His father would say, "May be it goes so far away that many old men's lives would be too short to mark its return." *Tiyo* said, "I am constrained to go and solve this mystery, and I can rest no more till I make the venture." His father besought him with tears to forego his project, but nothing could shake his determination, and he won them to give their sorrowful consent.

The father said: "It is impossible for you to follow the river on foot, hence you must look for a hollow cottonwood-tree, and I will help you make a *winacibuh* (timber box), in which you may float upon the water." *Tiyo* found a dry cottonwood tree, which they felled, and cut off as long as his body, and it was as large around as they both could encompass with their outstretched arms. They gouged and burned out all of the inside, leaving only a thin shell of dry wood like a large drum; small branches and twigs were fitted in the ends to close them and the interstices were pitched with pinon gum. All this work was done with the stone axe and the live ember.

The father then announced that in four days *Tiyo* should set forth, and during that time the mother and her two daughters prepared *kwipdosi* for food, and the father made prayer emblems or tokens called *paho*(s). On the morning of the fifth day the father brought the tokens to *Tiyo*, and laid them on a white cotton mantle, but before he wrapped them up, he explained their significance. One was called the *wupo* (great) *paho*, and was a slender willow wand, as long as his left arm from elbow to outer joint of thumb. This he told *Tiyo* he must give to *Kokyanwuhti* (Spider-woman). Four others were called *cakwa* (blue) *paho*(s), each made of two pieces of willow, as thick as the finger, and measuring from the first line at the base of the left palm to the tip of the middle finger. Of these blue *paho*(s) *Tiyo* should give one to *Hicanavaiya* (the Ancient of the Six; the six cardinal points;) one to *Huzruinwuqti* (Woman of the Hard Substance; the genius of all hard ornaments or wealth, as turquoise, coral, and shell); on to *Tawa* (the Sun); and one to *Muiyinwuh* (divinity of the under-world who makes all the germs of life). He also laid beside these *paho*(s) a small quantity of *kwapuhoa* (down from an eagle's thigh), which he said the Spider-woman would show *Tiyo* how to use, and all these things he wrapped in the mantle and gave to *Tiyo*, who crept into his box. His father then gave him a wand of *honwi*, to be used in guiding the box, and his mother a *tcakapta* (food basin), and she and each of his sisters added a *poota*, heaped up with *kwipdosi*. His father then closed the end of the box, and gave it a push with his foot, and it floated away, bobbing up and down.

In one of its ends there was a small circular aperture, through which he thrust his wand,

and pushed away from the rocks which were encountered. The spray splashed through the opening, and this he caught in his basin when he wish to drink or mix his *kwipdosi*, and he was also provided with a plug to close the hole when he neared the roaring waters. He floated over smooth waters and swift-rushing torrents, plunged through cataracts, and for many days spun through wild whirlpools, where black rocks protruded their heads like angry bears.

When the box finally stopped, *Tiyo* drew the plug, and looking out saw on the one side a muddy bank, and on the other nothing but water; so he pushed out the end, and taking his *paho* mantle in his hand passed to the dry land. He had gone but a little way when he heard the sound of "hist, hist," coming from the ground, and when this had been repeated four times, he descried a small round hole near his feet, and this was the house of Spider-woman. "*Umpituh*," said the voice (You have arrived, the ordinary Hopi greeting), "my heart is glad; I have long been expecting you; come down into my house." "How can I," said *Tiyo*, "when it will scarce admit the point of my toe?" She said, "Try," and when he laid his foot upon the hole, it widened out larger than his body, and he passed down into a roomy kiva.

Tiyo unrolled his mantle and gave her the *wupapaho* and the eagle down. She thanked him, and said, "I can be seen, or I can become invisible; I go everywhere and know all things; I know where you come from and where you will go; your heart is good, that is, you are an upright man; I have prepared food for you," and she set before him two corn meal dumplings (*puuh piki*), which he ate, and was filled up to the chin. Here he remained four days, and Spider-woman told him he should next go to the Snake, and she would go with him. Meanwhile she made the *nahu*, which pacifies all angry animals as well as the snake. [Fewkes adds in a footnote here that *nahu* "is derived from *nwauta*, a root, and is applied to any of their remedial specifics, and to the medicine of the whites, but charm is perhaps a better rendering of the term than medicine. Answering a query, the narrator said: 'This is the same charm which I make during the Snake ceremony. I made use of six plants, of the colors of the colors of the cardinal points, but I cannot tell you their names, nor describe the charm nor any of the fluids drank at the ceremony. I must keep this secret close to my heart; if I should reveal it I would die. No other person in the village knows it but Caliko. When the time comes that I think I am about to die, I will impart it to Honyi, my eldest sister's son, who will succeed me as Snake-Antelope chief."]

On the fifth morning Spider-woman gave some of the *nahu* to *Tiyo*, telling him to be of brave heart, and when he came to the angry ones who guarded the entrances to the rooms, he should put a little of the *nahu* on the tip of his tongue and spurt it upon them, and they would be pacified. She then told him that she would now become invisible, and immediately perched herself on the top of his right ear; she said she would be inaudible to all others, but would constantly whisper her promptings, and would remain with him throughout his journeys. She told him to take the cluster of eagle down in his hand and step upon the *sipapu*, which he did, and at once they descended to the under-world.

There the eagle down fluttered out toward the northwest, and thither he traveled till he came to a kiva near which was the great snake called *Gatoya*, on which, as prompted, he spurted the charm, and the snake turned its head and allowed him to pass to the hatchway, where two angry bears stood, one on each side of the ladder. On these he also spurted, and they bowed their heads, and he descended into the *Tcua-kiva* (Snake chamber), where many men were squatted on the floor around a sand *ponya*, all clothed in snake skins, and the walls, the roof, and the floor, were all decorated with snake skins. None of these people spoke a word, nor was any sound heard in that gloomy kiva, and when *Tiyo* displayed a *paho*, the chief merely bowed his head in recognition and motioned him to open the *sipapu*.

Stepping upon this he descended at once into the *Tcu-tcub-kiva* (Snake-Antelope chamber), where everything was white and cheerful, and many men were squatted around a beautiful sand *ponya*; their garments and feather plumes were bright and gayly colored, and all gave him a glad welcome. The first of his blue *paho*(s) he delivered to the chief of this kiva, *Hicanavaiya*, who looked at it closely, and then laid it on the *ponya*. He told *Tiyo* he had been expecting him, and thanked him for coming; he also said, "I cause the rainclouds to come and go, and the ripening winds to blow, and I direct the going and coming of all the mountain animals; before you return you will desire many things, ask freely of me and you will receive."

Spider-woman now advised him to resume the journey, and *Tiyo* passed upward to the hatchway, and the eagle down floated to the west, and looking in that direction he saw and great water, and far away out in the midst the long tips of a ladder projecting from the roof of a kiva. Spider-woman said: "That is the house of *Huzruinwuqti*, and it is on dry land which floats on the surface of the great water; let us go." And when they came to the edge of the great water, *Tiyo* spurted upon a part of the eagle down and cast it upon the water, which parted on either hand, and he traveled to the distant house with dry feet. When he approached the ladder two angry pumas started up, but he spurted charm liquid on them, and they turned their heads towards him and said, "We have never permitted any stranger to live who came here, but now we know your breath is pure and your heart is brave;" and they lay down on each side of the ladder, and he stepped between them and descended it.

The ladder was covered with small glittering white shells, and the inside of the kiva was resplendent with turquoise and coral, and in the middle of the floor a very old woman was squatted quite alone. Her eyes were dim, her hair was gray, her skin deeply wrinkled, and her mantle looked old and dingy, but Spider-woman told *Tiyo*, "This is the kind mother; her heart is tender and generous; and every night when she lays aside her mantle she becomes an enchanting maiden, and she is arrayed with splendor at dawn." Then *Tiyo* gave her the second *paho*, which she looked at very carefully, and said, "This was made by one who knows; I thank you. Sit down and eat, and ask for any of my possessions you desire." She prepared a food of corn pollen in a large turquoise bowl, saying, "This will be ready for you and the father, when he comes, that you may both eat and start again without delay." While this was being said, Spider-woman whispered him to get ready his

paho for *Tawa* (the Sun); and like the noise of a mighty lightning bolt, the Sun came rushing down through the air and alighted on the kiva roof with a great crash.

He entered, and hung up his beautiful shining shield, and it cried "ching-a-ling" as it dangled against the wall. He wore a white buckskin garment, and the arms and legs of it were decorated with fringes of jingling white shells; it was thick and heavy, because it is very cold in the sky region, and it had many pockets in which the Sun put all the *paho*(s) he found set out for him during his day's travel. He took out great numbers of these and laid them before the old woman, who scrutinized and sorted them; she put aside a part of them with her right hand; "These are from the people of good hearts," she said, "and I will send them what they ask." "But these," she said, as she cast away a great many with her left hand, "are from liars and deceitful people; they hurt my eyes to look at them." Then the Sun took from his right wrist the scalps of all who had been slain in battle through the day on the right side of his path, and from his left wrist those of the slain who had fallen on the left side of his path. And the old woman wept and mourned: "I grieve when you come here; it pains me as I touch you; my heart is sad, and I tremble as I look at you; I long for all my people to live in peace; will they never cease from quarreling?" and she hung up the scalps along the wall of her house.

Tiyo then placed his third *paho* in the Sun's hand, and as the others had done, he scanned it narrowly, and said: "It is well, my friend, my relative, my son; let us smoke." He filled a huge turquoise pipe with *piba* (native tobacco), and after they had smoked, they ate the food prepared for them, and the Sun told *Tiyo* to come with him on his journey through the under-world, and across to his place of rising. He told *Tiyo* to grasp his girdle, and they went down through the *sipapu* like a flash of lightning, to the lowest under-world, the house of *Muiyinwuh*.

In this place a host of eager men passed back and forth, up and down, all working with anxious haste, and the Sun led *Tiyo* to the middle of this industrious throng, where *Tiyo* gave his remaining *paho* to *Muiyinwuh*. After inspecting the *paho*, he said he would always listen to the wishes to *Tiyo*'s people, and then he explained that at his command the germs of all living things were made; the seeds of all vegetation that grows upon the surface of the upper-world; and of all animals and men who walk upon it; and the multitude he saw were ceaselessly occupied with this task. He noticed that the largest and handsomest of these men were those who were most earnest and industrious, and the stunted, scraggy creatures were the careless, lazy ones. After further assurance that the maker of the germs would always hear his petitions, *Tiyo* again grasped the Sun's girdle, and was carried by him upward and eastward to *Tawayumtyaki* (where the sun rises).

When they stopped they were in *Tawaki* (Sun-house), which is a beautiful kiva like that in the west, but red in color, and they ate food from a pink stone bowl. There is no woman here; the Sun and his brother *Taiowa* alternately occupy it. Four days *Tawa* carries the shield across the heavens, returning each night through the under-world, reaching the east just a short time before he resumes his journey through the sky; then he rests in this Sun-

house, while *Taiowa* performs his allotted four day's labor carrying the shield. *Tawa* impressed on *Tiyo* the importance of remembering all the things he had seen, and all that he would yet be shown, and he taught him to make the sun *paho*. Then his eyes would be opened, and thenceforth he would know all people, would look in their hearts and know their thoughts; and as a token he then heard his family mourning for him and calling upon him to return. And the Sun said, "I counsel you that of all the gifts you shall receive, the blessing you shall most prize is the rain-cloud you will get from the chief of the Snake-Antelope kiva." *Tawa* then taught him to make the great sun *paho*, which was as long as from his heart to his finger tips, and he gave him the skin of *letaiyo* (gray fox), which *Tiyo* hung upon it and placed it upon the hatchway. After a little he gave him the skin of *sikytaiayo* (yellow fox), which *Tiyo* hung over the gray. Then the Sun was ready to leave his house, and he took *Tiyo* on his shoulder and carried him across the sky, and showed him all the world, and at sunset they came again to the house in the west.

The old woman said, "Now you will leave me; take these gifts," ands she gave him of all her house contained, and he thanked her and placed them in his mantle, and went up the ladder. At the prompting of Spider-woman he spurted *nahu* upon the remainder of the eagle down and cast it upon the water, and as before it parted to the right and left, and he passed over to dry land.

There was still the yellow light of evening as he approached the Snake kiva, and he saw the red-fringed bow hanging across the ladder, and Spider-woman told him this was the fifth day since their previous visit. Unchallenged he went down and into the Snake-Antelope kiva, and sat beside the *ponya* four days, listening to the teachings of the chief, who said, "Here we have abundance of rain and corn; in your land there is but little; so thus shall you use the *nahu*; fasten these prayers to your breast; and these are the songs you shall sing and these the *paho*(s) you shall make; and when you display the white and the black on your bodies the clouds will come." He then gave *Tiyo* a part of everything from both kivas, and from the Snake-Antelope *ponya* he gave him portions of the different colored sands, and these, he said, were the colors of the corn *Tiyo*'s prayers would bring. He also said, "Here are two maidens who know the charm which prevents death from the bite of the rattlesnake; take them with you; and one you shall give to your younger brother;" and they were enveloped with white, fleecy clouds, like a mantle. Then from the *ponya* he gave *Tiyo* a *tiponi*, and charged him always to preserve it with jealous care, saying, "Truly this is your mother;" and from the Snake *ponya* he gave him a *tiponi* for his younger brother. When *Tiyo* had wrapped up all these things in his mantle, the chief said, "Remember all you have heard, and all that I have done, do you the same, and take back with you my heart, my bowels, all my thoughts, and you shall be called by my name, *Hicanavaiya*." Then *Tiyo* ascended to the hatchway and the two maidens followed him.

Spider-woman then led them back to her house, where they remained four days, and hunted rabbits for her. She then told him to keep secret all he had heard and seen, and to reveal it only to those whose hearts he should try. While *Tiyo* was hunting, Spider-woman made a beautiful *hoapuh* [burden basket], around which she fastened a cotton cord, and on the fifth morning she placed *Tiyo* in it, with a maiden on each side. She then ascended

through the hatch and disappeared, but soon a filament descended and attached itself to the cord, and the basket was drawn up to the white clouds, which sailed away to Tokonabi, and there Spider-woman again spun out her filament and lowered the basket to the ground. *Tiyo* took the maidens to his mother's house, and no stranger saw them for four days, and the two brothers prepared the bridal presents.

On the fifth morning the maidens' heads were washed by *Tiyo*'s mother, and from the house-top he proclaimed that, as a strange people had now come among them, in sixteen days their feast would be celebrated; and to this day, the narrator said, we announce this Snake feast sixteen days ahead. *Tiyo* and one maiden went into a kiva, which he called the Snake-Antelope kiva, and the younger brother and the other maiden went into another, which was called the Snake kiva. [Here the narrator gave a recital of initiation made by *Tiyo*, and instruction concerning the ceremony, the making of *paho*(s), and the other countless details, all of which were but a rehearsal of those still practiced, excepting that, on this occasion, they did not go out to gather snakes on four successive days as they do now.]

On the fifth evening of the ceremony, and for three succeeding evenings, low clouds trailed over Tokonabi, and Snake people from the under-world came from them, and went into the kiva(s), and ate only corn pollen for food, and on leaving were not seen again. Each of four evenings brought a new group of Snake people, and on the following morning they were found in the valleys, metamorphosed into reptiles of all kinds.

On the ninth morning the *Tcuamana* (Snake maidens) said: "We understand this; let the younger brothers (the Snake society) go out and bring them all in and wash their heads, and let them dance with you." And this was done, and at sunset a Snake house of meal was made by *Tiyo*, and the snakes were laid within it, and all the people cast their prayer-meal upon them, and the younger brothers carried them out to the valleys, and they returned to the Snake kiva of the under-world, bearing the petitions of all the people.

After this both of the Snake maidens gave birth to numerous small snakes; their heads were washed, and they were dried in sand heaps on the floor, and their mothers sat beside them. Children coming into play with the little snakes were bitten, and they swelled up and died, and their mothers clamored against the *Tcuamana* and their brood, and compelled the men to consent to migrate; and we abandoned our villages, and both of the *Tcuamana* were left at Tokonabi. The Puma, the Sand, and the Horn people started together to travel southward, but after a time the Horn people separated, and we did not meet again till after we came to these valleys where we now dwell. *Tiyo*'s younger brother went with the Horn people. This is the reason why I go in front one year, and the chief of the Flute sits back, and the next year he goes before and I sit behind; but our songs and prayers have both the same intent.

While we were living at *Wukoki*, one of the *Tcamahia* dwelt with us, and then he left us and traveled far to the southeast, looking for other people that he knew were coming from

the under-world. When he reached *Sotcaptukwi* (a place near Santa Fe), he met *Puukonhoya*, to whom he told his object. *Puukonhoya* said he could find those people, and fitting his bow and arrow, fletched with the winds of a bluebird, he shot it in the sky, and it came down far in the northeast, at a *sipapu*, up which people were still climbing. They looked at the arrow, and said, "We will travel to the southwest, and may *Tcamahia* come and meet us." On this the arrow flew back to its sender, and told of these people, and *Tcamahia* traveled westward to meet them. When he got to the great rock where Acoma now is, he climbed up and found the great ladle-shaped cavities on its summit filled with rainwater, and he named it the place of the ladle, *Akokyabi*. Here he rested, and the people he was looking for joined him there, and at that place they have ever since remained.

After my people left *Wukoki*, they halted near a little spring on the middle mesa, and looking across to where we now live, they could see there were no people in the land. But at night they saw a fire moving back and forth along the base of this mesa, from the gap to the point, and they marveled greatly for awhile, and then they sent Dove forth to discover, and he found that it was *Masauwuh*. Dove saw the tracks of his large, bare feet, and he followed them around a great circle, encompassing *Nuvatikyauobi* (place of snow peaks, San Francisco Mountains) on the west; *Palabaiya* (Red River, Colorado Chiquito) on the south; *Wukobaiya* (Great river, Rio Grande) on the east, and *Hopkoyilabaiya* (from *hopoko*, the northeast, the San Juan River) on the north.

For a long time they saw nothing but his tracks, and they crossed over here and built their village on the foothills at the point of this mesa where you can yet see where the houses stood, and they called it Walpi, the place near the gap, and after a time the younger men with their families built another village out in the valley, and you can yet see traces of it also. One day the Walpi chief called all his bravest men to go with him and try to find *Masauwuh*, and they met him about half way to the middle mesa. He was hideous and terrible, with shreds of flesh and clots of blood upon his head, but our chief was brave, and went and embraced him tightly in his arms. Then said the deity, "I see you are strong of heart; I designed to kill you all if your hearts had been weak; now I am satisfied." They all sat down and *Masauwuh* took off his mask and sat upon it, and as he produced his large pipe, they all saw that he had become a handsome youth, and the pipe was passed around till all had smoked. Then he said: "I also am large of heart; all this land is mine, and all that lies within the limits of my footprints is yours, for you have won it because you met me and were not afraid. My house is there (pointing to a rocky spot close to the west side of the mesa), and there you must place the *paho*." . . . "The uncle of my uncles spoke with one tongue," continued the narrator, "and this is the story he told." (106-119)

In summary, the significance of this narrative for this study and the Navajo National Monument is threefold. First, it is an early text in which the concept of Hopitutsqwa is given shape and substance. Second, it is a version of the Snake Clan narrative which affirms the cultural ancestry of the Snake Clan in the area near Navajo National Monument. Third, it reminds us that while this study focuses on what Connerton has called "inscribed transmissions of memories" or texts, the social memory of the Hopi people is embodied in the stratified and privileged character of their social and ceremonial organization (Wiki tells us, he alone or he and another, have sole

access to the knowledge/power of the Snake ceremony), the Snake ceremony itself, the built environment where the Snake ceremony occurs (kiva, plaza, etc.) and the larger conceptual and physical environment in which snakes are gathered, pilgrimages made, etc.

Tusayan Migration Traditions **Clan Migration narrative**

Jesse Walter Fewkes
1900
Washington: Government Printing Office, pp. 573-633
19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1897-1898
Article
Field research:1891-1894
Hopi consultants not identified

Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850-1930; Ph.D., Zoology, Harvard University) began a career in the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard and became widely known as a marine zoologist, producing 69 titles in this field. In 1888, on a trip to California, he became interested in ethnology and began ethnological studies among the Puebloan peoples under the patronage of Mary Hemenway. He began field research at Zuni, 1889-1890, and much of that work was published in A Journal of America Ethnology and Archaeology (5 volumes, 1891-1895) which he edited. His field research among the Hopi began in 1890 as Director of the Second Hemenway Expedition. He hired Alexander MacGregor Stephen to record Hopi social and ceremonial life and much of what he published is indebted to Stephen (often more than he acknowledged). The Snake-Antelope ceremony was of particular interest to Fewkes and he was initiated into the Antelope and Flute Societies. In 1895 he carried out exploratory excavations at Awatobi and Sikyatki. Fewkes acquired the Keam/Stephen collection of Hopi pottery and much of his subsequent archaeological research and publication in the Southwest was concerned with ceramics. He joined the Bureau of Ethnology as an ethnologist in 1895 and was appointed chief in 1918 and position he held until 1928. His background in natural history is reflected in his descriptive ethnography.

Fewkes here brings together various "fragments of Hopi legendary history" in order to "examine the composition of the present population of Walpi by clans, and to trace the trails of migration of those clans before they reached the village." It is impossible, he says, "to interpret the Hopi ritual without a clear idea of the present relationship between the existing clans and of their connection with the religious societies" (578).

In considering "clans living or extinct in Walpi and Sichumovi" he begins with this summary outline of his findings:

1. Clans from Tokonabi (southern Utah): Tcua (Snake), Ala (Horn).
2. Clans from Palatkwabi (southern Arizona) and the Little Colorado: Patun (Squash), Lenya (Flute), Patki (Cloud), Kukutc (Lizard), Piba (Tobacco), Tuwa (Sand), Tabo (Rabbit).
3. Clans from the Muiobi (Rio Grande valley), and New Mexican pueblos, (Zuni, Acoma, Jemez, etc.): Honau (Bear), Kokop (Firewood), Pakab (Reed), Asa (Tansy-Mustard), Buli (Butterfly), Honani (Badger). (582)

Fewkes then moves to the question of the "chronologic sequence of the advent of clans" and while the differences are not great, he finds that different men--"informed," "intelligent"--give different sequences [noting but not recognizing the significance of the clan of the speaker] maybe because of a "misunderstanding...between the natives and the author" (585).

Each clan is described: its origin and Migration narrative if available (e.g., "Snake legend," 588-589), the genealogical relations of all members, relation to religious societies, etc. In his discussion of the "Ala-Lenya Clans" (Horn and Flute), Fewkes describes the "dramatization" of this "chronological sequence" in the Flute ceremony. The Flute priests visit a sequence of springs on their way to Walpi. There they find a line of meal barring their entrance to the village:

> Back of this line, between it and the houses of the pueblo, stood the chiefs of the Bear and Snake clans. ... As the Flute chief and his followers approached, the Bear chief challenged him, demanding, "Who are you? Whence have you come?" The Flute chief responded that they were kindred and knew the songs necessary to bring rain. Then the Bear chief took his tiponi... while the Antelope-Snake chief received his badge from the other. Holding them... they advanced and welcomed the Flute chief to their pueblo. As a symbol of acceptance the Flute chief gave prayer offerings... the line of meal barring entrance to the pueblo was brushed away, and a new line extending along the trail was made to symbolize that the entrance was open again.

Touching on themes of importance to this study, Fewkes then comments:

> This symbolic reception of the Flute priests not only dramatizes a historic event in the growth of Walpi, but also displays a tendency to visit old sites of worship during ceremonies, and to regard water from ancient springs as efficacious in modern religious performances. It is a common feature of great ceremonies to procure water from old springs for altar rites, and these springs are generally situated near ancestral habitations now in ruins. (592)

Next, Fewkes considers the membership, by clan, of the various religious societies.

Finally, various conclusions are presented, among them:

> 3. The pioneer settlers of Walpi were Snake and Bear clans, the former predominating, and the first increase was due to addition of Horn clans which once lived at the now ruined pueblo of Tokonabi, the place from which the Snake clans also came. (633)

In summary, there is much about this study which is both remarkable and relevant. The entire population of First Mesa is identified by clan, by kinship, and by religious society. At the same time, Fewkes records valuable information regarding the significance of springs and ruins in "modern religious ceremonies." This information is relevant to an appreciation of the significance of springs and ruins in the study area.

The Invention of Prophecy:
Continuity and Meaning in Hopi Indian Religion

Prophetic narratives
Emergence narratives

Armin W. Geertz
1994 [1992]
Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. xxi, 490
Monograph
Field Research: Hotevilla, 1978-1979, 1982
Hopi consultants identified in context

Armin W. Geertz (1948-; Ph.D., History of Religions, University of Aarhus, Denmark) engaged in field and archival research on Hopi Emergence narratives, Prophetic narratives and history to produce his dissertation of the same title in 1992.

The Invention of Prophecy is an enormously complex and demanding work. It will be useful (1) to summarize portions of Geertz's perspective on Hopi prophecy before turning (2) to those aspects of his analysis of the Hopi Emergence narrative which we have found useful in this report. Note: Geertz's use of the term "myth" is retained throughout this summary.

(1) The Invention of Prophecy addresses readers who are interested in American Indian studies in particular and religious studies in general. It also addresses issues relevant to on-going theoretical discussions in sociology, anthropology, the history of religions, and the philosophy of religion. This book is about the Hopi and their relationship with Euro-Americans and other Indian groups. These relationships come prominently into focus around such topics as prophecy, meaning, politics, and the mechanisms of change, especially changing prophecies and changing meanings.

This study emphasizes a set of religious ideas and the changes they undergo through time and in relation to different groups. As opposed to most studies on prophecy, which concentrate on literary religions, Geertz's work concerns itself with the changes which oral traditions and prophetic dialogue undergo in the transition from orality to literacy, especially the literacy of an alien language. In contrast to sociologically oriented studies of cargo cults as new religious movements, Geertz emphasizes a sustained interest in religious content and in the cognitive dimensions of prophetic apocalypse.

Hopi religion is viewed against the kaleidoscopic backdrop of changing political, social, and historical factors. The development of Hopi religion is plotted from local, mainstream agricultural concerns, through the confrontation between cultures, to the rise of a universal, missionizing religion. In Geertz's view, the middle phase of confrontation has led to a complicated symbiosis between the Hopis and a whole gamut of Euro-American ecological movements, new religious movements (such as New Age), and other special interest groups. The continual stream of movements and groups which have used (and still use) the Hopis as symbols and/or more or less active participants in their own ideological, political, or religious activities, have been, again in Geertz's perspective, a dominant factor in recent Hopi history. Hopis who, for their own reasons, choose to cooperate with these groups take on new roles and new meanings in order to secure support for their own activities and, thus, a complicated series of cause and effect feeds back on Hopi tradition, thereby influencing the course of its development.

In an attempt to explain what causes prophets to change their apparent revelations, traditionalists to change their traditions, and believers to keep on believing, Geertz maintains that the answer is to be found by rethinking what we know about prophecy, tradition, and religion and how we are to study them. In focusing on human beings as culturally competent, social agents continually engaged in negotiating, inventing, reinventing, and co-creating meaningful interpretations of their worlds, we come to see and understand the contradictions of human life not so much as contradictions, but more--in Geertz's words--"as the effervescence of hermeneutical activity."

In his Introduction, Geertz suggests that prophecy is the most important religious concern on the reservation today and also suggests that prophecy has always been important to the Hopis--at least as far back as our sources allow. He claims that the central religious ideology of the Hopis is found most fully articulated in the Emergence Myth. Geertz goes on to define myth as "narrated tradition which codifies, coordinates, and sometimes systematizes interpretive frameworks and categories in terms of stories about beings and events which are of primary significance to a given culture" (p.3).

Hopi prophecy is intimately related to the Emergence Myth. In this narrative, Hopi "mythographers" postulate a series of worlds through which all humans have passed. These worlds are collectively experienced in cyclical terms whereby the paradisal beginnings are replaced by the cataclysmic endings, which again lead humanity into the next cycle. At the beginning of this present "Fourth World", the Hopi tutelary deity Maasaw commanded them to follow his precepts until his return, which will signal the end of the world. There were two brothers present at this primordial meeting with Maasaw The one was the Elder White Brother and the other was the Younger Hopi Brother. They agreed that the Elder Brother would move to the east and the Younger Brother would remain in the west. If the Younger Brother ever needed help, in other words, if he becomes plagued by enemies or by internal strife, the Elder Brother will return to help or to punish as a prelude to Maasaw's return. Details vary from clan to clan and individual to individual, but these two main events--the return of the White Brother and the return of Maasaw--are central to the development and interpretation of Hopi prophecies.

Hopi prophecy is a subcategory of clan tradition, which in Hopi is called navoti. The term itself indicates the narrative nature of clan tradition. It means literally "knowledge gained from hearing"--not from seeing or experience. Navoti covers not only the history of a clan, but it also provides an interpretive framework for life situations. Hopinavoti, i.e., Hopi clan tradition, expresses what Geertz calls "indigenous hermeneutics". Navoti qualifies as an indigenous analytic practice because it is expert and restricted. It provides frameworks for interpretations, but is also part and parcel of the politics of knowledge in a society where knowledge is the basis of status and power. Thus, Hopi prophecy is intimately bound up with clan identity and clan ideology, which defines individual identity within a network of political and social relationships.

Other characteristics of Hopi prophecies are that they are collective, which means that there are prophecies but no prophets; they are located in a simultaneous continuum of present perfect, past perfect, and future perfect tenses, where the historical present is a repetition of the mythical past and the past is in the present, and the speaker can choose to define him/herself in any moment on the continuum; they are fatalistic and simultaneously find their cause and end in the moral codes

of the potskwani, which are inculcated during the socialization process consciously and effectively with the result that the end of the world rests solely on the immorality of humanity--and the end is unavoidable; and, finally, they reflect political, social, and ideological contexts.

In Geertz's perspective, the importance and meaning of Hopi prophecy is not to be found in its "prophetic" claims (which are constantly changing), but in its functions as mechanisms for incorporating contemporary affairs into the framework of traditional religious values, for evaluating those affairs in terms of conceived tradition, and for interpreting and judging those affairs on the authority of conceived tradition. Seen in this light, prophecy is primarily a rhetorical device which is authoritative, conditional, open-ended (metaphorical), reflective (interpretive), inflective (changeable, malleable), and emotive.

More importantly, Hopi prophecy is viewed here as pivotal to social and political strategies. It is therefore useful to characterize the ways prophecies are used, identify the interest groups who use them, and identify themes which are meaningful to these groups. Geertz then sketches the six strategies which form a point of reference for the rest of the book: (1) myth as a strategy to establish or maintain ethnic identity and/or internal sociopolitical structures; (2) myth as a strategy to resist the dominant White society; (3) myth as a strategy to attract subversive interest groups within the dominant White society; (4) the use of Hopi myths by White interest groups as a strategy to search for an identity; (5) the use of Hopi myths by White interest groups as a strategy to resist their own society; and (6) myth as a strategy to re-create psycho-social stability and meaning. Thus, categories 1-3 and 6 are strategies employed by Hopis, whereas categories 4 and 5 are strategies employed by Whites.

Myth is used by the Hopis to define themselves in relation to other peoples; to normalize relationships; to differentiate between human types; and to assimilate dangerous peoples into Hopi cosmic thought. Thus, in Geertz's perspective, the Euro-American presence is conceptualized within the conditional logic of Hopi argument and is contrasted with Hopi ethnic identity.

(2) Geertz's thesis has been summarized at length to "locate" his analysis of the Emergence Myth in Chapter Two. It is from this context that the description and analysis employed in this study have been drawn. Geertz argues that Hopi prophecy is rooted in conceptions about primordial times. These conceptions are codified in a narrative, called the Emergence Myth, which is the starting point for all clan traditions. It is further argued that the continuity of the narrative is secured through ritual, social, and psychological mechanisms.

The Emergence Myth is composed of a series of symbols and motifs organized in a hierarchy of episodes structured around stories. Six main stories are postulated: (1) the apocalyptical conditions of the primordial Third World prior to the Emergence; (2) the actual Emergence to the Fourth World; (3) the post-Emergence creations of the heavenly bodies, the distribution of languages and foodstuffs, and the establishment of death; (4) the meeting with Maasaw and/or the story of the two brothers and related prophecies; (5) the migrations of the clans; and (6) the settlement of Oraibi and the meeting between the Bear Clan and Maasaw A frequency comparison of Emergence Myth variants indicates that despite slight variations in the order of events, the basic narrative structure remains, and the pivotal episodes are usually present. Geertz then proceeds to describe exactly what changes and what doesn't in each episode. It is

demonstrated that all important changes are explicitly and predictably due to matters of political and social status. Thus, for instance, details may vary concerning which group first met Maasaw, the order of the emergence of the clans, which clan was associated with the primordial witch, the exact prophetic words of Maasaw (which are ultimately related to the political persuasion of the narrator), and, of course, the details of each clan migration.

Seen as a genre category, Hopi myth is a formalized, stylistic, repetitive prose genre which serves as the source which informs the other genres. It is a restricted collective cultural treasure. Ritual speech is a sub-type which is similar to myth in all aspects except that it does not inform the other genres, rather it contains the same receptivity as the other genres. Ritual song is a formalized, stylistic, repetitive poetic genre which introduces isolated detail, often with contemporary relevance. It is the product of an individual composer within a ritualized context. The modern prose narrative is informal, non-ritual, multi-stylistic, geared specifically to contemporary events, and literary. It is an expanded collective cultural treasure, expanded in the sense the collective group which possesses the cultural treasure is significantly increased to include other Hopis as well as non-Hopis.

The effect these various media have on their content, in terms of change, can be generalized as follows: (1) myths provide authoritative contexts, and rules and metaphors to live by; the possibilities for change over shorter periods of time are minimal; (2) ritual songs replicate these contexts, and although the possibility of individual innovation is available, it is also a highly visible medium and therefore restrictive for individual innovation; and (3) modern prose narratives recreate the authoritative contexts and develop new contexts through a process of dialogue and exchange between Hopi speakers and writers as well as between Hopi and non-Hopi and between non-Hopi and non-Hopi speakers and writers. It is the medium where Hopi pluralism meets Euro-American pluralism.

Geertz emphasizes the similarities in the variant Emergence narratives, Goldfrank (1948) the differences which are the result of reformulation and reinterpretation of certain politically important themes by significant participants in the historic context of the 1906 Oraibi Split.

Summarized above are the Introduction and Chapter II (of the Danish, Chapter III of the U.S. edition) of twelve chapters. It should be noted that the Danish edition (in English) includes indexes for Hopi words, Names and Subjects, whereas the U.S. edition contains only an abbreviated Subject index. Both editions contain all of the important texts of the Emergence narrative except that found in Whiteley (1988b).

In summary, The Invention of Prophecy is an enormously complex and far-ranging study. While no mention is made of the study area, Geertz provides the most thorough study of the Emergence narratives which underlie all other Hopi traditional historical narratives relating to Navajo National Monument. This review has set out the theoretical and methodological context in which Geertz's analysis occurs. In our narrative introduction (see "Hopi Traditional History") Geertz's analysis of the emergence narrative is presented in detail. Most of Geertz's work is concerned to document the historical role of prophecy in Hopi Indian religion. Unlike Clemmer (see review) who sees prophecy as a strategy or form of empowerment employed by Hopis in the face of the

loss of economic and political autonomy, Geertz sees prophecy as increasingly the product of inter-cultural relations. He shows how the modern Hopi Traditionalist Movement, in response to non-Indian audiences and interests groups, has changed old prophecies and created new ones about the end of the world. He further shows how these interest groups have used Traditionalist prophecies for their own purposes. Clemmer, Geertz and Whiteley all see Third Mesa emergence and prophetic narratives as explicitly millenarian or apocalyptic, a perspective our analysis of several narrative genres confirms. Although Geertz elsewhere discusses Kawestima as a part of Third Mesa directional symbolism, he does mention the term or any of its various meanings (including place name significance) in this study. Consequently, the importance of this work for our lies in its analysis of emergence narratives.

The Impact of Situation and Personality on Four Hopi Emergence Myths

Emergence narratives

Esther S. Goldfrank
1948
Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 4:241-262
Article
Date of research not applicable: analysis of published texts
Hopi consultants: Lomahongyoma (1882); Yokioma (1903; 1911); Tawaqwaptiwa (1932); Oraibi

Esther S. Goldfrank (1896-1997; anthropologist) did graduate study in anthropology at Columbia University and with financial support from Elsie Clews Parsons carried on brief periods of field research at Laguna and Cochiti Pueblos, 1920-1922 and Isleta, 1924. In 1940 she married the Sinologist and Marxist economic historian Karl Wittfogel (1896-1987), who especially in his Oriental Society, used the term "hydraulic" to designate societies that depend for productive or protective reasons, or both, on large-scale waterworks under government control. Goldfrank and Wittfogel extended the "irrigation hypothesis" to the Rio Grande pueblos in "Some Aspects of Pueblo Mythology and Society" (Journal of American Folklore 56 (1943) 17-30). Her fieldwork, especially at Cochiti, led her to disagree with her friend Ruth Benedict's portrayal of Pueblo society in Patterns of Culture (1934). In 1967 Goldfrank published The Artist of "Isleta Paintings" in Pueblo Society. Goldfrank did not complete a graduate degree in anthropology, never taught and all told spent less than six months in the field, and yet--as the essay reviewed here illustrates--she brought a distinct perspective to the history, political relationships and ecology of the puebloan peoples of the Southwest.

If Goldfrank's essay had been published even ten years later, it might have been entitled 'the impact of historical context and the socio-political positions of the narrators of four Hopi Emergence myths'. Taking the Emergence narratives of three participants in the larger historical context of the Oraibi Split, Goldfrank shows that certain themes having to do with "Spider Woman," "Elder and Younger Brother," "the Americans," and "Bear Clan Chief," "have shown considerable susceptibility to reformulation and reinterpretation" (243).

"Myth A," as she identifies it, was recorded by Cushing in 1882 by an unidentified member of the "Hostiles," who she identifies as Lomahongyoma of the Spider Clan and a leader of the opposition before 1901 (Geertz suggests this is Talay'ima).

Myths B and C were given by Yokioma, a member of the Kokop clan, which together with the Spider clan owned the paraphernalia of the Momtcit or Warrior society. The first narrative was recorded by Voth in 1903 or 1904; the second was recorded by Col. Hugh L. Scott in 1911, five years after the split and when Yokioma was head chief of the Hotevilla.

Myth D was recorded by Titiev in 1932 from Tawaqwaptiwa, Lololoma's sister's son. As Goldfrank tells us, "This nephew of the head of the Bear clan, leader of the Friendlies and Village Chief since before Cushing's time, became his uncle's successor; and when Titiev visited Old Oraibi, he was still head of the "Friendly" rump in the village." What Tawaqwaptiwa recounted

was purported to be "Lololoma's version." Goldfrank then turns to a consideration of the "personality of the men," the narrators: the "chief priest of the tribe and a wizard" of Cushing's 1882 version, the Youkiomas of versions B and C, and Tewaqwaptewa. She examines the portraits given by contemporaries and then turns to the content of the myths. Tewaqwaptewa (D) "already in the Underworld...makes the Spider clan (Lomahongyoma's clan and the spearhead of the Hostile faction) and the Bow clan (closely allied to Kokop, Yokioma's clan) "partners in mischief-making;" and he has no hesitation in pinning the murder of Bear Chief's daughter--a child of his clan--directly on Spider Woman, the ancestress of the Spider people" (252). Goldfrank continues,

> "Yokioma's second version, C, given in 1911, five years after the split and when he was well-established in his position of Village Chief in the newly settled Hotevilla, exhibits an overwhelming concern with legitimizing his access to power. In this second version, it is the "people" and the "wives of the priests," and not the "chiefs," who are bad in the Underworld. He now omits any reference to the order of ascent (in his earlier version, he mentioned first, and as the Village Chief, the Soyal-mongwi, always a member of the Bear clan), and he also significantly omits any reference to the rights of the Bear clan to own and control the Oraibi domain, although he notes that it arrived there first. Equally revealing is the off-hand and disparaging way in which he deals with the Spider clan (the earlier and long-time leaders of the opposition), and the importance he now attaches to the brave actions of the unyielding Ghost-and-Bird clan, presumably his own. (253)

Goldfrank continues her analysis showing clearly how other politically important themes were subject to reformulation and reinterpretation.

In summary, through a detailed historical and comparative analysis, Goldfrank shows how the Hopi emergence narrative (as oral discourse) was and continues to be manipulated for political ends. She demonstrates how these narratives have been changed (and continue to change) in response to changing--especially--political circumstances. Here, in particular, she shows how various leaders--persons able to define the terms under which specific events were and are represented--use their power to produce a relevant discourse/narrative. Clemmer and Geertz build on Goldfrank's work in their analyses of Hopi prophecy.

The Changing Physical Environment of the Hopi Indians of Arizona

General ethnology

John T. Hack
1942
Cambridge: The Museum, pp. 85
Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 35:1
Monograph in a series
Field research: 1937-1939
Hopi consultants not identified

John T. Hack (1913- ; Ph.D., Geomorphology, Harvard University) was employed as a geologist with the Harvard University, Peabody Museum's Awatovi Expedition, 1937-1939, before beginning a career as a geologist with the U. S. Geological Survey. The work reviewed here is based on his dissertation, "Geography and Geology of the Hopi Country, Arizona" (1940), and was followed by another work in this series on prehistoric coal mining in the Jeddito Valley, Arizona.

During five field seasons from 1935 to 1939, the Peabody Museum excavated the prehistoric and early historic Hopi pueblo of Awatovi. The project was interdisciplinary, seeking to provide an integrated study of the area over the past thousand years. John T. Hack's study of the changing physical environment was the first publication of the project and became an influential work in southwestern archaeology more generally.

Briefly, Hack's work consists of six chapters. In the first he discusses the physiography of the Hopi country, climate, vegetation and water supply, ca. 1940. In the second he describes the Hopi people, their population, economics and early history. In the third he provides a detailed study of Hopi agriculture, building on the work of C. Daryll Forde. The fourth chapter is a study of sand dunes as indicators of climatic changes. The fifth chapter continues observations on erosion and sedimentation in the Navajo country. In the final chapter, he shows how a changing environment affected the ancestors of the Hopi.

In the alluvium of the valleys, Hack recognizes three recent depositions. The Jeddito formation, which is the earliest, contains elephant bones and no artifacts and is roughly dated from 7000 to 5000 B.C. It represents a period of moisture. This was followed by about two thousand years of severe drought, when arroyo cutting was common and dunes formed on the mesas and in the valleys. From about 3000 B.C. to 1200 A.D., new water-carried deposits were laid down in the valleys, which Hack calls the Tsegi formation, and in the upper part of this formation occur shards from the Pueblo II and Pueblo III periods. During the drought which culminated in the late 1200s, arroyo cutting and dune formation were again the rule, to be followed after 1300 A.D. by the deposition of the Naha formation, which contains Pueblo IV and Pueblo V shards. The arroyo cutting which began in the 1880's represents the end of the Naha cycle.

While Hack's study can be viewed as having only limited geographic interest, his description and analysis of Hopi farming strategies has wide implications for understanding prehistoric and historic population location and movement. He writes:

> [The Hopi] are farmers who live in permanent houses built of stone and clustered in villages, located on the high southern spurs of Black Mesa near the springs. The villages are central to the fields on nearby mesa tops and in the broad valleys of the Tusayan Washes. The Hopi country is too dry for growing crops by rainfall alone, so that special methods of farming are used. The Hopi raise corn and beans, the staple foods, by four different methods. Flood-water farming [following Kirk Bryan, also commonly termed akchin fields], in which fields are planted where the floods of streams spread in thin sheets of water, is the most important type. Sand dune fields, in which the relatively high-moisture content of sandy soils is utilized, are also an important type of field. This type is not affected by epicycles of erosion and dissection of flood plains, as are the flood-water fields. The necessity for the protection of plants from moving sands requires the use of windbreaks, however, and makes this system of farming laborious. Some fields are watered by seepage. A small proportion in which rare and relatively valuable crops are grown are irrigated from springs. Flood-water fields are found in large areas around the Hopi country, but not in great numbers....
>
> The effect of a period of arroyo cutting in the Hopi country is to shift the position of floodwater fields from the main streams to the akchins or arroyo mouths of small streams and to increase the use of sand dune fields. (xix)

Of particular importance, then, are the akchin fields located at the end of an arroyo, where deposition of the sediments are taking place in time of floods. In different archaeological periods, the areas of deposition in the valleys were located in different areas, and about the akchin fields centers of population developed as measured by shards. In the main Jeddito Valley, the Tsegi fields (Pueblo I, II, and III) were spread down the valley from above the Jeddito Store as far as Little Star Mountain, a distance of about twenty miles. In the Naha period (1300-1880), the main deposition was north of Little Star Mountain, four miles southwest of Awatovi. At present (ca. 1940) the akchin area farmed by the Navajo lies nine miles southwest of Awatovi.

In summary, the geographic focus of Hack's work--the Jeddito Valley--is considerably removed from the Navajo National Monument area. However, it does provide significant information regarding contemporary Hopi agricultural practices as well, perhaps, regarding the prehistoric Navajo National Monument area.

Hopi World View **General ethnology**

Louis A. Hieb
1979
Washington: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 577-580
Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 9
Article in a monographic set
Field research: Second and Third Mesas, 1969 (summer), 1970-1971, 1977 (summer)
~~Hopi consultants not identified~~

Louis A. Hieb (1939-; Ph.D., Anthropology, Princeton University) did field work on Second and Third Mesa, 1969 (summer), 1970-1971 and 1977 (summer). His initial field research resulted in his dissertation, "The Hopi Ritual Clown: Life as it Should Not Be" (1972). Subsequent publications have been concerned with the relationship between Hopi conceptual and built environments, between world view/social organization and architectural form/settlement patterns. Throughout his work, Hieb has been concerned with systems of meaning and action and how these are given symbolic expression.

This brief article on "Hopi World View" takes as it point of departure Clifford Geertz's definition that a people's world view is "their picture of the way things, in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order." Hieb elaborates:

> World view is, thus, to be understood as a people's way of selecting, classifying, and structuring reality and is concerned with the logical properties of belief. ... Religion is felt to be not only logically true but also empirically true, that is, its validity is equally derivable from its relationship to everyday realities. (577)

In other words, in looking at Hopi traditional narratives, Hieb would argue that their "truth" may be historical, psychological, etc., as well as logical.

In describing the basic components of the Hopi world view, he begins with description of what Mischa Titiev termed "the concept of a dual division of time and space between the upper world ~~of the living and the lower world of the dead~~" ~~(see review of Titiev)~~. ~~Hieb writes~~:

> Life and death, day and night, summer and winter are seen not simply as opposed but as involved in a system of alternation and continuity--indeed, a fundamental consubstantiality. Death is "birth" into a new world, and many Hopi burial practices parallel those of birth except that four black lines of charcoal separate the dead from his home in the village while four white lines of cornmeal mark the walls of a newborn baby's home.
>
> This world and the world of spirits are transformations of each other. At death a cotton mask--a "white cloud mask"--is placed on the face of a dead person. The spirits of the dead return to this world as kachinas. All kachinas are believed to take on cloud form--to be cloud people--and their spiritual essence, or navala, is a liquid which is manifested as rainfall. ... Everything, in Hopi belief, is dependent on rainfall, which, when combined with Mother Earth, is the essence of all things. Thus, cotton masks and clouds, the living and

the death, rain and life are related through this dual division of time and space (577).

Hieb next considers the Hopi "system of correspondences" noting that "in ritual, songs, prayers, masks, and altars, concepts of space, time, color and number (as both sequence and quantity) are interrelated" (577). Indeed, these principles also serve to structure various Hopi traditional narratives as well (see, most notably, review of Wallis). As Hieb notes:

> Fundamental to this system [of symbolic classification] is the spatial orientation of the traditional Hopi, which is related to the four most distant points reached by the sun in its apparent movement during the year along the eastern and western horizons. These define the four cardinal directions... Certain colors are associated with each direction...
>
> This basic space-time-color-number paradigm provides the logical basis for an elaborate system of correspondences that find expression throughout Hopi ritual. Clouds, butterflies, corn, lightning, rains, winds, birds, animals, trees, shrubs, flowers, beans, and so on are ordered in terms of this schema in song and prayer and in Hopi religious thought. (577-578)

Hieb then considers each of the four components--space, time, color, number--separately before turning to another, perhaps the most fundament, concept underlying the Hopi world view and religious practice: reciprocity. He writes:

> For the Hopi, all forms of prayer offering are understood to be presentations requiring reciprocity between the two realms. Prayer offerings in any form are operation of exchange. They are relational but, more important, they make obligatory and compensative requirements of the spirits of the other world. In making prayer offerings to the kachinas, for example, the Hopi "feeds" them. The kachinas are to reciprocate by feeding the Hopis with rains so their crops will grow. The ritual cycle consists, then, in a series of elaborate prayer-presentations between the two worlds. In Hopi belief the peoples of the other world mirror the ritual activities of this world, and there are minor opposite-period observances of all rituals in which reciprocal prayer-presentations are made. As Voth noted: "It is the supposition that the spirits of the departed come and get the food and the prayer feathers, or rather the *hik'si* (breath, essence, soul) of those objects. [There is] the custom of not only informing the ancestors and friends in the other world that a ceremony is in progress here, but also of providing the means to have them share its benefits." Because the dead "eat only the odor or the soul of the food...they are not heavy. And that is the reason why the clouds into which the dead are transformed are not heavy and can float in the air." While one end of ritual in this world is to contribute to the well-being of the spirit world, the spirit world is obligated to contribute the well-being of this world by providing rain, which is essential to the crops and, hence, to the health of the Hopis (and all living things of this world). Rain is the most common request in Hopi prayer; however, the "gift," "blessing," or "benefit" may take other forms as well. The living and the dead, patterns of subsistence, various rhythms of nature--are all systematically interrelated through an elaborate system of reciprocities. It is this notion that is the most pervasive element in the Hopi world view. (580)

In summary, this brief essay provides a description of the basic structural elements in the Hopi world view. Of particular importance is the discussion of the concept of reciprocity and the

dynamics of communication and exchange which underlies all Hopi ritual. While not directly related to the Navajo National Monument study area, this essay makes clear the purpose and importance of prayer offerings made at shrines near ruins such as Betata'kin.

The Hopi in Relation to Their Plant Environment **General ethnology**

Walter Hough
1897
American Anthropologist 10: 33-44
Article
Date of research: between 1896-1897
Hopi consultants not identified

Walter Hough (1859-1935; Ph.D., Chemistry/Geology, West Virginia University) received his anthropological training under Otis Tufton Mason at the Smithsonian Institution. His career with the Smithsonian began in 1886 as a copyist in the Division of Ethnology. He was acting head curator of ethnology 1908-1910 and 1920-1923. He was head curator from 1923 to 1935. He did archaeological field work along the Little Colorado River with Jesse Walter Fewkes during 1896-1897 and between 1901 and 1905 did ethnological research among the puebloan peoples of New Mexico and Arizona.

While later work by Colton and, especially, Whiting (1939) amplify our knowledge of the extensive use of wild plants by the Hopi, Hough provides a vivid account of the importance of ~~Hopi gathering practices~~:

> The Hopi are practically vegetarians. There is necessarily a scarcity of animal life in the desert. Sporadically wild game appears in their dietary in the shape of an occasional rabbit, prairie dog, or rat. The annual rabbit hunt of the Flute fraternity last summer, in which 25 horsemen and numerous footmen beat over a number of square miles of country, produced one specimen. Occasionally a sheep or goat, meat bought of the Navaho, or a burro varies the menu of the Pueblo.

If the Sun is the father of the Hopi, then Corn is their mother.

> This leads to the observation that the food plants useful to the Hopi are (1) plants under cultivation, both native and acquired, and (2) plants the usufruct of nature. The Hopi brought from their priscan home corn, beans, melons, squash, cotton, and some garden plants. They have acquired peaches, apricots, wheat, and a number of other plants which they infrequently cultivate.
>
> Having plants which form the food-supply of the great civilized nations, one might think that the Hopi would be independent of or would disregard the native plants around them. On the contrary, there is almost no plant which the Hopi does not use in some way and no plant to which they have not given a name.
>
> It is true that the Hopi extend their environment by long journeys for various substances. Every berry patch for many miles around is known and visited; a journey of 200 miles or so for salt from the Grand canyon; wild tobacco from the Little Colorado, sacred water from Clear creek, or pine boughs from San Francisco mountain...is thought of little moment...
>
> The collection of plants made last summer forms the basis for the ethnobotany of the

> Hopi. It comprises about 140 species of indigenous plants, with native names and uses... (34-36)

Of the 150 plant species identified in their habitat, Hough determined the Hopi utilized 134: for agriculture and forage, 11 species; art materials, 16; house building, 4; domestic life, 10; dress and ornament, 6; food, 40; medicine, 29; and religious purposes, for example, prayer sticks and kiva fuel, 18 (43-44).

In summary, Hough provides an early analysis of the Hopi use of their plant environment. While no direct link is made to the study area by Hough, his study is suggestive of both prehistoric and modern collecting in the Navajo National Monument area.

~~Pages from Hopi History~~

~~Emergence narrative~~

Clan Migration narrative
Kawestima

Harry C. James
1974
Tucson: University of Arizona Press, pp. xiv, 258
Monograph
Date of research: based on many visits to the Hopi mesas, 1920s-
Hopi consultants: a list is provided (vii)

Harry C. James (1896-1978) "was known for half a century both for his devotion to the conservation of the natural environment and for his interest in the welfare of the American Indian. A founder of the Indian Welfare League and the National Association to Help the Indian, James used his perceptivity to foster productive relationships between the Indians and others involved in activities relating to the increasingly important cause of conservation"([iv]). James was a journalist and later a production assistant at Paramount Studios and an assistant director for Universal Studios in Hollywood. His first book on the Hopi, Treasure of the Hopitu (1927) was followed by half a dozen more, culminating in his popular, Pages from Hopi History.

Drawing on his own relationships with Hopi people as well as the work of Voth, Fewkes and others, James provides very accessible accounts of the Emergence narrative as well as Clan Migration narratives for the Bear; Snake; Water; Kokop; Sun, Eagle, Wild Mustard, and Warrior Kachina Woman; Badger; Horn and Flute Clans.

James, a long-time friend of Tewaquaptewa, provides an detailed account of the Oraibi Split that includes an encounter between Tewaquaptewa's people and Youkeoma and his supporters from ~~Shongopovi~~:

> In accordance with Hopi custom, Tewaquaptewa as village chief was not permitted to take an active part in what followed. A spokesman for him three times ordered the Shongopovi men to leave Oraibi. They refused and a bitter argument ensued. Finally Tewaquaptewa's men seized several Shongopovi man and threw them out of the house. Youkeoma's men tried to help their allies.
>
> With this Tewaquaptewa's men shouted, "They are helping the Shongopovi people! Now we can drive them to **Kawestima**!" Thereupon they seized Youkeoma and threw him out ~~the door. (136)~~

In summary, James provides summary accounts of the Hopi emergence and several clan migration narratives which link several Hopi clans to ruins in Navajo National Monument. Because James' work is derivative, we have not reproduced his summaries. Nevertheless, James does provide very readable accounts for preparation to an understanding of Hopi interests in the study area.

A Reexamination of the Concept of *Hopitutsqwa* **Hopitutsqwa**

Leigh Jenkins, T. J. Ferguson and Kurt Dongoske
1994
Tempe, Arizona: Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory, pp. 15, 8
Unpublished paper
Date of research not applicable
Hopi consultants not identified

Leigh Jenkins [Honheptewa] is a member of the Greasewood Clan, Bacavi Village, and Director, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, and Kurt Dongoske is the Hopi tribal archaeologist, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office. T. J. Ferguson (1950-; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico) is Director of Southwest Programs, Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson, Arizona and has worked extensively with the Zuni and Hopi people on issues relating to cultural preservation.

This is an important position paper with regard to the concept of Hopitutsqwa and it is useful to reproduce the introduction/abstract:

> *Tutsqwa* is the word for "land" in the Hopi language (citing P. David Seaman, Hopi Dictionary 1985:144). ***Hopitutsqwa*** thus means "Hopi land" (citing an unpublished paper by Peter Whiteley, "Hopitutskwa: An Historical and Cultural Interpretation of the Hopi Traditional Land Claim" 1989:1). During the last century, ***Hopitutsqwa*** has been conceptualized in a variety of ways by anthropologists, journalists, and the Hopi people themselves. In recent years it has become increasingly common for ***Hopitutsqwa*** to be literally characterized as a traditional geo-political boundary of Hopi lands demarcated by a series of shrines. From the contemporary perspective of the cultural advisors to the Hopi Tribe's Cultural Preservation Office, however, the shrines that are associated with *Tutsqwa* are not a boundary per se but a pilgrimage route that plays homage to a larger land base. In this paper we examine the historicity and political implications of different concepts of *Tutsqwa*. The paper represents the viewpoint that the Hopi Tribe's Cultural Preservation Office applies in its efforts to preserve and protect Hopi ancestral sites and traditional cultural properties. (1)

Part I is concerned with "Tutsqwa as a Hopi Religious Concept." As is clear throughout the literature considered in this review, the concept of Hopitutsqwa is a fundamental concept in Hopi religion. The "spiritual pact" between the Hopi people and Ma'saw is a part of narrations from Stephen's 1885 recording of the Snake Clan Migration narrative to the present. As the authors note, "This land [given by Ma'saw] is symbolized by a tuwvota, a shield design, that conceptually signifies tuuwaqatsi, the earth, and the four worlds the Hopis have experienced" (2).

> *Ma'sau's* land is *Mastutsqwa*. "By fulfilling their pact, the Hopis earn the right to use *Ma'saw's* land; *Mastutsqwa* became ***Hopitutsqwa***. By way of summary Jenkins, et. al. write:
> ***Hopitutsqwa*** is thus first and foremost a religious concept essential to the practice of religion in all of the Hopi villages on the three Hopi Mesas. In geographic terms, ***Hopitutsqwa*** includes all of the lands where the Hopis have placed their footprints and for

which they act as stewards according to their pact with *Ma'saw* (2).

Part II describes the "Historical Characterization of Tutsqwa in Relation to Land Claims and Political Problems." The Hopis have a long and well documented history of trying to protect Hopitutsqwa from encroachment by Spaniards, Mexicans, Americans, and Navajos. This section reviews that history with particular concern given to the visual representation of Tutsqwa on maps. Jenkins, et.al. write:

While Hopis recognize the extent of *Hopitutsqwa* through the "footprints" their ancestors used to mark the landscape (e.g., shrines, archaeological sites, and petroglyphs), many Federal official wanted the boundaries of Hopi lands defined in terms of maps using place names and coordinates meaningful to non-Indians. Not surprisingly, in the process of mapping Hopi lands, the use of *Hopitutsqwa* as a rhetorical device to express the Hopi's spiritual relationship to the land became conflated with the notion of a geo-political boundary. This occurred as the Hopis strove to protect lands over which they had historically exercised sovereignty and in which they had many important economic as well as spiritual interests. (3)

An analysis of eighteen historical maps and descriptions indicates the use of forty-two different place names, seven of which occur with some frequency in descriptions of Tutsqwa. Included in this group is Kawestima (glossed as Betatakin which occurs for the first time in Indian Claims Commission Docket 196 (1951). These differences represent variations in the oral traditions of different villages and religious societies. Jenkins, et al. explain:

> Each Hopi clan and each Hopi village has its own traditions about ***Hopitutsqwa*** and its meaning in Hopi life. While all Hopis share certain fundamental beliefs, much of Hopi religious knowledge is esoteric and not shared with uninitiated people or Hopis from other clans. Any attempt to delineate a single set of boundaries for ***Hopitutsqwa*** thus conflicts to some degree with the reality of how knowledge is distributed and used for religious purposes within the Hopi tribe. (7)

Part III sets out "A Contemporary Hopi Perspective on Tutsqwa." It will be useful to the readers of this report to have access to the full context in which this perspective is set out:

> Hopi cultural advisors feel a dissatisfaction with what has become of a conventional and very literal definition of ***Hopitutsqwa*** as a narrowly circumscribed area delineated by "boundary shrines." These Hopis think maps depicting *Tutsqwa* as a relatively small, bounded area are misinterpreted by too many people, Hopi and non-Hopis alike. Even though thoughtful anthropologists qualify their depictions of *Tutsqwa* by explicitly discussing the fact that Hopi conceptualization of land operates on multiple levels, and that the Hopis and their ancestors have used land in areas far beyond the depicted boundaries of *Tutsqwa* (citing Whiteley and Clemmer, as examples), the map image of *Tutsqwa* is often more powerful than the written narrative.

From the perspective of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Hopitutsqwa in concept and in principle is every piece of land that where the Hopis can verify their footprints (i.e., find ancestral archaeological sites) and where there is a complementary spiritual attachment associated with the practice of Hopi religion. Hopitutsqwa in this sense is something that the Hopi people prove with physical evidence. The Hopi shrines at Tokonavi, Yotse'hahawpi, and Tusaqtsomo and elsewhere

constitute an important part of this evidence but the ancestors of the Hopis have placed their "footprints way beyond those shrines, as both Hopis and archaeologists know from looking at the distribution of archaeological sites on the landscape. (7-8)

There follows a conceptualization which is consistent with our reading of the literature reviewed here but is a re-definition from the perspective of sources which see Tutsqwa defined by "boundary shrines":

> Hopi cultural advisors conceptualize the series of shrines that have been used to demarcate *Tutsqwa* not as a boundary but as a *homvi'ikya*, a term which derives from two words. *Hooma* is the sacred corn meal that Hopis use for prayer offerings. *Vi'kya* is a route or place, an actual geographical designation of something. A *homvi'ikya* therefore refers to a route used in the offering of prayer meal. The shrines that are visited on the *homvi'ikya* are used to pay homage to a greater domain of stewardship and all of *Hopitutsqwa*
>
> One religious leader from Shungopavi who has participated in all of the recent pilgrimages to the shrines used to pay homage to ***Hopitutsqwa*** does not think that these shrines constitute the "boundary" of Hopi lands, only a symbolic representation of them. In his analogy, the area delineated by these shrines represents a "plaza" of the Hopi heartlands, implying that there is a larger "village" of Hopi lands lying outside of it (Dalton Taylor, personal communication, 1993). (8)

Another illustration is linked to the Snake Clan Migration narratives considered throughout this literature review:

> On Third Mesa...***Hopitutsqwa*** is not specifically tied into a conventional conceptualization of an area demarcated by "boundary shrines." *Tokonavi*, for example, is a recognized sacred mountain but it is a sacred mountain of the Rattlesnake Clan. When the Rattlesnake Clan was accepted into Oraibi they supported the Village Chief's spiritual stewardship by maintaining their shrine on *Tokonavi* but this shrine is not something that the Oraibi Chief says belongs to Oraibi. This shrine will always be recognized in relation to how the Rattlesnake Clan contributed their religious sites to the Bear Clan's spiritual stewardship. Other clans have shrines in other areas that are important to them, and thus to their village. (8)

Jenkins, et.al, make the additional point that "In Hopi the word for boundary is qalalni, and qalalni of Hopi land use are sometimes marked by shrines" (8). They elaborate:

> Historically with *Tutsqwa* there was a series of concentric areas over which the Hopi people exercised sovereign control and which they tried to protect from political an economic encroachment by outsiders... First...village and its farming areas. Next...grazing and wood gathering. Beyond...shrines... (9) However, the concept of *qalalni* does not apply to ***Hopitutsqwa***. In the broader context of Hopi clan migrations, the spiritual quest that occurred was related to fulfilling the pact with *Ma'saw*. The concepts are therefore elevated to another level of discussion where *qalalni* don't apply. Although each clan has its traditions that verify its "footprints," all of the Hopi clans migrated to the Hopi Mesas and were accepted as part of a greater Hopi society. Every Hopi is thus honored to hold

stewardship over a broader concept of *Tutsqwa* called *Tuuwaqatsi*, or earth. (9)

Part IV of this paper examines the "Political and Legal Implications of Tutsqwa boundaries." Repeating a general point, Jenkins et.al, note, "The characterization of Hopitutsqwaas a relatively small geopolitical territory bounded by a particular set of shrines has serious political and legal implications for the Hopi Tribe" (9). For example, The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 refers specifically to the land claims that may have been legitimized by the Indian Claims Commission. The Hopi land claim does not adequately represent the real extent of Hopitutsqwa. Likewise the National Historic Preservation Act requires consultation with tribes but the Hopi Tribe is concerned that reference may only be made to recent maps of Tutsqwa.

In summary, this is a significant position paper for understanding the perspective of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office regarding the concepts of Tutsqua (land as a geo-political concept) and Hopitutsqua (as a religious concept). As noted in the introductory narrative (i.e., "Hopi Traditional History"), the Hopi Tribe has found it necessary to engage in the legal, economic and scientific discourses of the dominant culture and to contest published interpretations of their knowledge of their land and its history. Jenkins, Ferguson and Dongoske here make a concerted effort to define and different two key concepts. Thus, this paper is of relevance to the study area, not simply because of the reference to Kawestima, for example. More importantly, it places the Navajo National Monument within the context of a larger spiritual geography in which shrines at Kawestima have meaningful significance.

An Indian Snake-Dance **Clan Migration narrative**

Thomas V. Keam
Chamber's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts 4:20(933):14-16
January 6, 1883
Article
Field research: First Mesa? 1881?
Hopi consultants: "an ancient chieftain"

Thomas V. Keam (1841-1904; trader) came to the United States from Wales. He enlisted in the 1st California Cavalry in 1862 and was soon with Colonel James H. Carlton's California Column crossing the Gila route from California to New Mexico Territory. He served in the 1st New Mexico Cavalry under Colonel Christopher Carson and in 1864 was transferred to Fort Sumner where he witnessed the internment of the Navajos. Between 1869 and 1879 he was a trader and interpreter among the Navajo and Apache. From 1875 until 1902 he was licensed to trade with the Hopi and in 1879 he began operating the trading post in the canyon which bears his name ten miles east of the Hopi First Mesa.

The introduction to this very first account of the Snake Clan Migration narrative (there were two previous descriptions of the Snake ceremony) indicates Lieutenant T. V. Keam had witnessed the ceremony "some time ago" (the previous Snake/Antelope ceremony in Walpi would have taken place in 1881). We are only told the Hopi was "an ancient chieftain of the tribe."

Because the original publication is not easily available, the full narrative is reproduced here:

> In an age of the distant past, the Moqui Indians lived on the San Juan River. Their chief, greatest in wisdom and daring, resolved to learn what became of the vast body of water that ceaselessly flowed through the country. Constructing a raft, he stored it with provisions to last him for many moons, launched it on the San Juan, to be carried by its swift currents whithersoever they went. After encountering many perils, he entered a large water, on the shores of which great rocks elevated their fronts to the stars. Driven ashore, he ascended to the top by perilous passes, and found them inhabited by a family of Indians, who received him with great rejoicings as the ruling spirit of their race, whose coming had been prophesied for ages by the wise men and priests. He took their wisest and most beautiful maiden for his bride, whose charms long rendered him forgetful of his own people; but the spirits of his fathers called him, and obedient to the call, he, with his wife, started for home. Immediate dangers beset their path; but the guardian spirit of his bride led them through every peril safely to his people, by whom he was received as the pride and wonder of his race.
>
> But unfortunately for the Moquis, jealousy rankled in the bosom of their women. A foreign woman possessed the heart of the stateliest and bravest of their tribe. Subjected by them to every indignity that wicked ingenuity could devise, and too proud to make known her grievances, the bride, determined on revenge, gave birth to a brood of serpents, against the charmed lives of which neither the arrows nor battle-axes of the Moquis could avail. The Moqui children were slain by their deadly fangs. The people, pursued by this

> terrible foe, fled from the land of their fathers, till, on reaching the country in which they now dwell, a mighty serpent lashed their pursuers to atoms, and commanded the Moquis to possess his hills and valleys, and to live at peace with all his kind. In gratitude to their deliverer, the wise men of the tribe established the Snake-dance as a religious rite; and for ages, no serpent has been killed by that tribe, nor Moqui bitten who follows the teaching of the snake-priests. (14-15)

In summary, Keam provides one of the earliest texts of the Snake Clan migration narrative. While the initial paragraph contains "signature" elements found in all other versions, the explanation of the origin of the Snake ceremony suffers from the compression of various elements found in fuller or better informed texts. This text is included because it is the first effort to record and publish the Snake Clan Migration narrative. Although Keam undoubtedly saw many performances of the Snake ceremony between 1879 and 1904 and provided perspectives for understanding it to the many visiting scholars, this is his only publication on the Hopi.

Metaphor and Magic:
Key Concepts in Hopi Culture and Their Linguistic Forms

General ethnology

Edward A. Kennard
1972
The Hague: Mouton, pp. 468-473
Studies in Linguistics in Honor of George L. Trager, M. Estellie Smith, ed.
Article in a collection
Field research: 1932 (summer); 1934-1935, 1938-1939; 1961, 1962, 1964 (summers)
Hopi consultants not identified

Edward A. Kennard (1907-; Ph.D., Anthropology, Columbia University) was first introduced to the Hopi in 1932 when he was a member of a summer field school at the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe. Directed by Leslie White, the group also included Fred Eggan and Mischa Titiev. In 1934-1935 and again in 1938-1939 Kennard had research fellowships from Columbia to continue his ethnographic and linguistic studies at Hopi. A collaborative project with the artist, Edwin Earle, resulted in Hopi Kachinas (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938). Between 1939-1947, he was a specialist in Indian languages with the Education Division, Office of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior. During these years he produced bilingual, Hopi-English, texts with Albert Yava and Charles Loloma. Kennard did additional linguistic research during the summers of the 1961, 1962 and 1964. Kennard was preparing but never completed a general work on the Hopi to compliment Edward Dozier's classic ethnography of the Arizona Tewa, Hano; A Tewa Indian Community in Arizona (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966). "Metaphor and Magic" represents the maturity of Kennard's linguistic studies among the Hopi.

This brief essay describes some of "the key concepts that underlie [Hopi] religious institutions and practices," the most important of which is the concept of pasiwna:

> The fundamental idea underlying their cosmology, their assumptions about the universe, their obligations as Hopi, and what they perceive as threats to their individual and collective lives is that everything is predetermined. What was determined in the beginning, at the time of emergence, and by agreement with Masawu, the owner of the Earth when they arrived here, is still the basic fact around which life revolves. In Hopi speech, in songs, in formal address to the Kachinas, in announcements setting the date for the next ceremony, in advise given by ceremonial fathers to their sons at initiations, the same images are evoked and the same words and phrases are repeated. And often, the ritual acts, whose sequence in kivas is fixed, symbolize in acts what is otherwise symbolized in words.
>
> Every December, during the annual Soyalangwu, the complete sequence of events for the coming year is laid out: each ceremony, each dance, the time for planting are magically enacted in advance, in hope that these performances will determine their success and prosperity throughout the coming year. The Hopi word for magically predetermining such future events is *pasiwna*. In Hopi belief, once this has been done in the kiva during the Soyalangwu, what is devoutly hoped for must also be manifested at the appropriate time in the year that follows. In the same sense of *pasiwna*, the destiny of the Hopi was

> determined from the Beginning, and is still being unfolded generation by generation. This is the well-known Hopi way or Hopi road, always symbolized by the path of white cornmeal stretching to the East. Writ small, each individual Hopi has his own path of life laid out for him, and as he lives, whatever happens to him is thought of as predetermined (*pasiwna*) and he cannot change it. For example, even when speaking English, a Hopi does not say (as we would), "I guess I'll have to change my ways." Instead, he says, "I guess I'll come to that," meaning 'I will arrive in my own path of life at the place where such a change is predestined for me'. (469-470) [see Whiteley's Deliberate Acts]

Kennard also explores the meaning of the Hopi term for the supernatural, 'a'ne himu, Hopi ideas of the universe, how corn (qa'o) is both the substance and symbol of Hopi life, etc. Of the soul, Kennard writes:

> The soul, the non-mortal part of any Hopi, is identified with the breath (*hikwsi*). Hence one breaths his prayers on *homngumni* 'sacred cornmeal' before he sprinkles it, upon prayer feathers (*nakwakwosi*), and upon prayer sticks (*paho*). In parallel fashion, when the gods pick up the sacrifices they just inhale their essence and leave the material manifestation behind. (470)

Beyond these Kennard considers the distinction between "appearance and reality," a distinction which provides a different perspective on "myth and history" (see Loftin) as well as the concept of navoti'at (see Geertz):

> Another theme that runs through much of Hopi thought and behavior is what I shall call the distinction between appearance and reality. The basic assumption seems to be that things are rarely what they seem. When they recite tradition, they always qualify by saying that this is what has been passed down to us, but much has been forgotten. Since everything that is going to happen is presumed to be known and part of the Hopi instructions, the problem arises intermittently as to whether some event today (a new government policy, for example) is what is referred to in tradition. And each individual and each clan, and each village, has its own interpretation of what tradition foretold. Interpretation is referred to as *navoti'at* 'his hearing or understanding'. Like all prophecies and forecasts of the future, they are sufficiently vague so that a certain amount of interpretation is essential in fitting today's events into the pattern of tradition. As a long on-going process it parallels the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution and the intent of the Founding Fathers or the Congress.
>
> One result is the constant use of the word *'anca*. It is best glossed as 'real' or 'really', or 'in fact'. In tales, one protagonist related what another said he would do, and later he really did it. Or one infers or guesses as to the truth of a statement, and when it later turns out to be correct, it is *'anca*. (471-472).

Kennard provides insights into the Hopi meaning of a number of concepts encountered throughout this literature review. Religious ideas and practices constitute a major cultural focus for the Hopi. While much of the literature on the Hopi describes various ritual performances, Kennard's knowledge of the Hopi language enabled him to provide a particularly insightful analysis. Curiously, Kennard does not consider the concept of reciprocity (see Titiev, Hieb)

which is fundamental to Hopi social and ceremonial life. Users of this report are encouraged to read Chapter VIII, "The Basic Pattern and Underlying Concepts of Hopi Ceremonies" in Titiev's Old Oraibi, which complements the Kennard essay.

Orayvi Revisited:
Social Stratification in an "Egalitarian" Society

General ethnology
Kawestima

Jerrold E. Levy (with assistance from Barbara Pepper)
1992
Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, pp. xvi, 198
Monograph
Field research: 1959-1964, 1966-1970, Navajo Reservation with comparative research at Hopi--primarily in the areas of alcoholism, social deviance, aging, suicide
Hopi consultants not identified

Jerrold E. Levy (1930- ; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Chicago), Professor at the University of Arizona has done extensive research in the areas of medical and psychological anthropology on the Navajo Reservation. His earlier research on the Hopi included essays on Hopi deviance and Hopi shamanism.

Note: In a effort to counteract the variability in the spelling of Hopi personal and place names Levy has chosen to follow the spelling established by the Hopi Dictionary Project (HDP). Hence the use of Orayvi for Oraibi. In the orthography of the HDP the spelling of ten of the eleven village names are different from those adopted by the Hopi Tribe in its constitution and other official publications. Levy's effort to reduce confusion may have only added to it!

The stated aim of Orayvi Revisited is an examination of the Hopi system of social stratification as (1) a source of internal contradiction in Hopi social organization and (2) a factor in the disintegration of the village of Orayvi during the early years of the twentieth century. Using previously unexamined field notes by Mischa Titiev, unpublished genealogical research by Edward Kennard as well as federal census data of 1900, Levy provides the first quantitative analysis of the 1906 Oraibi Split. In Levy's words:

> By reanalyzing material gathered by earlier scholars, two questions are addressed: Was Hopi social organization lacking in integrative mechanisms such that it could be characterized as fragile? and, Was the Oraibi spilt brought about by acculturative or by environmental and demographic pressures? (1-2)

Rather than being based on field research, Orayvi Revisited is an especially intertextual work that derives its research agenda from both the foundational studies of Titiev (Old Oraibi, 1944) and Fred Eggan (Social Organization of the Western Pueblos, 1950) and the more recent research of Richard Maitland Bradfield (The Changing Pattern of Hopi Agriculture, 1971) and Peter Whiteley (Deliberate Acts, 1988). The neglect of stratification in the older research warrants a reexamination especially in light of recent attempts by Whiteley to understand the underlying causes of the 1906 Orayvi Split by distinguishing two classes of Hopi society: pavansinom, a kind of hereditary elite distinguished by ceremonial privilege, and the sukavungsinom, or commoners. As is generally known, the split occurred when disputing factions engaged in a tug-of-war to see who would remain at Orayvi and who would move away. Scholarly interpretations, except for those of Whiteley, have tended to ignore the role of stratification, preferring to see the split as evidence of fragile Hopi social organization, of disorganization accompanying acculturation, or of the diminished carrying capacity of available lands. Ultimately Levy's major contribution is to

reinterpret Titiev's own data as important evidence of the stratification that Titiev and his contemporaries ignored. Ultimately, Levy suggests "the Orayvi split was nothing if not a revolt of the landless" (9).

In the introductory chapter, Levy reviews many of the problems mentioned above and begins his consideration of the ethnographic work of Titiev and Eggan as it concerns a major internal contradiction in Hopi society. Levy states:

> The major contention of this book is that a restricted and tenuous resource base required that Hopi society structure itself on an inequitable distribution of land, and that Eggan and Titiev recognized this and accurately described the methods devised to "preserve the core" of the land-controlling descent groups by sloughing off the excess population in an orderly manner during times of scarcity. But if land and water resources were so restricted that they could not be distributed equitably, these same constraints demanded a high degree of cooperation and social integration. In effect, an internal contradiction was created that kept the society in a state of dynamic tension, a tension that intensified or eased as droughts alternated with wet periods
>
> An ideology was developed that stressed the importance of both commoners and ceremonialists. The authority of the ceremonialist was balanced by his responsibilities to his "people." Each individual was responsible for his own actions and, of course, cooperation and non-aggression were highly valued. In addition to ideology and values, however, two social mechanisms worked to promote social integration and lessen potential conflict. Numerous marriage restrictions precluded the possibility of alliances among a few ceremonialist families; and the ceremonial societies, although controlled by specific clans, opened their membership to everyone. Every individual was encouraged to participate in ceremonial life and was given the opportunity to do so in personally meaningful ways. Even the ceremonies performed by these societies were integrated into the annual ceremonial calendar by a sharing of symbols and cooperation among societies.
>
> Opposing these integrative mechanisms was the system of land control. The fields used to grow corn, the staple crop, were of unequal quality. They were assigned to various clans, some of which controlled the best fields, other fields of medium quality, and still others poor lands or none at all. There was, then, a ranking of clans that was sanctified by myth and ceremonial position: the highest-ranking clans owned the most important ceremonies; the lowest-ranking held at most a single position in a ceremony or no ceremonial duties at all.
>
> Clan ranking, however, was not sufficient to deal with the pressures resulting from inordinate population growth. Each clan was composed of a hierarchy of lineages. The most senior lineage controlled the clan's ceremony and had the authority to assign farm plots within the clan fields. This senior, or "prime," lineage was supported by closely related "alternate" lineages which could assume its responsibilities should the senior lineage die out. "Marginal" lineages were expendable in times of crises. In consequence, a marginal lineage of a highly ranked clan could be in a more tenuous economic position

> than a prime lineage of a less highly ranked clan if the population of the highly ranked clan exceeded the carrying capacity of its allotted land. (3-4)

In the second chapter, "History and Society," Levy provides a brief overview of Hopi prehistory and what he calls "a speculative reconstruction of the evolution of Hopi society" (7). This reconstruction attributes to the preagricultural Hopi a Great Basin type of social organization (citing Eggan 1980) with a primary emphasis on the family, and it views the evolving Hopi social organization as critically shaped by persistent environmental stress. Following from this is Levy's neofunctionalist interpretation of Hopi stratification as a necessary means of managing scarcity by creating a mechanism for regulating and rationalizing the forced migration of low-status groups. (Note: Levy does not consider Bradfield (1973/1995) nor later work by Eggan and Shaul which would strengthen the argument for a Great Basin origin of many Hopi concepts and practices.)

The next two chapters, "Social Stratification" and "Social Integration," represent the core of Levy's work, disclosing blatant social inequality and the Hopi sociocultural means of "balancing" the system by providing some basis for cooperation. Key here is the demonstration of a near perfect correlation between those clans that control the most ceremonies and those that "own" the most and best land. He views the ranking of clans by ceremonies as a "translation of economic reality into the realm of the sacred" (8). Some clans, like the Bear, controlled enormous quantities of the best floodplain lands while others, like the Water Coyote, seem not to have had any land.

The final chapters of the book examine the Orayvi split as a historical test of the explanatory power of his analysis. Like Whiteley's Deliberate Acts, Levy's Orayvi Revisited explores the underlying complexity of an event that has often been analytically dismissed as a differential response to acculturation by "hostile" and "friendly" Hopis. Levy departs from Whiteley, however, and instead of concentrating on local Hopi theories as a counterpoint to the deterministic theories of social scientists, he carefully focuses on recruitment patterns that reveal the "hostile" members to be largely composed of low-rank clan members and marginal lineages of the powerful clans. Levy reviews Whiteley's work in Chapter 7 and asserts that the prophecy of the destruction of Orayvi and its ceremonial life was a post-hoc rationalization rather than the deliberate plan that Whiteley said the Hopi leaders followed. Here Levy reviews the accounts of Kawestima as cited by Whiteley (142-148) and then in "Cycles and Prophecies" (162-165) suggests that like many other people, the Hopi have a cyclic view of history to which is added a particular emphasis on prophecy. This, in Levy's view, leads to the perspective that if something happened, it must have been prophesied.

In summary, Levy's work is important to an understanding of the study area in a number of indirect ways. First, Levy provides a model for an understanding of changes in settlement patterns in the past as well as at Orayvi. Second, his work when combined with that of Eggan, Bradfield, Shall and others lends strength to the perspective that Betatakin, Kiet Siel, etc. were significant locations in the migration of Hopi clans from the Great Basin area. Finally, Levy provides a perspective on Hopi prophecy which accepts its meaningfulness while questioning its power.

A Hopi-Anglo Discourse on Myth and History **General ethnology**
John D. Loftin
1995
Journal of the American Academy of Religion 63:677-693
Field research: 1980-1985 (six summers)
Hopi consultants: primarily Emory Sekaquaptewa

John D. Loftin (1955-; Ph.D., History of Religions, University of Chicago) is a lawyer, teacher, author of Religion and Hopi Life in the Twentieth Century (1991) and editor of American Indian Religions: An Interdisciplinary Journal (1994-). As a historian of religion, Loftin's perspective on the nature of the Hopi cosmology and the analytic methodology he brings to the relationship between myth and history is clearly that of his intellectual mentor, Mircea Eliade.

John Loftin's essay in included in this review, not because it contributes to our knowledge of the study area but rather because Loftin provides a significant methodological perspective on "myth." He is concerned with "mythic and historical modes of perception and understanding" and provides this definitional statement:

> ...I will characterize a mythic mode of perception as one that focuses on the timeless structure of the world, while historical apprehension, by contrast, concentrates on the temporal sequence of events. (677)

He goes on to say that Hopis understand myth and history to co-exist but provides no evidence to support this claim (679). As we might easily accept, he says, "the migration stories are understood with a greater sense of historicity than the emergence myths, at least among Hopi elders and priests today" (681). Here, particularly, the lack of linguistic evidence for the distinction between "myth" and narratives with greater "historicity" is regrettable.

Loftin goes on to consider, briefly, two sources which are included in this literature review: Fred Eggan's essay, "From History to Myth: A Hopi Example" (1967) and Peter Whiteley's Deliberate Acts (1988; although citing Whiteley's 1982 dissertation on which the book is based). Loftin summarizes: "Eggan took some historical materials from Alexander Stephen's Hopi Journal concerning a conflict between Hopis and Navajos and then demonstrated how that historical event was transformed into a myth about the establishment of Hopi-Navajo land boundaries." Loftin then provides his perspective:

> It might be tempting to draw the conclusion from that work that myth is simply an inaccurate derivation of history. Eggan, however, argues that the transformation of history to myth reflects Hopi philosophy in its own right.
>
> It seems clear that, from a Western historical standpoint, myth is a reworking of history in order to give supernatural credence to historical realities. That interpretation may be correct historically, but mythically it is not. Mythical reality, like history, is inextricably bound up with perceptual processes. Simply put, the mythical perception of the world involves relations and connections with phenomena different from those of the historical observer....

Therefore, he concludes, "Hopi myth cannot be vindicated through ethnohistorical research. (684-685)

Loftin then moves to a very brief consideration of Whiteley's work:

Recently Peter Whiteley wrote a detailed ethnohistorical work on the history of Third Mesa Hopi where he demonstrates that a Hopi prophecy was articulated about the same time as a historical event. Refuting the widely accepted idea that the prophecy predicting the split of Oraibi village was ex post facto, Whiteley shows that the prophecy existed no later than one day after the actual, historical split. While a significant discovery, Whiteley's research should not be taken to prove that Hopi myth, in actuality, determines Hopi history.

Myth should first be understood mythically, and therefore myth is not validated by trying to prove it is real because it is factual historically. When that is done, the reality of myth is measured by the standard of history. Whiteley's study does reveal that sometimes myth parallels history, and that is important to remember, but the issue of the derivative nature of myth is still left unresolved there, because a historian could argue that the prophecy of the Oraibi split was itself earlier determined by other historical transformations. Hopi myth must be understood mythically. In other words, Eggan's work on Hopi mythology does not prove Hopi myth-making to be false any more than Whiteley's shows Hopi myth to be true. Historically, Hopi myth is sometimes false and sometimes true. Mythically, neither fact really matters inasmuch as myth's meaning, value, and purpose are primarily religious, not historical. (685)

Loftin goes on to note (citing Curtis) that most Hopi tales are either wutsi (make-believe) or antsa (true). Curtis noted that Hopitutuwutsi "embody a moral lesson and are told especially to children" (686-687). This is to say there are many kinds of "truth": a narrative may be morally or psychologically true but not be based in historical fact ("truth"). Loftin continues:

> "True" Hopi stories, i.e., myths, are different [than *Hopitutuwutsi*]. First of all, many of them include a great deal of history, although not all. The emergence tales, for example, might be told as true, yet not historically. Therefore, the question must be raised as to what *antsa* (true) means to the Hopi. Whether the term signifies that which "actually occurred in Hopi history," as Malotki suggests, is questionable, unless he means Hopi mythical history. When a Hopi says a story is true, he does not necessarily mean that it happened historically. Indeed, true Hopi stories are myths and are said to have occurred in the "ancient time ago" (*kyaahisat*), in the time before there was time. The mythical long ago is by definition not a historical period; in fact, it is a timeless time. (687)

Loftin concludes his essay by saying:

> ...Hopi history and Anglo history are different in both form and substance. Details from each are different, but more importantly the "facts" are understood to have different meanings, values, and purposes. For the Hopi history is ultimately expressed with the world of myth, whereas Anglos perceive history as ultimately significance. (689)

In summary, Loftin does not provide material which is directly related to the study area but does provide a perspective which reflects much discussion of the relationship between "myth" and "history." It is typical of much social scientific analysis to oppose categories (e.g., "sacred" and

"profane") and to explore their theoretical differences as if these categories are universal (not culture specific). As this study makes clear, there are a multiplicity of Hopi narrative genres all of them somehow located in the past and all of them somehow informing the present and future. Loftin's work--here and in his Religion and Hopi Life in the Twentieth Century (1991)--is heavily dependent on the work of the historian of religion, Mircea Eliade. At the same time, it seems largely independent of any understanding of how Hopis define and differentiate the various Hopi representations of their past as found in various Hopi narratives. This is a thoughtful work but it raises more (unstated) questions than it answers.

Hopi Ruin Legends = Kiqotutuwutsi **Ruin narrative**

Michael Lomatuway'ma, Lorena Lomatuway'ma and Sidney Namingha, Jr.
(Edited by Ekkehart Malotki)
1993
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press for Northern Arizona University , pp. xiv, 510
Field research: not discussed
Hopi consultants: narrators identified

Michael Lomatuway'ma (-1987), Lorena Lomatuway'ma (1933-) and Sidney Namingha (1935-1983) are credited as the "narrators" of these "Ruins legends" (Kiqotutuwutsi) which were collected, translated and edited by Ekkehart Malotki. While Hopis will generally concede the excellence of Malotki's linguistic scholarship, they are highly critical of the ethics of his fieldwork practices.

These narratives provide explanations for the demise of villages that now lie in ruins. These are Ruins narratives--Kiqotutuwutsi. Like the other narratives considered in this study, the discourse provides a "logical-meaningful" explanation rather than one which "locates" the ruins and the events of physical abandonment in the Western chronological sense of historical explanation. However, the Hopi narrative is "historical" in locating the events in the past and in the historical memory of the Hopi people. Indeed, Malotki says, "To Hopi audiences, the events portrayed in these narratives once constituted true, factual history" (x). In a sense, also, the ruins legends provide in their narrative of the destruction / physical abandonment of an ancient village now in ruins a microcosm of the events which led to the destruction/ physical abandonment of the third world prior to the Hopis' Emergence into this world. This is both an explanation and a prediction (warning).

The volume includes narratives regarding seven villages: 1. Sikyatki: Destroyed by Hopis from Qootsaptuvela at the request of its own village chief to terminate intra-village animosities resulting from an unjustified life-and-death race demanded by the sorcerer faction in the community. 2. Hisatsongoopavi: Destroyed by an earthquake triggered by the Water Serpent gods residing in the local village spring when implored to flatten the land for greater planting convenience. 3. Pivanhonkyapi: Destroyed by fire at the request of the village chief to cleanse the community of its evil ways brought on by a gambling craze. 4. Huk'ovi: Abandoned due to an act of sorcery perpetrated by a Hopi girl against neighboring Pivanhonkyapi. 5. Qa'otaqtipu: Destroyed by fire, initiated by its chief to avenge a crime committed by neighboring Matsonpi, consumes Qa'otaptipu instead. 6. Hovi'itstuyqa: Destroyed by enemy raiders when persuaded to do so by a man from Tupats'ovi who loses his wife through adultery committed by a man from Hovi'itstuyqa. 7. Awat'ovi: Destroyed in 1700 by a contingent of Hopi warriors from Oraibi, Mishongnovi, and Walpi at the request of its leader when Awat'ovi's residents, twenty years after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, readmit Spanish missionaries, thereby creating a state of koyaanisqatsi, or "social chaos," among the town's residents (Malotki in Lomatuway'ma, Lomatuway'ma and Namingha 1993:x-xi). The historical specificity (e.g., "Pueblo Revolt of 1680," "1700") of the Awat'ovi narrative is not present in the accounts in Curtis and Voth. It is interesting to note that this is the only narrative considered in this study which refers to the year indexical system and sense of chronology which underlies Euro-American historiography.

In summary, while these texts do not refer specifically to the Navajo National study area, the narrative genre of the "Ruins legend" is used to describe Betatakin (see Anon.; Courlander). As pointed out in the introduction to this section of the study ("Hopi Narrative History"), "Ruins legend" is not a separate narrative genre in Hopi.

A useful glossary of Hopi terms is appended (412-495).

Traditional History of Tusayan **Clan Migration narrative**

Cosmos Mindeleff
1891
Washington: Government Printing Office, pp. 16-41
8th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the years 1886-1887
Chapter in report
Field research: 1881-1889
Hopi consultants: none are identified

Cosmos Mindeleff (1863-) and his brother, Victor Mindeleff (1860-1948), were sent to the Southwest in the summer of 1881 as part of the second major southwestern expedition conducted by the Smithsonian's Bureau of Ethnology (later Bureau of American Ethnology), led by Col. James Stevenson. Victor was twenty-one years old, Cosmos only nineteen. It is not clear how these untrained brothers were recruited for their assignment: measuring the Pueblo of Zuni in order to construct a scale model of the community for exhibition in the new U. S. National Museum, part of the Smithsonian Institution. Over the course of nine field seasons (1881-1889) the brothers measured and described the prehistoric and contemporary architecture of the Western Pueblos leading, most notably, to the classic work by Victor Mindeleff, entitled A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola. The "Traditional History of Tusayan" is Chapter I of Victor's work "compiled by Cosmos Mindeleff from material collected by A. M. Stephen," with a "supplementary legend" regarding the ruins of Payupki on Second Mesa "obtained through Dr. Jeremiah Sullivan, then resident in Tusayan." The Mindeleffs began their documentation of Hopi architecture and village layouts in the fall of 1882 and continued into 1883. Through the insistence of Alexander M. Stephen the Mindeleff's were also able to document (1) the Hopi architectural glossary; (2) the rituals for blessing houses and kivas during and after construction; (3) the Hopi traditions concerning the meanings and use of kivas; (4) the location of clan groupings within the village plans; and (5) the role of women in Hopi architecture. Stephen appears to have begun recording Clan Migration traditions as early as 1883, using Navajo as a common language. Sullivan's text of the Ruin narrative for Payupki was recorded, using Hopi, prior to the summer of 1888.

In his introduction to A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola, Victor Mindeleff provides the reader with background as to the significance of Cosmos" "Traditional History of Tusayan" and writes, "Mr. A. M. Stephen's traditional material from Tusayan...is of special interest in a study of the pueblos as indicating some of the conditions under which this architectural type was developed (Victor Mindeleff 1891:15)." He continues, noting at the outset that the Hopi narratives are not based on the same temporal framework (i.e., presupposition of a known or knowable chronology and year indexical system):

> Such traditions must be used as history with the utmost caution, and only for the events that are very recent. Time relations are often hopelessly confused and the narratives are greatly encumbered with mythologic details. But while so barren in definite information, these traditions are of the greatest value, often through their merely incidental allusions, in presenting to our minds a picture of the conditions under which the repeated migrations of the pueblo builders took place.

> The development of architecture among the Pueblo Indians was comparatively rapid and is largely attributable to frequent changes, migrations, and movements of the people as described in Mr. Stephen's account. These movements were due to a variety of causes... The disappearance of some venerated spring during an unusually dry season would be taken as a sign of the disfavor of the gods, and, in spite of the massive character of the buildings, would lead to the migration of the people to a more favorable spot. ... At times tribes split up and separate, and again phratries or distant groups meet and band together (Ibid.).

Cosmos Mindeleff begins the "Traditional History of Tusayan" with an "Explanatory" in which he tells us that was is presented is "a summary of the traditions of the Tusayan, a number of which were collected from old men, from Walpi on the east to Moen-kopi on the west" (16) and reiterates the material is a "summary of the traditions" secured.

The "Summary of Traditions" begins with a condensed version of the Emergence narrative and is followed by the only extended text as recorded, in this case, by the "eldest member" of the Snake Clan [quite probably, Wiki of the Dove maternal family of the Snake clan, chief of the Antelope society, whose narratives were recorded also by Stephen, June 6, 1885 (Stephen 1929:35-50), by Jeremiah Sullivan before or also during 1885 (Stephen 1940:2-8) and again by Stephen in the 1890s (Fewkes 1894:106-119); Stephen recorded his versions using Navajo, Sullivan using Hopi.]:

> At the general dispersal my people lived in snake skins, each family occupying a separate snake skin bag, and all were hung on the end of a rainbow, which swung around until the end touched Navajo Mountain, where the bags dropped from it; and wherever a bag dropped, there was their house. After they arranged their bags they came out from them as men and women, and they then built a stone house which had five sides. [The story here relates (Mindeleff summarizing) the adventures of a mythic Snake Youth, who brought back a strange woman who gave birth to rattlesnakes; these bit the people and compelled them to migrate.] A brilliant star arose in the southeast, which would shine for a while and then disappear. The old men said, "Beneath that star there must be people," so they determined to travel toward it. They cut a staff and set it in the ground and watched till the star reached its top, they started and traveled as long as the star shone; when it disappeared they halted. But the star did not shine every night, for sometimes many years elapsed before it appeared again. When this occurred, our people built houses during their halt; they built both round and square houses, and all the ruins between here and Navajo mountain mark the places where our people lived. They waited till the star came to the top of the staff again, then they moved on, but many people were left in those houses and they followed afterward at various times. When our people reached Wipho (a spring a few miles north from Walpi) the star disappeared and has never been seen since. They built a house there and after a time Masauwu (the god of the face of the earth) came and compelled them to move farther down the valley, to a point about half way between the East and Middle Mesa, and there they stayed many plantings. One time the old men were assembled and Masauwu came among them, looking like a horrible skeleton, and his bones rattling dreadfully. He menaced them with awful gestures, and lifted off his fleshless head and thrust it into their faces; but he could not frighten them. So he said, "I have lost my

> wager; all that I have is yours; ask for anything you want and I will give it to you." At that time our people's house was beside the water course, and Masauwu said, "Why are you sitting here in the mud? Go up yonder where it is dry." So they went across to the low, sandy terrace on the west side of the mesa, near the point, and built a house and lived there. Again the old men were assembled and two demons came among them and the old men took the great Baho and the nwelas and chased them away. When they were returning, and were not far north from their village, they met the Lembaki (Cane-Flute, a religious society still maintained) of the Horn family. The old men would not allow them to come in until Masauwu appeared and declared them to be good Hopituh. So they built houses adjoining ours and that made a fine, large village. Then other Hopituh came in from time to time, and our people would say, "Build here, or build there," and portioned the land among the new comers. (17-18)

Mindeleff then reviews the locations of the various sites of Walpi, beginning with "the first Snake house," with significant parallels to the Snake Clan House in the study area. He writes:

The site of the first Snake house in the valley, mentioned in the foregoing legend, is now barely to be discerned, and the people refuse to point out the exact spot. It is held as a place of votive offerings during the ceremony of the Snake dance, and, as its name, Batni, implies, certain rain-fetishes are deposited there in small jars buried in the ground. (18)

Mindeleff then describes the Horn Clan migration from "a mountain range in the east" which he suggests is "some region of the headwaters of the Rio Grande." Led by the "footprints of Masauwu" they lived in Canyon de Chelly where both a social "rupture" and a "plague" forced them to move on before arriving at the earlier location of Walpi below the present site (18-19). "The Bear people were next," different groups arrived from opposite directions (i.e., east and west) and Mindeleff provides the "gist" of their Migration narrative and then summarizes that of the "Fire-people."

Cosmos Mindeleff, accepting/assuming the historicity of the migration narratives, continues his account of the "traditional history" in telling us, "It was at this period, while Walpi was still on this lower site, that the Spaniards came into the country":

> The missionaries selected Awatubi, Walpi, and Shumopovi as the sites for their mission buildings, and at once, it is said, began to introduce a system of enforced labor. The memory of the mission period is held in great detestation, and the onerous toll the priests imposed is still adverted to as the principle grievance. Heavy pine timbers, many of which are now pointed out in the kiva roofs, of from 15 to 20 feet in length and a foot or more in diameter, were cut at the San Francisco Mountain, and gangs of men were compelled to carry and drag them to the building sites, where they were used as house beams.
>
> The "men with the long robes," as the missionaries were called, are said to have lived among these people for a long time, but no trace of their individuality survives in tradition.
>
> Perhaps tradition belies them; but there are many stories of their evil, sensual lives--assertions that they violated women, and held many of the young girls at their mission houses, not as pupils, but as concubines. (22)

Mindeleff then locates the events of the Pueblo "revolt" within the framework of Western historical chronology: "...in the summer of 1680, when the village Indians rose in revolt, drove out the Spaniards, and compelled them to retreat to Mexico" (23). There follows an account of the relocation of Walpi and Shumopavi to their present locations:

> It is told that while the monks were still in authority some of the Snake women urged a withdrawal from Walpi, and, to incite the men to action, carried their mealing-stones and cooking vessels to the summit of the mesa, where they desired the men to build new houses, less accessible to the domineering priests.
>
> ...
>
> There was a general apprehension that the Spaniards would send a force to punish them, and the Shumopavi also reconstructed their village in a stronger position, on a high mesa overlooking its former site. (23)

Mindeleff continues the "traditional history" with accounts of the Coyote people coming from the north, the Pikyas from the south, the conflict between the peoples of Walpi and Sikyatki and the destruction of Sikyatki. It is after the destruction of Sikyatki that the Ute and Apache arrive.

It is by no means clear what the "material" Stephen collected consisted of as Mindeleff's "traditional history" is a selection and summary of "information" that accounts for the location of the villages Victor and Cosmos were assigned to describe and map. As Elsie Clews Parsons points out in her introduction to Stephen's "Hopi Tales," Mindeleff "attempted to give [these narratives] historical verisimilitude by omitting features that could not be taken as legend [sic.] and by emphasizing topographical and archaeological description" (Stephen 1929:2). Thus Mindeleff continues:

> While these families of the Hopituh stock had been building their straggling dwellings along the canyon brinks, and grouping in villages around the base of the East Mesa, other migratory bands of Hopituh had begun to arrive on the Middle Mesa. As already said, it is admitted that the Snake were the first occupants of this region, but beyond that fact the traditions are contradictory and confused. ... The Squash people say they came from Palat Kwabi, the Red Land in the far South, and this vague term expresses nearly all their knowledge of that traditional land. ... Three groups (nyumu) traveling together were the next to follow them; these were the Bear, the Bear-skin-rope, and the Blue Jay. They are said to have been very numerous, and to have come from the vicinity of San Francisco Mountain. ... Soon afterward came the Burrowing Owl, and the Coyote, from the vicinity of Navajo Mountains in the north, but they were not very numerous. They also build upon the Mashongnavi Shumopavi seems to have been built by portions of the same groups who went to the adjacent Mashongnavi, but the traditions of the two villages are conflicting. The old traditionalists at Shumopavi hold that the first to come there were the Paroquet, the Bear, the Bear-skin-rope, and the Blue Jay. The came from the west--probably from San Francisco Mountain.

Other groups followed...

The Oraibi traditions tend to confirm those of Shumopavi, and tell that the first houses there were built by Bears, who came from the latter place. (25-27)

Mindeleff goes on to summarize narratives relating to the establishment of Hano. His study ends with a "List of Traditionary Gentes [on First Mesa]":

> In the following table the early phratries (nyu-mu) are arranged in the order of their arrival, and the direction from which each came is given, except in the case of the Bear people. There are very few representatives of this phratry existing now, and very little tradition extant concerning its early history. (38)

In summary, Cosmos Mindeleff's work is of significance in this study (1) as a "first effort" to write a traditional history of the Hopi using both the Emergence narrative and Clan Migration narratives and (2) as an early source of the Snake Clan Migration narrative which is linked directly to the Navajo National Monument area. Mindeleff does not provide us with a definition of "traditional history," except to say the account he provides includes traditional materials (especially, clan migration narratives). Throughout this study we have largely accepted the definition of "traditional history" developed by Alan S. Downer, Jr. (Cf., especially, Downer et al., 1994): "the history that members of an ethnic or other community tell about themselves in their own terms." In using not only Hopi narratives but those of Spanish and American explorers as well, Mindeleff presents a multi-dimensional text which encapsulates what Louis O. Mink has termed the problem of "the epistemology of narrative structure in historiography" (1987:202).

Spider Woman Stories; Legends of the Hopi Indians

Emergence narrative
Clan Migration narrative

G. M. Mullett (selected and interpreted by)
1979
Tucson: University of Arizona Press, xvii, 142pp
Monograph
Field research: not applicable
Hopi consultants: not applicable

"George Crawford Merrick Mullett was for several years a regular contributor of stories to St. Nicholas magazine and other periodicals for children. Her lifelong interest in American Indians dated from her childhood in the Serpent Mound area of Ohio. It was enhanced by her association with Jesse Walter Fewkes with whom she worked as a scientific illustrator for the Bureau of Ethnology, the Smithsonian Institution, from 1910 to 1928. His Designs on Prehistoric Pottery from the Mimbres Valley, N.M. and many other works contain illustrations by Mrs. Mullett." (iv) The manuscript for this book was completed ca. 1918.

Spider Woman Stories is a work that is derived from texts recorded by Alexander M. Stephen, most notably "The Story of Tiyo" (see Fewkes' "The Snake Ceremonies at Walpi"), and others that G.M. Mullett rewrote into prose readily accessible to younger readers. In his "Preface," Fred Eggan writes, "[Mullett] early saw their interest and with the help of Dr. Fewkes she has presented them in a form which makes them intelligible to a wider audience" (xiii). As Eggan notes, the "First Tale" (an Emergence narrative) seems to be more Zuni than Hopi. On the other hand, Mullett has developed a very readable account of the Snake Clan Migration narrative in "The Story of Tiyo." In summary, Spider Woman Stories has interpretive potential for Navajo National Monument as a book to recommend for an accessible account of the Snake Clan Migration narrative and other Hopi narratives. However, it is not a "primary source."

Truth of a Hopi:
Stories Relating to the Origin, Myths and Clan Histories of the Hopi

Emergence narrative
Clan Migration narrative
Historical narrative
Kawestima

Edmund Nequatewa
1936
Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, pp. 136
Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, Bulletin No. 8
Monograph
Field research: not applicable
Hopi consultant: the narrator

Edmund Nequatewa (ca. 1880-1969) was born in the Second Mesa village of Shipaulovi and attended the Hopi school in Keams Canyon and later Phoenix Indian School. He moved to Flagstaff and was employed at the Museum of Northern Arizona. About 1960 he returned to the reservation and lived in Hotevilla until his death. His autobiography, Born a Chief (1993), tells the story of his life until the age of 22. During this period he was converted to Christianity and later in life became a member of a small Protestant sect.

Truth of a Hopi includes an Emergence narrative and parts of several Clan Migration narratives. However, it is only in the account of "How Hotevilla and Bakabi Were Founded," a narrative relating to the Oraibi Split does text become relevant to the present study. Nequatewa writes:

> The leading men from both sides held council every once in a while, trying to see what must be done with these people who were being taken in by Youkioma [i.e., supporters from Shungopavi] and Youkioma always said that he had as much right to do this as the chief. It was his theory that he was going to follow out what his great uncles had taught him of their traditions. This tradition told him that he was to destroy Oraibi or be destroyed himself. He belonged to the Fire (Masauwu) Clan. This gave him the idea that his clan ancestry had the power to do almost anything. This has the idea that Masauwu can hypnotize people, so Youkioma always had said that if any expedition was sent against him all he would have to do is to take out a handful of ashes and blow them on the army and they would fall to pieces. Chief Tewaquoptiwa wanted to send these people back to Shung-opovi, but Youkoma, of course, was standing up for them and if Tewaquoptiwa wanted to move them he would have had to move Youkioma too. Youkioma said that he already had a site picked out somewhere in the north called ***Kawashtima*** (a ruin in a canyon near Navajo Mountain. (55) [Nequatewa adds in a note here: "It was Youkioma's theory that his clan originally came from Navajo Mountain and eventually, after many wanderings, were to return there, stopping first at a place below Oraibi, and then at Hotevilla" (111, n.44). And in another note: "The Hotevilla people would have become Christians if they had reached **Kawish-tima**, a canyon near Navajo Mountain. This about-face would have been considered a Hopi "joke" on Tewaquoptiwa's people" (113, n.47).]

Note: citations are to the reformatted edition of 1967, published by Northland Publishing.

In summary, Nequatewa provides a slightly different perspective on the relationship of Kawestima to Navajo National Monument. While not unique, he locates Kawestima in a canyon near Navajo

Mountain. Writing thirty years after the event, Nequatewa gives clear expression to the notion of prophecy ("theory") and fulfillment.

Hopi Land Patterns **General ethnology**

Gordon B. Page
1940
Plateau 13(2):29-36
Article
Field research: not applicable
Hopi consultants: not applicable

Gordon B. Page (1911- ; M.A., Geology, UCLA, M.Ph., George Washington; geologist) worked as a geographer for the Soil Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture, 1935-1940 and produced several studies of Hopi agriculture and land use, two of which were published in 1940. Page later held several positions in natural resources with the State of New Mexico, including Deputy State Geologist and continued an interest in the archaeology and ethnology of the Southwest through volunteer activities.

Page identifies four land claims of the Hopi. While the major concern of the article is the Hopi-Navajo land dispute, it has historical value in the recognition given to the multiple realities of Hopi land use, especially sacred use:

> There are various conflicting claims made by the Hopi relative to land which they use. The Hopis, first of all, claim the North American continent from ocean to ocean. This claim is always presented as being a basic consideration in boundary discussions. The second claim is more conservative and approximates the area formerly occupied by the ancestors of the clans which now make up the loosely organized "Hopi Tribe." This is an area bounded roughly by the Colorado-San Juan Rivers to the north, the present Arizona-New Mexico state line on the east, the Zuni and the Mogollon Rim to the south, and the San Francisco Peaks to the west. It is an area of shrines, sacred natural features, eagle trapping locations, and regions where salt is obtainable. It is necessary to realize, concerning this second claim, that actual use is not the important thing. What is important is that this area be recognized as a sacred area. Use is made of it by priests who visit the shrines to perform certain rites, to trap eagles, and to gather various herbs and minerals necessary to their rites. The Hopi does not think of this region as an area to be used for agriculture or for exploitation of the natural resources.
>
> Within the two previously mentioned areas there are two more, the cattle range, and the second, agricultural lands. In major land disputes with Navajos, the Hopis usually begin all discussions with a presentation of the religious claims, and then present the practical claims based on livestock or farming use. (29)

In summary, what Page conveys is a sense of the primacy given to the sacredness of the place now spoken of as the Hopitutsqwa and the significance of shrines [for example, those in Kawestima] for the expression of religious beliefs.

Inside the Sacred Hopi Homeland **Hopitutsqwa**

Jake Page, with photographs by Susanne Page
1982
National Geographic 162(5:November):606-629
Photo-essay
Field research: 18 "visits" between 1965-1982
Hopi consultants: various, some identified in context

Jake Page (1936-; writer, editor) and his wife, Susanne (Stone) Page (photographer), have collaborated on a number of photo-essays on the Hopi and the Navajo.

In 1980 Hopi elders permitted the Pages to accompany them--eight Hopi priests and two Hopi drivers--on a four day, 1,100 mile trek to visit "the eight principal shrines that mark the boundaries of the Hopis' ancestral homeland" (607). One of the shrines visited was "the National Park Service's Betatakin ruin, where the Hopis say their people lived long ago and which they call Kawestima" (612). Of the Hopitutsqwa Page writes:

> Throughout this region their ancestors wandered until, eight centuries or more, guided by their prophecies, they established their clans around three mesas. The eight shrines, in a sense, mark the last staging areas in the final migration inward to this place where they became the Hopis and build their homes. (612)

There follows a general portrayal of contemporary Hopi social and ceremonial life in a time of change.

In summary, this article is significant to this study because of the event it records, i.e., the 1980 pilgrimage of Shungopavi elders to the eight shrines "that mark the boundaries of the Hopi's ancestral homeland," and the prominence given to Betatakin (a photograph of the ruin (606) is captioned, "Keeper of ancient rites, a Hopi priest beckons to others on a pilgrimage to eight shrines marking their ancestral land; one lies near these ruins of the Kawestima cliff dwellings in northern Arizona" (607)).

Hopi

Hopitutsqwa
Kawestima

Susanne and Jake Page
1982
New York: Harry N. Abrams, 224pp
Photo-essay
Field research: 18 "visits" between 1965-1982
Hopi consultants: various, some identified in context

Jake Page (1936-; writer, editor) and his wife, Susanne (Stone) Page (photographer), have collaborated on a number of photo-essays on the Hopi and the Navajo.

This popular and widely acclaimed "coffee table" book uses photographs and essays to portray the Hopi people ca. 1980. There are various references to Kawestima and the Tutsqwa as the Pages accompanied eight Shungopavi priests on a 1,100 mile, four-day pilgrimage to the eight shrines which mark the boundaries of the Hopi ancestral homeland. For example:

> ...far to the north and east, at what is called Navajo National by the Park Service, is a ruin called Betatkin and by the Hopi **Ky westima**. (148)

And in the account of the Oraibi Split of 1906:

> ...The hostiles were required to leave the village at once, taking with them whatever they could carry. According to a previous plan, they were to journey back to **Ky westima**, the long since abandoned stopping-off place for certain of the clan as they had gathered--deep in the canyon of what is today known as Navajo National Monument. They never made it that far. About eight miles north of Oraibi, I have been told, they paused while a woman had a baby, and there they remained, founding the village of Hotevilla. (164)

The final chapter is entitled, "The Land," and begins with this account:

> It is called *tusqua*, "the land." It extends from Tokonavi (Navajo Mountain, across the border in Utah) to the point on the New Mexico border where Route 40 leaves Arizona, to the northern edge of the White Mountain Apache Reservation, to Bill Williams Mountain, west of Flagstaff, to the rim of the Grand Canyon, where the long trail begins that winds down to the Havasupai Indian Reservation. By far its dominant feature is San Francisco Peaks, eighty miles southwest of the Hopi mesas, the ancient volcanic home of the kachinas and thus the site of the Hopi's most important shrines. This large area is the ancestral land of the Hopi. (205)

The book builds towards the story of the Pages' participation in the pilgrimage to the shrines. Their account of the stop at Betatakin is reproduced in full:

> We drove north hour after hour, skirting the eastern edge of Black Mesa, past Lolomai Point, on to Navajo National Monument (**Ky westima**), some thirty miles south of the Utah border. The National Park Service attendant was expecting us, Nathan Begay having notified him the day before, and said that if we waited until four o'clock--about fifteen

minutes--the last tourists would come out of the canyon and he would close the monument for us while we went down. The little exhibit at the top of the canyon explained that the ruin below was called Betatkin and had been inhabited by people ancestral to the Hopi. At four we began to trek down into the canyon, a 1,500-foot descent along a winding trail of rocks and man-made steps placed there for the benefit of tourists. Along the way, Alf Secakuku pointed out a large round face carved into the rock about a hundred feet above us. "That's Masauwu," he said .

On the canyon floor we walked about a mile along a trail that cut through a lush forest of evergreen trees and cottonwoods until, coming around a corner, we saw a huge vaulted cave, formed by an enormous overhang in the red rock wall. Located high in the cave was an old ruin, with red stone houses, perhaps thirty altogether, perched precariously upon one another, with long rickety ladders connecting the various levels. On a ledge below the ruin we paused while the shrine was located; then the ceremony took place as it had near Lupton, while the ghosts of the ancient village no doubt looked on. [In 1970, I accompanied Ralph Salina, Shungopavi, as he made prayer offerings at this shrine. LH] As we left I wondered how some of the older priests--in their sixties--would make it back up the 1,500 nearly vertical feet out of the canyon. Indeed, I wondered how Susanne and I would make it.

Ky westima was a place where Virgil's people had lived on their way to the Hopi mesas. It was also the place where some of his people were supposed to return after the split at Oraibi in 1906. That night, after we had driven another few hours and made camp up near the Utah border, and had eaten roasted corn and fried chicken around a huge fire, the other men teased Virgil at length about his people's inability to reach **Ky westima**. All the other priests were from Second Mesa and we were told that this is because Shungopavi had the chief responsibility for the ancestral land, Oraibi having at one time or another become too sympathetic to the pahana.

We woke before dawn, and the sky was deeply overcast. Without breakfast we broke camp and headed for Navajo Mountain--Tokonavi--across the border in Utah. (219)

The book concludes with a suite of photographs taken during the pilgrimage to the eight shrines (following 224). Two photographs were taken at Betatakin. The caption reads as follows:

> North of the Hopi Reservation, in Navajo National Monument, is a restored village ruin called Betatkin--in Hopi, **Ky westima**. Located deep in a canyon, it was an ancestral home during the gathering of the clans. *Right*: The shrine itself, overgrown by grass and brush, was found near the face of the cliff below the ruin.

In summary, portions of the Pages' book are directly related to Navajo National Monument, Betatakin, Kewastima and the concept of the tutsqwa. The Pages' first-hand account of their participation in the pilgrimage to the "boundary shrines" gives faces, dates, places to a notion otherwise presented in the abstract.

The Pueblo Indian Clan in Folk-Lore **General ethnology**

Elsie Clews Parsons
1921
Journal of American Folk-Lore 34:209-216
Essay
Field research: 1920 (Hopi)
Hopi consultants: George Cochisi ("Crow Wing")

Elsie Clews Parsons (1874-1941; Ph.D., Education, Columbia University, anthropologist and folklorist), began her research in the Southwest in 1915 at Zuni and conducted field work among the Puebloan peoples nearly every year until 1932. Although she felt very pleasantly received by the Hopi, Parsons seems to have made only two field trips to Hopi villages (June and December 1920). From this experience she wrote accounts of a Hopi marriage ceremony, the Wowochim ceremony and a Buffalo dance and arranged with George Cochisi ("Crow Wing"), her Hopi host on First Mesa, to keep a journal, which she edited. Much of Parsons Hopi research was historical in nature as she edited and published earlier works by Frank Hamilton Cushing (see review), Jesse Walter Fewkes, Alexander M. Stephen (see reviews) and Jeremiah Sullivan. Parsons was interested in how Puebloan peoples maintained their traditions and how they responded to change. Her perspectives were generally comparative, with diffusion offered as an "explanation". As a member of a generation of American anthropologists labeled as "historical particularists," there is in Parsons' work an emphasis on the historicity of traditional narratives and a skepticism regarding the veracity of a religious perspective (cf. 215-216 of the current essay).

Parsons' 1921 essay on the Pueblo Indian clan draws on her knowledge of clans--their structure and function--from Taos to Hopi. She begins with some observations regarding Clan Migration narratives and makes a distinction between "esoteric" and "exoteric" knowledge:

> Migration after emergence from the nether land or water is one of the patterns of Pueblo ideology,--the chief formulation, so to speak, of the Pueblo Indian's historical sense, or sense of time. And just as the origin and history of the curing society or of the *kachina* are given in terms of emergence and migration, so are the origin and history of the clan.
>
> Clan migration traditions, as far as our records go, are the most comprehensive and developed among the Hopi. To Pueblo migration tradition there is a twofold version,--the esoteric, which is known only to special persons, keepers of the tradition; and the exoteric, which is of general knowledge. (209)

She provides and lengthy discussion and description of Hopi clan names and their origin. In this, she draws heavily on the work of H. R. Voth. One of the Hopi with whom Voth worked explained that clan names "were given to people while wandering. One would find and see something, perhaps under peculiar circumstances, and be called after it." (210) She then notes, "Since in the native lore all clans came up from shipaponi or shipap', it is impossible for the native theorist to say that any clan has originated in recent times" (211).

Parsons turns from the significance of Clan Migration narratives (history) in maintaining clan continuity and solidarity to the role of ceremonial (ritual) in achieving the same purpose:

> The Pueblo sense or concept of clan solidarity is expressed in migration tradition; it is also expressed in the association between clan and ceremonial. Among the Hopi the association is made in theory through migration tradition. The clan, in its journey, encounters a supernatural, who affiliates himself with the travelers, thereby giving them his cult or ceremony. As *chakwena* joined the Mustard clan, and the little war-gods the Reed clan, so Badger-Man the doctor joined the Badger clan, and *masawa* of Night and Death and Fire the Coyote clan, and Parrot-Man the Kachina clan, and Snake-Woman the Snake clan, and *pohaha* (a *Kachina* woman) the Tewa Cottonwood clan. (211)
>
> ...
>
> The outcome of all these different types of traditions is the same,--an association is fixed between the ceremony and the clan, or, more correctly (and the distinction has significance), between the ceremony and a family connection within the clan, the family connection being referred to as if it were the clan as a whole.
>
> ...
>
> It is in the "oldest" house of their family connection, or "the maternal ancestral house," as Voth calls it, that the mask or the other fetiches of the clan ceremony are kept (212). [In an extended footnote, 213,n.2, Parsons discusses how these "ritualistic complexes" are maintained when families or clans die out.]

Parsons was concerned to show how various Puebloan peoples--using the clan as an example--"keep definite cultural patterns in mobile combination" to respond to various forms of change. She draws her various observations together near the close of the essay:

> In Pueblo Indian tradition, then, the clan is an original and immutable unit, its members coming up together from below when the world was to be peopled, migrating together, and settling down together when the term of migration, the middle place, was reached; its association with ceremony is also original and fixed; and equations between clans in different places are made either on identity of names or on resemblances seen between eponymous clan beings. In actuality, the clan is a highly unstable group; its association with ceremony is through family connection which is necessarily precarious; and equations between clans of different places are conceptual or even fortuitous. (215)

In summary, Parsons' essay does not directly relate to the study area as place but does amplify our understanding of the importance of Clan Migration narratives in the maintenance of Hopi social and ceremonial life.

The Hopi Villages: The Ancient Province of Tusayan **Emergence narrative**

John Wesley Powell
1875 [1972]
Palmer Lake: Filter Press, pp. xii, 36
Newspaper article
Field research: "nearly two months" (1875)
Hopi consultants not identified

John Wesley Powell (1834-1902; anthropologist). During and immediately following his famous explorations of the Colorado River (1869-1876) Powell did sporadic field work among the Numic peoples (Shoshone, Ute, Paiute) of the Great Basin and Grand Canyon regions and during this period wrote one of the first detailed accounts of the Hopi. While he emphasized language and mythology, Powell's interests extended to most aspects of the social and cultural life of the people he studied and the research he directed. He founded the Smithsonian's Bureau of American Ethnology, which he directed from 1879 to 1902. The work of Frank Hamilton Cushing, Cosmos and Victor Mindeleff and Matilda Coxe Stevenson at Hopi was done under the auspices of Powell's Bureau of American Ethnology.

Powell provides an elementary introduction to the Hopi villages, architecture, agriculture, dress, the kiva, etc. Recorded here is probably the earliest account of the Hopi Emergence narrative:

> Their notion of the form and constitution of the world is architectural; that is composed of many stories. We live in the second. Ma-chi-ta, literally the leader, probably an ancestral god, is said to have brought them up from the lower story to the next higher, in which we now live. The heaven above is the ceiling of this story, the floor of the next. Their account of their rescue from the lower world by Ma-chi-ta is briefly as follows: The people below were a medley mass of good and bad, and Ma-chi-ta determined to rescue the former, and leave the latter behind. So he called to his friends to bring him a young tree, and, looking overhead at the sky of the lower world, the floor of this, he discovered a crack, and placed the young and growing tree immediately under it. Then he raised his hands and prayed, as did all his followers; and, as he prayed, the tree grew, until its branches were trust through the crevice in the lower-world sky. Then the people climbed up, in one long stream; still up they came until all the good were there. Ma-chi-ta, standing on the brink of the crevice, looked won, and saw the tree filled with the bad, who were following; then he caught the growing ladder by the upper boughs, twisted it from its foundation in the soil beneath, and threw it over, and the wicked fell down in a pile of mangled, groaning, cursing humanity. When the people had spread out through this world, they found the ceiling, or sky, so low that they could not walk without stooping, and they murmured. Then Ma-chi-ta, standing in the very center of this story, placed his shoulder against the sky, and lifted it to where it is now.
>
> Still it was cold and dark, and the people murmured and cursed Ma-chi-ta, and he said: "Why do you complain? Bring me seven baskets of cotton;" and they brought him seven baskets of cotton. And he said: "Bring me seven virgins;" and they brought him seven virgins. And he taught the virgins to weave a wonderful fabric, which he held aloft, and the breeze carried it away to the sky; and behold! It was transformed into a full-orbed

> moon. The same breeze also carried the flocculent fragments of cotton to the sky, and lo! these took the shape of bright stars. And still it was cold; and again the people murmured, and Ma-chi-ta chided them once more, and said, "Bring me seven buffalo robes;" and they brought him seven buffalo robes. "Send me seven strong, pure young men;" and they sent him seven young men, whom he taught to weave a wonderful fabric of the buffalo fur. And when it was done, he held it aloft, and a whirlwind carried it away to the sky, where it was transformed into the sun. (25-26)

Powell then summarizes:

> I have given but a very bare account of these two chapters in their unwritten bible--the bringing up of the people from the lower world to this, and the creation of the heavenly bodies. As told by them, there are many wonderful incidents; the travels, the wandering, the wars, the confusion of tongues, the dispersion of the people into tribes--all these are given with much circumstance. (26, 28)

In summary, Powell's account bears little resemblance to those collected by Stephen and Voth during the next twenty years. There is enough correspondence here and in Powell's descriptions more generally to make it unwise to disregard it altogether. No connection to the study area is proposed.

Preserving the Good Things of Hopi Life

General ethnology
Kawestima

Emory Sekaquaptewa
1972
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. 239-260
Plural Society in the Southwest, Edward M. Spicer and Raymond H. Thompson, eds
Field research: not applicable
Hopi consultant: author

Emory Sekaquaptewa (J.D.., University of Arizona, linguist). Author of a number of essays on Hopi language and culture, Sekaquaptewa is member of the Hopi Dictionary Project along with Kenneth C. Hill and Mary E. Black and a Research Anthropologist in the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology at The University of Arizona. Sekaquaptewa has long pursued the compilation of Hopi Dictionary/Hopiikwa Lavaytutuveni: A Hopi-English Dictionary of the Third Mesa Dialect (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, forthcoming) as a vehicle for cultural preservation and the revitalization of his language.

Sekaquaptewa sets out the purpose of his essay in the following words:

> The organization of the tribal council form of government under the congressional plan of 1934, more commonly known as the Indian Reorganization Act, has had little effect on the traditional system of social and political control among the Hopi Indians of northeastern Arizona. This paper briefly sketches some highlights of history, events, and attitudes that demonstrate the nature of the dichotomy between the formalized structure of council government and the indigenous structure made up of tradition, custom, and religious influences. (239)

Thus, Sekaquaptewa describes the traditional social system: village, clan, land assignment and use. Because the "village right of self-government is primordial," the tribal council is seen as being in conflict with traditional village authority. He writes:

> What then should have been the fundamental consideration in promoting acceptance of the Indian Reorganization Act? The Hopi villages should have been recognized as autonomous and given the opportunity to ratify the constitution in this capacity. Instead, the Hopi people voted on the constitution as individuals, without regard to their separate political allegiances. (245)

Sekaquaptewa reviews the circumstances of the establishment of the 1882 Executive Order Reservation and subsequent history of the Hopi-Navajo land dispute as background to a Hopi perspective on the 1934 Navajo Reservation litigation.

In this context Sekaquaptewa provides a modern and sophisticated Hopi perspective on the Oraibi Split, the role of Prophecy and the significance of Kawestima. He begins with a discussion of the consequences of the establishment of 1882 Reservation [Note: as excerpted, the text may "read" as if Hopis chiefs participated in the establishment and definition of the 1882 Reservation boundaries; they did not (see McCluskey 1980). Sekaquaptewa refers to misunderstandings which developed as a result of an 1890 conference between Hopi leaders and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.]:

which developed as a result of an 1890 conference between Hopi leaders and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.]:

> ...the consequent results of the boundary definition, which may perhaps be found to have a rational basis in Anglo concepts, never coincided with the Hopi chiefs' understanding of their agreement with the government. First, the definition of the boundaries of the Executive Order Reservation of 1882 resulted in the extinguishment of Hopi title (unrecognized in Anglo law, but referred to as Indian title, the taking of which would later become compensable as a political matter) to all lands outside of that boundary--a result certainly not contemplated by the chiefs. Second, the government reserved the power to settle other Indians within the boundary at such times as it saw fit--a power, which, if exercised, certainly required the most careful consideration of the situation that brought about the necessity for confinement in the first place. And third, the failure of the government to halt Navajo encroachment, but instead to permit it under the justification of administrative convenience (which later, under a strained court interpretation, was declared to be valid and official action to settle the Navajos within the boundary) was a result which could be nothing but insult to the agreement entered into by the Hopi chiefs!

The Consequences of the Split at Oraibi

The Oraibi split of 1906 is said to be the result of controversy between two factions in the village over this agreement. Yukeoma, the leader of the conservative faction, openly accused the faction under Lololma of betraying his trust as a Hopi chief [Lololma had participated in the 1890 conference.] This agreement was considered by Yukeoma and his faction as a rejection of the Hopi way of life. On the other hand, Lololma saw himself as the last traditionally ordained chief at Oraibi, fulfilling the prophecy that all *wii wimi* (broadly interpreted by some Hopis to mean cultural practices, but more narrowly by other to mean only religious practices) would be "put to rest" at Oraibi. He saw his agreement with the government as the alternative by which the Hopi people would accept the white man's way of life. This prophecy warned against the transplanting of the *wii wimi* to any other place, with the exception of *katcina* practices.

The more sophisticated view is that the division itself was the substance of the prophecy, in that it was designed in deliberation or, in Hopi terms, *diingavi*. It held that such a division was necessary to the survival of the Hopis as a people, in that establishment of another Hopi community would secure to the Hopis the lands between it and Oraibi. It also held that the sanctity of the religious authorities had become subject to more and more abuse as Oraibi grew in size and social complexity so that ritualism began to serve personal edification more than it served communal spiritual needs. It was said that much of the ritualism in traditional practices took on the character of sorcery which "preyed" on people to the detriment of natural population growth, and it was said that a new community would encourage increase in population when it existed without these corruptive devices. The division was said to be the fulfillment of prophecy which taught by a religious ceremony in which an act in finale by the participants was a declaration in unison that "this is the way we shall go to ***Kawestima***." The participants would make this declaration just as they left the kiva, after having wrapped up their altars and put them

> over their shoulders. Presumably, this commemorates the prophecy that the Hopi people will return and reclaim the ancestral home of ***Kawestima***, which name was said to belong to the kikmongwi of that ancient village. This place was said to be northeast of Oraibi and recognizable by a certain tall Douglas fir and a spring. Yukeoma and his followers were to seek and resettle ***Kawestima*** after their ejection from Oraibi. Thus, the Lololma agreement with Wasendo was said to be merely an instrument to dramatize the conflict and to represent it as a political one. Hopi historians say that dramatization was necessary in order to generate high emotions on both sides, which would evoke greater determination and dedication to their respective causes, tending to lessen the difficulty of those who had to uproot their home and families, and also promoting their adjustment to harsh conditions of living wherever they resettled. (247-248)

In summary, Sekaquaptewa provides one of the most articulate statements of the place of Kawestima in Hopi thought. This is the only source attributing the name of Kawestima to the former kikmongwi of "that ancient village."

Hopi Tales

Emergence narrative
Clan Migration narrative
Hopitutsqwa

Alexander MacGregor Stephen
1929 [1883-1893]
Journal of American Folk-Lore 42:1-72
Collection of texts
Field research: location and date given with texts
Hopi consultants: identified with texts

Alexander MacGregor Stephen (1840?-1894; ethnologist). A. M. Stephen had been a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah for over a decade before taking up residence with Thomas V. Keam at Keam's trading post near First Mesa, ca. 1880. As is clear from his publications (as well as Washington Matthews' occasional reliance on him), Stephen had mastered Navajo before beginning his studies of the Hopi people and, significantly, recorded much Hopi material through Navajo even in the 1890s. By 1883, Stephen had begun to collect and study Hopi pottery. At the same time he began to record a variety of Hopi narratives. In 1885 he made his first effort to describe the Hopi Snake Dance, an effort he was to repeat, biennially, until 1893. In 1890, Jesse Walter Fewkes, director of the Second Hemenway Expedition, enlisted Stephen's assistance in recording Hopi ceremonial and daily life, a project he was to continue until his death in 1894. Stewart Culin acquired Stephen's journals and held them until 1923 when he sold them to Elsie Clews Parsons for $500. Parsons worked on the editing of the journals during summers from 1927 until 1934. While she nowhere describes the physical nature of these volumes, there are 30 notebooks, written in pencil, with materials recorded as early as 1883 but the bulk dating from 1891-1894. In 1929 Parsons published Stephen's "Hopi Tales" with no explanation of their provenance and it seems likely that these were extracted from the notebooks. Rather than publish the notebooks in their original chronological order, Parsons chose to rearrange the materials. She conceived of the notebooks as "primarily a biography of ceremonial" and consequently brings all descriptions of a particular ceremony together. For example, all of Stephen's accounts of the Snake-Antelope ceremony at Walpi for the years 1885, 1887, 1889, 1891 and 1893 are brought together sequentially, to which is added an account of the ceremony at Shipaulovi in 1892.

Included in the "Hopi Tales" is a text of primary importance to contemporary Hopi interests in defining the Hopitutsqwa. Entitled "Masau, the Trickster" and said to be "recorded from conversations held in various kivas," it appears to date from 1885. The text begins:

> He is the tutelary god of the Hopitu, next to Sun he occupies the thoughts of the people. He was made from nothing and came from nowhere. A very long while ago a number of gods came to this world, from where no one knows. They assembled in council near the San Francisco Mountains. They tried to make a partition of the land, but they could not agree and separated full of jealousies, each determining to hold all the good land he saw. Masau first traveled south, then circuitously to the eastward until he reached his starting point. He called this area his land. The exact limits are unknown, but it is surmised he started from a point about where Fort Mohave now is situated, thence south as far as the Isthmus of Panama, skirted eastward along the Gulf of Mexico and northward to the line of the Rio Grande up into Colorado, thence westerly along the thirty six parallel or

thereabouts to the Rio Colorado, meandering along its tributaries and so on southward to his starting point at Fort Mojave. This was Masau's land originally, the land of the Hopitu. (55-56)

For convenience, several additional notes regarding Masau, extracted from Stephen's Journals (see review) are included here:

> At the si'papuini...Masau'wu stood astride of the orifice, and, as each Hopi made his appearance, Masau'wu linked his arm in that of the Hopi, helping him up to the surface and greeting him with welcome. (Journal, 137 [1893])
>
> Masau'wu was the first house builder. His house was underground. He goes everywhere, has always been present everywhere. ... Wherever is man or woman, there also is Masau'wu. (Journal, 150 [1893])
>
> (This is from Pauwati'wa.) Masau'wuh has a two story house underground. We must remember that Masau' is death. The graveyard is Masau's kiva, Maski. The surface we see is the roof of the second story, we will not see the interior till we die. The form of the Maski is irregular, some are round, some right-angled. The grave is the entrance to Maski, the dead go to the lower stage or story where the houses are as these we live in. The plan of the house was brought from the interior [underworld] and what is called dying is a return to the early house; man and women follow their usual avocations there. Graves are made very poorly now--people are lazy. Formerly graves were made with as much care as the dwelling house, with the same care to build fine smooth walls, with a good selection of beams (*le'stabi*) and roof covering. Formerly when a girl married, her uncles and brothers went out and selected timbers for her grave and put them away preserved till her death.
>
> *Kibvun'gkani*, the house that is coming, the future house, the house they return to. When the people came up from underground they made the kiva to commemorate their early home; they could not use reed *(ba'kabi)* as ladder, but the mythic pine and spruce grew up through the reed opening, so people took pine or spruce and made a ladder of either. The hatchway is typical of the size and form of the first hole in the earth crust. (Journal 151 [1888]).
>
> Masau'wu possessed this land. Snake came from Toko'nabi and won their portion... (Journal 676 [1893]).

Stephen's "Hopi Tales" also includes an Emergence narrative (3-10), several fragments of the Snake Clan Migration narrative (35-50) as well as the Clan Migration narratives of the Horn and Eagle clans (67-70; 70-72).

There are four Snake Clan Migration narratives

1. Wiki, Snake clan, chief of the Antelope society, Walpi, June 6, 1885.
2. Nasinawebi, Cedarwood-Coyote clan, Antelope society, Walpi, January 16, 1884.
3. Wiki, August 7, 1885.
4. "This is the popular tradition which is told at large." First published by

Stephen in 1888.

The full text of Wiki's 1893 version is reproduced in full elsewhere in this study (see Fewkes' "The Snake Ceremonies at Walpi").

From Wiki's June 6, 1885 narrative, there is the following reference to Masau and the Hopitutsqwa:

> Masau then said, "You and your people are strong of heart. Look at the grass around you, the rocks, and the woods, and you will find my footsteps there. All this is my home, but by your courage you have won it. All this I give to you, all this is yours forever, because you have met me and were not afraid. I will be your friend, whatever you wish, I will give you." Then our uncle came back to his people and told them these things. Then Turtle-dove searched for a place to build and in four days he led them to the top of this mesa, and they built their houses here where we still live to this day. (40)

In summary, Stephen's "Hopi Tales" are important to this study for (1) the Emergence narrative; (2) the earliest known definition of Hopitutsqwa and (3) the Clan Migration narratives of the Snake, Horn and Eagle clans--although these all lack a definition of place.

Hopi Journal of Alexander M. Stephen **Clan Migration narrative**

Alexander MacGregor Stephen
1936 [1885-1894]
New York: Columbia University Press, pp. lii, 1417
Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 23 (2 volumes)
Field research: First Mesa, 1880-1894 (primarily 1891-1894)
Hopi consultants: frequently, not consistently identified

Alexander MacGregor Stephen (1840?-1894; ethnologist). A. M. Stephen had been a metallurgist and mining prospector in Nevada and Utah for over a decade before taking up residence with Thomas V. Keam at Keam's trading post near First Mesa, ca. 1880. As is clear from his publications (as well as Washington Matthews' occasional reliance on him), Stephen had mastered Navajo before beginning his studies of the Hopi people and, significantly, recorded much Hopi material through Navajo even in the 1890s. By 1883, Stephen had begun to collect and study Hopi pottery. At the same time he began to record a variety of Hopi narratives. In 1885 he made his first effort to describe the Hopi Snake Dance, an effort he was to repeat, biennially, until 1893. In 1890, Jesse Walter Fewkes, director of the Second Hemenway Expedition, enlisted Stephen's assistance in recording Hopi ceremonial and daily life, a project he was to continue until his death. Stewart Culin acquired Stephen's journals and held them until 1923 when he sold them to Elsie Clews Parsons for $500. Parsons worked on the editing of the journals during summers from 1927 until 1934. While she nowhere describes the physical nature of these volumes, there are 30 notebooks, written in pencil, with materials recorded as early as 1883 but the bulk dating from 1891-1894. In 1929 Parsons published Stephen's "Hopi Tales" with no explanation of their provenance and it seems likely that these were extracted from the notebooks. Rather than publish the notebooks in their original chronological order, Parsons chose to rearrange the materials. She conceived of the notebooks as "primarily a biography of ceremonial" and consequently brings all descriptions of a particular ceremony together. For example, all of Stephen's accounts of the Snake-Antelope ceremony at Walpi for the years 1885, 1887, 1889, 1891 and 1893 are brought together sequentially, to which is added an account of the ceremony at Shipaulovi in 1892.

Stephen's Journals are problematic as a potential source of materials relevant to the Navajo National Monument study area. Stephen's writings, more than any other's, are seen as violating the privileged and stratified nature of Hopi sacred knowledge. Having said this, it is curious to report that nowhere in this enormous work is mention made of Kawestima, conceptually or as a place name. [See Kishyuba, a mountain spring, home of kachinas, located on Black Mountain to which prayers and prayer offerings are made and from which ritual water is taken. (1158)] Nor is it mentioned in any other First Mesa source[?]. Is Kawestima a uniquely Third Mesa concept? In his notebook for July 7, 1893, Stephen writes, "A Kishyu'ba kachina." And then in a footnote, writes:

> The Shoyo'him kachina dwell at four terrestrial places in the directions of the four world quarters: Toward the Northwest, at Kishyu'ba; Southwest, at Nuva'tikyauobi (San Francisco Mountains); Southeast at We'nima (Zuni, Koclawalaaiye [Koluwala]); Northeast, at Nuva'tikyauobi (San Mateo Mountain or Mt. Taylor). (442, n.1)

In his notebook for August 18, 1891 Stephen recorded this following narrative:

> Before song began in the Antelope kiva, Masi told me the Snake legend in brief: While the Hopi dwelt at Toko'nabi a youth often went to the bank of the river and thought where does it go? He discussed this with his father who said he also had often thought where does it go? The youth said, "If you are willing, I shall go." His parents agreed. His sisters prepared food. His father prepared prayer-sticks. The youth and his father found a hollow cottonwood tree and cut it off large enough for the youth to lie in and sit up. They closed the ends with cottonwood sticks and pinon gum; a hole large as the circumference of thumbs and forefingers was left in the end. The youth had a stick. His father pushed the boat off with his foot. The mother and sisters cried. He went through three waterfalls, down canons of coal, at the foot of the fourth whirlpool the boat glided out. The youth looked through the hole--great ocean on one side, muddy bank on the other. He pushed the end out and got out. He saw Ba'holikona (the Horned water serpent) lying very long and large as a man could encircle with his arms. He heard the sound of hist! two or three times, but could see nothing. He heard it again close at his foot, he looked down and could see a tarantula large as a hand resting on finger tips. This was Spider woman. She said, "My grandson, I am glad to see you. I know everything and knew you would come. Come into my house," and she showed him the round hole and trap door of a tarantula. "How can I enter there," said the youth, "when I can not even get my great toe in?"--"Try!" she said, and when he put his foot on the hole it opened as wide as a kiva hatch. He went down there. Bluebird was there. Spider woman said, "I will perch on your left ear," and she did so. Then they traveled many days. They came to Antelope kiva which was down below, and near by, on a different road, was Snake kiva, but high up on the cliffs. The Antelope kiva was very large and full of old men. The chief greeted the youth, was glad to see him. A maiden stood where the one sat today and yesterday. She said, "I like the youth," and he went and slept with her. One of the men in the songs tapped on the floor, as Ka'kapti does, and this telegraphed everywhere that the youth had come. The youth was given in a blanket all the things now seen around the Antelope altar and he and the maiden were placed between two clouds and whisked through the air back to the youth's home where his wife gave birth to small snakes. When born they were most minute and when they got six or seven inches long they bit the children, and many died. People moved away and traveled down here. First they built in the valley near Wikya'tiwa's field. They found large naked foot prints, very large and going in a series of six concentric circles around the mesa, just as Ka-kapti runs, and these were Masau's foot prints. He greeted them and gave them this land. (636-637)

In summary, Stephen's Journals are a rich source book for all aspects of First Mesa Hopi social and ceremonial life, particularly for 1891-93. The Snake Clan Migration narrative with its brief reference to Masau's footprints (=Hopitutsqwa) is of interest to this study. The absence of any mention of Kawestima in Stephen (or any other early source representing fieldwork done on First Mesa) raises questions about the "location" of this aspect of Hopi traditional knowledge.

Tusayan Legends of the Snake and Flute People **Clan Migration narrative**

Matilda Coxe Stevenson
1892
Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science 41:258-270
Field research: not stated; text recorded at Zuni
Hopi consultants: "a member of the snake order now living in Zuni"

Matilda Coxe Stevenson (1849-1915; ethnologist). After marrying James Stevenson, executive officer of the U. S. Geological Survey of the Territories (Hayden Survey), Stevenson accompanied her husband in his fieldwork and began to study some of the Puebloan peoples they encountered. She continued this after her husband joined John Wesley Powell's Bureau of American Ethnology. Their first BAE-sponsored trip in 1879 introduced her to the Zuni, who became life-long subjects of her research. Although it was originally anticipated that she would complement her husband's ethnographic investigations through the study of women and children, she was the one who became an active student of ethnology. Her interests eventually focused on Pueblo religion. James Stevenson died in 1888, and Matilda Stevenson obtained employment at the BAE to continue her research. In 1881 she began her study of the Hopi and by the end of her life had worked at Zia, Jemez, Cochiti, Santa Clara, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Nambe and Taos. In 1904 she began a general comparative study of Pueblo religion, especially that of the Tewa, and spent the greater part of each year in New Mexico until her death in 1915. The essay reviewed here is her only publication on the Hopi.

Stevenson says her article, "Tusayan Legends of the Snake and Flute People," was "suggested" by an article published earlier in 1892 by Jesse Walter Fewkes on the Flute ceremony at Shipaulovi. Stevenson adds, "I was never so fortunate as to be at Tusayan at the time of the snake ceremonial." Consequently, the account she provides of the Snake Ceremony was "given hurriedly at odd times by a member of the snake order now residing in Zuni" (259). The article has three sections: "The Snake Drama" (259-261); "Origin of the Snake Ceremonial" (261-265); and "Origin of the Flute Ceremonial" (265-270). While this version follows very closely that of Wiki (see review of Fewkes' "The Snake Ceremonials at Walpi" (1894)), it lacks any references to place names as illustrated by the final narration of the migration to First Mesa:

> "Where shall I go with my people...? And he [the youth] called two chaparral cocks to him and said, "Go hunt a good road where we will have water. I wish to leave these people and seek another country." The birds traveled apart and on their return they told their story and a road was selected. The high shaman traveled only as far as the birds had gone, they having taken different routes and meeting at a certain point. Again the birds were dispatched to find a good road, and in this way the shaman traveled until he reached the present country of the Tusayan. They camped at the base of the mesa upon which stands the present village of Walpi. When some distance form this point the shaman, discovering a man at the foot of the mesa, said to his people, "Get your arrows ready; I will go ahead and see who this man is;" and he advanced to meet the stranger who was approaching. When a ditch only separated them the stranger, who was a giant, exclaimed, "You are a brave man to come here; I thought you would be afraid; we will have a smoke;" and he drew a huge pipe from his belt. The shaman smoked the pipe, and the giant said, "You are surely a good man; you have smoked the pipeful of tobacco; I will give you more;" and

> the shaman smoked four pipes of tobacco. The giant said, "I am much pleased that you are not afraid. I will give you land for your people, and you will make this your home." [To which Stevenson adds:] This legend furnishes the plot for the snake drama which occurs biennially at Tusayan. (265)

In summary, because of the absence of place names, this version of the Snake Clan Migration narrative provides no direct link to the Navajo National Monument area. However, it does provide independent confirmation of the structure and content of the Snake Clan Migration narrative. While the Mindeleffs and, in some contexts, Fewkes as well, tended to look for linkages between the clan migration narratives and the archaeological past of "Tusayan," Stevenson and, in other contexts, Fewkes emphasized the relationship between legend and ceremony, "myth" and "ritual." Both perspectives are shared by contemporary Hopis and anthropologists (see Loftin).

The Hopi Indians of Arizona **Clan Migration narrative**

Jeremiah Sullivan [attributed to Alexander M. Stephen]
1940 [1885]
Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, pp. 47
Southwest Museum Leaflets, No. 14
Field research: First Mesa, 1881-1885
Hopi consultants: Wiki, Antelope Chief

Jeremiah Sullivan (1851-1916; ethnologist) joined his father, John H. Sullivan, who was the first resident Agent among the Hopi, in December 1880. He lived in Sichomovi village on First Mesa from 1881-1888 where he served as Agency Physician, 1881-1882. Government efforts to evict Jeremiah Sullivan led to the establishment of the Moqui [Hopi] Indian Reservation, December 16, 1882 (McCluskey 1980). The Hopi Agency was dissolved in early 1883 and Jeremiah Sullivan continued to earn a living among the Hopi until the summer of 1888 when he moved his medical practice to Holbrook, Arizona. He submitted a Hopi vocabulary to John Wesley Powell and the Smithsonian Institution in 1882 as well as other brief accounts of Hopi narratives and rituals. On leaving the Hopi in 1888 he apparently sold his journals and other manuscripts, including the present work, to Alexander MacGregor Stephen (Hieb 1997).

The Hopi Indians of Arizona (Stephen 1940 [1885]) provides a general account of the Hopi as contextualization for an account of the Snake ceremony as observed by Sullivan in 1881, 1883 and 1885. Sullivan's primary consultant is Wiki, a member of the Dove maternal family of the Snake clan and chief of the Antelope society. Wiki was also a consultant to Alexander M. Stephen (see Stephen 1936:1134 for extensive references to Wiki's role in First Mesa social and ceremonial life).

Through his conversations with Wiki, Sullivan was aware of (if not always sensitive to) the privileged and stratified nature of Hopi knowledge. He introduces Wiki's narrative of the Snake Clan narrative with this recognition:

> There are three legends concerning this feast. One, which may be called the popular legend, as it is generally familiar to the people of all the villages; another is told by the "Keeper of the West Gate" (one of the Antelope priests), which is known only to the members of the two religious fraternities--the Snake, and the Antelope; and one known only to the chief priests of these orders. The legends differ widely in detail and incident, but substantially coincide in subject and purport. The following is the legend of the chief priests and is told by Wiki who is known as Chief of the Antelopes, although he really presides over both fraternities mentioned. (2)

Presumably the narrative Stephen recorded as "Legend of the Snake Order of the Moquis, as Told by Outsiders" (Journal of American Folklore 1 (1888) 109-114) is an example of the "popular legend."

Sullivan's recording of Wiki's telling of the Snake Clan narrative was made through Hopi, rather than Navajo as done by Stephen:

> Many years ago the fathers came up out of the west. Turtle-dove led them to the Colorado

river, and then they returned and brought the others. Close to Navajo Mountain (at the junction of the San Juan and Colorado rivers) was this early dwelling place. They built houses of stone but their garments were of yucca, and their shoes, and their ropes. From the rocks they made their hoes and axes. There was but little rain there, only fogs. They had four kinds of corn, yellow, blue, white, and speckled (blue and white), but the stalks grew only about the length of the hand, and the ears were only a finger's length. For reasons that are now forgotten, dissensions arose among the people, so the elder ones gathered together and, consulting, said, "Let us seek a chief." They sought a certain woman who had a son, and when they found him he had become a youth. "He has no name with us, we speak of him as Tiyo (the youth)." He was constantly thinking, "To what place does the water of this river flow," and he was told, "Its feet-marks carry it to the south." The youth said to his father, "You are fond of this water; do you never long to know where it comes from, and whither it goes?" The father said, "It is true, my son; I long to know, and in four days you shall go and explore."

Tiyo hollowed out the trunk of a cottonwood tree and made a "box" which was to two pieces (longitudinal sections); when the edges were fastened together it resembled a drum. It was of sufficient dimensions, within, for Tiyo to lie down and sit up, and the outside was pitched over with the gum of the pinon tree. He made a small hole in the end through which to push a stick with a bowl attached, and in this way he got water during the voyage.

Today, before beginning the songs of the Snake feast, we pitch all the crevices on the top of our kiva (underground place of worship) with pinon gum to commemorate the manner in which Tiyo's "box" was prepared.

Tiyo's elder sister prepared food for his journey. It was kwip-dosi (common Indian corn, boiled, roasted, and ground into fine meal).

For three nights bahos (prayer emblems--small objects carved from wood and trimmed with feathers) were prepared for Tiyo by his father. These were made bearing turkey feathers, and one bore eagle feathers.

At the end of the fourth day Tiyo put the bahos and his food in the "box," and at night he slept and regretted the coming of the dawn. But of his own accord he got into the "box" and closed it so that no water could enter. He floated away, against the current of the river, till he came to a place that like iron was fastened--it was surrounded with high rocks, and he said, "Very far, truly, have I come." At this place a woman sat. "Come out from that 'box'," said she, and she was Kokyangwuchti (the Spider-Woman). She has good breath, bad breath, and a breath. She can cause good or evil to happen, or she can remain passive. She knows everybody in the world, and hence knew Tiyo and had been expecting him. "Listen to me, for these are the teachings of the old people!" Then she said, "You have brought me that which is mine, the soft belly plumes of the eagle. Tumai (come out)!" Then Tiyo got out and gave her the eagle baho. She led Tiyo to a large mountain,

north and west from Navajo Mountain. At the back of his ear she perched, and on the way she told him many strange things.

That, many old men's lives before Tiyo was born the Hopitus (Mokis) were divided. The strong-hearted retained their dwelling places in the region to which she was now leading him, because they loved the Snakes and held them as their brothers. The Hopitus who were faint-hearted ones were the fathers of Tiyo's people. She was now leading him to the kiva of the Snakes, where he would see many wonders and learn much good, and should be prove strong of heart, they would teach him their mysteries, which he would convey to his people for their reformation. That a time would be when men with white skins, and of strange tongues, would come to their land, and those who were of the Snakes would be the first to learn good from them. But the Hopitus were not to follow in the white man's footsteps, but to stalk beside them, always keeping in the footsteps of their fathers.

So they traveled to the west and north till they came to a large rock where a great snake sat upright. Upon his head he carried a cloud and he sustained himself by sucking water from the cloud with his long forked tongue. Great Snake said, "Umpite" (Well, you have got here). Then Tiyo took the yellow corn pollen from his pouch and sprinkled toward the snake, and placed his bahos before him. Great Snake moved around them and breathed upon each of the feathers. Tiyo then sprinkled his meal in a circle, and within it made three straight lines, thus: [drawing of the Hopi six directions symbol].

The opposite ends of these lines pointed to the places whence come the rains and the good winds. Great Snake proved Tiyo in other ways, and then said: "I am satisfied. You have come from whence the water flows, to its source you shall go. Enter." The large rock was suddenly uplifted, disclosing a downward passage. Tiyo followed the Great Snake down this dark way, which was short but very rough, and the rock closed behind them. Soon he heard the voice of falling water, and its sound was like a sweet song, filling the heart with dreams of beautiful women and flowing streams. Suddenly his eyes were dazzled by a bright light issuing from a spacious cavern which was the kiva. The walls were smoothly plastered and hanging around them were the skins of many rattlesnakes. There were many men and women there who were clad on their right sides with sunbeams, and on their left sides with moonbeams. In the center were many maidens, dancing and tying around each other ribbons of fleecy clouds; these were clothed with the stray rays of stars and sprinkling drops of rain. In the midst there sat an old man who told Tiyo that he and his children had long been watching for his coming; and Tiyo sat and listened for many days. After many things had been told to him he was led to the falling water and was told to cast his clothing aside and bathe in it. After bathing, he was moving off, but his feet felt as if tied; then he noticed, for the first time, that all of the people had skins like snakes, shining like beautiful stones, and he himself was being enveloped in similar covering. He was then brought to the old man again who told him to choose a maiden for his wife. He was unable to make choice and asked the old man to select one for him. The old man reaching back, took hold of a misty cloud and began pulling it toward him, when there emerged from it a beautiful maiden, and this was the Tcuamana (Snake Virgin).

After many days they made the pungya (altar--literally, an enclosure) of the Antelope. When it was finished, the old man said to Tiyo: "you have opened for us the gateway. You have brought to us the daylight."--At another time the old man said to Tiyo, "When you return to your home, for four days you are to sit in the kiva, and on the third day you are to make the first baho, in the direction of the Sun's house (the west). On the fourth day make another baho and carry it to the south; this shall be a signal for gathering the Snake children. On the fifth day a virgin shall be selected who has not partaken of salt or flesh for four days, which will be a token that the hearts of the people are pure. On the fifth, sixth, and seventh days bahos will also be made. On the eighth day (the day of the dance) you shall also make one which will be the compensation to the Tsuamana, and will signify to the people that their children will be protected against the poison of the snake. The first baho shall reach from the wrist to the point of the second finger, diminishing each day; the sixth must be half the finger's length. They must all be made from the cottonwood tree, and this is the baho.--There will also be six songs, and they must be repeated in the order of the baho. To the west the first song shall be sung; to the south, the second; to the east, the third; to the north, the fourth; to the sky above you, the fifth; to the earth beneath you, the sixth; these songs shall be sung each day. On the third day the pungya shall be made." (Here follow minute instructions for the making of the pungya, which is described farther on.) "On the edges of the pungya, surrounding it, shall be placed the great bahos, and whenever a Snake chief shall die, a new baho shall be made, and set there at the feast. The pipe shall be smoked but by one man, and he shall be chief. There shall be the Keepers of the West Gate, the North, the East Gates, and they shall be the Keepers of the Songs. But many of the sacred mysteries that were there taught Tiyo, I cannot reveal to you; they must not be spoken of except in the kiva."

After a long time Tiyo said, "I to my home will return, and take Tcua-Mana with me." The Spider-Woman then said, "Go you to the west," and she followed them. They came to "a great water" into which the Spider-Woman went, and Tiyo and the Mana followed her. Then the Spider-Woman said, "To the east you must go, for the voice of your chief, praying for your return, comes to me. Now I give you the power to establish a new dwelling for your people."--To the east they went, Tiyo leading the way. It was the season of the year when the sun travels in the south, and they went toward him. Every evening, when the day's travel was over, Tiyo cut branches of the cottonwood and made a kisi (a temporary lodge, or shelter) in which Tcua-Mana rested. Under the kisi Spider-Woman would scrape a hole in the ground which filled with water for their use. It is in remembrance of this that we make a kisi for Tcua-Mana's children (the Snakes) on the day of the Snake Dance.

They came to the Colorado river and Spider-Woman said, "You are near your father's house; now I leave you. You are now the chief of the Antelopes. Through you shall come rain, and snow, and green grass. From you shall the songs proceed; to you shall the songs return; but nothing, no reward or benefit to you, or to me, nothing shall come," and she left them.

They were on the top of the mesas, which were higher then than they are now, and Mana sat for four days, then they went to the house of Tiyo's father. In the evening the old people went down into the kiva and there they listened to Tiyo, and they said to one another, "To whom shall we send our songs, to the Snake, or to the Antelope?" Then they washed the Tcua-Mana and gave her the name Tcua-wuchti (Snake woman), saying that her children should be their children, forever. Then they rubbed her face with the pollen of the yellow corn, and this we have ever observed at the baptism of our daughters, for it typifies both fruitful fields and fruitful women.

After Tiyo had explained the mysteries of the Antelope, he placed in his father's hands the remaining bahos of those he had received on setting forth on his voyage; these his father planted in the west, the east, and the south.

The Tcua-wuchti explained the mysteries of the Snake. She said to one, "This baho you take;" to another, "this rattle;" to another, "these feathers;" to another, "this baho;" and to another, "this thunder baho." At the end of her teaching, Tiyo gave his uncle the pipe, and when he had smoked, Tcua-wuchti said, "Do you all look closely at me"--and she gave birth to many snakes. At the end of four days the Snake children were taken up out of the kiva and distributed to the west, the east, and the south. Then the fathers plucked cactus and it hurt them not; some chose the yellow-flowered cactus, and some chose the red; some chose the rattlesnake, and some chose the turtle-dove, and the families of these men were ever after known by these things. The Snake was not our father, he is our adopted relative, our brother. This is the origin of the Snake brotherhood as I tell you, and these are the teachings of the old people. Only those of strong hearts can sit at the pungya of the Snake. The celebration of the Snake feast is to instill courage; not the mere looking on at its observance, for a coward may look at it, but the participants are all strong of heart. The teachings of its priests are to make men good of heart and pure of breath. We sing at this feast for rain also, for does not Great Snake bear the cloud upon his head, and through the Antelope come rain, and snow, and green grass?

Our fathers' people grew numerous, and their children were many, and these at their play were, many of them, bitten by the snakes and they swelled up and died. Our people then left that region, and after long journeys, found a place and built a great house. After a time the people were celebrating a feast, and Pekongya (dwarf brothers-genii) came also, but the women, not knowing who they were, took no heed of them and gave them nothing to eat. This angered Pekongya and they drew their double-headed arrow in their bow, and shot at the women's pungya, and immediately the great house fell, and all things became as rocks.

The place being thus accursed, our people again began to travel, seeking a new land, and Turtle-dove flew far and wide seeking a good place. After many journeys he led them down the valley on the west side of our present home. They found a place where there were many footprints like this [drawing of four concentric circles] and in pulling grass found a water jar, and whose footprints were they that surrounded it? For four days our uncles searched for the maker of the footprints, when our oldest uncle saw, coming over

> the west mesa, a who-was-it. Our uncle went to meet the strange, who was hideous and terrible, covered with blood and loathsomeness, and there was no flesh on his head. They kept walking toward each other, when they came together our uncle took hold of him, and it was Masau (god of the metamorphoses of nature). Masau spoke first and said, "You are strong of heart and know no fear--Good--let us sit down." Masau then took his own head off; he began at the chin and turned his head back, and lifted it off, and placing it upon the ground he sat upon it, and behold! Masau had become a handsome youth. He produced a large clay pipe from his ribs, and he filled it with tobacco and gave it to our uncle to smoke. Masau then said: "You and your people are strong of heart. Look in the valleys, the rocks, and the woods, and you will find my footsteps there. All this is mine, but by your courage you have won it. All this I give you, all this is yours forever, because you met me and were not afraid."
>
> Turtle-dove then searched for a good place to build a house, and led the people to the top of the mesa, and they built their houses here. Our people were the first who came here; Turtle-dove led the way, Antelope made the trail, and Snake followed close behind. In after times others came. From the east they came first, then from the south; these were Hopitus, for they had our tongue, and of these there were some who had lived in the great house of early time, in the north.
>
> Now this which I have told you is true, for the uncle of my uncles spoke with but one tongue, and to his children this story he told, which we were to tell to our children, and I have told it to you. (2-8)

Curiously, Sullivan's text of Wiki's narrative reappears in abbreviated form in Stephen's revised introduction to the catalogue of the Keam pottery collection (1894) and all the more curious in light of Stephen's own, fuller, recording of Wiki the same year, 1885 (Fewkes 1894:106-119; Stephen 1929:35-40). Stephen's version of the encounter with Maasau is particularly important when compared with Sullivan, above, for Maasau is portrayed as having walked around the Hopitutsqwa.

In summary, as a Snake Clan narrative with references to the study area and as an example of a Clan Migration narrative to be placed in comparative perspective, this work by Jeremiah Sullivan is a primary source for any understanding of Hopi narratives and their place in the privileged and stratified structure of Hopi knowledge.

Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian

General ethnology
Personal narrative

Don C. Talayesva
(Edited by Leo W. Simmons)
1942
New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. x, 460
Autobiography
Field research: not applicable
Hopi consultants: author, others as identified

Don C. Talayesva (1890- ; autobiographer) was born in Oraibi and educated in reservation schools before attending Sherman School for Indians in Riverside, California. In 1938 the Yale University social scientist, Leo W. Simmons, engaged Talayesva as a consultant. Drawn from material Talayesva presented in approximately 350 hours of interviews and over 8,000 pages of diary entries, Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian has been described by Simmons, who used only a fifth of Talayesva's material, as "a highly condensed record in the first person, and almost always in Don's own words." This, then, is the autobiography of Talayesva, representing his personal memories.

There does not appear to be anything directly related to the study area in Sun Chief. On the other hand, it is the kind of work which is often used in the interpretation of a ruin such as Kiet Siel which seems to grow through both natural increase and "the sporadic addition of other, perhaps unrelated, social groups." Thus, in Ancient Peoples of the American Southwest (1997), Stephen Plog quotes Don Talayesva after providing this preface:

> Such movements by sizeable groups over long distances to join a pueblo occupied by a different group are strikingly similar to the oral histories maintained by the Hopi. These histories describe the growth of Hopi society through the addition of entire clans who immigrated to the Hopi Country, sometimes after wandering over considerable areas, and were allowed to settle because they offered a particular set of skills or ceremonies. Don Talayesva, a Hopi Sun Chief, describes the growth of Oraibi after the village was established by Machito, the brother of the chief of Shongopavi. (122)

And then the quote from Sun Chief:

> Other peoples began to arrive. Whenever a new clan came, a member of the party would go to the Chief and ask permission to settle in the village. The Chief usually inquired whether they were able to produce rain. If they had any means of doing this, they would say, 'Yes, this and this we have, and when we assemble for this ceremony or when we have this dance, it rains. With this we have been traveling and taking care of our children.' The Chief would then admit them to the village. (421)

This is drawn from "Legends and Myths of the Hopi," Appendix B, in Sun Chief which includes Emergence and Clan Migration narratives (416-422). Here, notably, is the statement that Masau'u "agreed to give them what land they needed" but not references to place are made (421).

In general, there is no direct connection made to the study area in Talayesva's work. At the same time, it is a major--if personal--narrative of Hopi daily life during the pre-World War twentieth century.

Old Oraibi: A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa **General ethnology**

Mischa Titiev
1944
Cambridge: The Museum, pp. 273
Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 22:1
Monograph in a series
Field research: 1932 summer; August 1933-March 1934
Hopi consultants not identified

Mischa Titiev (1901-1978; Ph.D., Anthropology, Harvard University) conducted research in Oraibi during 1932-1934 and made ten separate field visits between 1937 and 1966. Among his special interests were religion and social organization. A diary Titiev kept during 1933-1934 provided the baseline for his subsequent observations of culture change among the Hopi which was published in The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: Change and Continuity (1972). He was a Professor in the Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, from 1936 until his death.

Titiev's early research at Hopi was concerned with "clans, lineages and related problems"; his later research involved an intensive study of Hopi religion. Old Oraibi reflects these two interests: Part I is devoted to kinship and social organization, Part II to Hopi ceremonialism.

At the time of its publication, a major contribution of Titiev's work was to provide an understanding of causes of the Oraibi Split of 1906. The accepted reason for the schism was seen to be a dispute over American influence, summed up in the labels, "Friendlies" and "Hostiles." The receptiveness of one faction to this influence indeed provided the *causus belli*, but, as Titiev makes clear, the primary reason for the split lay in the long-standing rivalry between two strong clans with in the same phratry for ceremonial position and land (75, 79). It is in this context that Titiev records "Lololoma's version" of the Emergence narrative, giving this important information in a note:

> The version given here is condensed from an account supplied by Tawaqwaptewa, who had been chosen and trained for the Village chieftainship by Lololoma. As the Bear chiefs tell it, the story is full of pointed references, not found in other versions, that color the narrative and support the Friendlies' position. (73, n.48)

In Lololoma's narrative there is a clear Bear=Friendlies vs. Spider=Hostiles equation. Although recorded apparently in the 1930s, "Lololoma's version" is reproduced in its entirety as it provides a contextualization of Kawestima:

> In the Underworld so much trouble was caused by the Spider and the Bow clans which were "partners" in mischief-making, that Matcito, the Bear clan chief, decided to order an Emergence. He planned to lead only his good followers to the surface of the earth, but some of the bad people (witches) also climbed out. Soon the young daughter of the Bear chief died, and it was found that she had been killed by Spider Woman, ancestress (*wuya*) of the Spider clan. Matcito was going to punish Spider Woman but she showed him that his daughter had returned happily to the Underworld so he let her go. [Titiev notes, "Most of the origin tales do not attribute the first death to Spider Woman. In fact, another

account of this episode blames the first death on the nephew of Matcito, the Bear chief.]

After journeying for some time, Matcito drew on the ground a line running to the east with two forked branches, one pointing north and the other south. "I am going to walk on the path to the south," announced Matcito. "You, Spider Woman, must go to the north. I have no power to feed my people or to bring rain. I have only the Watchmen Brothers [Little War Twins], the Katcinas and the Soyal ceremony. I think more people will follow you because you can bring rain and make the crops grow. You know how to protect your people from sickness--I have nothing."

[Titiev notes, "There is a triple motive for stressing Matcito's humbleness. The gods are more apt to help a poor man, humility is a great Hopi virtue, and unusual ability is the mark of a witch."]

Now the choice was with the people and a few prepared to go with Matcito but most of them went with the Spider Woman who had the Blue Flute ceremony which is supposed to bring a warm sun for the crops. As she was leaving, Spider Woman said, "I am going to the north to ***Kawestima*** where it is always cold. For a number of years we shall travel apart, but some day we shall come together again. Whenever we meet I will draw your people away from you and you will have no followers--you will be worthless."

Among those who had emerged with the Hopi was a White Man, Bahana, who had exceptional qualities and who looked upon the Hopi as "younger brothers." When Spider Woman had finished it was Bahana's turn to speak. "Now I will leave you and travel east," he said, "but I will turn to watch you, Matcito, and I will keep my ears open. If there is any trouble with the Spider Woman, I'll keep watch and help you. You, chief, turn to the east and watch me. We came from the same home--we are not friends but brothers. If Spider Woman makes trouble [witchcraft] I shall return and cut off her head."

Then Bahana departed for the east, Matcito started south, and the Spider Woman traveled to the north. In time Matcito settled at Oraibi and Spider Woman stopped at ***Kawestima***, near the Colorado river. During the first year her crops were very good, in the second year they began to fail, and in the third and fourth years she had no harvest at all. Then Spider Woman admitted her failure and advised her followers to rejoin Matcito. So they searched for his settlement and finally came to Oraibi and asked to be admitted. The Spider clan leader said, "I'll make a kiva for you and help you at Soyal. When you make *nakwakwosi* (prayer-feathers) for the Six Directions (the four cardinal points, zenith and nadir), I'll distribute them. I'll fetch the things you need in the ceremony, and I'll help you to erect the altars. At *totokya* (food providing, usually the final day devoted to secret exercises in the kiva), I'll collect the corn to be 'blessed' and I'll carry the offerings to Lehu spring and pray for your people. I'll be your helper and messenger, and you can just sit here and not do hard work while you are performing the Soyal." [Titiev notes, "The promises attributed to the Spider chief are only a catalogue of the duties he performed at Oraibi. Throughout the narrative the present situation is rationalized."]

> The Spider chief also offered to sing during the Soyal, to perform his Blue Flute ceremony, to hold the winter observances of the Blue Flute in his kiva. But despite his fair words and good promises he still had in his heart the idea of stirring up future trouble which he had received from the Spider Woman. Matcito too know what his destiny was, but he accepted the offers of the Spider leader and allowed his clan to settle at Oraibi. (73-74)

Titiev provides a detailed account of the events of the Oraibi Split, undoubtedly derived from a number of Personal narratives (although Titiev frequently cites Nequatewa--see review). The following action is taken out of context but the significance of Kawestima should be apparent:

> After some argument, the Friendlies seized one or two of the Chimopovy men and began to evict them forcibly. In the scuffle some of the Conservatives tried to aid their friends, whereupon their opponents shouted, "They're helping the Chimopovy people, now we can drive them all to ***Kawestima***." A man named Sikyahongva then grabbed Yokioma "and just slung him out the door," after which a general scrimmage followed. For several hours the rough and tumble lasted, and by late afternoon on September 7, 1906, the two sides found themselves facing each other on the level ground just outside the northwest corner of the pueblo. Yokioma shouted to his followers, and both sides paused to hear what he had to say. With his big toe trailing in the sand, the Hostile leader drew a line running east and west. To the north of it, facing south towards Oraibi, he grouped his own men, while the Friendlies clustered together south of the line with their backs to the village. Then Yokioma announced the manner in which Oraibi's fate was finally to be settled.
>
> "If your men," he said to Tawaqwaptiwa, "are strong enough to push us away from the village and to pass me over the line, it will be done. But if we pass you over the line, it will not be done, and we will have to live here." [Titiev notes, "The line drawn by Yokioma was supposed to represent the Colorado river, and the position of his men indicated that if they were passed away from the direction of Oraibi, they would go north to ***Kawestima*** near the Colorado river."]

Yokioma was pushed over the line and that night the Hostiles made camp at Hotevilla. As noted above, Part II of Old Oraibi is concerned with "Hopi Ceremonialism." Suffice it to note here: Chapter VIII, "The Basic Pattern and Underlying Concepts of Hopi Ceremonies," and Chapter XIV, "The Scheme of Hopi Ceremonialism" remain unsurpassed as introductions to Hopi world view, ritual calendar and "the meaning of Hopi religion."

In summary, Old Oraibi is a primary source for understanding something of the meaning of Kawestima in twentieth century Hopi thought. At the same time, it should be regarded as a basic source for understanding "traditional" (late 19th and early 20th century) Hopi religious thought and action.

Hopi Hearings, July 15-30, 1955

Emergence narrative
Hopitutsqwa

United States. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Phoenix Area Office
1955
Keams Canyon: [Hopi Agency], pp. 412
Transcripts of testimony
Field research: 1955
Hopi consultants: identified throughout
Emergence, Clan Migration and other narratives--texts

Sponsored by the United States, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Phoenix Area Office, the sixteen "Hopi Hearings" represent one of the few efforts made to listen to Hopis in a sustained and systematic manner. Most of the voices heard are male, most represent traditional village leadership. However, no other document captures the issues of the day (1955). (For a comparable "hearing" 35 years earlier, see Survey of Conditions of the Indians of the United States; Hearings before a Sub-Committee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, U.S. Senate, 71st Congress, 3d Session, Part 18: Navajo in Arizona and New Mexico (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932), pp. 8901-9804. Nearly 200 pages represent hearings at Tuba City, Keams Canyon, Hotevilla, Oraibi and Toreva.)

The Hopi Hearings of 1955 contain Emergence narratives by Dan Qotshongva, functioning chief of Hotevilla (23-26); David Monongya, Hotevilla, leader of the Traditionalist Movement after Qotshongva (44-46); Andrew Hermequaftewa, Bluebird clan, Shungopavi; and Tuwaletstiwa, Kykotsmovi, chief of the Bow clan (171-173). The Snake Clan Migration narrative is given by John Lomavaya, a First Mesa Christian Hopi (337-342). Many other forms of narrative--as traditional genres--are also included. Of special interest here, however, as several statements which define the tutsqwa.

Andrew Hermequaftewa, Shungopavi, provides a broad definition of Hopi lands:

> Our land is divided among our shrines [that] are established in the various directions for the purpose of prayer altars where we are to offer our prayers. The land which we considered as our land was from short to shore. We were given the privilege of using all the waters for the springs; such law was given to us in its completeness... These shrines are marked at San Francisco Peaks, Navajo Mountain, and at a placed they call Salt down south at Zuni. (86)

In another hearing, Charlie Homehongva describes how a unified tribal claim to tutsqwa was derived from the many separate claims of individual villages. He describes a meeting held at Oraibi in which representatives from all the Hopi villages met to consider the land:

> So they said "Loloma"--he was the chief at Old Oraibi--"You designate your area first." Loloma designated as a starting point Navajo Mountain. He said that will never go away. Then it followed the ridge on to the Grand Canyon up to the point where there was a spring that leads up near the route that goes to Supai Canyon and that was the road he designated for himself. And then they turned to Seetpella, the representative from Shungopavy. He designated the area up and around Williams--that is now Williams,

> Arizona. From there he went south to Turquoise Lakes and also included San Francisco Peaks because that was their eagle hunting area. That was the area he designated. It came then next to Sipaulovi's turn. Takanilsie--he was the spokesman for that village. He continued from where Shungopavy left off, taking in the mountain ridge south of Winslow over to the Woodruff mountains. Then came Mishongnovi's turn and its representative was Tawimoke. He designated the area from the Woodruff mountains on east to the Salt below Zuni and said that Salt area there was to be held open for both Sipaulavi and Mishongnovi so that they could get their salt there. From that point they came north to a place on this side of Ganado which they called Red Point. There they drew a plaque on the rocks. Then came Walpi's turn. Their spokesman was Iss. He continued the line from Red Point north to a point beyond Burnt Corn. That was the area he chose for his people. Following came Beeva, a representative of the Tewa village. He continued from that point and joined the land again at Navajo Mountain. This was the land that they designated for themselves to be used by their people. (148-149)

Lorenzo Yoyokie, Governor of Kyakotsmovi, put the BIA officials on notice early in the hearings in saying, "when you hear the word '*duts-quah*' you will know that the subject of land is coming up" (167). Other topics included stock reduction, Grazing District 6, the problem of liquor, the Wheeler-Howard Act, the Hopi Tribal Council, and the Navajo-Hopi Long Range Plan.

In summary, clearly much of the Hopi's concerns as represented in the hearings were of a very practical nature, such as stock reduction and a decreasing land base. Of interest to this study are the efforts to define tutsqwa.

The Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony **Clan Migration narrative**

H. R. Voth
1903
Chicago: Field Columbian Museum, pp. 267-358
Field Columbian Museum, Publication, No. 83; Anthropology Series, Vol. III, No. 4
Monograph in a series
Field research: Oraibi, 1896, 1898, 1900, 1902
Hopi consultants not identified

H. R. Voth (1855-1931; missionary, ethnologist). A member of a German Mennonite community, the Rev. H. R. Voth established a mission at Oraibi, where he lived from 1893-1902. He began immediately to learn the Hopi language and to embark on a systematic study of Hopi social organization and ceremonies in order to understand better their religious life. In 1897, through the encouragement of George A. Dorsey, he prepared a collection of Hopi material culture for the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago. Dorsey interested Stanley McCormick of the wealthy Chicago family in supporting Voth's collecting efforts and in publishing Voth's accounts of Hopi ceremonies and traditional narratives. All of Voth's publications from 1901 until 1912 were brought out under the auspices of The Stanley McCormick Hopi Expedition. "The Snake Legend" was collected in the vernacular and without an interpreter. Voth refers to other variants which may indicate this is a composite narrative.

In The Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony H. R. Voth provides a detailed account--in word and photograph--of the Snake ceremonies of 1896 and 1898 with additional observations from 1900 and 1902..

Like other versions of the Snake Clan Migration narrative, "The Snake Legend" from Oraibi differs in many details. From a comparative perspective--and given the concerns of the study--what is of interest here (as in "The Snake Legend" recorded by Voth at Mishongnovi) is the absence of any reference to Maasau. Nor is the narrator identified. The narrative ends abruptly:

> The Snake clan then came to Oraibi and asked to be admitted to the village, but the village chief, according to one version, refused them admittance, whereupon they moved to Walpi. Another version says that they remained in Oraibi. (353)

In summary, the Oraibi Snake Clan Migration narrative affords the opportunity of comparison with First and Second Mesa versions. However, no direct connection is made with the study area.

The Traditions of the Hopi

Creation narrative
Emergence narrative
Clan Migration narrative

H. R. Voth
1905
Chicago: Field Columbian Museum, pp. 319
Field Columbia Museum Publication, No. 96; Anthropological Series, No. 8
Collection of texts
Field research: Third and Second Mesa, identified
Hopi consultants: identified throughout

H. R. Voth (1855-1931; missionary, ethnologist). A member of a German Mennonite community, the Rev. H. R. Voth established a mission at Oraibi, where he lived from 1893-1902. He began immediately to learn the Hopi language and to embark on a systematic study of Hopi social organization and ceremonies in order to understand better their religious life. In 1897, through the encouragement of George A. Dorsey, he prepared a collection of Hopi material culture for the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago. Dorsey interested Stanley McCormick of the wealthy Chicago family in supporting Voth's collecting efforts and in publishing Voth's accounts of Hopi ceremonies and traditional narratives. All of Voth's publications from 1901 until 1912 were brought out under the auspices of The Stanley McCormick Hopi Expedition. The Traditions of the Hopi (1905) were collected in the vernacular and without an interpreter.

H. R. Voth's The Traditions of the Hopi includes a number of narratives not otherwise represented in the early (pre-1920) literature on the Hopi. The "Origin Myth" told by Qoyawaima of Oraibi is a Creation narrative which describes events which occurred in the lower world prior to the Emergence into this world (1-5). Likewise, "Huruing Wuhti and the Sun" narrated by Kuhkiuma of Shipaulovi describes similar events but ends with a summary statement regarding the location of certain clans (5-9). It is with "Coming of the Hopi from the Under-World" told by Lomavantiwa of Shipaulovi that an Emergence narrative appears (10-15).

Voth also obtained from Lomavantiwa a version of "The Snake Myth" (30-35). Lomavantiwa may be the unidentified narrator of "The Snake Legend" in Dorsey and Voth (see review). No mention is made of Maasau. Instead, in a narrative virtually identical at this point with the one in Dorsey and Voth, the "Snake man" (elsewhere Tiyo) encounters the village chief:

> When the Snake man returned to his village he and his wife traveled south-eastward, stopping at various places. All at once they saw smoke in the distance, and when they went there they found a village perched on the mesa. This was the village of Walpi. They at once went to the foot of the mesa on which Walpi was situated and announced their presence. So the village chief went down to them from the mesa, and asked what they wanted. They asked to be admitted to the village, promising that they would assist the people in the ceremonies. The chief at first showed himself unwilling to admit them, but finally gave his consent and took them up to the village. From that time the woman bore human children instead of little snakes. These children and their descendants became the Snake clan, of whom only very few are now living. (35)

Voth provides an abbreviated second version, "The Snake Myth" as told by Sikanakpu of Mishongnovi (35-36).

In summary, both versions are of interest in the comparative study of the Snake Clan Migration narrative. However, there is no direct link here to the Navajo National Monument area.

Folk Tales from Shumopovi, Second Mesa

Emergence narrative

Clan Migration narrative

Wilson D. Wallis
1936
Journal of American Folk-Lore 49:1-60
Collection of texts
Field research: not applicable
Hopi consultant: Joshua Humiyesva, Shungopavi

Wilson D. Wallis (1886-1970; Ph.D., Philosophy, University of Pennsylvania) recorded these narratives from a "Shumopovi Hopi during a visit to Philadelphia, in 1912. The story teller was a student at the Carlisle Indian School and was about forty-two years old. The visit was planned and financed through the University of Pennsylvania Museum" (1). From another article developed from these interviews ("Hopi Notes from Chimopovy," Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts & Letters 30 (1944) 523-556) we learn that the consultant was Joshua Humiyesva. Although Wallis received his doctoral degree in philosophy (1915), he developed an interest in cultural anthropology while a Rhodes scholar at Oxford in 1907. There he studied with E. B. Tylor and R. R. Marett and his emphasis on belief and custom, on rationality, on problems of diffusion, and on the comparative method differentiated his approach from that of his American contemporaries, who tended to be influenced more directly by the historical particularism of Franz Boas. He did field work among the Micmac of eastern Canada (in 1911-1912) and among the Canadian Dakota (in 1914). He does not appear to have done any field work among the Hopi.

Joshua Humiyesva's version of the Emergence narrative is one of the longest and most elaborate, in part because of the use of four. Four birds are sent to find an entrance in the sky above the lower world before Shrike succeeds and encounters Ma'cawa. He gives Shrike four foods to eat. They smoke a pipe four times. Ma'cawa tells Shrike, "I shall give you my land" (4). Shrike returns to the lower world where there are four delays. Then three trees are planted before ba'kavi [reed] is found to be the right plant to reach the world above. It is tested four times for strength. Ma'cawa repeats his promise to Shrike, "they may take my land" (6). The people prepare for their ascent beginning with the traditional village leadership: Ki'kamoi, town chief; tca'a'kamoi, crier chief; and kale'daxmoi, war chief. Humiyesva then tells us:

> The chief now started to climb up. Shrike, Town chief, War chief, and Crier chief, four of them, began climbing up. (7)

Four languages are created. And then the sun and moon. Four birds are tried to carry the sun and moon into place. As in other Emergence narratives, the chief's daughter dies. And as in many other accounts, two brothers are identified, one as Hopi, one as pahana but here:

The first man was a Hopi; the second one, an American. (11)

The migrations begin and there are four people, who go to the four directions. Humiyesva tells us:

> The Americans had now reached the East. Shumopovi was built first, and there the Hopi first made their abode. Thus the whole world, that is the whole United States, belongs to Shumopovi, from the place where the sun comes up to the place where it goes down, for

there the Hopi built the first house that was built. (13)

Humiyesva concludes his version of the Emergence narrative by recalling the words of his grandfather:

> "Do not forget this story!" he said. "Keep on! Perhaps they will not listen, they may punish you. Soon the white people, too, will know it and will believe it. Let an American write it down; perhaps he will keep it somewhere--east, north, south or west."
>
> Ma'cawa gave this story inscribed on a stone, to the Hopi. He said: "The whole earth is mine. As long as you keep this, it all belongs to you." One piece of this stone is broken off. Ki'oma, the present chief of Shumopovi, has the stone now. "When this story is forgotten, something disastrous will happen. Perhaps the stars will fall down into the ocean, and the ocean will become oil. Then the sun will set fire to it, and the conflagration will consume everyone. Perhaps there will be an earthquake that will kill everyone." That is what my father's father told me. (16-17)

In summary, no direct connection is to be made between this version of the Emergence narrative and the study area. However, from a comparative perspective, Humiyesva's use of the sacred number four is more extensive than any other recorded Emergence narrative. At the same time, there is a noticeable absence of attention given to place.

Book of the Hopi

General ethnology
Kawestima

Frank Waters
1963
New York: Viking Press, pp. 347
Monograph
Field research: 1951, 1960
Hopi consultants: Oswald White Bear Fredericks and others listed in the text (xvi)

Frank Waters (1902-1995; Engineering, Colorado College; writer). After a brief career as an engineer, Waters began one of the most successful writing careers in the Southwest. Among his many books are three which relate to the Hopi: Masked Gods (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1950); Book of the Hopi reviewed here and the autobiographical Pumpkin Seed Point (Chicago: Sage Books, 1969) in which Waters describes the three years he worked with Oswald White Bear Fredericks on Book of the Hopi.

Although one of the most popular books ever written on the Hopi, Frank Waters' Book of the Hopi is also regarded by some as one of the most unreliable. It is a potential source of an Emergence narrative, for example. However, as Armin Geertz has pointed out, "Waters' version is rejected on the grounds that it is a synthetic, panmesa retelling concocted by Waters, Oswald White Bear Fredericks and Otto Pentiwa. Waters' version is completely atypical for Hopi mythology in almost every way, but particularly because there is no emergence from the third world" (1994: 344, n1). Echoing Geertz, John Loftin writes, "This book, widely read and accepted, may not be reliable. Emory Sekaquaptewa told me that much of the information is inaccurate and that several ceremonial secrets as well as informants' names were improperly published" (1991:161). And, Albert Yava states, "Of course, there are plenty of contradictions in the Hopi traditions. There have been many discussions and arguments in the kivas about them. Nevertheless, quite a few things in the Waters-White Bear book are so ridiculous that no knowledgeable person can accept them" (1978:81).

Why is the book unreliable? Waters tells us this about how the book was compiled and written:

> Work on the project required nearly three years. Much of this time I lived on the Reservation in a little Hopi house below Pumpkin Seed Point, taking meals with my research co-worker, Oswald White Bear Fredericks, and his wife, Naomi, who lived a half-mile away...
>
> One after another, through the months, the discourses of our Hopi spokesmen were taken down in Hopi on a tape recorder by White Bear, who later translated them into English with the aid of his wife. White Bear was especially qualified to record and translate this source material. A full-blood Hopi born in Oraibi, a member of the Coyote Clan, and a nephew of the late Wilson Tawakwaptiwa, Village Chief of Oraibi, he attended Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, and Bacon College, Muskogee, Oklahoma.
>
> All the Hopi spokesmen willingly and freely gave the information they were qualified to impart by reason of their clan affiliations and ceremonial duties; none of them was paid informant fees in the manner customarily followed by professional researchers gathering

information for scientific studies... (xv)

Waters then lists the names, clan affiliations and villages of each of the spokesmen. He continues:

> From their rough source material, so often unavoidably incomplete and contradictory, supplemented by answers to specific questions, personal observations of all ceremonies, and field trips to all sites mentioned, with additional historical research, I have written the text presented here. (xvi)

What follows are Emergence and Clan Migration narratives, accounts of all the major ceremonies of the annual calendar and a history of the Hopi critical of the Navajo and the United States government. Why is it unreliable? Some of the material corresponds closely to other literature reviewed here. Some of it is clearly inconsistent with published accounts regarded as reliable. Much of it represents materials unique to this source and are unverifiable.

The spokesmen were dismayed to find their names listed--even if not associated with areas of sacred knowledge. White Bear later repudiated the book (Laird 1977:645).

The original tape transcriptions--four notebooks--are now a part of the manuscript collections located in the Center for Southwest Research, General Library, University of New Mexico (Mss 332 BC, Box 6). By directive of the Dean of the General Library, the notebooks have been "restricted" (i.e., closed) to any use since 1983.

It is with some irony that we note Waters' hope that this "Hopi Bible" will be of "great assistance to representatives of the...National Park Service" (xvii). Clearly it contains some relevant materials as detailed below.

One of the "sacred sites" Waters visited with a Hopi consultant is **Kawestima**:

> Some people say that the Snake, Fire, and Sun Clans also went to Canyon de Chelly before they parted from the Flute Clan. At any rate, they soon migrated west to a wild and beautiful region marked by great arched caves in the high cliff walls. Here at **Kawestima** [North Village] each of the three clans established a village of its own.
>
> The village to the south, Betatakin...was built by the Fire Clan. In the rock writings nearby are two interesting figures, among others (Figures 10a and 10b).
>
> The man in Figure 10a is said to be Taknokwunu, the spirit who controls the weather. It is easy to see why his figure with the rainbow stripes inside the shield was marked on the wall, for Figure 10b, with three quadrants painted red, shows that three-fourths of the surrounding area had dried up for lack of rain. This seems substantiated by tree-ring dating, embracing the period the Long Drought. The four hand prints to the left of Figure 10a show that the Fire Clan had completed its four-directional migration and was on its way to Oraibi.
>
> For centuries the Fire Clan always looked back on Betatakin as its ancestral home. After the disastrous split of 1906 at Oraibi when one quarreling faction moved out, it was with

> the intention of returning to Betatakin. Even today some dissidents in Hotevilla talk of going back to Betatakin, though it is now under government control.
>
> The village to the north...is Keet Seel, and it was built by the Spider Clan.
> The third village...is known as Inscription House...
>
> It is ironic that all **Kawestima**, called "North Village" because it lay north of Oraibi, now comprises the Navajo National Monument; and the builders of its three villages--ancestors of today's Hopi Snake, Fire, and Sun Clans--are known only as Anasazi, a Navajo name for the "Ancient Ones' who preceded them. There is nothing at all Navajo about the villages and their traditions.
>
> Abandoning these spectacular villages, the three clans moved south to build a new village on a point above present-day Moencopi. The Spider and Snake Clans carved markings on a stone near the spring. About 1870 a Mormon named Ashie cut out the portion of the rock containing the markings and mounted it over the doorway of the home which had just been built by Tuvi, for whom Tuba City is named. Here it was seen for years.
>
> For a long while the Fire Clan remained near Moencopi. The Snake Clan moved down along the Little Colorado, establishing a new village at Mongpatuiqa [Owl Point Water]. The Spider Clan traveled along Moencopi Wash to Talastema [Praise of Pollen], now known as Blue Canyon, where they built a village whose ruins are still visible. The clan then migrated to build a new village at Keleva [Sparrow Hawk Shrine].
>
> Finally, after centuries of migration, all three clans moved to Oraibi, camping below the cliffs near to the Kachina Clan until they were accepted in the village. (44-46)

Waters identifies "Kawestima [Cold Place]" in the Migration narratives of the Snake and Lizard Clans (89) but provides no further elaboration.

In summary, Book of the Hopi remains a relevant and problematic text. Particularly with regard to the study area, the materials provided to Waters are generally consistent with other narratives presented in the literature review. On the other hand, the concern of Hopi people regarding the ethics of recording (e.g., lack of prior consent for its use, violation of the privileged nature of many narratives) should be considered and respected.

The World of the Keresan Pueblo Indians **Kawestima**

Leslie A. White
1960
New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 53-64
Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin, ed. by Stanley Diamond
Article in a collection
Field research in the Keresan pueblos, 1930s
Keresan consultants not identified

Leslie A. White (1900-1975; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Chicago) is best known as an ethnological theorist who vigorously espoused cultural evolutionism, culturology, cultural determinism and cultural materialism, contributing to the development of these fields. Though known principally as a theorist, White did extensive field work among the Keresan-speaking Pueblos of New Mexico and published monographs on the Pueblos of Acoma (1932), San Felipe (1932), Santo Domingo (1935), Santa Ana (1942), and Sia (1962).

In this brief article, Leslie White provides a concise statement of Keresan Emergence narratives and cosmology (or world view). Its importance to the Navajo National Monument study is made clear in the following note in Peter Whiteley's Deliberate Acts:

> "Kawestima" may not be originally a Hopi word; "ka," as contrasted with "qa," is not, according to Malotki (n.d.), a word-initial Hopi syllable. E. Sekaquaptewa (1972:248) suggests the name derived from the former Village Chief's name. It may also derive from the Keresan term for a northern sacred mountain (spelled "Kawestima" by White 1942:83). Possible confirmation of the latter is found in Hopi oral traditions that locate Keresan-speaking peoples in the general Navajo Mountain area prehistorically. (328, n.3)

Significantly, the same linguistic reservations are made regarding the word kachina (katsina, katsinum, pl.) (Malotki 1991:51).

Sekaquaptewa's suggestion is considered elsewhere in this literature review as well as in the narrative. Although largely repetitious, it will be useful to reproduce White's portrayal of the cosmology of Santa Ana pueblo which Whiteley cites:

> The earth is square and flat. Beneath this world there are four lower worlds: the lowest is the white world, the next is red, then blue, and fourth, the world just below this one is yellow. At each corner of the earth there is a house in which a spirit, or god, lives.

Somewhere on the mythical landscape there are four houses...

> ...
>
> Midway between the four corners are the four cardinal points:...north...west...south...east. ... Added to these directions are...zenith...nadir...the middle, the center of the cosmos. At each of the six directions there is a mountain. Their names are **Kawestima**, north... At each mountain lives a supernatural being; their chief function is to govern the weather, to bring rain or snow. Cakak lives at North mountain; he is said to have the form of a man.

He is the personification of winter...

Each of the six directions has its own color... Each of the six directions has its own animal... (1942:80-83)

Nearly twenty years later Leslie White wrote an essay in which he presents of "fair consensus" of the Emergence narratives and the cosmology of the Keresan pueblos (1960:64, n.2). A number of comparisons between the Hopi and Keresan "worlds'" will be evident. Note especially that the reason for ascending through the lower worlds to this one is not given and there is no sense of the apocalyptic inevitability Geertz (1994) finds in the Hopi emergence. In order to place Kawestima in the Keresan cosmology it will be helpful to quote more fully from White's portrayal of "The World of the Keresan Pueblo Indians":

> ...The Earth was square and flat; it had four corners and a middle. Below the surface of the earth there were four horizontal layers; each one was a world. The lowest world was a white one. Above that lay the red world and then the blue one. Above the blue world, and just beneath this world that we are living in today, was the yellow world.
>
> In the beginning the people were living deep down inside the earth, in the white world, with their mother, Iyatiku. Finally it was time for them to come out, to ascend to this world. Iyatiku caused a great evergreen tree, a spruce or a fir, to grow so that the people could climb up its trunk and boughs to the next world. ...
>
> At last the people were ready to ascend into this world. Iyatiku had Badger make a hole through the hard crust. He made so much dust in his work that there was danger the people might be blinded, so Whirlwind Old Man went up and held the dust in his arms until Badger got through. ... Iyatiku asked Badger to look out into this world and tell her what it looked like. Badger looked out. "It is very beautiful up there," he told Iyatiku, "there are rain clouds everywhere." ...

They came out at a place in the north called Shipap. ...

First of all there was the Earth, Naiya Ha'atse, 'Mother Earth." ... Above the earth was
> Howaka, 'the Sky.' This was not merely empty space, but a real something, a structure that arched like a great dome above the earth upon which it rested.
>
> At each corner of the Earth was a house and in that house live a god. ...
>
> The cardinal points were important. They were called "middle north," "middle east," and so on, meaning that the points were midway between the corners of the earth. In addition to the four points on the horizons, zenith and nadir were distinguished and named. Each of the six directions had a color: north was yellow, west blue, south red, east white, zenith brown, and nadir black. At each of the cardinal pointed lived a god. Shakak lived at **Kawestima**, the north mountain; he was the god of winter and of snow. ...
> Each one of the six directions had its own animal: the puma lived in the north... Each cardinal point had also a woman, a tree, a snake, and a warrior. The women had colored

faces, each one the color appropriate to her cardinal point.

Thus, everything was well ordered in the world in which the Keresan Pueblo Indians found themselves, and neatly arranged according to the cardinal points. (1960:54-57)

In summary, White's essay is important to an appreciation/understanding of Hopi interests in the Navajo National Monument area. First, it reminds us that Kawestima is not simply a symbol to which various meanings are attached; its meaning--in part--derives from its place in a systemic conception of order. Second, because the word, Kawestima, is not a Hopi word, it suggests something of the complexity of determining not only the prehistoric migrations of peoples but the movement of ideas as well.

Bacavi: Journey to Reed Springs **Emergence narrative**

Peter M. Whiteley
1988
Flagstaff: Northland Press, pp. xv, 166
Monograph
Field research: Bacabi, 1980-1981
Hopi consultants not identified

Peter M. Whiteley (Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico) did fieldwork at Bacabi village, June 1980-August 1981, with shorter visits through 1985. His research on the Hopi has focused on social structure, politics and history. He is currently chair of the Department of Anthropology at Sarah Lawrence College.

Bacavi: Journey to Reed Springs is a history of this Third Mesa village which was formed in 1909 after the Oraibi Split of 1906. The text of this work parallels that of Whiteley's Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture Through the Oraibi Split published the same year, 1988. Both books developed out of the same research done at the request of the people of Bacavi. Deliberate Acts is situated within academic debates over the causes of the Oraibi Split. As a consequence its language is more technical, its documentation more extensive. Bacavi is intended for a more general audience and has succeeded in being not simply a history but a very accessible introduction in Hopi culture and society in the 20th century. Writing about the origins of these works, Whiteley states:

> Learning that the village was interested in having its history written down, I proposed such a project to the village's governing body. After a community-wide survey the project was approved, and work began in June 1980. From that time until August 1981, I stayed in the village, gathered information from Hopi historians--both within and beyond Bacabi--and local archival sources. After that period, archival research went further afield to a number of resources around the country... (xi)

Because Bacavi--the village-- had its immediate origins in the Oraibi Split, Bacavi--the book--reviews, descriptively, much of the material presented in Deliberate Acts regarding that act. Suffice it to say here, much of Whiteley's thesis is contained in the following statement made by Tawaquaptewa to Hopi Agency Superintendent, Theodore Lemmon, on September 9, 1906:

> [They] informed me that it was a Hopi prophesy that all this would come about and that whichever party was vanquished must leave the village and the Hopi country forever. That they must go far to the north to the land of "**Ka-weis-ti-ma**," told of in their religious songs; that nobody knows where this is or when it will be reached but the initiated have such a description of it that they will recognize it when they reach it... He [Tawaquaptewa] told me that he would give them [the Hostiles] time to get their stuff and at the end of that time they must break camp and start upon their wanderings. (59)

Lemmon went on to Hotevilla where, he writes, "I found Lo-ma-hong-ni-oma and told him what I had heard of their proposed travels in search of a land where no white men are to be found, and away to the north..." (59). It is important to note that these are Lemmon's words. However, in

the phrase, "where no white men are to be found," is added dimension to the meaning of Kawestima in the perspectives of the Hostile leadership.

Whiteley begins his history of the village, not with the Oraibi Split, but with a retelling of the Hopi Emergence narrative. It is not clear whether Whiteley's text is derived from a single consultant, several or a mixture of previously recorded texts and contemporary sources. Regardless, it is a very "readable" version and is reproduced here:

> Alika'i! Listen up! I am going to tell you a story.
> A long time ago, all of humanity was living in the world below. They had come to that world from two previous worlds that lay still farther below. The people had climbed up a strong, tall plant from these lower worlds in search of a better life above. They found themselves in the third world, where for a time all went well. The land was beautiful with flowers, and harmony prevailed among men.
>
> Before long, however, contention and strife began to arise. Women, it is said, ignored their household tasks and were constantly dancing. Men began to fight and accuse each other of witchcraft. Life had reached a stage of decadence and corruption. So the *momngwit*, "leaders," came together to see what could be done. In private meetings they smoked together and deliberated long and hard. They decided that to regain a pure life, they would have to leave this place. They would make sure the *popwaqt*, "witches" or "evil-doers" among the people, who had caused the world's corruption, could not follow.
>
> The sky, they knew, was a dome that covered the earth. Up above the domed arch, on its "roof," they had heard the tread of footsteps. So, they reasoned, there must be another world above this one. Perhaps the being who made the footsteps would give them permission to come and live there. In this way they would escape the evil of the world below.
>
> They decided to send out a scout to approach this being up above and report back to them. So they created a swallow, *pavawkyaya*, and sang over it to give it life. "What do you want of me?" asked the swallow. The *Kikmongwi*, or highest chief of the people, explained the mission they had in mind. So Swallow took off, circling higher toward the top of the sky and finally penetrated through a hole into the upper world. But he was so tired that he had no energy left to seek out the being whose footsteps had been heard. Swallow flew back down to the leaders and collapsed, exhausted. When he revived, he told them of his success in finding an passing through an opening to the world above, but that he had not found the maker of footsteps.
>
> So the leaders tried again and made a hummingbird, *tootsa*--and again with a hawk, *kiisa*. Each one reached the upper world and explored a little farther than the one before, but neither could find the maker of footsteps. The leaders were discouraged. Still, they decided to try one more time--the fourth. They made a shrike, *motsni*, and sang over it to bring it to life. Shrike flew up, circling around and around until he reached the opening in the upper world. He was still strong and flew all over the area looking for the being who

made the footsteps. He approached near the site of Oraibi Village, though of course there were no houses there at the time. It was here that he found Maasaw, the spirit-being who had made the footsteps and who was the sole inhabitant of the upper world. Shrike related the story of the world below. He told how the leaders had sent him as an emissary to seek permission for the people to move up above.

"Well," said Maasaw, "you can see that I am very poor and living a humble life here. This is the way it is up here. If your people are willing to live like this and share my way of life, they are welcome to come here, but be advised that it is a hard life."

"All right," replied Shrike. "I will take back your message."

He flew back to the opening and down into the lower world. Being endowed with great powers of endurance, Shrike did not tire as the others had, but flew right back to the leaders. He reported all that he had heard and seen, emphasizing Maasaw's poverty, and that the leaders would have to accept this kind of life. But they were pleased. "Very well," they said. "If he is willing to accept us this way, it is good. Let us make plans to leave."

A new problem arose. How were they to reach this new world above the sky? Someone came forward with an idea: they should plant a tree that would grow up to the opening so the people could climb up on it. So the leaders tried it. The tree grew very rapidly right in front of their eyes. But it only reached a certain height--short of the opening. They next tried two varieties of pine: each grew a little taller than the first, but still could not reach the opening. *"Isohi,"* they said. "Oh dear. What shall we do?" They determined to make one last effort. So they took a seed of the reed plant, *paaqavi*, and planted it. Again they sang songs with magical power, smoked and prayed with great earnesty. The reed began to grow, and kept on growing. After a while, they sent up Shrike to see whether the reed had reached the opening. Shrike flew up and up and saw the top of the reed still growing and yes! passing through the opening into the upper world. Down he flew and reported success. The leaders were delighted. Now they could begin.

A hole was cut into the base of the reed, and they began to ascend inside the hollow of the plant. The leaders went first, according to their rank, along with their families: first the *Kikmongwi*; then the chief of the Flute society, *Lenmongwi*, and on through the leaders of the other priestly societies, with the rear being brought up by the *Qaletaqmongwi*, or War Chief. After the leaders and their families had ascended, other families followed, and all emerged through the opening, *sipaapuni*, or "earth's navel" as it was now called. Soon the leaders became concerned that too many people were climbing up inside the reed. There was a danger that some *popwaqt*, "witches," would mingle in with the other people, in spite of all the precautions taken to prevent this. So the *Kikmongwi* took the reed and pulled it up. All the people left inside got stuck or fell back into the world below.

Shortly after emergence, the *Kikmongwi*'s son took sick and died. This was a very bad sign. It meant that a *powaqa*, "witch," had been able to climb up into the new world. Down below, witches had been the cause of all sickness and evil; this was why they should

have been left behind. The *Kikmongwi* made a special device to discover the identity of the evil-hearted one who had caused the death of his child. He took come cornmeal, spat upon it, and rolled it into a ball between his palms. Then he threw it high into the air. Down it hurtled and landed on the head of the young girl. The chief grew angry. "So you are the one who has caused the death of my child. I am going to throw you back through the opening into the lower world."

The *powaqmana*, or "witch girl," pleaded with him. "Before you do that, come to the opening and look down. You will see your son down there playing happily with other children." The *Kikmongwi* went to look and saw what she had described. "They will go down there." She begged the *Kikmongwi* to let her stay with them and, satisfied that his son was content, he allowed here to stay. Still, evil had penetrated into the new world and was destined to remain. Mankind had not completely escaped the problems of the world below.

During the emergence period, everything was cold and dark. Then someone noticed a light in the distance. The leaders sent a scout to investigate. Approaching the present site of Oraibi, the scout reached a field where corn, beans, watermelon, squash, and other plants were growing. All around the field a fire was kept burning to keep the ground warm and the air light for the plants. The scout came upon a being who was sitting by the fire with his back toward him. He approached carefully and asked who the stranger was. Three times he asked and received no response. At the fourth question, the stranger turned around. He was wearing a horrifying mask, covered with blood--it shook the messenger to his very marrow.

The stranger introduced himself. "I am Maasaw, guardian of this fourth world." This was the being whose footsteps had been heard below. He informed the scout that he had power over life, death, fire, and the earth. The scout in turn reported to all that he saw and heard back to the leaders. They decided to approach Maasaw They too were frightened by his terrible appearance but awed by his power. They asked if he would agree to be their leader on this earth. Maasaw looked them over. "No, I shall not be the one to lead you. You have arrived in my domain and are welcome to stay. But I can see that your hearts are already filled with your own intentions. You will follow these intentions, and I shall not try to influence you away from them. I will just stay here and take care of the earth for the Creator."

The leaders were puzzled that this being could see into their futures. He gave them certain predictions about paths the Hopi destiny would follow. One was that the people would leave this place separately and go off on migrations to the four ends of the earth. Then, a few at a time over a long period, they would return to dwell in his domain at *Tuwanasavi*, "the earth's center." They would build a settlement near this place, its name to be "Oraibi." Oraibi would grow into a large and prosperous town and all would go well for a while. Then evil, which they had brought with them into this world, would grow in Oraibi. Some of the people would become corrupt and lead decadent lives--much as in the world

below. Strife and contention would split the people into factions. The time would come when one faction would have to leave the village. They would journey back to **Kawestima**, a village in the north that would be built and abandoned during the migrations. Gradually, the people remaining in Oraibi would leave and it would decay into a ghost town, losing all the power it had built up through the magical ceremonies of the Hopi priesthoods.

The leaders took this in along with numerous other prophecies that Maasaw gave to them. Much they did not understand, but held it in their memories and determined to keep the knowledge of it alive through succeeding generations. So they preserved it in stories and songs, repeating these on special occasions and insisting that selected individuals memorize them and pass them on. This recorded wisdom became the core of *Hopinavoti*, Hopi prophecy and sacred knowledge.

As Maasaw had said, after the leaders had created the sun and the moon (though how they did this is another story), the time came to depart on the migrations. The people divided into different groups and began to leave the earth's center. The *Kikmongwi* had an elder brother whose name was Pahaana. The brothers agreed to separate, each to lead his own migrating party. Pahaana would lead his people to the home of the rising sun in the east and settle there for a while. But it was agreed that he should always preserve the memory of his younger brother, the Hopi, and that he would pass this memory down through his line of descendants. Should it ever happen that the younger brother's people came into insurmountable troubles, Pahaana or his descendant would return. He would look into the hearts of the younger brother's people and know which ones were the cause of evil. He would take these evil *popwaqt*, witches, and cut off their heads, thus purifying the people by leaving only those with good hearts. These were the plans made by the *Kikmongwi* and this brother, Pahaana.

And so they parted. Pahaana's group started out first and took a northerly route toward the sunrise. During the course of their travels these people became white men. They invented horses, shotguns, and many skillful techniques to help them in the world; some say they acquired the knowledge to do these things through the powers of witchery.

The *Kikmongwi* separated his people into smaller groups, and they began their migrations. These people were to remain Hopis. Gradually, each migrating group became a separate clan. One group, which the *Kikmongwi* led, came upon a dead bear and decided to take the spirit of this animal for their protector; thus they became the Bear clan. Another group paused during its travels and the leading members made a sand altar. As they were praying, a badger poked its nose up right in the middle of the altar. With this sign they became the Badger clan. In similar ways, each clan acquired its *wu'uya*, or "spiritual ancestor."

The clans all followed signs on their migration routes, such as a moving star, a constellation, or a light on the horizon. Periodically, they settled down at different spots and built villages. Then according to the signs the time would come to move on, and the

villages were abandoned. This is why there are so many ruins throughout the Southwest nowadays. Each clan had directives handed down by word of mouth. All were destined to return some day to the earth's center.

The Bear clan arrived back first. They build a settlement below the middle, or Second, mesa next to a spring. The village took the name of the spring: *Songoopavi*, "Sand Grass Spring Place." More clans arrived in due course, in accordance with the patterns and extent of their migrations. For a while, harmony prevailed and the village grew prosperous. But then trouble arose within the Bear clan. Two brothers were rivals for the leadership position. Antagonisms increased, and rumor and accusation flew back and forth. The last straw came when one lured away the other's wife.

Reconciliation was now beyond hope. The younger brother, Matsito, realized there was only one option: to leave the village and never return. So he departed toward the west. He reach the next, or Third, mesa and made a camp below it. For a while, Matsito lived by himself. Then one day he discovered he was not alone. He heard someone moving around on top of the mesa, near a sandstone knoll toward the western edge. This was the rock know as "Oray," though what Oray refers to no one know for sure.

Matsito set out to find out who the stranger was. He almost jumped out of his skin when he saw that it was Maasaw himself, the bloody-headed spirit-being who had greeted the people upon their emergence from the world below. In this way, Matsito learned that the migrations were complete. He had returned to the earth's center and the home of Maasaw--the final destination of the migrating clans foretold in the prophecies.

[Whiteley notes: "This is, of course, a Third Mesa viewpoint. Other locations are regarded as the true destination in versions from other villages."]

Matsito asked whether Maasaw would let him build a house on the mesa top near the rock of Oray. Maasaw replied that permission was his neither to give nor to decline: he was merely the guardian of this earth on behalf of the Creator. But, if such was Matsito's intention, there would be no objection. So Matsito moved his dwelling to the top of the mesa near the rock of Oray, and this place came to be known as Orayvi, "Place of the Oray Rock." Such, according to Hopi history, was the origin of Oraibi, the oldest continuously inhabited settlement in North America. [Again, Whiteley notes, "Shongopavi is regarded by all Hopis as the first settlement. But after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 it was moved to the top of Second Mesa."]

Gradually, Oraibi grew through the addition of other clans completing their migrations. Some clans went to Shongopavi, others to Awa'tovi, "Bow Height," and Walpi, "Place of the Gap"--villages that came into being as other offshoots of Shongopavi, the mother village (later on, other villages too--Mishongnovi, Shipaulovi, Sichomovi) were founded. But many clans came directly to Oraibi.

> Admission to the village was not an easy matter. The clan had to prove its worth to the *Kikmongwi*. First, the clan leader had to formally request that his people be given permission to move into the village. The *Kikmongwi* questioned him: What benefit did his people have to offer the community? So the clan leader would recount their migrations, indicating that they had been able to survive and endure through the aid of powerful spirits. Moreover, many clans owned a ceremony, which, with the help of their protecting spirits, could benefit mankind and the whole world. The ceremony could bring rain for the crops and health and fertility for the people, and could provide happiness and entertainment. So the *Kikmongwi* proceeded to ask for a demonstration. If the ceremony proved successful, the clan was invited to move into Oraibi. The *Kikmongwi* set aside an area for them to build home and a plot of farmland in the valley below. In return, the clan agreed to perform its ceremony on a regular basis during the seasonal cycle. The Spider clan brought the Flute ceremony, the Bow clan the *Saalako* ceremony, the Badger clan the *Powamuy* or Bean ceremony, the Eagle clan the Clown ceremony. The *Kookop*, or Fire, clan agreed to use the power of their protector, who was none other than Maasaw himself, to give the village warriors supernatural strength to defeat enemies. Just as the Bear clan always proved the *Kikmongwi*, or Village Chief, so the Fire clan came to provide the *Qaletaqmongwi*, or War Chief, head of the Warriors' Society and first protector of the village.
>
> In this fashion Oraibi was gradually built up of many different clans, all of which passed on their clanship through the mother's line. As well as Bear, the clans included Spider, Bluebird, Parrot, Rabbit, Badger, Butterfly, Eagle, Sun, Snake, Sand, Fire, Coyote, Squash, Bow, Greasewood, Reed, Young Corn, Divided Spring, and a host of others. Each clan had its own role in the life of the village. Some led the performance of great ceremonies, others were warriors, and others had magical powers to cure sicknesses and combat evil.

All was well and Oraibi prospered, soon becoming a thriving community. (7-13)

In summary, like many other books and articles in this literature review, Whiteley's Bacavi contains passing references to Kawestima, as noted above. Beyond this, Bacavi not only provides a somewhat modernized but very readable Emergence narrative, it is an excellent introduction to twentieth century Hopi culture and society, especially for Third Mesa.

Deliberate Acts:
Changing Hopi Culture Through the Oraibi Split

Kawestima
General ethnology

Peter M. Whiteley
1988
Tucson: University of Arizona Press, pp. xxi, 373
Monograph
Field research: 1980-1981 (Bacavi)
Hopi consultants not identified

Peter M. Whiteley (Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico) first engaged in research into the history of Laguna Pueblo, Santo Domingo Pueblo, the Mescalero Apache and Navajo before the opportunity to write a community history for Bacavi Village turned his interest to the Hopi. He did fieldwork at Bacabi village, June 1980-August 1981, with shorter visits through 1985. His research on the Hopi has focused on social structure, politics and history. From 1983-1985 he was Director of the Special Collections Library at Northern Arizona University. Since 1985 he has been a member of the faculty and is currently chair of the Department of Anthropology at Sarah Lawrence College.

Two books developed out of Whiteley's research on the history of Bacavi. Bacavi: Journey to Reed Springs is a history of this Third Mesa village which was formed in 1909 after the Oraibi Split of 1906. Intended for a more general audience, it has succeeded in being both a history and a very accessible introduction to Hopi culture and society in the 20th century. _Published the same year, 1988, Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture Through the Oraibi Split is situated within academic debates over the causes of the factionalism. As a consequence its language is more technical, its documentation more extensive.

In many ways the story is well-known. In 1906, a factional dispute that had been brewing for over a quarter of a century culminated in the disintegration of the Third Mesa village of Oraibi. Anglo observers, especially anthropologists, have gone to some lengths to determine the underlying causes of the dissension, convinced that in Hopi factionalism lay the key to understanding Hopi social organization. Almost all observers, including Hopis, agreed that the *causus belli* was a dispute over the appropriate response to United States policies regarding the Hopi. In consequence, the factions were initially referred to as Friendlies and Hostiles and, later, as Progressives and Conservatives.

And yet, few anthropologists have accepted this conventional view. Mischa Titiev, Fred Eggan, and Richard Maitland Bradfield (all reviewed here) have seen Hopi factionalism as the consequence of a fragile social structure unable to maintain unity when faced with a changing physical, social, or political environment (5). Hopis, on the other hand, while recognizing all of these factors, believe that the split was the fulfillment of an ancient prophecy, and that the ceremonial leaders of both factions consciously conspired to bring the prophecy to its preordained conclusion by arranging for the disintegration of the village (see, for example, Sekaquaptewa).

Whiteley agrees that the events of the dissolution were "deliberate acts" (69) decided upon by the leaders of each faction in collusion. His synopsis of the Hopi perspective is as follows:

The Hopi analysis of the Oraibi split, which I have offered as that made by the more knowledgeable sector of the society, concentrates on a set of features:

1. The split was a deliberate plot, brought into operation by Oraibi's active *pavansinon*, or politico-religious leaders, via the subtle mechanisms of Hopi political action.
2. The split was foretold in a body of prophecies, recorded in ritual narrative and song, and the years prior to the split were recognized as fulfilling the conditions set forth in the prophecies as appropriate to the destruction of the village.
3. The split's primary purpose was radical change in the structure of society.
4. Such radical change was directed particularly toward the politico-religious order, which was regarded as the central axis of the social system. (283)

What is of interest here is Kawestima, the "prophesied destination," of the Hostiles as they left Oraibi (112). And, again, even after establishing Hotevilla, "there was periodic talk that Hotevilla people would move on to their prophesied destination of Kawestima" (232). Whiteley gathered accounts of the Oraibi Split from a number of Third Mesa elders, including this Old Oraibi version:

> Now *wiimi* [religion, religious practice], that was ended at Oraibi in 1906. They purposefully destroyed it. All the head priests at Oraibi decided that no one should carry it on. Even the people who went away [the Hostiles] made a vow not to practice it. This is what was agreed upon. It was ended... The split was carried out based on *navoti* [knowledge, prophecy]. Using this they planned the destruction of the ceremonies. But after they sat down and really talked about it, they saw that they could fulfil the prophecy [on the destruction of Oraibi] easily by taking into consideration that Oraibi was overpopulated, water was scarce, and good farming land was depleted. So the old chiefs pondered and talked about this situation of hardship. It was decided that the only way for the people to survive was to split up. All the chiefs agreed and it was decided on in good faith and with no ill feelings toward each other. Yukioma agreed to lead one group out of Oraibi, and in this way he would fulfill his clan's prophecy of return to their ruins at **Kawestima**... But Yukioma had a change of heart: he refused to go on his own and carry out his promise... Some of us who knew little of the plan between Loololma, Tawaquaptewa, and Yukioma saw the bitterness as real. We *sukavungsinom* ["common people," those without offices in the religious societies or without significant social or supernatural power] started the real fighting and were truly bitter toward each other--it was not supposed to go this far. (257)

Whiteley writes, "According to these versions, those who left Oraibi were supposed to go to Kawestima (generally thought to be Keet Seel in Tsegi Canyon, although this is debated). When they reached Kawestima, they might have reconstituted the ceremonial cycle, but they [about a third of the Hostiles] forfeited the right to do so when they returned to Oraibi" (257-258). In a note at this point, Whiteley brings together some intriguing information:

"Kawestima" may not be originally a Hopi word; "ka," as contrasted with "qa," is not, according to Malotki (n.d.), a word-initial Hopi syllable. E. Sekaquaptewa (1972:248), suggests the name derived from the former Village Chief's name. It may also derive from the Keresan term for a northern sacred mountain (spelled "Kawestima" by White 1942:83). Possible confirmation of the latter is found in Hopi oral traditions that locate Keresan-speaking peoples in the general Navajo Mountain area prehistorically. (328, n.3)

Whiteley provides Sekaquaptewa's full account of the Oraibi split (see review of Sekaquaptewa for full text). Since not all of it is relevant here, only the passages referring to Kawestima are given. Sekaquaptewa writes:

> The division was said to be the fulfillment of prophecy taught by a religious ceremony in which an act in finale by the participants was a declaration in unison that "this is the way we shall go to **Kawestima**." The participants would make this declaration just as they left the kiva, after having wrapped up their altars and put them over their shoulders. Presumably, this commemorates the prophecy that the Hopi people will return and reclaim the ancestral home of **Kawestima**, which name was said to belong to the kikmongwi of that ancient village. Yukeoma and his followers were to seek and resettle **Kawestima** after their ejectment from Oraibi. (261)

Whiteley notes that--with the exception of the account of the Oraibi Split in Don Talayesva's Sun Chief--every other account "mentions either the conspiratorial or the prophetic aspects of the split or both" (259). He quotes a narrative from H. R. Voth's Traditions of the Hopi (published in 1905, the year before the split):

> This is the way chiefs often punished their children (people) when they became "bewitched." That is one reason there are so many ruins all over the country. Many people were killed in that way because their chiefs became angry and invited some chief or inhabitants from other villages to destroy their people. (Voth 1905:256) (263)

Whiteley follows this with the observation: "the analysis presented of the Oraibi split is not a unique interpretative pattern: it conforms to a historical paradigm with ample precedent" (263).

Two days after the split, Tawaquaptewa and other Friendlies told Agency Superintendent Theodore Lemmon:

> ...that it was a Hopi prophecy that all this would come to about and that whichever party vanquished must leave the village and the Hopi country forever. That they must go far to the north to the land of **Ka-weis-ti-ma**, told of in their religious songs; that nobody knows where this is or when it will be reached but the initiated have such a description of it that they will recognize it when they reach it. (265)

Towards the end of his review of Hopi interpretations Whiteley provides something of a summary of "the prophecy":

It is impossible to recreate fully the interpretations that Oraibis in the late nineteenth century, either pavansinom or sukavungsinom, were making of the events surrounding their lives. As we

have seen, the basic idea of the ethnosociological analysis was that the split was a deliberate plan and that one of its most significant aims was to bring the ritual order to an end, in part because of decadence and corruption. Purity of intention (a "pure heart") and conduct (including fasting and sexual abstinence) is mandatory for the successful consummation of ritual action. At some point during Loololma's tenure as Kikmongwi, certain severe transgressions of ritual propriety occurred. Loololma's responsibilities as Kikmongwi included maintaining general religious harmony within the village. The improprieties...--deliberately plotted by certain priests--partly involved a direct attempt to undermine Loololma's religious duties.

> Such corruption is regarded as critical to the desire to bring the ritual order to an end. The world had ripened to where events signaled fulfillment of the prophecy on the destruction of the central axis of Oraibi society, its *wiiwimi* or ritual matrix. This prophecy held that after Oraibi's division the ejected party would return to destroy the village completely. The attack was supposed to be launched from the ruined village of Huk'ovi, about two miles tot he northwest of Oraibi, which is where the departing Hostiles should have gone first. After destroying Oraibi, they would return to **Kawestima**, making three stops on the way; they would rest at each stop for four years (the archetypal measure in Hopi sacred narrative is four units)--time to raise enough corn for the journey to the next resting place. [In a note Whiteley adds: The particular places are the subject of some disagreement: some say that Huk'ovi was supposed to be the first place, others Hotevilla, and others a place named Kaukwitsnayavu west of Dinnebito Wash. According to the latter view, the next place, whose name I do not know, was a little north of Blue Canyon, and the last place just south of Wakasva (Cow Springs). From there, they would be in striking distance of **Kawestima**, their fourth and final stop. (328-329, n.7)]
>
> At **Kawestima** they would reconstitute *wiiwimi* (particularly the first-order societies) on the lines of Oraibi, but this should not be done at any of the temporary settlements. Meanwhile, if Oraibi was not completely destroyed, it would gradually decay away into a ghost town. Sometime in the future, after renewed nomadic migrations with no permanent homes (similar to the period after the Hopi emerged from the world below), people will return to Oraibi, crawling on their hands and knees. After this, Oraibi will rise again to be a flourishing community. (269-270)

Although *wiiwimi* [religious practice] was not to be resumed until they had reached Kawestima, the Snake Dance was held at Hotevilla in 1908. Wuwtsim ceremonies did not begin until 1914. Whiteley explains:

> After ongoing debate in the village over whether to move toward **Kawestima**, there was much argument over the resumption of *Wuwtsim*. ...Yukeoma was not himself in favor but bowed to popular demand. ... In effect, this signaled a decision to keep their settlement in Hotevilla, although movement toward **Kawestima** was debated for many years thereafter and continues to be raised periodically. One of the modern Hotevilla factions has plans to build a new village in the Hopi Partitioned Lands when they become available, and only half-jokingly, the story is that it will be called "**Kawestima**." (279-280)

Whiteley's book draws not only on his work with Hopi consultants in Bacavi and elsewhere on Third Mesa, it is richly documented with materials from published and archival sources. Chapter

2 (11-43) is a detailed history of Third Mesa through the establishment of the Executive Order Reservation in 1882. Chapter 3 (44-70) is a masterful review of Oraibi's social and ceremonial organization at the end of the 19th century. It is in this discussion that Whiteley details the nature of social stratification in Oraibi, a contribution many regard as the most significant of his work:

> Hopis recognize divisions of rank which they regard as very significant in the conduct of everyday (and not so everyday) affairs. The cardinal division is between *pavansinom* and *sukavungsinom*. *Sinom* is a plural meaning "persons" or "people." In this context *pavan* is most aptly rendered "most powerful" or "most important." I have been offered Hopi etymologies of *sukavung*, but these are debatable and I think it best to work with the usual Hopi-English gloss for *sukavungsinom*: "grassroots people" or "common people."
>
> Conversely, the usual gloss for *pavansinom* is "ruling people." (65)

In Chapter 3, Whiteley picks up Third Mesa Hopi history with 1882 and carries it through the Oraibi Split. His purpose, again, was to write a history of Bacavi Village and so this chapter takes the reader to the establishment of Bacavi in 1909. Thus the middle three chapters of the book (5-7) are an account of "Bacavi Society" (121-239). It is only after this context is described that turns to the anthropological and Hopi analyses of the Oraibi Split in which the concept of Kawestima is introduced.

In summary, clearly Whiteley's analysis is one of the most important as a background to an understanding and appreciation of contemporary Hopi interests in the study area. The prophecies associated with the Oraibi Split constitute just one of several ways in which the ruins of Navajo National Monument have meaning for the Hopi people. Judging from available published sources it may be asked, is Kawestima a uniquely Third Mesa concept?

Ethnobotany of the Hopi **General ethnology**

Alfred F. Whiting
1939
Flagstaff: Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, pp. viii, 120
Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin, No. 15
Monograph
Field research: October 1935 (crop plants); summer 1937 (wild plants)
Hopi consultants: Second and Third Mesa (identified, p.59)

Alfred F. Whiting (1912-1978; M.A., Botany, University of Michigan) was Curator of Botany at the Museum of Northern Arizona, 1935-1937. Although he later continued studies in botany and anthropology at the University of Chicago and was a research ethnobotanist at the Museum of Northern Arizona, 1974-1978, his major work on the Hopi is the Ethnobotany of the Hopi (1939). The more than 21,000 pages of Whiting's study and field notes relating to the Hopi have been compiled into 81 topical binders and indexed. These have been checked for references to Kawestima with only one passing reference noted. They are located in Special Collections, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff.

Whiting's Ethnobotany of the Hopi is, in a very remarkable way, an introduction to Hopi culture through plants. Whiting tells us the "who" and "when" of his research but not the "where" although most, if not all, appears to have taken place near the three mesas and in Keams Canyon. A section on "wild plants obtained at a distance" does not appear to be based on field work (49). While the ethnobotanical field work on which Whiting's study is based is limited to areas near the Hopi villages, it provides a vivid portrait of ways in which the Hopi people make use of the plant environment.

In Chapter I Whiting briefly considers (1) the relationship of ethnobotany to botany and anthropology, (2) problems involving ethnobotanical data and (3) the presentation and interpretation of ethnobotanical data.

Chapter II, "The Hopi and His Environment" includes "The Hopi Attitude towards Nature" ("as told to M. R. F. Colton" by an unidentified Hopi consultant). The opening paragraph provides the distinctive Hopi perspective:

> To the Hopi all life is one. All the animals, birds, insects, and every living creature, including the trees and plants, in the forms in which we ordinarily see them, appear only in masquerade, for, as the Hopi say, all these creatures that share the spark of life with us humans, surely have other homes where they live in human form. Therefore, all these living things are thought of as human and, may sometimes be seen in their own forms. When one of them is killed, its soul must return to its own world which it may never leave again, leaving behind it descendants which will take its place in the human world, generation after generation. (6)

Chapter III is concerned with "Agriculture." Whiting notes that in spite of the intense interest of the Hopi in new varieties of crop plants and their numerous introductions and experiments, the Hopi grew the same plants in 1936 as A. M. Stephen noted in 1893. Plants grown by the Hopi

since prehistoric times include corn, squash, bean (kidney), tepary and cotton (no longer grown). There are some plants of doubtful origin which may have been introduced in pre-Spanish times: sunflower, gourd, lima bean and Aztec bean. Plants which were introduced after the coming of the Spanish: onion, chili peppers, watermelon, peaches and wheat. The Mormons introduced safflower, turban squash, sorghum (grown only under irrigation at Moenkopi). Beyond this Whiting lists a number of other plants of recent introduction (12-13).

Agricultural methods are characterized briefly (see Hack) as well as the preparation of corn dishes (see Pearl Beaglehole in Ernest Beaglehole's Notes on Hopi Economic Life). Perhaps the most interesting section of this chapter deals with the cultivation of wild plants which includes two varieties of wild tobacco, beebalm, willow, cottonwood and several other plants (16-17).

Whiting turns more directly to "wild plants used for food" in Chapter IV. Here he considers staple foods (grasses, nuts), spring greens, seasoning, beverages, etc. as well as plants under the rubric of "when the crops fail"--cactus, juniper and other berries.

In Chapter V Whiting documents the many plants used for "construction, implements and decoration," which includes fire making and firewood, implements of hunting and war, musical instruments, household utensils, arts and crafts and personal decoration.

In Chapter VI Whiting describes Hopi medical plants and the specialized knowledge of the Hopi "medicine man." Here the plants are arranged by use.

Chapters VII and VIII are concerned with the use of plants in ritual. In Chapter VII Whiting considers the use of plants in Hopi ritual for emetic and smoking, in the manufacture of ceremonial paraphernalia, etc. In the next Chapter (VIII) Whiting moves from practical to symbolic uses of plants in Hopi ritual. For example, many plants associated with water are used in Hopi ceremonies. Corn, flowers, trees and shrubs are associated with the cardinal directions. As Bradfield notes as well (see review of Bradfield's An Interpretation of Hopi Culture), many Hopi clans are named for plants.

Chapter IX summarizes Whiting's findings regarding "the Hopi in relation to their environment" (see review of Hough). The following are the main categories from his summary of plants used by the Hopi: Cultivated plants (40); Semi-cultivated plants (10); Wild plants used for food (54); Construction, implements and decoration (47); Medicinal plants (65); Ceremonial and Magical (37); Plant symbols (45). Here Whiting also discusses plants which are not used, not generally recognized and a few which are of "negative importance" (loco, tumble weed, etc.).

In Chapter X Whiting provides detailed information regarding his field work. Previous work is reviewed. He lists his consultants and the areas of their contribution.

Chapter XI (40% of the work) is an annotated list of plants. The scientific, common and Hopi name of the plant is given as well as information regarding availability and use.

In summary, no direction relationship to the Navajo National Monument area is claimed here. However, Whiting provides an understanding and appreciation of the Hopi use of the plant

environment, some of which may be applicable to both prehistoric and modern uses (practical and symbolic) of plants in the study area.

Big Falling Snow:
A Tewa-Hopi Indian's Life and Times and the History and Traditions of His People

Kawestima

Albert Yava. (Edited and Annotated by Harold Courlander)
1978
New York: Crown Publishers, pp. xiii, 178
Autobiography
Field research: not applicable
Hopi consultants: author, others as identified

Albert Yava (1888-1980; linguist) was born to a Hopi father and an Arizona Tewa mother. He attended the first day school at Polacca, then Keams Canyon boarding school, and later spent five years at the Chilocco boarding school in Oklahoma. He returned to the reservation in 1912 and thereafter was employed as a painter in the maintenance department of the Agency. Because of his knowledge of Tewa, Hopi, English, and some Navajo, he served as an interpreter whenever such services were required. For a period, he was the official interpreter for the Hopi Tribe. In 1943, he provided the Hopi text for two bilingual readers, Field Mouse Goes to War and Little Hopi, with the English text provided by Edward Kennard. He served as a major consultant to Harold Courlander for both The Fourth World of the Hopis (1971) and Hopi Voices (1982). He chose to retire to the Colorado River Reservation. While there, he collaborated with Harold Courlander in writing this book. In discussing his identity, Yava said:

> Even though we maintained many of our own ways, we have shared the Hopi life and taken in a good deal of it. ... We have interrelated with Hopi families in all the villages. Many of us have become members of the various Hopi kiva societies. We share dances and festival days with the Hopis. We belong to the same clans. We are usually represented on the Hopi Tribal Council. We have fought side by side with the Hopis on all the survival questions, stood solid with them facing the Navajos and the white man. In many ways we are indistinguishable from them, and often you hear us say in conversation, "we Hopis," not because we have forgotten that we are Tewas but because we identify with the Hopis in facing the outside world. In fact, in many ways we are closer to the Hopis than to our Tewa brothers and sisters in New Mexico. (129-130)

Big Falling Snow significantly adds to the Arizona Tewa voices on record and complements the works of Edward P. Dozier on Arizona Tewa language and culture.

Yava's work includes the Clan Migration narratives of the Snake and Horn clans (55-61), with reference to Kawestima:

> [The Snake Clan's] journey covered a long expanse of time. They made many stops, at each of which they settled for a time, and then went on. It seems that they wandered back and forth a good deal. They got to Monument Valley, lived there for a while and left. Some of the ruins in Monument Valley are of villages built by the Snake Clan. The people went on till they reached **Kalewistema**, where those cliff ruins are in Tsegi Canyon, west of Kayenta. It's an important place in Hopi tradition. A number of Hopi clans lived there at one time or another, including the Water Coyotes. While the Snake Clan was living at

Kalewistema they heard that there were Bear Clan villages down here on the Hopi mesas, so they moved in this direction. Part of the clan broke-off and went west to Oraibi, but the main body came to First Mesa. (57-58)

...

That's how the Snake Clan arrived and settled here at First Mesa, according to the way the story is told in Walpi. You might hear a lot of embellishments, but that is the main line of the story. Over on Second and Third mesas the Snake Clan tradition is a little different, because that branch of the clan had different experiences as it came to Hopi country.

Quite some time after the Snake Clan left Tokonave, the people still living there began to have difficulties. For one thing, the rain stopped falling and the crops didn't grow. The people began to regret that they had sent the Snake Clan away, because the Snake Ceremony had brought them rain when they needed it. So they abandoned their village at Tokonave and set out to find another place to live. By this time there were several clans in this group, the Horn Clan, the Divided Spring Clan and some others. The Horn Clan went eastward, but the other clans branched off and went in directions of their own choosing. Every now and then the Horn Clan discovered pottery or signs engraved on the rocks showing that the Snake Clan had passed this way ahead of them. In time they reached **Kalewistema**, the canyon of cave villages near Kayenta, and learned that the Snake Clan had been there a long time before.

How long the Horn Clan stayed at **Kalewistema** isn't known... (59)

Elsewhere Yava provides an account of the Oraibi Split of 1906 in which several familiar references are made to Kawestima:

It was 1906 when Oraibi came to the end of the trail. Some families wouldn't talk to other families. There were fights in the streets, and some men took to carrying weapons. Yukioma felt he needed reinforcements, so he sent a message to Shongopovi and other villages asking for Fire and [Water] Coyote Clan people to come to Oraibi to back him up. To balance that off, Tawaquaptewa asked for Friendlies to come to Oraibi from Moencopi, which was an Oraibi satellite village. Things kept building up that way. ... Tawaquaptewa kept telling the Fire and Coyote Clans that they would have to leave an go back to their old cliff villages at **Kalewistema**. Yukioma said no, that it was the Bear Clan and its people that would have to go.

So it came to the point of no return, and finally, on September 8, 1906, the Friendlies went from house to house and kiva to kiva rounding up the Hostiles and their families. Took them all over to the west side, maybe a little north of the village where there's a flat rocky place. When they got all the Hostiles together at that spot they said, "Well, now, it's all over. Now you people can go back to **Kalewistema**. You weren't supposed to come here in the first place, because Masauwu assigned all these lands to us, the Bear Clan." (112-113)

...

Where that big push took place there's a mark on the rock with Yukioma's words, "Well

> it have to be this way now that when you pass me over this line it will be done," and the date is engraved there too. Yukioma and his bunch camped at several different places on the mesa. I think they stopped for a short time at the ruins at Huckovi, that village that was destroyed by fire. But they didn't have any intention of going to **Kalewistema**. Instead, they finally settled just a few miles north of Oraibi, on the west side of the mesa, near Hotevilla Spring. (114)

In summary, Albert Yava's account is of interest to this study as it identifies **Kawestima** both as a part of several Clan Migration traditions as well as having a place in the Oraibi Split of 1906. Although thinking of himself as an Arizona Tewa, Yava's perspectives were shaped by his interaction with Hopis of all three mesas.

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Chapter 2. ZUNI TRADITIONAL HISTORY

A. Introduction: Narratives of Zuni Traditional History

Formal Zuni narratives fall into one of two main categories: *telapnaawe*, "tales" that refer to narratives as fiction; and *chimiky'ana'kowa*, "The Beginning" or, literally, "When Newness Was Made," that refer to narratives as historical truths (Tedlock 1972a:xvi; 1988:312). As a Zuni man stated in a recording published by M. Jane Young:

> These so-called legends
> are all based on actual facts
> as they are recited in the creation stories--
> the migrations of our people (Young 1988:146).

Of significance for the present study, these two categories of Zuni narratives relate to distinctive times in the cultural past. Tedlock locates the *chimiky'ana'kowa* in a period long ago when the world was "soft," whereas the *telapnaawe* are set in a world already "hardened" (see Section D):

> Both kinds of narrative are set in the *inoote* (long ago) before the introduction of objects and institutions recognized as belonging to the period of European contact, but the *chimiky'ana'kowa*, which accounts for most of the major feature of Zuni social organization, belongs to a period when the world was "soft," while the *telapnaawe* are set in a world which had already hardened, though it was still not quite like the present world. The *chimiky'ana'kowa* is regarded as literally true, even by some white-collar Zunis with Christian leanings, but *telapnaawe* are regarded as fiction (Tedlock 1972b:222).

On the basis of his field research, Dennis Tedlock elaborates on the performative aspects of these categories of narrative:

> *Telapnaawe* [tales]... may be told only from October to March, lest the narrator be bitten by a snake, and only at night, lest the sun set early. Anyone who falls asleep during a *telapnaawe* or who fails to stand up and stretch at the end of such a story may become a hunchback. *Telapnaawe* are "fictional" in the same limited sense that our own fiction is, which is to say that they may contain many realistic details and may even be based on "true" stories.
>
> Stories of "The Beginning,"[*chimiky'ana'kowa*]... may be told at any season of the year and at any time of day. When told in a ritual context they are chanted... (Tedlock 1972a:xvi-xvii).

To some extent there are similarities between the Hopi *novati* (traditional knowledge) and *tuutuwutsi* (stories/tales/possible fabrications), and the Zuni *chimiky'awa'kowa* and *telapnaawe*.

For example, access to Hopi *novati* and Zuni *chimiky'awa'kowa* are privileged and stratified to defined elders in both cultures. However, there are differences, as Dongoske, et al. note:

> Unlike Hopi, however, the oral history of Zuni is embedded primarily in the accounts of

> kivas, priesthoods, and medicine societies rather than in clan migration histories. Although all Zuni have a general understanding of tribal history, each religious group within Zuni society has a unique account of its own origins, which [is] known in great detail, but only to those initiated into the group and thus entrusted with that knowledge (Dongoske, et al. 1997:603).

Knowledge of sacred areas is protected by the Zuni People. Alvin Nastacio, a member of the Zuni Longhorn Society, made the following statement in 1979 to the task force charged with implementing the American Indian Religious Freedom Act:

> Sacred places outside our reservation are numerous, but we don't want to make it...like a National Register so that anybody can get the list and go, because I'm sure once it's been put into a document, they will say, it's a public document, it comes under the Freedom of Information Act, or whatever, and it will be proliferated and many of our religious places of worship will be desecrated and destroyed (Cited in Mills and Ferguson 1998:40).

The authors of this report, therefore, appreciate the guidance provided by Joseph Dishta, Director of the Heritage and Historic Preservation Office, Pueblo of Zuni, in his written response to the first draft of this traditional history study:

Navajo National Monument and the surrounding areas hold great significance to the Zuni People. Based on oral teachings and traditions, the Zuni Tribe claims cultural affiliation to the ancient Anasazi/Puebloan cultures of this area (Pueblo of Zuni Cultural Affiliation Statement, attached). Since time immemorial, interpretations have been passed down which describe many travels and functions in the Monument area. These functions include sacred offering places, plant and mineral gathering areas, and traditional hunting areas. Also, contained in these areas are Puebloan ancestral archaeological sites, burials, sacred trails, and sacred shrine sites. All Puebloan ancestral archaeological sites are considered sacred and significant to the Zuni People. The Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team refers to oral traditions of the Care Takers of the highly Sacred Icons representing the Northern Direction (Tha we Kwe) that traveled through present day Navajo National Monument and surrounding areas (10/6/97:1).

Taking this statement into consideration, in the sections which follow, we will (1) briefly review the history of ethnological research in which both major categories of Zuni narratives have been recorded; (2) provide cultural context and a summary of the Zuni Origin narrative; and (3) describe the Zuni world view and system of correspondences in which the Northern Direction is located. While a significant amount of Zuni narratives has been published, it does not appear that any narratives derive from the oral traditions of the Care Takers of the highly Sacred Icons representing the Northern Direction (Tha we Kwe). Consequently, there are no recorded traditional histories in the anthropological literature on the Northern Direction that includes current National Park Service lands.

B. Overview of Ethnological Research on Zuni Narratives

When Frank Hamilton Cushing arrived at Zuni in the fall of 1879 as a member of the first ethnological field expedition of the Bureau of Ethnology, the Zuni were a people without writing. Over the course of the next half century, many Zuni narratives (*chimiky'ana'kowa*) and

(telapnaawe), songs and prayers were recorded by non-Zunis and published. The first published Zuni narratives were in Cushing's "Zuni Breadstuff" (originally published serially in the Millstone, 1884-1885; (1920)), "Outline of Zuni Creation Myths" (1896) and, posthumously, Zuni Folk Tales (1901). Cushing showed that important features of the Zuni Origin narrative are analogically modeled on the morphology and growth patterns of the corn plant and says "theirs is a science of appearances and a philosophy of analogies" (Cushing 1896:376).

With the exception of Ruth Bunzel's work (1932b; 1935), there are few texts recorded in the Zuni language and we know little of the circumstances in which these narratives were recorded. One interesting exception exists in comments made by Herman F. C. ten Kate, a Dutch anthropologist who visited Cushing for a month during the summer of 1883:

> Recently, when I was looking over some old field-notes, I came across a hitherto unpublished short Zuni folk-tale which I recorded during my first visit to the pueblo of Zuni. *Nai'uchi*, the narrator, called it "The Origin of the Dragon-Fly; or, Why the Chief Priests receive the First Harvest from the Fields." The story was jotted down by me, largely in my native language [Dutch] and partly in English, just as it was immediately translated, period by period, by the late Frank Hamilton Cushing. [Nai'uchi, ten Kate tells us, was "A chief priest of the Bow, and a famous theurgist, who died in 1904. Nai'uchi was one of Cushing's staunchest friends, and later also of Mrs. Stevenson.] (ten Kate 1917:496-497)

By the time of Ruth Benedict's Zuni Mythology (1935), the majority of the published texts available for this traditional history study had been published. Many texts were recorded at Zuni by Franz Boas, Elsie Clews Parsons or by Boas' students Ruth Benedict and Ruth Bunzel between 1917 and 1929. Although it does not affect the validity of the texts, both Boas and Parsons regarded many Zuni tales to be of "Spanish provenience," a perspective which reflects the contemporary theory of diffusion which essentially denied the possibility of the existence or creation of indigenous regional folklore (Chambers 1973:194-196). Of the earlier texts of the Origin narrative, Benedict offered these critical comments regarding the versions of Cushing and Matilda Coxe Stevenson:

> The first three published versions, the two of Cushing's and Stevenson's introduction to her great work on Zuni, cannot be used in detailed discussion, for Cushing's [1896] is a poeticized version that draws heavily upon his interpretive powers, and his Ahaiyute story is fragmentary. Mrs. Stevenson's story [1904] is an abstract rearranged to serve as an introduction to Zuni ceremonial. Nevertheless the main outlines and peculiarities are clear. The philosophizings and schematic analogies of the Cushing tale [1896] are characteristic of Zuni esoteric lore and the version is the most elaborate of Zuni speculative attempts at synthesis of ceremonies, clans, societies, directions of the compass, colors and patron animals. In this version and in Stevenson's, the only ceremony the origin of which is given in detail is the Corn Dance (Benedict 1935:1:256).

Benedict's own perspective is psychological. For example, she interpreted those portions of Zuni narratives which contrast with real life as "compensatory daydreams" (1935:xvi-xxix). Benedict also explored the ways in which Zuni narrators articulate content and construct plots (1935:xxix-xliii). From 1952 to 1954, Claude Levi-Strauss engaged in an exhaustive analysis of all the known

versions of the Zuni origin and emergence narratives. The purpose of this comparative analysis was to demonstrate that "every version belongs to the myth" (Levi-Strauss 1963:218; 1987:200-201). The outcome of his effort was one of the most famous essays in twentieth-century anthropology, "The Structural Study of Myth." For Levi-Strauss, "the purpose of myth is to provide a logical model capable of overcoming a contradiction" and he adds, parenthetically, "(an impossible achievement if, as it happens, the contradiction is real)" (Levi-Strauss 1963:229). Thus, of the Zuni Origin narrative, he writes:

> ...the problem is the discovery of a life-death mediation. For the Pueblo, this is especially difficult; they understand the origin of human life in terms of the model of plant life (emergence from the earth). ...the highest form of plant life is to be found in agriculture which is periodical in nature, that is, which consists in an alternation between life and death. If this is disregarded, the contradiction appears elsewhere: Agriculture provides food, therefore life; but hunting provides food and is similar to warfare which means death. Hence there are three different ways of handling the problem. In the Cushing version, the difficulty revolves around an opposition between activities yielding a delayed response--death has to become integrated so that agriculture can exist. Parsons' version shifts from hunting to agriculture, while Stevenson's version operates the other way around. It can be shown that all the differences between these versions can be rigorously correlated with these basic structures (Levi-Strauss 1963:220-221).

Levi-Strauss's analysis is not concerned with "meaning" or with "function"; rather, he seeks to demonstrate the nature of the logical transformations of various versions of the Origin narrative.

The most significant recent contribution to an appreciation and understanding of Zuni narratives appears in the work of Dennis Tedlock whose analysis of silences and other paralinguistic features in Zuni narratives is demonstrated in Finding the Center (1972).

In Table 1, an inventory of sources for Zuni narratives materials is detailed with an indication given regarding the presence of *chimiky'ana'kowa* and *telapnaawe*.

Table 1: Published Zuni Narratives

Source	*Chimiky'ana'kowa*	*Telapnaawe*
Cushing 1883		x
Cushing 1892	x	
Cushing 1896	x (origin narrative)	x
Cushing 1901		x
Stevenson 1904	x (origin narrative)	x
Parsons 1916		x
Parsons 1917		x
ten Kate 1917		x
Parsons 1918		x
Handy 1918		x
Parsons & Boas 1920		x
Cushing 1920 [1882/83]	x (origin narrative)	x
Boas 1922		x
Parsons 1923	x (origin narrative)	x
Parsons 1924		x
Bunzel 1932b	x (origin narrative)	x
Bunzel 1935		x
Benedict 1935	x (origin narratives)	x
Bunzel 1938	x	
Risser 1941		x
Quam 1972	x	x
Tedlock 1966		x
Tedlock 1972a	x	x
Tedlock 1988	x	

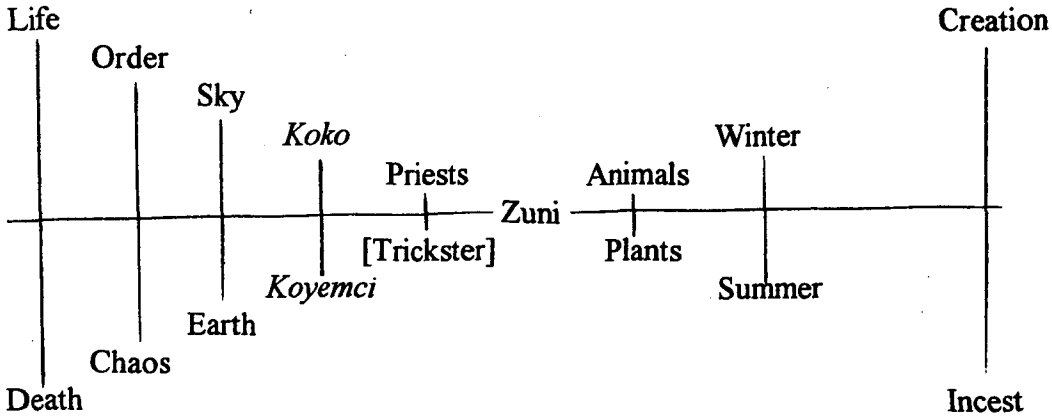
C. The Zuni Origin Narrative

The Zuni Origin narrative (*chimiky'ana'kowa penane*) is the starting point for all traditions categorized as *chimiky'ana'kowa*. The summary of the major structural principles and contents of the Zuni world view which follows (Section D) will be introduced here with a brief description and analysis of portions of the Zuni Origin narrative. Abstracts of other Origin narratives are located in the accompanying Literature Review (Bunzel 1932b, Benedict 1935).

Unlike the chronological sequence of time in Euro-American historical narratives, non-Western texts such as the Zuni Origin narrative is constructed and represented by other forms of cultural knowledge and tradition. The Zuni Origin narrative is not coded or structured chronologically as Western "history" is. Rather, it constructs and represents the order of the Zuni world through a

number of logical operations, of which opposition has been emphasized here (see Table 2). These terms are correlated with each other and suggest a cyclical reciprocity.

Table 2: Oppositions in the Zuni Origin Narrative



The Zuni Origin narrative is a "way of knowing the past" which represents the "collective memory of generations" (Anyon, et al. 1997:78, 86). These authors emphasize that "oral traditions incorporate the cultural knowledge of many ancestors at multiple levels of signification" (Anyon, et.al.1997:79). They continue:

Both oral traditions and archaeology thus constitute sources of knowledge that have intricate structures that must be systematically and carefully analyzed *in terms of their own internal logic* in order to use them in scholarly research (Anyon et al.1997:81; emphasis added).

As the Origin narrative makes clear, the Zuni cosmology consists of: (1) a system of correspondences in which space, time, color and number are articulated together as symbolic classifiers (e.g., the Northern Direction); (2) a system of levels of being, and (3) by a dual organization or "dualism." These conceptual schemes are intricately related in a complex fashion which give shape and meaning to Zuni sacred knowledge as well as its expression in ritual and embodiment in sacred places.

Mindful of the various criticisms of Cushing's presentations of the Zuni Origin narrative (such as excesses of style more than errors in content), the following summary draws on his texts from the 1880s, noting some differences in texts recorded by Benedict, Bunzel, Stevenson and Parsons.

According to Cushing, "Before the beginning of the new-making, *Awonawilona* (the Maker and Container of All, the All-father Father [or He-She (Stevenson 1904:22)]), solely had being." This primordial being which pervades all space transformed himself into the Sun and from his being produced the "seed-stuff of twain worlds" (Cushing 1896:379) or simply "two balls" (Cushing 1920:20). In the "sublime darkness" of space the Ancient Father of the Sun revealed "universal waters." Cushing's account of the Zuni Origin narrative continues:

> From his high and "ancient place among the spaces" he cast forth one of these balls and it fell upon the surface of the waters. There, as a drop of deer suet on hot broth, so this ball melted and spread far and wide like scum over the great waters, ever-growing, until it sank into them.
>
> Then the Sun Father cast forth the other ball, and it fell, spreading out and growing even larger than the first, and dispelling so much of the waters that it rested upon the first. In time, the first became a great being--our Mother, the Earth; and the second became another great being--our Father, the Sky. Thus was divided the universal fluid into the "embracing waters of the World" below, and the "embracing waters of the Sky" above. Behold! This is why the Sky Father is blue as the ocean which is the home of the Earth Mother, blue even his flesh, as seem the far-away mountains, though they be the flesh of the Earth Mother.
>
> Now, while the Sky Father and the Earth Mother were together, the Earth Mother conceived in her ample wombs--which ere the four great underworlds or caves--the first of men and creatures... (Cushing 1896:379).

From the union of the "All-covering Father-Sky" and the "Four-fold Containing Mother-Earth" all forms of life were conceived in the "Four-fold womb of the World" (Cushing 1896:379, Stevenson 1925:22-25). People were born in the deepest of these under worlds and were guided to the surface of the upper world by the twin war gods, *Ahayutos*. Cushing described this "lowermost womb" as:

Everywhere were unfinished creatures, crawling like reptiles one over another in filth and black darkness, crowding thickly together and treading each other, one spitting on another and doing other indecency, insomuch that loud became their murmurings and lamentations, until many among them sought to escape, growing wiser and more manlike (Cushing 1896:381).

The twin war gods ("the Beloved Proceeder, the Beloved Follower, Twin brothers of Light, yet Elder and Younger, the Right and the Left, like to question and answer in deciding and doing") led the first people (the Zuni's ancestors) out of the four under-worlds into this upper world, the "World of Disseminated Light and Knowledge of Seeing" (Cushing 1896:381, 383). But the world was "young and unripe...unstable...demons and monsters of the underworld fled forth. Yet still, they were guided by the Two Beloved...[seeking]...in the light and under the pathway of the Sun, the middle of the world" (Cushing 1896:388). Eventually the earth hardened and the people came to Zuni, called *Itiwana* or *Shiwanakwe*, Middle Place (Leighton and Adair 1966:12).

Dongoske, et al. provide a modern Zuni perspective regarding these early migrations:

> After emerging from the fourth level of the underworld, at the location now known as the Grand Canyon, the Zuni began their spiritually destined journey in search of the "middle place," or *Itiwana*. Zuni accounts record the splitting and joining of various groups during these migrations. One group is said to have journeyed to the south, to the "land of everlasting sunshine," never to return. Further along the journey the remaining Zuni split into three groups, one going up the Little Colorado River to Zuni itself, another traveling

> to the north, and a third traveling to the south. The Zuni clans were created relatively late in this historical sequence, when the Zunis were traveling through the Little Colorado River valley immediately prior to arriving at the Middle Place. *Itiwana*, the Middle Place, was occupied by another people before the Zunis arrived, and an epic battle was waged that the Zuni won with the spiritual assistance of the war gods. As the Zunis settled in the Middle Place, some of the earlier inhabitants were incorporated into the Zuni tribe. After long and eventual migrations, each of the other ancestral groups eventually joined the rest of the Zuni at the Middle Place (Dongoske et al. 1997:603-604; citations omitted).

In Cushing's account, a number of oppositions were established. Among the more important are the following: Wisdom-Knowledge/Void; Sun/Water; Sky/Earth; Light/Dark. In the under world, in the "wombs" of the Mother-Earth, the creatures are "unfinished" ("raw") and this is opposed to "hardened" ("cooked"). To lead the creatures from the depths another complementary pair is created. The Twin Deliverers (or twin war gods) embody the attributes of Proceeder/Follower; Elder/Younger; Right/Left; question/answer; deciding/doing. The creatures are led upwards through the four wombs and other dualisms (such as male/female) are established. They emerge from the "Darkness of the Womb" and reach the "World of Disseminated Light and Knowledge of Seeing."

In the migrations, these various oppositions created differentiations among the people. Most important of these were the systematic correspondences of Summer/Winter, South/North and Macaw/Raven. The people themselves became divided into People of Summer/People of Winter. The chief priest was closely associated with the Sun-father and he "became among men as the Sun-father is among the little moons of the sky." Thus the *pekwin*, "speaker to and of the Sun-father himself," established the priests of the "Midmost clan-line...masters of the house of houses...[and] ...priest-keepers of things" (Cushing 1896:386).

In addition to the temporal and spatial of north and south, the Summer and Winter people were known as "Children of the Producing Earth-mother"/ "Children of the Forcing or Quickening Sky-Father."

In Cushing's versions of the origin narrative, there is a lengthy classification of various creatures and things according to their association with certain attributes of the two groups of people. For example, the heat/water/earth constitution of the Summer corresponds to toad people, frog people, seed people, grass people, etc. The names of the Zuni clans in the Origin narrative reflect a dual organization.

The narrative continues: "As it was with men and the creatures, so with the world; it was young and unripe" (Cushing 1896:388). When the Creator decided to make the earth safer for the people after a cataclysm, the earth became "dry and more stable" (Cushing 1896:390). There were four stops on the journey towards the middle during which time the people learned of war and corn and other seeds.

When the search for the Middle resumed, a priest of the people who had four sons and a daughter sent his children out to determine the distance to the "great embracing waters" that they might calculate the location of the Middle. The eldest child was sent to the North. When he did not

return, a younger brother was sent to the West, then one to the South. Finally his youngest son and his beautiful daughter were sent to the East.

As children, they were "changeable-by-will-inclined," "unripe," "formative." After a long day's journey, they rested and the girl fell asleep. The "brother gazed at her, he became crazed with love of her, greater than that of a brother's, greater than that of kin men for kin!" (Cushing 1896:400). The sister wakes up and in an argument which follows she stamps on the ground with such force that a great "furrow" was created and eventually filled with water. A chase follows and in his "crazed" condition, the brother takes on the appearance of a koyemci [commonly called a mudhead clown]:

As she turned again back, he threw his arms aloft, and beat his head and temples and tore away his hair and garments and clutched his eyes and mouth wildly, until great welts and knobs stood out on his head; his eyes puffed and goggled, his lips blubbered and puckered; tears and sweat with wet blood bedrenched his whole person, and he cast himself headlong and rolled in the dirt, until coated with the dun earth of the plain. And when he staggered to his feet, the red soil adhered to him as skin cleaves to flesh, and his ugliness hardened (Cushing 1896:400).

Like the *koyemci*, the brother is earth covered or has a dirt skin. His face seems to be turned inside out: eyes, ears and mouth protrude and there is no nose or hair. While people are clothed, the brother (*koyemci*) is nude (except for a black breech-cloth or rags). Although now "ugly," the beautiful sister now pitied him and realized her love for him:

> So, she tenderly yearned for him now, and ran toward him. Again he looked at her, for he was crazed, and when he saw her close at hand, so strange looking and ugly, he laughed aloud, and coarsely, but anon stood still, with his hands clasped in front of him and his head bowed before him, dazed! When he laughed, she too laughed; when he was silent and bowed, she cried and besought him. Thus it was with them ever after in those days. They talked loudly to each other; they laughed or they cried. Now they were like silly children, playing on the ground; anon they were wise as the priests and high beings, and harangued as parents to children and leaders to people... Thenceforth, together they dwelt in the caves of the place they had chosen, forgetful of the faces of men and reckoning naught of their own ugly conditions! (Cushing 1896:400).

Eventually, children were born of this incestuous relationship:

> From the mingling of too much seed in one kind, comes the two-fold one kind,... Being man and woman combined...[the ten] brothers...in semblance of males, yet like boys, the fruit of sex was not in them! ...like to their father were his later children but varied as his moods... Thus they were strapping louts, but dun-colored and marked with the welts of their father. Silly were they, yet wise as the gods and high priests; for as simpletons and the crazed speak from the things seen of the instant, uttering belike wise words and prophecy, so spake they, and became the attendants and fosterers, yet the sages and interpreters, of the ancient of dance-dramas or the *Ka'ka* (Cushing 1896:400-401).

The people eventually reached the Middle Place. The People of the North and the People of the South are united with those of the Middle. Other elements are encountered and ordered

according to the system of correspondences (Section D). However, other dualities are established that juxtapose creation with chaos. Chaos is both dangerous, because of the lack of order, structure and form, and powerful, because of the inherent potential to create.

If one aspect of the primordial being was "wisdom-knowledge," the ***koyemci*** are given the "names of mismeaning" as an unpredictable mixture of wisdom and folly. But of far more importance is the relationship of Life/Death. Life and death are both contained in water. These deaths/rebirths account for how and why the ancestors return to Zuni in the form of rain-bearing clouds. The primordial waters (the earth-surrounding waters, the water of the sky, the rains of the Summer and the snows of Winter) sustain the Zuni People.

D. Zuni World View, including a System of Correspondences and Dual Organization

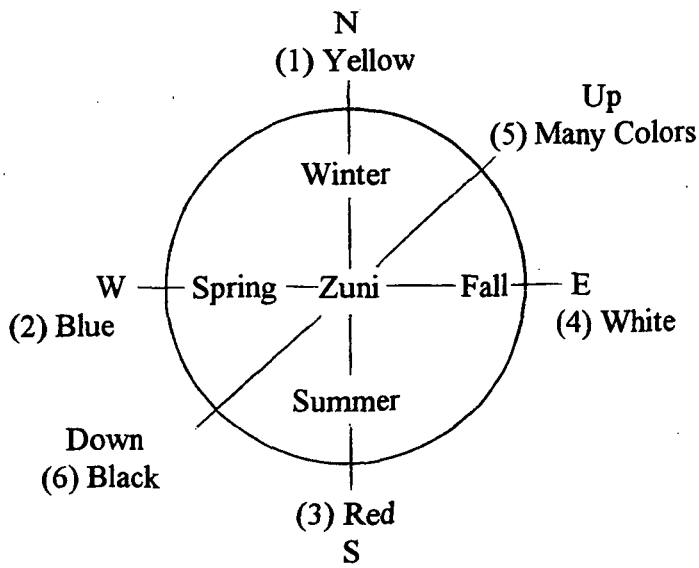
By examining a portion of the Zuni Origin narrative, we learned about the complex interrelationships which exist in the Zuni world view. In this section, we will explore the system of cultural correspondences in which the Northern Direction is located, the concept of dual organization, and the levels of being and becoming in Zuni society.

Cushing was the first anthropologist to provide a detailed account of the system of cultural correspondences in the Zuni cosmology. It is a system which explains order in the social, natural and spiritual world. In his classic study of Zuni kin and clan, A. L. Kroeber observed that:

> Four or five different planes of systematization cross cut each other and thus preserve for the whole society an integrity that would be speedily lost if the planes merged and thereby inclined to encourage segregation and fission (Kroeber 1917:183).

Kroeber spoke primarily of the social integration of clans, fraternities, priesthoods and kivas, which is achieved through various systems of order and reciprocity (cf., Ferguson 1989:169-173):

Table 3: Zuni Symbols of Space and Time



The Zuni system of correspondences is logically related with concepts of time and space which are outlined in Table 3. Color and number are symbolic markers of this universe. They articulate how the Zuni cosmos and social structure are ordered.

The cultural concept of Zuni as the "Middle Place" has a temporal as well as a spatial meaning. The winter solstice is the beginning and the end of the ritual calendar. The Zuni names for solstice as "*Ya'tokia* (sun father) *i'tiwannan* (middle) *kuri* (place) *tetchi* (reaches there)" recorded by Stevenson (Stevenson 1904:108) are doubly significant. Paraphrasing Zuni metaphysics, Bunzel wrote that "The solstice is...the center of time, just as Zuni itself is the center of space" (Bunzel 1932b:534).

A fundamental spatial concept in the Zuni Origin narrative is the North/South relationship. Cushing describes the Zuni's holistic concept of space:

By this arrangement of the world into great quarters, or rather as the Zunis conceive it, into several worlds corresponding to the four quarters and the zenith and nadir, and by this grouping of the towns, or later of the wards (so to call them) in the town, according to such mythical division of the world, and finally the group of the totems in turn within the division thus made, not only the ceremonial life of the people, but all their government arrangements as well, are completely systematized (Cushing 1896:369).

According to ethnographic knowledge of Zuni symbolism, the four dance plazas are associated with the four cardinal directions. On ceremonial occasions, the plazas may be used all at once, in a sequence, or individually. There are six kivas associated with the six directions. Kroeber's early twentieth century household census did not confirm a localization of households according to this

directional orientation. However, there was a general pattern for clans to be situated in proximity to each other according to Cushing's cluster of related clans (phratry) that he termed a "phratial grouping" (Kroeber 1917:118-119).

In the Origin narrative, "regions," sacred mountains, springs and bodies of water surrounding the earth are given directional classification. Among these is the Northern Direction (*Tha we Kwe*) which includes the present study area of Navajo National Monument.

In the Zuni system of correspondences, time and space are interrelated and systematically ordered as represented in their oral narrative traditions. Zuni cultural knowledge of natural cycles and directionality was recorded by Cushing:

> This is all because from the north and in the winter blow the fiercest, the greatest winds or breaths, as these people esteem them; from the west early in the spring come the moistened breaths of the waters in early rains; from the south comes the greatest heat that with dryness is followed by summer, and from the east blow the winds that bring the frosts that in turn mature the seeds and perfect the year in autumn (Cushing 1896:370).

The Zuni year ('passage of time') is divided into two halves which are made of seasons ('the steps') and months ('crescents'). According to Stevenson (Stevenson 1904:108), the months are further divided into thirds. Thus the winter solstice observances take place for 10 days on each 'side' of the solstice. It is significant that the Zunis use the six-fold division within the two halves of the year. The winter solstice, "the middle of the solar trip from one summer solstice to another," occurs about the 21st of each December (Cushing 1920:154). The two halves of the year reflected in the Zuni ritual calendar. Indeed, Stevenson recorded that the names of the months are repeated beginning with the summer solstice (Stevenson 1904:108).

In Table 4, a portion of the system of correspondences is summarized based upon ethnographic accounts by Cushing, Parsons, and Stevenson (see sources cited following Table 4). Although it is an effort to describe elements in Zuni cosmology, the authors acknowledge the limits of such a model to represent cultural complexities. However, it may aid the reader in understanding the underlying principles of Zuni traditional histories. In the Origin narrative, there are four "underworlds" (Stevenson 1904:25, Cushing 1896:382-383) that are not included in the chart. In Zuni cosmology, items such as feathers, clouds, and prayer-sticks, are assigned color and direction. As this table makes clear, this system in not preserved simply by individual memory: it is maintained and made meaningful through social memory which is embodied in ritual performance, in Sacred Icons and in sacred places.

Dual organization is another major component of Zuni cosmology. The year is divided into two cycles--summer and winter. Zuni ritual organization is directly correlated with the ceremonial calendar.

Several Zuni priesthoods have specific functions within a ritual cycle. For example, corresponding to the sun father in the Origin narrative is the *pekwin* who prays to and for the sun father for the Zuni People. The *pekwin* is concerned with the maintenance of the ritual calendar and plays a central role in the solstice observances. He is "ultimately held responsible for the

welfare of the community" (Bunzel 1932a:512). The twin war gods of the Origin narrative are represented by the Bow priests who are the "defenders and the executive arms of the religious hierarchy" (Bunzel 1932a:526).

Twelve societies are related to the sacred *Wemawe*, animal gods of the six directions who are patrons of medicine. While they are chiefly concerned with medicine, related responsibilities include weather control and hunting (Cushing 1883). It is here that the dual organization is given its clearest manifestation: the societies related to the *Wemawe* are associated with North and Winter; and the societies related to the *Uwanami* or rain makers are associated with Summer and South. Eggan observed:

> The winter ceremonies are primarily concerned with medicine, war and fertility, while the summer ceremonies are concerned with rain and crops (Eggan 1950:209).

The masked dance groups (*kachinas*) associated with the *Koko* involve every adult male (Ladd 1994:18-19). There are six societies, each of which has a kiva with a spatial designation. Each kiva group performs three times during the year--summer, winter and at the winter solstice (Eggan 1950:205). The sequences of dances in summer and winter reflect the dual organization.

Table 4. Zuni System of Correspondences Reported in Ethnographic Accounts

SPACE	**NORTH**	**WEST**	**SOUTH**	**EAST**	**UP**	**DOWN**	**MIDDLE**
TIME (1)	Winter	Spring	Summer	Autumn			
COLOR (2)	Yellow	Blue	Red	White	Many	Black	All Colors
NUMBER (3)	1	2	3	4	5	6	First and Last
ELEMENTS (4)	Wind, Air	Water	Fire	Earth, Seeds			
ACTIVITIES (5)	War and Destruction	War cure and Hunting	Husbandry and Medicine	Magic and Religion	"The above, the below, and the middle relate in one way or another to all these divisions"		
MOUNTAINS (6)	(In the Origin narrative, six mountains are designated according to direction)						
LAKES (7)	(In the Origin narrative, four lakes are designated according to direction)						
PLAZAS (8)	*kachina*	*hekyapa*	*lanna*	*ts'i'a'a'*			
REGIONS (9)	Swept or Barren Place	Home of Waters	Place of the Beautiful Red	Home of Day	Home of the Low	Home of the High	
SUMMER MONTHS (10)	("Bringing Flour-Like Clouds"; nameless but designated by color) Yellow	Blue	Red	White	Variegated Black		
WINTER MONTHS (11)	("Sway of Cold"——————) "growing white crescent" or "turning or looking back"	"limbs of trees broken by snow"	"No snow on the road"	("Starting Time"——————) "lesser sand storms" or "little wind month"	"greater sand storms" or "big wind month"	"crescent of no name"	
COLORS OF	Yellow	Tawny Grey	Red	White	Mingled	Black	
PEOPLE (12)							
ANIMALS (13)	Mountain Lion	Bear	Badger	Wolf	Eagle	Mole	
TREES (14)	Pine	Spruce	Quaking Aspen	Silver Spruce			
CORN (15)	Yellow	Blue	Red	White	Many Colored	Black	

CLOUDS, FEATHERS and many elements in narrative and ritual are given color or directional color designations

CLANS (16)	(Each vertical grouping = a phratry, related clans) Parrot-Macaw					
	Crane or Pelican; Grouse or Sage-cock; Yellow-wood or Evergreen Oak.	Bear; Coyote; Red-top plant or Spring herb.	Tobacco; Maize-plant; Badger.	Deer; Antelope; Turkey.	Sun; Sky; Eagle.	Toad or Frog; Water; Rattlesnake.

ASHIWANNI societies for the rainmakers (*Uwanami*): 15 groups with directional designations

XXX XXX XXX XXX X X X

MEDICINE societies for the animal or beast gods (*Wemawe*): 12 groups with directional designations

XX XX XX XX XX XX

KOKO societies for the masked gods: 6 dance groups with directional designations

X X X X X X

Sources cited in Table 4:

1. Cushing 1896:370
2. Cushing 1896:369
3. Cushing 1896:370
4. Cushing 1896:370
5. Cushing 1896:371
6. Cushing 1883:17
7. Cushing 1896:389
8. Parsons 1922:190
9. Cushing 1883:17
10. Cushing 1920:154-156. (According to Stevenson 1904:108) the summer months repeat the names of the winter month series. Note: "summer" in Cushing's series corresponds to our July-December; for Stevenson, June-November.)
11. Stevenson 1904:108; Cushing 1920:154-156. (Winter = December-May for Stevenson; January-June for Cushing.)
12. Cushing 1896:370
13. Cushing 1883:16
14. Stevenson 1904:25
15. Cushing 1920:177-178
16. Cushing 1896:368

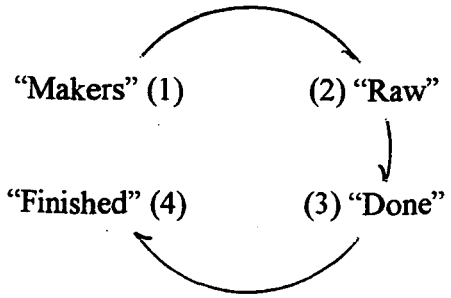
Overview. Phoenix: Dames & Moore.

The final element to be discussed in the Zuni cosmology is the concept of levels of "being" and "becoming." According to Cushing (Cushing 1883:10-11), all levels of being cut across the cultural concept of the Zuni world view. These levels of being and becoming are:

1. Ever recurring, immortal beings
2. Raw beings
3. Done beings
4. Finished beings

Although supernatural beings, animals, plants, objects, and humans may be a part of any and all of these categories, these are general classifications of being. The first category of immortal beings refers especially to supernatural beings. The second category of raw beings includes game and prey animals and also their sacred forms. The third category of done beings refers to humankind. The fourth category includes the dead of humankind (cf., Bunzel 1932a:483). This may be summarized as follows:

Table 5. Levels of Being



The Zuni system of correspondences is interrelated with the cycle of the year. Being and becoming are a part of an intricate and enveloping world view which gives order to the cosmos, society and, ultimately, the life of the Zuni individual. Indeed, it is within the system of levels of being that individual initiation and "life crises" rites are to be understood.

E. Introduction to the Zuni Literature Reviews

Through these cultural concepts of space and time, dualism, and being and becoming, the kaleidoscope of everyday experience and the world of the Origin narrative are given shape and meaning. These systems are represented and given expression in narrative form (chimiky'ana'kowa), ritual performance and sacred space. The narrative analysis and cultural contexts strategy employed in this chapter enhance an understanding and appreciation of Zuni affiliations to the study area. The reader is reminded that often the published ethnographic literature does not explicitly cover the study area, but rather, provides a general cultural framework for understanding the history of the Zunis in the region. Affiliations are most clearly seen in the significance of the Northern Direction (Tha we Kwe) in the Zuni world view as it is expressed in the Origin narrative and throughout the ceremonial calendar. The intent here has been (1) to locate the Northern Direction within several documented systems of significance, and (2) to indicate the cultural distinctiveness of Zuni oral traditions. They represent ways of knowing the past.

The following ethnographic literature review provides detailed bibliographical and biographical information regarding each source. The period of field research and the identity of Zuni consultants, if provided, is given. There are also key words at the top right of each listing that serve as a general index. Each literature review provides a summary of the publication with highlights applicable to the general objectives of this study. Taken as a whole, the Zuni Literature Reviews emphasize the value of ethnographic research to management and program activities at Navajo National Monument

F. Zuni Literature Review

Zuni Mythology **Emergence Narrative**

Ruth Benedict
1935
New York: Columbia University Press, pp. xi-xliii, 1-6, 258-259
Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Vol. XXI (2 volumes)
Introduction, text, abstract
Field research: 1924-1927
Zuni consultants not identified

Ruth Benedict (1887-1948; Ph.D., Anthropology, Columbia University) conducted ethnographic field research at Zuni Pueblo during 1924, 1925, and 1927. Although hampered by deafness, Benedict did significant fieldwork in collecting and analyzing narratives at Zuni Pueblo. Pueblo culture appealed to her "configurationalist" perspective (a focus on the integration of cultures into psychologically distinctive systems) which was developed and presented in Chapter 4 of Patterns of Culture (1934:52-119). This book introduced a humanistic and interdisciplinary approach to the study of society, and remains an influential work by an early twentieth-century anthropologist. Given the nature of folklore studies at the time, Benedict's introduction to Zuni Mythology is remarkable in several respects. She emphasizes the value of intensive studies of the narratives of a single culture rather than a comparison of disparate elements from several cultures and correlates narrative themes to cultural values and behavior. In debunking folklorist's myth of communal authorship, Benedict calls attention to individual creativity "within the traditional limits." She foregrounds the aesthetic and literary qualities of such Zuni narratives stating, "Mythology is a highly developed and serious art in Zuni" (xii).

Benedict's Zuni Mythology represents a major compilation and introduction to Zuni narratives (*chimiky'ana'kowa* and *telapnaawe*). Her introduction provides an analysis of various themes from a psychological perspective. Of interest here is Benedict's "non-esoteric" text of "The Emergence" (1-6):

> Sun took pity on the crowded condition of the underworld and created his sons, the Ahaiyute, by projecting his rays upon the mist overhanging the upper world. The twins immediately chose their Ahaiyute shrines and in four days were old enough to go to the fourth underground world to lead the people into the upper world. They consulted in turn the priests of the six directions. They planted four trees which grew magically and from which the Ahaiyute made prayersticks by which the people ascended. When they first reached the light of the upper world tears of pain ran from their eyes, and sunflowers and buttercups grew from their tears.
>
> Witches came as stragglers out of the emergence hole and when they overtook the people were admitted to their company because they brought the gifts of corn and of life after death. The latter they demonstrated by killing a child and showing it happy in its afterlife.
>
> The Ahaiyute cut exits in the people, who up to this time had lived by smelling food. They also slit their webbed hands into fingers and cut off their horns and tails. The people were

to numerous and had to separate. The two parties were given choices between the dull colored egg of the parrot and the beautiful egg of the crow. The ones who chose the beautiful egg came to Zuni and therefore crows are nuisances in Zuni cornfields, but the people to the south have valuable parrots. [Cushing presents this as the basis of the ceremonial division into summer (macaw) and winter (crow) people (Cushing 1896:385); Parsons gives this as evidence of the separation of the people into two bands during migration (Parsons 1923:141).]

The leader of the people sent the priest's son and daughter ahead to look over the country. The committed incest, and with their children became the Koyemci. Father Koyemci created a river by marking the ground with his foot, and when the people crossed over it, their children became water animals, descending into the lower world as the first kachinas. When the leaders of the people were shown Kachina Village, where the Koyemci and the kachinas now lived, they were reconciled to the loss of their children, and their priests received instructions from them in prayerstick making.

The waterspider was called to locate the exact center of the world and the people settled at Zuni (Benedict 1935: 258-259).

In summary, while the main outlines of the Zuni Origin narrative are known to all, there is considerable variety in form and expression accountable in part by the special knowledge of the narrator as well as by the context of narrative. Although no narrator was identified with Benedict's version, the account included descriptions of the first initiation of boys and the institution of the Lewekwe ceremony. The differences between Benedict's version and those of Cushing and Parsons noted above are not uncommon because of the position of the narrator in the ritual organization of Zuni as well as differences in means of recording. While this is not an esoteric version (sacred, restricted, privileged), it should not be used in public interpretative programs without prior consultation with the Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team.

himself and his brother, with which the giantess was slain. Her people fled and an old woman and two children were adopted into the Zuni tribe because they brought their medicine bundle, the Black Corn etone, to Zuni.

The people came toward Itiwana. They asked the waterskate to determine the exact center of the earth. He tried Halona first and then Itiwana. They built Zuni where he heart had rested (Benedict 1935:1:259-261; Note: Benedict's abstract of Bunzel's account).

In summary, Bunzel's text is based on a translation from Zuni. It is readily available in its original format as well as in a paperback reissue (Ruth L. Bunzel, Zuni Ceremonialism. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992). However, it should not be used in public interpretative programs without prior consultation with the Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team.

The Zunis of Cibola **General Ethnology**

C. Gregory Crampton
1977
Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, pp. 201
Monograph
Field research: 1968
Zuni consultants not identified

Charles Gregory Crampton (1911-; Ph.D., History, University of California), long-time Professor of History and Director of the American West Center at the University of Utah, is the author of several books on the Four Corners area including Standing Up Country: The Canyon Lands of Utah and Arizona (1964) and Land of Living Rock: The Grand Canyon and the High Plateaus (1972). In addition, he played an important role in the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project at Zuni (see literature review for The Zunis: Self Portrayals, Alvina Quam, translator).

The Zunis of Cibola was much reviewed and much maligned in the late 1970s. In twelve chapters, Crampton writes of the history of the Zuni People over the past four centuries, largely from the perspectives of the explorers and ethnologists who visited there (rather than of the Zuni people themselves). In the preface, Crampton writes, "Insofar as the sources would permit, I have used them to bring out the Zuni side of things, to catch the Zuni perspective on the Zuni's own past." But in relying almost exclusively on published sources, the result is a compilation of Zuni history from an outsider's vantage point.

As historian Gerald Thompson wrote at the time, "Zuni history becomes a series of clashes and visitations by non-Indians (certainly a desirable compilation but not tribal history). Which events do the Zunis regard as milestones in their past? Who are the heroes and villains of this tribe? What is the Zuni view of man's place in the universe? Such questions form the basis of a people's history, but in this account they remain both unasked and unanswered. Consistently, the names of Zuni leaders are ignored." Another historian, Richard H. Frost wrote, "The weakness of Crampton's work, however, is not in its reliability [although reviewers also noted frequent factual errors], but in its conceptualization: if focuses insufficiently on the Zunis themselves. The Indians here are attractive but upstaged by whites." At the same time, reviewers applauded Crampton's literary style, the 28 pages of photographs, and extensive bibliography. It remains the only detailed treatment of the entire post-Hispanic period at Zuni.

In summary, Crampton's book is included here as it is widely available and is one of the few general books available on the Zuni People. Moreover, it is ironic that Crampton played a positive role in recording Zuni perspectives through the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project and then largely ignored them in his book. However, The Zunis of Cibola has no direct relevance to the study area.

Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths **Emergence Narrative**

Frank Hamilton Cushing
1896
Washington: Government Printing Office, pp. 321-447
13th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1891-1892
Article
and
The Mythic World of the Zuni
Frank Hamilton Cushing (Barton Wright, ed. and illus.)
1988
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. xviii, 167
Monograph
Field research: 1879-1884; 1886
Zuni consultants not identified

Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1900; ethnologist) is best known for his "participant observation" at Zuni Pueblo between 1879 and 1884 His work was publicized at the time as much by the journalist Sylvester Baxter, as by Cushing's own efforts. Cushing's "Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths" was completed in 1894 after work with Zuni consultants at Zuni Pueblo and at Mary Hemenway's retreat at Manchester-by-the-Sea, Massachusetts, where he was visited by Palowahtiwa, Waihusiwa and Heluta who contributed to his knowledge of Zuni narratives (Brandes 1965:124-125).

Barton A. Wright (1920-; M.A., Anthropology, University of Arizona) was the Curator at the Museum of Northern Arizona from 1955 to 1977. While at the Museum of Northern Arizona, he did extensive research into Hopi material culture and wrote several books on Hopi kachinas. In 1977, he became Scientific Director at the Museum of Man, San Diego. Wright has published several works on the Zuni.

Cushing's "Outlines" of the Zuni Origin narratives are just that, he tells us (Cushing 1896:375). They are not direct translations. Several writers have critiqued his style of writing. Bunzel commented that his work "contains endless poetic and metaphysical glossing of the basic elements, most of which explanatory matter probably originated in Cushing's own mind" (Bunzel 1932b:547). Benedict, likewise, regarded Cushing's text to be "a poeticized version that draws heavily on his interpretive powers." She continues, "Nevertheless the main outlines and peculiarities are clear" (Benedict 1935:1:256). Tedlock, speaking of Cushing's Zuni Folk Tales but applicable here as well, states: "he embroiders the tales with devices, line, and even whole passages which are clearly of his own invention and not mere distortions. Similes are totally lacking in all other translations (and in texts as well), but they abound in Cushing's tales" (Tedlock 1983:59). Cushing's accounts should be read with an awareness of his stylistic genre. It is recommended that any public interpretive use of Cushing's narratives should be cleared with the Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team.

Bunzel added this oral history insight about the cultural context evident in Cushing's "Outlines":

> Cushing, however, hints at the true character of Zuni mythology. There is no single origin myth but a long series of separate myths. Each ceremonial group has a myth which contains, in addition to a general synopsis of early history, the mythological sanction for its own organization and rituals. There is not, however, any collected version which is "the talk," because no mind in Zuni encompasses all knowledge, the "midmost" group to which Cushing refers being a figment of his own imagination. These separate myths are preserved in fixed ritualistic form and are sometimes recited during ceremonies, and are transferred like any other esoteric knowledge (Bunzel 1932b:547-548).

Examples of Cushing's style are included in our Introduction where we identify several of the concepts and logical principles of the Zuni world view. Cushing's "Outlines" consists of seventy-seven narratives of various length. The following titles (Cushing's) provide a sense of the sequence of events in the narratives as he presents them:

> The genesis of the worlds, or the beginning of newness
> The genesis of men and the creatures
> The gestation of men and the creatures
> The forthcoming from earth of the foremost of men
> The birth from the sea of the Twain deliverers of men
> The birth and delivery of men and the creatures
> The condition of men when first into the world of daylight born
> The origin of priests and of knowledge
> The origin of the Raven and the Macaw, the totems of winter and summer
> The origin and naming of totem-clans and creature kinds, and the division and naming of spaces and things
> The origin of the councils of secrecy or sacred brotherhoods
> The unripeness and instability of the world when still young... (Cushing 1896:323)

Cushing tells us "they are a series of explanation-myths. ... each is called a talk, and is held specifically by a particular organization or social division" (Cushing 1896:375).

Cushing describes the Zuni perspective as "a science of appearances and a philosophy of analogies." He provides an example of the corn plant as a source of sustenance and understanding:

> The Zuni has observed that the corn plant is jointed; that its leaves spring from these joints not regularly, but spirally;... the colors of the corn are as the colors of the world--seven in number. Later on it will be seen to what extent he has legendized these characteristics, thus accounting for them, and to what extent, also, he has dramatized this, his natural philosophy of the corn and its origin. Nothing in this world or universe having occurred by accident--so it seems to the Zuni mind,--but everything having been started by a personal

> agency or supernatural, he immediately begins to see in these characteristics of the corn plant the traces of the actions of the peoples in his myths of the olden time (Cushing 1896:376).

It is important to remember that by the time the "Outlines" was published in 1896, Cushing had already participated in several archaeological expeditions, including the first Hemenway Southwestern Expedition. The article reflects Cushing's strong interest in prehistory, in the "survival of early Zuni traits" and in developing an "outline of Spanish Zuni history." Indeed, the narratives outlined here appear to be "explanations" of the "Zuni mytho-sociologic organization" (Cushing 1896:367). Credit is to be given to Cushing for recognizing the importance of analogy in Zuni thought and for, inadvertently, communicating a sense of the internal logic of the correspondences and the structure of sequence which gives coherence to these narratives.

The Mythic World of the Zuni is a highly abridged edition by Barton Wright of the first 57 episodes in Cushing's "Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths" (Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 13:321-447 (Cushing 1896)). The last 20 episodes dealing with the loss and recovery of the Corn Maidens and the final instructions and departure of Payatamu are omitted. Wright divides the narratives into 25 chapters. He drew illustrations showing figures mentioned in the narrative in "traditional" dress with appropriate landscapes.

Besides the drawings, the original contribution of Wright's edition consists in the notes (pp. 103-154). Wright provides historical reconstructions and comparative notes on the text. Some of this is useful to a general understanding of Zuni history; some of it is flawed by obvious errors. Wright "reduced" Zuni words "to a phoneticized spelling that retains only the accent and the glottal stop" (Wright 1988:163) and altered Cushing's translations of Zuni terms.

In summary, in spite of criticisms by several authors, Cushing's work conveys a sense of the form, structure and telling of Zuni narratives, even if many stylistic devices are suspect. Cushing explicitly states that the function of these narratives is "explanatory" of Zuni social and ceremonial organization and, more broadly, of the Zuni world. Unfortunately, there are no other contemporary versions of these narratives which would permit an accurate assessment of Cushing's efforts to "outline." While Wright has presented an attractive "repackaging" of Cushing's "Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths," the original 1896 text should be used for research.

Zuni Breadstuff

General Ethnology

Emergence Narrative
Clan Migration Narrative

Frank Hamilton Cushing
1920
New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, pp.673
Indian Notes and Monographs, Vol. VIII
Monograph
Field research: 1879-1884
Zuni consultants not identified

Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1900; ethnologist) is best known for his "participant observation" at Zuni Pueblo between 1879 and 1884. His work was publicized at that time as much by the journalist Sylvester Baxter, as by Cushing's own efforts. Zuni Breadstuff originally appeared in Millstone, vol. 9, nos. 1-12 (1884) and vol. 10, nos. 1-4 and 6-8 (1885), and reprinted in 1920 by the Museum of the American Indian, the edition reviewed here.

Although the title of this publication may misguide the reader to think that this monograph is a history of agricultural methods, Zuni Breadstuff is rich in Zuni traditional histories. For example, Chapter 1 describes a creation story of the origin of Father Sky and Mother Earth by the Sun-Father. Later, men and animals were ritually conceived by Mother Earth and Father Sky in several underworld caves. The story of Emergence continues with the heroic cycle of the Twin Brothers who lead the people upwards to the surface of the earth.

Narratives explaining clans and clan migrations are referenced as the priest-chiefs instructed each band in rituals and sacred talks (prayer). Bands included Priests, Hunters, Warriors and Wise Medicine Men. Each clan (such as the Macaw, Eagle, Crane, Turkey, and Deer) claim a privileged domain of traditional knowledge to preserve for the survival of the Zuni people. Cushing described the purpose of clan migrations:

> To all of these peoples it was told that they should wander for many generations toward the land whence the Sun brings the daylight (eastward), until at last they wold reach the middle of the world, where their children should dwell forever (Cushing 1920:31).

Cushing recorded that the Zuni Tribe was composed of various clans. They included but were not limited to six Corn clans (Seed Clan), Parrot or Macaw, Badger, Sun, Bear, Crow, Coyote, Water, Frog, Tobacco and Rattlesnake clans. The migration routes of the clans provide an important geography of their movements and suggest a cultural affiliation within Navajo National Monument. Cushing wrote:

> The same traditions say that the nation of today is a remnant of three great tribes, the middle, the southern, and the northern. At the time of these tribes, a vast area of New Mexico, Arizona, and minor parts of the Southwest was covered by inhabited towns of them, few individuals living in a single place, and the people were more nomadic than at

> present. When, at last, these tribes confederated, and chose, one after another in the order of precedence above given, the great valley of Zuni as their permanent home, they numbered many thousands, inhabiting no fewer than nineteen towns (Cushing 1920:129).

Cushing calculated that six archaeological villages at Zuni provided housing for six thousand Pueblo residents and ancient Zuni (Cushing 1920:130). Nomadic periods were punctuated with times during which the Zuni settled in great houses of stone which may even now be seen (Cushing 1920:33). Later, events such as earthquakes encouraged the people to leave their masonry settlements and continue their migration.

In summary, narratives in the classic Cushing account include the origin of corn, the benevolent Corn Maidens, Dragonfly and others. The chapter on Grandfathers' food reminds the reader of the horticultural life of ancestral Zunis. Traditional Zuni land practices as observed in the late nineteenth century by Cushing are also described (Cushing 1920:125-166).

Archaeological Cultures and Cultural Affiliation: Hopi and Zuni Perspectives in the American Southwest

Regional Archaeology

Kurt E. Dongoske, Michael Yeatts, Roger Anyon, and T. J. Ferguson
1997
American Antiquity 62:600-608
article
Field research: not specified
Zuni consultants not identified

Kurt E. Dongoske (M.A., Anthropology, University of Arizona) was employed by the Navajo Nation Archaeology Department as a supervisory archaeologist and project director between 1989 and 1991. Later he became tribal archaeologist with the Hopi Tribe's Cultural Preservation Office. Michael Yeatts was also a member of the Hopi Tribe's Cultural Preservation Office. Roger Anyon was director of the Zuni Archaeology Program and Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office from 1985 to 1996. He is now on the staff of Heritage Resources Management Consultants in Tucson, Arizona. T. J. [Thomas John] Ferguson (Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico) is an independent consultant specializing in the archaeology and ethnohistory of the southwestern United States. He has worked on a variety of projects implemented by southwestern tribes (most notably, Zuni and Hopi) to apply anthropological research in the preservation and management of tribal cultural resources. Ferguson worked for the Zuni Archaeology Program from 1976 to 1981 and 1984 to 1985. He was Director of Southwest Programs, The Institute of the NorthAmerican West and is now on the staff of Heritage Resources Management Consultants.

This essay is of interest to this study because it contains specific information regarding Zuni "traditional history." The authors begin stating that:

> Archaeologists and Native Americans apply different concepts to classify ancient groups of people who lived in the past. This is a topic of current interest because many archaeologists in the United States are now having to determine the cultural affiliation of the materials they study to comply with the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. The Hopi and Zuni tribes in the American Southwest are used as case examples to examine how and why archaeological and tribal views of cultural affiliation are divergent. We suggest anthropological perspectives of culture need to be reintegrated into archaeological theory in collaboration with Native Americans in order to interpret the past in a manner that is both useful and interesting to the multiple audiences interested in our work (Dongoske et al. 1997:600).

They also acknowledge the cultural uniqueness and complexity of traditional histories:

> The Hopi and Zuni are living dynamic cultures. Their traditional histories are long and incorporate many individual groups of people, each with unique histories. Thus, not one, but multiple tribal histories operate on multiple levels. The history in oral traditions is

> embedded in moral and religious precepts, and much of this knowledge is therefore esoteric (Dongoske et al. 1997:603).

Dongoske et al. go on to provide valuable information regarding the placement of oral traditions in the social organizations of the Hopi and Zuni:

> As with the Hopi, Zuni oral traditions portray similar complexities in the development of the Zuni tribe. **Unlike Hopi, however, the oral history of Zuni is embedded primarily in the accounts of kivas, priesthoods, and medicine societies rather than in clan migration histories.** Although all Zunis have a general understanding of tribal history, each religious group within Zuni society has a unique account of its own origins, which are known in great detail, but only to those initiated into the group and thus entrusted with that knowledge. Without going into esoteric details, two basic elements common to all the Zuni oral histories can be identified as being relevant to archaeological research. First, migrations are a consistent element of all Zuni oral histories, and different groups of ancestors had different migration routes. Second, Zunis have stories of encountering other people and engaging in conflict as part of their migrations.
>
> After emerging from the fourth level of the underworld, at the location now known as the Grand Canyon, the Zuni began their spiritually destined journey in search of the "middle place," or *Itiwana*. Zuni accounts record the splitting and joining of various groups during these migrations. One group is said to have journeyed to the south, to the "land of everlasting sunshine," never to return. Further along the journey the remaining Zuni split into three groups, one going up the Little Colorado River to Zuni itself, another traveling to the north, and a third traveling to the south. The Zuni clans were created relatively late in this historical sequence, when the Zunis were traveling through the Little Colorado River valley immediately prior to arriving at the Middle Place. Itiwana, the Middle Place, was occupied by another people before the Zunis arrived, and an epic battle was waged that the Zuni won with the spiritual assistance of the war gods. As the Zunis settled in the Middle Place, some of the earlier inhabitants were incorporated into the Zuni tribe. After long and eventual migrations, each of the other ancestral groups eventually joined the rest of the Zuni at the Middle Place (Dongoske et al.1997:603-604; emphasis added, citations omitted).

This essay is of importance to the readers of this study for three reasons: First, it is the most current strategic statement by scholars working with two of the tribes in this study, the Zuni and the Hopi. Second, it provides both historical and contemporary perspectives on "traditional history" as it is employed in archaeology. Third, it provides clear information on significant differences in the social organization of oral narratives at Zuni and Hopi.

A Zuni Atlas **Emergence Narrative**

T. J. Ferguson and E. Richard Hart
1985
Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, pp. xiii, 154
Monograph
Field research: not specified
Zuni consultants not identified

T. J. [Thomas John] Ferguson (1950-; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico) is an independent consultant specializing in the archaeology and ethnohistory of the southwestern United States. He has worked upon a variety of projects implemented by southwestern tribes (most notably, Zuni and Hopi) to apply anthropological research in the preservation and management of tribal cultural resources. Ferguson worked for the Zuni Archaeology Program from 1976 to 1981 and 1984 to 1985. At the time of this publication, he was Director of Southwest Programs, The Institute of the NorthAmerican West. He is now on the staff of Heritage Resources Management Consultants in Tucson, Arizona. E. Richard Hart was Executive Director of The Institute of the NorthAmerican West. His more than twenty years of work on Zuni subjects has resulted in publications in history, ethnohistory, and folklore.

Through the use of maps, photographs and text, Ferguson and Hart outline the archaeology, ethnohistory, history, ethnography, and current condition of the Zuni tribe in relationship to its geographical environment. The authors draw upon published sources, depositions in land claim cases and archival sources to create an authoritative introduction which should be the first source consulted by anyone interested in general background information on Zuni interests in the Navajo National Monument area. Although no explicit mention is made of the study area, the "Zuni Religious Use Area" recognizes the sacredness of Sierra Abajo (or Blue Mountains) to the north near Montecello, Utah. Note that the Zuni Religious Use Area map (Ferguson and Hart 1985:50) indicates only the southern boundary. The authors' discussion of "land use" may be extended to include the study area.

The Zuni atlas consists of forty-four maps--historical maps and new maps drafted for a claims case (*Zuni Indian Tribe v. United States*, Docket No. 161-79L). Historical photographs depict scenes of Zuni life and culture and short essays describe the significance of the mapped data. Maps 1 through 7 depict traditional Zuni area physical features. Maps 8 through 20 depict traditional Zuni culture prior to 1846. Maps 21 through 30 indicate intrusion and land use changes with American intervention in the region. Maps 30-35 indicate land use changes on the Zuni Reservation from 1877 to 1982. The last maps indicate current economic and housing locations on the reservation. It is clear that the traditional Zuni land use area extended to the north of the land claims area.

As Ferguson and Hart observe, there are two sources of knowledge about the origin of the Zuni people and their migration to the middle place of Zuni Pueblo. These are (1) oral traditions handed down within the tribe and (2) archaeological research. These are summarized in Maps 8

and 9 and the accompanying texts (Ferguson and Hart 1985:20-27).

The chapter on "General Direction of Zuni Origin and Migration" (Chapter 8) provides a composite depiction that draws upon many of the major ethnographic sources considered in our section on the Zuni Origin narrative. In addition, it is supplemented with knowledge gained through land claim depositions and consultation with tribal elders.

Ferguson and Hart preface their account by noting important characteristics of the information (cf., Map 8):

> First, Map 8 illustrates a simplified and generalized synthesis of the information contained in the Zuni origin accounts. It is simplified because there are many more places mentioned in the religious prayers that preserve the origin accounts than appear on Map 8, but the exact locations of many of these places are no longer known.
>
> ...
>
> Second, the referents to the places mentioned in the origin and migration account are more metaphorical than literal. For example, while some origin accounts tell of the emergence of the Zuni into this world through a hole in the Grand Canyon and other accounts place the emergence further down the Colorado River in the Mohave Desert, both places are referred to as *Chimik'yana'kya deya*, the Place of Beginning. What is important is the powerful use of metaphor and not the fact that two separate places of emergence are given in the different versions of the origin accounts (Ferguson and Hart 1985:21).

While stating that the referents to "places" are "more metaphorical than literal," it will be clear that Ferguson and Hart focus more on referents which can be fixed in space rather than the "metaphorical" aspects as emphasized in the approaches of Cushing, Benedict or Levi-Strauss. It is their position that "The *chimik'yanakona penane* [Zuni accounts of tribal origin and migration] create a symbolic bond between the Zuni people and their environment and provide an "historical" context for their tribal customs and organization" (Ferguson and Hart 1985:21). Ferguson and Hart propose that these narratives contain symbols or symbol systems whose "meaning" is to be found elsewhere. In this case, they find meaning in the landscape--in sacred places and routes.

These living, dynamic narratives are the oral traditions which--in the absence of writing--were and are maintained by Caretakers through performance which includes embodiment in ritual and sacred place. Given these multiple "levels" of meaning and use, a number of perspectives have been put forward as a means of understanding.

In general, there are two main types of approaches: extrinsic and intrinsic. The first involves what may be termed a referential theory of meaning in which it is proposed that meaning (in this case of the narrative) is to be found "outside" the oral tradition or text. Thus, Cushing located the meaning of the Origin narratives in the categories and structure of Zuni social and spiritual life. Benedict saw the tales as reflecting individual psychological processes. Ferguson and Hart find these memories "symbolized" in sacred places and routes. The second approach involves what may be termed a semiotic theory of meaning in which it is argued that meaning is defined through

(by means of) the relations underlying the oral tradition (or text) itself. Thus, Durkheim and Mauss by 1903 (Primitive Classification) saw the elaborate system of correspondences through which the Zuni classify not only the social and spiritual world, but the natural world as well. In the context of this project, Ferguson and Hart have created a detailed composite account which is informed by Zuni oral traditions as well as the findings of archaeological research. The authors present the Emergence and Migration narrative as follows:

> The Zuni people were created and first noticed in the fourth and innermost world or womb. When fire was first discovered and light first lit up this dark, deep place, the people discovered they were covered with slime, had webs on their hands and feet, had tails, ands that their genitals were improperly placed on their foreheads. It was a great struggle for the Zunis, as their immortal gods led them up through the third womb, then the second womb, and finally through the first womb and into the light of the Sun Father on the surface of Earth Mother. After the Zunis emerged into the bright day, the slime was washed from their bodies, the webs of their hands and feet were split, and the people were finally rearranged until they appeared as people do today.
>
> The Zuni people emerged from the fourth underworld deep within a canyon along the Colorado River. But the Zuni, or Ashiwi, as they call themselves, were still far from their home. They began a journey through the canyons and deserts of what is now Arizona and New Mexico in search of the middle place, the center of the world, the mid-most spot among all of all the heavens of the universe, a spot destined to be their home. As the people traveled from locale to locale, searching for the middle place, they stopped and built villages and stayed in them for "four days and four nights" (which, according to those who know the narratives, actually means four years). Each stream on the origin trail of the Zunis became a sacred shrine, still remembered in prayers, and at which offerings are still left when the Zuni people return to them.
>
> From *Chimik'yana'kya deya*, or the Place of Origin, the people traveled to *Sunha:k'yabachu Yalanne*, or the San Francisco Peaks, where the Zunis were given certain medicine plants. From there they traveled westward up the valley of *Kyawanahononnai*, "red river" or the Little Colorado River, to *Kumanchan A'l'akkwe'a*, and from there to *Denatsal Im'a*, at which another important medicine plant is found. While staying at one of the origin places in the Little Colorado River valley, the Zuni people were given a choice between accepting a gift of a very plain egg or an egg with beautiful blue spots. One group of the Zunis chose the beautiful egg, out of which hatched a black raven, to the dismay of the people. Out of the very plain egg hatched a colorful parrot with spectacular feathers, and the brothers and sisters who had chosen this egg journeyed southward into the Land of Everlasting Sunshine, never to return. The Zunis who had chosen the beautiful egg continued their search for the mid-most place.
>
> As the Zunis resumed their journey they split into three groups. One group continued up the Little Colorado River to where it is joined by the Zuni River. Here is located *Koluwala:wa*, a lake under which lives the village of *Kokko*, more commonly called

Katchinas, the gods of the Zunis. After death, Zunis return to *Koluwala:wa* to live as deities in the pueblo beneath the waters, where colorful dances and beautiful singing take place. Special offerings are still made and prayers are still given during regular quadrennial pilgrimages of religious leaders to *Koluwala:wa*.

From *Koluwala:wa*, the group journeying directly to the middle place went to *Hanlibinkya*, and here the Zuni clans were named. The petroglyph symbols of the clans are still visible in the sandstone canyon of *Hanlibinkya*, where they were carved in ancient times. Also at *Hanlibinkya*, the *Alayuda*, or twin gods of war, were created by the Sun Father in the foam of a water freshet cascading over steep cliffs of the canyon. The twin War Gods assisted the Zuni people as they moved from *Hanlibinkya* to the next place, for there were already people at *Heshoda Yalla*, and they tried violently to oppose the Zunis on their quest for the middle place. In an epic battle the Zuni people overcame these other people, with the assistance of the War Gods, taking some of them into the Zuni tribe. While *Heshoda Yalla* was close to the middle place, it was not the middle place, and thus the Zunis continued their journey until they settled *Halona:Itiwana*, the middle place, now called Zuni pueblo.

As the central body of Zunis journeyed directly from *Koluwala:wa* to *Halona:Itiwana*, other groups followed a different trail. To the south a group of Zunis went with the *Newe:kwe*, or Galaxy Fraternity. This group traveled along the valley of the upper Little Colorado River to the great round valley beneath *Shohk'onan Im'a*, "Flute Mountain" or Escudilla Peak, and from there northward to *Heshoda Yalta*, on top of *A'ts'ina* or El Morro, in the *Aqualhenna:yalla:we*, or the Zuni Mountains. From here the southern group rejoined the central body of the Zunis in the middle place.

To the north went a group of Zunis with the *Lhewe:kwe* and *Make:lhanna:kwe*, the Sword Swallower and Big Fire Societies. This northern group fought their way into *Ukyawanannai*, the valley of the "snow water river" or the Puerco River valley, and continued beyond with the Bow Priests sweeping danger out of the way, stopping in such places as *Heshoda Bitsulliya* or Chaco Canyon. They journeyed to *Shiba:bulima* in the Jemez Mountains, called *He:mushinaYalla:we* by the Zuni people. *Shiba:bulima* is the origin place of many medicine societies, as well as the prey animals. From *Shiba:bulima*, the trail of the northern group led down the Rio Grande, where *Chibiya Yallane*, a place belonging to the *Shu:ma:kwe*, is located in the Sandia Mountains. From there the trail led to *Dewankwink'yaba:chu Yalanne*, or Mt. Taylor, which is an important source of medicine plants, and to the spring called *Bi'k'ya'a* at the east end of the Zuni Mountains. The northern group eventually stopped at *Heshodan Imk'oskwi'a*, where they found the central body of the Zunis dwelling nearby. The northern group rejoined the other Zunis, and the tribe was reunited in the middle place.

When the journey of the Zuni people brought them close to the middle place *K'yan'asdebi*, a water spider, assisted them in finding the exact center point, *Itiwana*. The water spider spread his legs out until he reached the four oceans in the east, west, south,

and north, and also touched the zenith and nadir. When he had thus spread out to find the six cardinal directions, his heart was over the long-sought middle place, and it was here that the Zunis settled for the final time. The Zunis had finally ended their quest for the middle place, but all of the spots they visited during the long journey remain sacred to the people (Ferguson and Hart 1985:21-23

In summary, The Zuni Atlas, is an excellent introduction to Zuni archaeology, ethnohistory, history, ethnography and the current condition of the Zuni Tribe in its geographical environment. Essays by Edmund J. Ladd on "Zuni Social and Political Organization" and Dennis Tedlock on "Zuni Religion and World View" in the Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 9: Southwest should be considered as supplements. While Chapter 8, "General Direction of Zuni Origin and Migration," describes the Zuni sacred landscape, the essay by Barbara J. Mills and T. J. Ferguson, "Preservation and Research of Sacred Sites by the Zuni Indian Tribe of New Mexico," provides an excellent overview of current preservation and management strategies. All of these materials are included in the present literature review.

In describing the Zuni origin narrative through a composite of oral narrative sources and archaeological research, Ferguson and Hart locate the "meaning" of the narrative in the sacred landscape. Although the land claims case litigation led to a focus on the southern portion of the traditional Zuni land use area rather than our more northern study area, this atlas is of value in understanding Zuni interests in the area.

Zuni and the Courts: A Struggle for Sovereign Land Rights

Legal History

Land Use

E. Richard Hart, ed.
1995
Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, pp. xxi, 337
Monograph
and
Zuni and the Courts [computer file]
E. Richard Hart
1995
[Tucson]: Institute of the NorthAmerican West, 1 computer laser optical disk; 4 3/4" computer file
Field research: various, identified in text
Zuni consultants identified in Appendix F of the monograph as well as throughout the text.

E. Richard Hart was Executive Director of The Institute of the NorthAmerican West at the time of this publication. His own biographical statement is as follows: "In addition to *A Zuni Atlas* (co-authored with T. J. Ferguson), he has written or edited another five books and has numerous publications in the field of folklore, history, ethnohistory, and contemporary critical issues. He has received national awards and federal appointments in the fields of history and folklore. Having worked for and with the Zuni Tribe for more than twenty-five years, he has acted as an expert witness in several lawsuits relating to Zuni natural resources, including both of their claims cases, their religious easement claim, and their water adjudications. In addition to the written and oral expert testimony he has provided in court cases, he has testified many times on behalf of the tribe at hearings held by Senate and House committees" (Hart 1995:324).

Zuni and the Courts documents the quiet but persistent efforts of the Zuni Tribe to re-establish their aboriginal rights to land and land use. It is also the story of how an interdisciplinary team of scholars, working in conjunction with lawyers and tribal members, effected a significant change in the course of United States-Indian relations and case law. It is a summary of information (legal history and land use) as well as a primer on the right way to conduct litigation involving Indian tribes, the federal government, and private individuals. Although the work does not refer to the study area nor make use the "traditional histories," several essays attest to the veracity and validity of Zuni oral traditions, for example Triloki Nath Pandey's "Zuni Oral Tradition and History"; Floyd A. O'Neil's "Values of Zuni Oral History"; and Andrew Wiget's "Recovering the Remembered Past: Folklore and Oral History in the Zuni Trust Lands Damages Case."

The book consists of three parts, each concerned with a separate litigation. Part I details Zuni's aboriginal land claim case argued before the United States Claims Court. Since the Zuni Tribe failed to file a land claim under the Indian Claims Commission, they needed a congressional act in 1978 to sue the United States for lands taken without payment. This was the subject of the first litigation (Zuni 1 Docket 151-79L). Eleven chapters are summarize of the written evidence, depositions, and testimony given in the case by expert witnesses for Zuni. They cover such issues as archaeology and culture history, land use, oral history, law, and historic relations with Spanish,

Mexican, and United States governments. While the Navajo National Monument area lies well beyond the geographic parameters of the case, the chapters underscore the importance of tribal collaboration in gathering oral testimonies and in divulging what in some cases was sensitive religious and cultural information. Hart, a principal actor in this legal history, summarizes the nature of the Zuni victory in 1987, two decades after the work began, four years after the case was heard. Beyond a sizable cash settlement, Hart emphasizes the importance for the Zunis--the moral vindication of setting the record straight on Zuni occupancy, land use, and sovereignty.

Part 2 recounts a second suit against the federal government (Zuni 2, Dockets 327-81L, 224-84L) related to environmental damages to Zuni trust lands caused by acts and omissions, argued before the United States Claims Commission. The seven chapters again summarize reports by an interdisciplinary group of academics and scientists on the changing conditions of Zuni land, demonstrating the meticulous academic and legal preparation that simply overwhelmed federal attorneys. The government, sensing another defeat, and the Zunis, tired of waiting for a court ruling that might be years in coming, ultimately negotiated a very favorable cash settlement for the tribe in 1990.

In 1983-1984, the Zuni sought to add a sacred area known as "Zuni Heaven" (*Kolhu/wala:wa*) to the Zuni Reservation. After an act of Congress in 1984 approved the land transfer, a local rancher tired to prevent the Zunis from crossing his land to the sacred site. Part 3 describes a successful federal suit (*United States v. Platt*, 1990) on behalf of the Zunis. Two chapters by Hart and federal attorney Hank Meshorer summarize the case and the religious freedom, easement, and private property issues involved. A postscript to the volume includes reflective essays by four of the primary participants in all three cases--Hart, Floyd A. O'Neil, Edmund J. Ladd, and attorney Steven G. Boyden. While much of the text is technical, much is also very human and, at times, humorous. Ladd recounts that

> Governor Lewis gave his answers in English. He was asked what Kiva group he belonged to. He belongs to the *Muhekwe*, the "Manure Clan," but when asked for an English equivalent his response was (with a straight face, too) that he was a member of the "Soil Restoration Clan" (Hart 1995:234).

Zuni and the Courts contains several important essays on oral tradition. For example, in "Zuni Oral Traditions and History," Pandey reminds us of the importance of memory in preserving culture:

> And just as words and phrases in a lost language may become of particular importance in the religious and ritual life of a people, so the ancient names of selected sacred places on the territorial limits may become sacred symbols that serve as identity or boundary markers for the people. The Zuni expert witnesses in the land claim litigation compiled a list of over 220 Zuni place-names...On the basis of this we are able to demonstrate that **the Zuni people have had a much wider land base than the present reservation.**
>
> The Zuni land claims case provides an interesting opportunity to examine the role of

> memory in preserving certain cultural traditions and beliefs and the effect of that preservation on a people. This case raises questions about the nature of social and cultural knowledge and how it is generated [maintained?] by various people.
> There are basically two kinds of societies: those that are oriented toward memory culture, oral tradition, and mouth-to-mouth learning, and those, which have been in existence for about 2,500 years, that are oriented toward literary.
>
> But the Zunis did not have access to this kind of preservation [books and libraries] of knowledge and so had to divide themselves into various kinds of groups to do so. Medicine societies are one king of group; the *A:shiwani*, the sacred priests, are another. ... One of the responsibilities of all these groups had was to have knowledge...and preserve that knowledge for the sake of their children and descendants (Hart 1995:17-18, emphasis added).

In "Recovering the Remembered Past," Andrew Wiget concentrates on the evidentiary use of oral tradition in modern litigation and through a detailed analysis of depositions affirms their validity, reliability, and consistency (Hart 1995:177-180).

A CD-ROM supplements the text of Zuni and the Courts. It contains approximately 50 expert reports and more than 30 Zuni depositions, more than 6,000 pages and 200 historical photographs.

In the CD-ROM, versions of the Origin narrative are given by a number of individuals and are remarkable for their consistency. The Zuni responses are clearly shaped by the questions asked by attorneys representing the Zuni Tribe as well as the United States government. Although Navajo National Monument is not discussed specifically, there is a clear suggestion that the comments made with respect of other sites under National Park Service management have a broader applicability. Following are selected portions of the depositions presented on CD-ROM to give the reader a sample of the depth of available research documents:

"Deposition of Chester Mahooty, February 20, 1980"

> Q. Where did they go from there [*Kol/uwala:wa*]?
> A. From there...they traveled to *Hanl/ibinkya*. At this point is when the clans were originated. And here...the body of the people separated into two groups.
> Q. Could you describe where these two groups went?
> A. The north--they separated, and the Sword Swallowing Society representing those who took the raven egg moved to the north which is what the Zunis are. They chose to be the ravens. And to the south went the macaw, and the macaw people are still someplace to the south. They never rejoined the Zunis...
> Q. Would you now trace the remainder of the migration of the people that went to the north?
> A. [The] Raven and Sword Swallowing Societies moved to the north moving approximately four years, every four years, settling in such places as Chaco Canyon and

Canyon de Chelly and Mesa Verde until they arrived at *Shiba:bulima* where they settled for a period of time and where the religious societies were originated. From there they moved back towards what is now Zuni and where the northern Pueblos are now settled. They settled in those areas. And the Zunis continue to this Middle Place, the Center Place, which is Zuni.

Q. Do the locations of Chaco Canyon, Canyon de Chelly or Mesa Verde have any religious significance to the Zuni people?

A. In ancient times they may have been places of religious importance, but since the White Man has taken over the lands, the religious leaders are no longer able to go to some of these places. And so many of the places have been forgotten. But...we still make references to these places in the prayers.

Q. If you could tell us whether or not there are any pilgrimages or visits which have been made to [Chaco Canyon, Canyon de Chelly and Mesa Verde] as part of the Zuni culture and tradition?

A. Because we have religious positions, whenever we go near or to these places we still make offerings, we still pray, we still make our payment. They have never been forgotten, but they still are visited. And it's us who have the religious positions that have this responsibility. And when we go to places like this where the Park Service is, we notify them that we are going and coming or that we have arrived, and they have allowed us to pray and to make our offerings. We just don't arrive without notifying someone.

Q. Is that also true of the other sites which you have listed?

A. Yes, we have. We have visited *Chimik'yana'kya Deya, Dentasali Im'a,* and *Da:biliyanu* and specifically *Chimik'yana'kya Deya* last year.

Q. Last year?

A. Yeah. Last year when the religious ceremonies were held, renewing the certain masks, the leaders went down to the Grand Canyon to make collections because of the origin place. And they also planted prayer plumes there. And they notified the ranger, and the rangers assisted them in going down.

Q. Is that an ancient custom which has been carried on through the years?

A. Yeah, it's been carried on for year (Hart 1995:CD-ROM).

"Deposition of Alvin L. Nastacio, February 23, 1980"

Q. [Tell us about *Kumanch an A'l Akkwe'a*]

A. That's where [the Zuni People] separated [after choosing between the raven and macaw eggs]. The one society that came along with our people, the Sword Swallowing Society, went to the north, and as in the prayer and song says, reached near the oceans to the west, and then came back in and then started along where the Hopis now live, leading north and east, and many other places where our people stopped, and there were some excavations in which my father participated and which [they] were shown, they were shown such places, and over in Navajo land, now called Canyon de Chelly and on to places like Chaco Canyon (Hart 1995:CD-ROM).

In summary, the book and accompanying CD-ROM clearly document the importance of oral

traditions as applied to recent Zuni litigation and legal history. They underscore the importance of research collaboration and consultation, and through the depositions express the sustained effort required of the Zuni people to maintain their religious beliefs and practices.

Zuni Ethno-Ornithology **General Ethnology**

Edmund J. Ladd
1963
Albuquerque: Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, pp. 137
Master's thesis
Field research not specified
Zuni consultants not identified

Edmund J. Ladd (1926-1999); M.A., Anthropology, University of New Mexico) is an American Indian anthropologist who is a member of the Pueblo of Zuni. He is of the Coyote Clan and child of the Deer Clan. He is a member of the *U/ts na:que* (Small Group Kiva). As an indigenous anthropologist, his data for the University of New Mexico anthropology thesis was derived from personal knowledge as a member of the Zuni tribe and through interviews with older members (6). Presumably, Ladd's field methods utilized his language competencies in the Zuni language. He was Pacific Archaeologist with the Department of the Interior (National Park Service) stationed in Hawaii before retiring in 1984 and has since worked as an ethnographer for the Museum of New Mexico, Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The research project focuses on bird materials found in archaeological contexts on Zuni tribal lands in Arizona and New Mexico. He focuses on detailed descriptions of four types of painted and feathered prayer sticks. The author provides a valuable cultural context for the social organization of societies that employ feathers for ritual use. Ethno-ornithological data includes methods for hunting birds such as snares, ritual treatment of the birds after hunting, storage in feather boxes, and gifts to specific societies and priesthoods (i.e., Rain and Bow Priests) for certain species of feathers and general, non-ceremonial decorative applications.

In Appendix C, Ladd provides the reader with scientific and Zuni classifications of birds. Each species of bird is identified by Linnean scientific typology, common name, and Zuni name. The general use of the feathers (i.e., for prayer sticks) is noted. Importantly, the specific type of feathers (tail feathers, breast feathers, flight feathers) is identified for particular ritual uses. A bibliography on the ornithological study was also compiled by the author.

In summary, the significance of Ladd's research for a Traditional History Study of Navajo National Monument is that it reminds us of the prevalence and ritual significance of birds as a traditional cultural and natural resource of the Zuni people in prehistoric, historic, and contemporary times. It also provides a fine example of the correlations that can be described between scientific and cultural knowledge. The issue of the ceremonial use of feathers by American Indian tribes today is complicated by compliance with federal and state laws regarding eagles and other predatory birds, and birds on endangered species lists.

Zuni Social and Political Organization **General Ethnology**

Edmund J. Ladd
1979
Washington: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 482-491
Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9
Article in monographic set
Field research: not applicable
Zuni consultants not identified

Edmund J. Ladd (1926-1999; M.A., Anthropology, University of New Mexico) is an American Indian anthropologist who is a member of the Pueblo of Zuni. He is of the Coyote Clan and child of the Deer Clan. He is a member of the *U/ts na:que* (Small Group Kiva). As an indigenous anthropologist, his data for the University of New Mexico anthropology thesis was derived from personal knowledge as a member of the Zuni tribe and through interviews with older members (6). Presumably, Ladd's field methods utilized his language competencies in the Zuni language. He was Pacific Archaeologist with the Department of the Interior (National Park Service) stationed in Hawaii before retiring in 1984 and has since worked as an ethnographer for the Museum of New Mexico, Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

In "Zuni Social and Political Organization," reviews the existing literature on the Zuni socio-religious organization, the clan system and the political organization from "my own perspective as a Zuni" (Ladd 1979:482). Of particular note in the literature reviewed are A. L. Kroeber's Zuni Clan and Kin (1917) and Fred Eggan's account of "The Social Organization of Zuni" in Social Organization of the Western Pueblos (1950). The essay provides a very helpful account of the historic development of the Zuni political system from what was, basically, "a theocratic system of government" (Ladd 1979:488) to the establishment of the tribal council in 1934 (Ladd 1979:489-490). However, because of its conciseness, it will be useful to include here Ladd's brief outline of the Zuni socio-religious organization:

> The Zuni socioreligious system is composed of four interlocking subsystems, each operating independently yet synchronically... Superimposed one upon the other are the clans (*?annoti'we*), the kiva groups (*'upa'we*, which together make up the *kotikanne* 'Kachina Society'), the curing societies (*tika'we*; sg. *tikanne*), which include the eight Societies of the Completed Path (*'ona'ya'naka tika'we*), and the priesthoods (*'a'siwani* 'Rain Priests' and *'a'pi'la 'a'siwani* 'Bow Priests')... Of the Rain Priests, 6 are Daylight Priests and 10 are Night Priests; counted as Daylight Priests are the Head Bow Priest, as the priest of the nadir, and the *pekwinne siwani* 'spokesman priest', the priest of the zenith and generally referred to in English as the Sun Priest. ... Underlying, welded, and cross-tied to these four systems is the kinship system (Ladd 1979:482).

In summary, Ladd's essay provides the reader with a broad understanding of the Zuni social, religious and political organization. It is valuable for its perspectives on changes in Zuni society in the twentieth century, particularly with regard to its political organization.

Preservation and Research of Sacred Sites by the Zuni Indian Tribe of New Mexico

Regional Archaeology

Barbara J. Mills and T. J. Ferguson
1998
Human Organization 57:30-42
article
Field research: not specified
Zuni consultants not identified (reviewed by Roger Anyon and Robert E. Lewis)

Barbara J. Mills (Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico) is Associate Professor of Anthropology, The University of Arizona and Director of the Archaeological Field School. T. J. Ferguson is currently on the staff of Heritage Resources Management Consultants, Tucson, Arizona. Both are part-time staff members of the Heritage and Historic Preservation Office at the Pueblo of Zuni.

This article provides a brief overview of the cultural context of Zuni sacred sites. It describes how the historic preservation process works at Zuni and an analysis of how the tribe has used this to protect sacred sites over the past two decades. Several cases in which the Zuni Tribe has been able to protect sacred sites though the legislative and legal systems are reviewed. Mills and Ferguson conclude with the summary of the benefits of these strategies and a discussion of some of the issues raised by their case study. While not an official statement of the Zuni Tribe, drafts of the article were reviewed by Roger Anyon, former Director of the Zuni Heritage and Historic Preservation Office, and by the Zuni Tribal Council under the leadership of Robert E. Lewis, late Governor. Because of the importance of this article to an understanding of Zuni interests in Navajo National Monument, several extracts are provided here.
Mills and Ferguson provide this overview of their essay:

> Sacred sites are important in the ceremonial life of the Zuni Indians of the American Southwest. To protect these sites, both on and off the Zuni Indian Reservation, the Zuni Tribe has used two research and management strategies: (1) historic preservation, and (2) legislation and litigation. In this article, the Zuni Tribe's use of historic preservation to manage sacred sites is analyzed using the report series of the Zuni Archaeology Program. While sacred sites were only a small fraction of the total number of sites recorded, the treatment of these sites as cultural resources resulted in their protection. The Zuni Tribe has also successfully managed sacred sites through special Federal legislation and litigation of land claims. In two instances, sacred places have been added to the Zuni Reservation. Although the strategies employed by the Zuni Tribe have generally been successful, our analysis identifies two as yet unresolved issues: (1) the limited ability of archaeologists to recognize sacred sites, and (2) the unknown impact that may result from the reduction of a dynamic oral tradition to the literate scholarly and legal forms of the dominant society (Mills and Ferguson 1998:30).

In their discussion of cultural context, Mills and Ferguson provide a general perspective on the importance of sacred sites in Zuni religion. Included in the list of sacred sites are those "associated

with ancestral ruins where the Zuni people resided during their migration" as well as "natural features of the landscape." Both have been explicitly identified as pertaining to Navajo National Monument and the surrounding area. Mills and Ferguson observe:

> Sacred sites play an important role in Zuni religion, as they are the locus of many of the ritual activities performed by the various groups in the religious structure. These sacred sites include both constructed shrines and natural features of the landscape used as offering places. **Many sacred sites are associated with ancestral ruins** where the Zuni people resided during their migration from the place of emergence in the Grand Canyon to the center of the universe at Zuni Pueblo. There is a wide range in the geographical setting of sacred sites, including high mountain peaks, mesa tops, springs, riverbeds, and prominent geological features. The Zunis use sacred sites to offer prayers to their ancestors to bring rain, fertility, and good things for themselves and all of the other people of the world. **Pilgrimages are made to religious sites far from Zuni Pueblo and this maintains a spiritual relationship with the landscape the Zunis have inherited from their ancestors** (Mills and Ferguson 1998:31).

The article addresses the preservation efforts of the Zuni Archaeology Program (1978-present) and the impact of various legislative acts including the National Historic Preservation Act, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act and the recent American Indian Religious Freedom Act. A series of seven Tribal Council Resolutions support the Zuni religious leaders actions to protect and secure the proper care of sacred places and objects.

From a pragmatic perspective and as archaeologists, Mills and Ferguson acknowledge the importance of Zuni consultants and interviews with the Zuni Tribal Council and religious leaders particularly in the identification of sacred sites:

> There are three major types of sacred locations: (1) shrines; (2) isolated offerings, such as turquoise, shells, or prayersticks; and (3) sacred areas, which may include clusters or offerings or no material manifestations at all (Mills and Ferguson 1998:34).

While the study area of Navajo National Monument is not among the sacred sites explicitly identified in this article, it does address a number of relevant issues. As we have experienced in the initial review of this project by the Zuni Tribe, "the dilemma of documentation vs. secrecy has been most effectively resolved on a case-by-case basis in which the Zuni leaders providing information can carefully weigh the benefits" (Mills and Ferguson 1998:40).

Just the recording of an oral tradition fixes it in writing at a specific point in cultural history, so too the Zuni Tribe faces the issue of fixing (identifying) sacred locations on the landscape. As Mills and Ferguson state:

> There is often a conceptual dilemma between the archaeologist's perception of sites as physical locations with material correlates and the more dynamic spiritual beliefs of the Zuni Indians about sacred places. For instance, the same sacred site can exist in more than

> one place on the ground for different groups, or its location on the ground can shift because of historical factors. Sacred sites are both physical and spiritual, and to reduce them to their physical attributes alone is to reduce they dynamics of Pueblo Indian religion (Mills and Ferguson 1998:40).

Mills and Ferguson conclude by noting the Zuni's preferred method of managing sacred sites is to bring areas outside the reservation back into Zuni control, "where they are then managed through use by the religious practitioners themselves" (Mills and Ferguson 1998:40).

In summary, the bulk of this article is concerned to document the strategies employed to preserve Zuni sacred sites through the efforts of the Zuni Archaeology Program. It also provides sensitive perspectives on cultural conflicts such as the documentation of sacred areas versus the esoteric preservation of sacred knowledge, and the fixing of sacred sites in the landscape versus their dynamic role in identity and life of the Zuni people today. All of these issues relate directly to the preservation of ancestral sites by the National Park Service, including Navajo National Monument.

The Origin Myth of the Zuni **Emergence Narrative**

Elsie Clews Parsons
1923
Journal of American Folklore 36:135-62
Article
Field research: 1915, 1917-1918
Zuni consultant identified as Lippelanna [Big Weaver]

Elsie Clews Parsons (1874-1941; Ph.D., Sociology, Columbia University, anthropologist and folklorist) began her research in the Southwest in 1915 at Zuni and conducted field work among the Puebloan peoples nearly every year until 1932. The culmination of her research was Pueblo Indian Religion which provides a brief overview of Zuni religion. Parsons was interested in how Puebloan peoples maintained their traditions and how they responded to change. Her perspectives were generally comparative, with diffusion offered as an "explanation." As a member of a generation of American anthropologists labeled as "historical particularists," there is in Parsons' work an emphasis on the historicity of traditional narratives and a skepticism regarding the veracity of a religious perspective.

Parsons' version of "The Origin Myth of Zuni" provides an introduction to narrative which distinguishes it from other narrative forms:

> The origin myth of Zuni (*chimiky'anakona penane*, "from the beginning talk") is not accounted a *telapnane*, a tale or folk-tale, but a "talk" like the chant of *kyaklo* in the quadrennial initiation into the *kotikyane* or like the chants of the *shalako* ceremonial. Unlike the *kyakloampenane* and the *sayatashampenane*, the "talk" belongs to none, it is non-proprietary, and it is therefore, as we should say, exoteric or secular. It is known or, rather, it may be known, by anyone, and there is no reluctance about imparting it (Parsons 1925:135).

Parsons then goes on to tell us about the narrator of this version:

> Most of the *chimiky'anakona penane* has been published somewhat discursively by Stevenson [1904; it is interesting Parsons makes no reference to Cushing]. Several fragments I too had heard from various informants, but the following version is the only unbroken narration that has been given to me. The narrator was Lippelanna (weaving big or all the time, i.e., Big Weaver). He is the *akwa mosi* (medicine head) of the *makye tsanna tikya*, Little Firebrand Society. He is over seventy. Although a man of property, possessed of the largest peach orchard of Zuni and of corn fields which he still cultivates himself, and although characterized by apparent artlessness, he is reputed by some to be a witch (Parsons 1925:135).

The full text of this version of the Emergence narrative is twenty-five pages long detailed annotations. Consequently, we have provided Parsons own abstract as a summary of this version:

I. Emissaries from Sun to the underground people. Emissaries are spat on. Give notice of return in four days.
II. The emergence. Plants to come up by. The fourth plant is adequate. Through the four worlds. Dazzled by the sun.
III. Webbed and tailed. See V.
IV. Witches check overpopulation by introducing death. Witches bring corn. Sacrifice of a little girl to prove life after death.
V. Tails amputated and fingers cut apart.
VI. Migrations.
VII. Incest of son and daughter of a rain-priest (*shiwanni*). They make a river.
VIII. Crossing the river the children slip away as water snakes. Origin of the *koko* (ancestor or masked gods) and of their town under the lake. The dead are to go there instead of to the place of emergence.
IX. Separation of people: choosers of crow egg go to the east, choosers of parrot egg, to the south.
X. Separation with song of the *le'ettone* people.
XI. The fight with the *kyanakwe*. Bows of sinew and bows of yucca. Heart of leader in a gourd rattle. Three captives take by *kyanakwe*.
XII. Birth of war gods and *pauutiwa* from foam of waterfall.
XIII. War gods visit Sun by a road made by throwing up a ball of meal. Sun reveals the secret of the heart in the rattle.
XIV. Elder brother war god hits a bear by mistake and breaks his back into the position it is to take forever. Defeat of the *kyanakwe*.
XV. War god dance. Coyote of Yellow Corn clan, the drummer. War gods adopt respectively Deer and Bear clans. Big shell blown.
XVI. Yellow Corn clan becomes Black Corn clan. Competition in rain making by "making days" i.e., taboo or will magic.
XVII. Institution of the *kotikyane* as a source of social amusement. Account of the initiation.
XVIII. Search for the middle place. Birds as seekers. Waterskate finds the middle. A new *hepatina* is made. The *apilashiwanni* go under the earth forever.
XIX. Wanderings of the war gods. Their sexual promiscuity and murders. Pursued by a murdered girl. Rescued by Knife Society. Institution of Scalp dance rites. The ambiguous tracks of the chaparral cock. Twelve feathers in its tail determine taboo period for scalp takers.
XX. Initiation of war gods into Knife Society and other societies. Rules for war gods.
XXI. Migrations of *le'wekwe*. Rainmaking competition between *le'wekwe* and *poltok ashiwanni*. Two moons assigned to the *le'wekwe*.
XXII. Flood; refuge found in *towa yallane*. Sacrifice in water of virgin boy and girl.
XXIII. Arrival of Spaniards (Parsons 1925:135-136).

In summary, Parsons provides a full and carefully annotated version of the Emergence narrative. A detailed examination of the Emergence narratives must take the full text into consideration.

Although no mention is made of the study area, the account provides a rich cultural context for understanding the Zuni world view.

The Zunis: Self Portrayals, By the Zuni People **Emergence Narrative**

Alvina Quam (translator)
1972
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. xii, 245
Monograph
Field research: 1965-1968?
Zuni consultants not identified

The Zunis: Self Portrayals originated with a 1965 decision by the Zuni Tribal Council to record their oral literature. With funds allocated by the Office of Economic Opportunity, over 925 narratives were recorded. In 1968, C. Gregory Crampton of the Doris Duke Indian Oral History Project at the University of Utah joined with the tribe to support the translation of this material. The University of Utah hired two Zuni tribal members, Alvina Quam to translate the tapes and Virginia Lewis, to review and edit the narratives for potential publication. Eventually the Zuni Tribal Council and religious leaders selected about 400 documents for translation from Zuni into English. In 1972, a selection of these were published in The Zunis: Self Portrayals. Between 1967 and 1973 forty-seven additional interviews were carried out, including some of great importance to the Zuni land claim cases (see Hart 1995).

The Zunis: Self Portrayals consists of 46 narratives arranged under six categories--society, history, fables, fables of moral instruction, religion, and war and defense. The Zuni Emergence narrative entitled, "The Beginning," is such an important account that it is reproduced here in its entirety:

> The time arrived that the stars were told by the Great Spirit to come down into the fourth womb where the people lived, giving offerings of corn pollen to their fathers.
>
> There were always many people upon the face of the earth, but few of them were desirable. The people of the fourth womb would be brought up to stabilize what life was to be like on the surface.
>
> Down into the darkness of the fourth womb, the stars entered where they were greeted by some hunter.
>
> Asked who they were and what they were doing, they claimed to be the Ahauda. The came into the Gyaatdoweh's house and exclaimed that the sun wished their presence upon the earth. But first the Gyaatdoweh asked each different society to give their opinions on the question put forth to them. The Gyaatdonneh and Chuatdonneh discussed the subject and decided on the certain plants with which they were to come to the surface. As each different plant was grown for them to ascend upon, each plant failed. From the yucca roots to the thin willows were planted as each of the fourth levels of the wombs came up. Finally they penetrated onto the surface of the earth.

The Shewanaquelo and Clown clans were the first of any medicinal societies taken into the light of the sun. When they were upon the surface, they were stood facing the east from which the sun rose.

Instructed to keep their eyes opened and looking at the sun, they stood squinting at the brightness of the light surrounding them, their eyes watering. They stood until their eyes got accustomed to the light.

When these people emerged onto the surface, the strong sacred scent of the wombs that penetrated onto the surface killed the living on the face of the earth. A new group of beings began the start of a new people.

A short time later there came tremors from the underground and when that was stilled, the stars entered back into the womb, asking whom they had left behind.

Indeed, there in the opening in the fourth womb, the Coyote Clan stood halfway out of the womb exclaiming that it had been left behind and so now was coming up to join in the making of the new world, telling of its usefulness and that its members were beings from the grain of the wheat.

The Coyote Clan was led to join with the rest of the clans that had already ascended onto the earth.

There were no more tremors for a short time. But when there were, the Ahauda quickly checked the emerging point of the people from below.

They came to find one from the witch society, already sitting upon the earth with an ear of yellow corn held tightly in his hand. He claimed the usefulness of this purpose, being closely related to the Gyaatdoweh and Chuatdoweh. But at this the Ahauda went back to the rest of the clans inquiring the validity of the statements made by this person.

"Uhmdehseh," meaning a witch, has come among the people.

As there had been no previous deeds of the witch that could make him undesirable, the clans agreed to accept him into the part of a society being formed.

So the Ahauda brought the witch and he gave one ear of corn to each clan as a gesture of friendliness. When no more emerged, the journey to find their homes started. For four years they came, with the head priest leading them to their place of settling.
As the leader scouting ahead became tired, another took the lead, going until all had led their people, leaving only the son and daughter of a high priest. Then these two walked on ahead of their people until their followers were behind and out of sight. The girl was tired, so she sat beside a sagebrush to wait for her people to catch up with them. Her brother kept going until he found what he was looking for. Then he returned to the place where he

had left his sister. He found her sleeping and stood a moment looking at her, until he had lost his senses and committed incest with his sister. When that had been done the sin they had committed turned them into Mudheads, the boy being the father and the girl being the mother of nine Mudheads later produced.

Indeed, when the two became Mudheads, at that same place there appeared water and made a spring with the river streaming down into the valley. There in the valley they produced two hills rising about where the spirits of the Mudheads dwell in one and the Kachinas in the other.

They summoned their people to follow farther. As the people crossed the stream with their children on their backs, once they stepped into the stream the children became small animals, getting off their parents' backs and going into the water.

There the people who had crossed had been split in half, with their children turning into aquatic species.

The leaders advised the rest to stay ashore on the opposite side of the river until they could figure some other way to go over without losing their children to the water. When they could not come up with a way, they advised the people to come across but to hold tightly to their children until they had crossed to the other bank.

Once more the people came into the river, their children turning into fishes, frogs, turtles, and other aquatic species. Their hold on the children was tight, and no one was lost. As they stepped onto the opposite back the children became themselves as they had been before. When they all had crossed, the children lost to the river went into the small water hole where the father of the Mudheads and their mother founded as their home "Koh-thlou-wah-la-wah."

As new leaders were chosen, they kept coming until dusk when the chanting of the spirits of masked dancers was heard.

The priests were sent back to Koh-thlou-wah-la-wah to find what had taken place. They entered the small water hole where they found the lost children, who had been turned into Kachinas.

The two priests were assured that the children who had stayed at Koh-thlou-wah-la-wah were happy and assured them to tell their parents not to think about them any longer.

The priests returned to their people with the news and related the previous night's happenings.

Again they started on their journey. Each time they stopped four years at a place they were moved farther on. When they came to Honthlebinkyn they stopped for another four

years. The Gyaatdonneh's brother and Chuatdonneh's sister announced that they could no longer stay with the same clan and that they must go where great bodies of water lay.

So the people again split after four years. The priests set a period of ritual in offering the blessings to the spirits of their children in Koh-thlou-wah-la-wah. During the four high priests' time, the dates of rituals were in the days when daily showers came, making the grounds rich and fertile.

When the rains fell, as the rivers came rushing down where the waters frothed about, the two Ahauda came into view. Thus far they had been seen as the stars that first brought the people upon their emerging. When that happened, the sun priests came forth and the Ahauda now stayed with their people while the stars when back up into the skies.

The Ahauda stayed peacefully for only a short time; then they started to roam about the land where later they killed a Cheskekchkkya.

This girl didn't die, and later on regained consciousness, starting to follow the two Ahauda.

The two fled into Shebabulima where they entered into clans and societies seeking safety and refuge from the girl. But no one came to their assistance until finally they came to the Knife Clan.

The clan took them in and assured them safety. First they were prepared in the dress of the Bow Priests and given little bundles of sticks, then told to sit in a corner facing the entrance.

The girl came bounding onto the roof and spoke into the house asking if the two were in there. When she was told they were, she asked for them to be sent out but was refused. Instead she was told to come in and get them if she wanted them.

She came on down the ladder. About the time she stepped on the third rung the two cried out in terror, then mocked her appearance, which made her run back up onto the roof. She tried to more times but ran back out. Angered and humiliated, she went down for the fourth time, determined to get the two War Gods.

The War Gods continued to mock her until as soon as she set her foot on the floor they attacked, striking her with the sticks until she fell in a lifeless heap.

The leader of the Knife Clan instructed them to take her scalp, and when they had done so, further instructions were given to them.

They were to tie the scalp to the end of a long thin post with a twig of sagebrush, then to stand the post outside the house. Then they were told to dispose of the lady in any way

and anywhere they wanted, so the two War Gods took the body out and not very far from the house they left it out in the sun and returned to the clan house.

When they came in they found the tracks of a bird, some looking as if it were entering and some as if going out. The two argued for a moment as to the direction the tracks were going, and shortly the leader asked them to check behind the altar to see if there was anything there. They checked and found the bird sitting in a corner behind the altar. They were told to count the feathers on the wings, and they found twelve on each. The priests of the clan then set the fasting days to twelve days, during which time they would be saved and blessings would be asked for them.

When the period was over, they were sent to the Gyaatdoweh's house. They were taught the songs for the Scalp Dance and were instructed to go into the village and as they circled it to sing the scalping songs.

When they did as they were told, the people came out and joined the procession around the village four times. Then they entered the plaza where the scalps were in the center. Four days later, night dancing started after the scalp was washed.

When the four nights of dancing were finished, the War Gods were set out in the plaza with the pollen and grains of wheat while the dancing went on all day.

When this day ended, the monster from below, the tornado and the rest of the terrible things, came up from the fourth womb. Along with those things came a coyote possessing supernatural powers who was summoned to start the dances for the purification rites; then once again they rose to come looking for the middle place.

The War Gods came into Halona and settled there until the Bow Priests found themselves to be relieved of their play by some other group. They called a session among the leaders of the people and discussed the news.

"We will be shortly taken to a place for us, we must all go. But there are some of us unwilling to accept the destiny we are headed for. We have lived with a feeling of well-being and desire to continue; should we be dissolved to nothing so easily?

"No, we have taken care of our land, letting it flourish and nurturing it. We do not wish to be set aside without struggle."

The situation was discussed and it was agreed that the dams and banks be broken, so the bodies of water could meet, forming one great lake. All the land was to be covered with water and when it became dry, the ground would solidify, becoming stable, and no more threats of being destroyed would come.

The next day the prayersticks were prepared and planted in the rivers, streams, lakes,

ponds, and anywhere that water was. When they did that, the water became great bodies, and the people fled to the top of Towayalane where they settled in small villages until the rising waters subsided. After many years the water dried out and the land became hard and solid. While the water came into the land there came a large serpent from the oceans, which later as the water lowered cried out from behind the south mountain. From then on the mountains were known as the Face Mountain.

Before the land dried out, the priests decided to ask the priest's children to enter the bodies of water, where they would meet the supernatural and where they would ask for the salvation of their people.

When a body and a girl agreed to go, the preparations began. The prayersticks were placed in baskets with pollen. Then the children were painted with sacred paints and feathers were placed in their mouths, hair, and arms.

The day passed, and early next morning they were led along a path where people stood along the sides praying for them and encouraging them. When they reached the edge of the cliff, their brothers and sisters came up to them for the last time, assuring them that they would never die and that they should live among their brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents forever.

As they walked into the waters, the great bodies stilled. As silence came and the two reached the floors of the water, the water began to lower, and the surrounding things along the water's edge turned into rocks, also turning the boy and girl into stones. The water slowly went into the ground and many years passed and finally the ground became hard.

The two stones along the west of the mountains are believed to be the priest's children. When the people came down upon the dry, hard grounds, they found the tracks of the people going all the way to Koh-thlou-wah-la-wah.

When the people came back into their village, they once more settled for only a short time, when the priests asked each other if Halona was really the middle place.

The worm was summoned and asked to use his supernatural powers to indicate if Halona was the middle place. When the priests were assured that it was, they still wanted further assurances. They called upon the water spider to find the middle place. The water spider came from the north and it stretched its legs until its body lay upon the center. Then upon that exact spot the village was built. Under the houses where the priests now spend their fasting days, there lies the heart of the earth, the middle place (Quam 1972:129-137).

In summary, the full text of this version of the Zuni Emergence narrative is provided for comparison with other full and abstracted versions provided in this literature review. The book documents that "the major storytellers of the tribe" were gathered together and asked to relate

narratives on tape.

The Zuni Indians:
Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies

General Ethnology
Emergence Narrative

Matilda Coxe Stevenson
1904
Washington: Government Printing Office, pp. 634
23rd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1901-1902
Monograph in series
Field research: 1879-1904 (intermittent)
Zuni consultants: principle consultants identified (p.25)

Matilda Coxe Stevenson (1849-1915; ethnologist). After marrying James Stevenson, executive officer of the U. S. Geological Survey of the Territories (Hayden Survey), Stevenson accompanied her husband in his fieldwork and began to study the Puebloan peoples they encountered. She continued this after her husband joined John Wesley Powell's Bureau of American Ethnology. Their first BAE-sponsored trip in 1879 introduced her to the Zuni, among whom she was to do research for nearly twenty-five years. Although it was originally anticipated that she would complement her husband's ethnographic investigations through the study of women and children, she was the one who became an active student of ethnology. Her interests eventually focused on Pueblo religion. When James Stevenson died in 1888, Matilda Stevenson obtained employment at the BAE to continue her research. In 1881, she initiated research at Hopi and by the end of her life had worked at Zia, Jemez, Cochiti, Santa Clara, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Nambe and Taos Pueblos. In 1904, she began a general comparative study of Pueblo religion, especially that of the Tewa, and spent the greater part of each year in New Mexico until her death in 1915. A brief history of her research with the Zuni is included in the present volume in which she says, "Much of the present volume is based on his [James Stevenson's] notes and records" (Stevenson 1904:19).

Although described as the "only attempt at a general ethnography of Zuni" (Tedlock), the subtitle of Matilda Coxe Stevenson's massive study of the Zuni Indians reveals her focus quite clearly as "...their mythology, esoteric fraternities, and ceremonies." Stevenson provides a summary overview of the Zuni Origin narratives (20-61); descriptions of the A'shiwanni (rain priesthood) and other "esoteric fraternities," including initiations and ritual observances (163-179; 407-608); and an outline of the ritual calendar and other ceremonies (108-162; 180-282), with a special emphasis on the Sha'lako ceremony. Over one hundred pages describes "History, arts, and customs" (283-382), however, the "chronologic summary of historic events" refers entirely to Euro-American contacts with the Zunis.

Stevenson's style of presentation of the Zuni narratives has been characterized as "discursive" by Parsons. Benedict critiqued the ethnography as "an abstract rearranged to serve as an introduction to Zuni ceremonial. Tedlock referred to it as "a descriptive summary in her own words." Clearly, much of what she writes is "about" the content of Zuni narratives and ritual. Nevertheless, in the "History Myth of the Coming of the A'shiwi as Narrated by Kiaklo" (Stevenson 1904:73-89) she provides a "free translation" in English and the Zuni text with an "interlinear translation," with

additional comments on performance.

Of particular note in the "History Myth of the Coming of the A'shiwi" is the importance of sacred places in the narration of the "travels of the ancients to the Middle of the world" (Stevenson 1904:85). Stevenson conveys the sense of repetition in the telling of the narratives and of the constant movement of the people over the land: "We come this way" and then, " We come to..." as an introduction to a series of..."a large lake...a valley with watercress in the middle...the stealing place...houses built in mesa walls...last of a row of springs...middle of a row of springs...again to the middle of a row of springs...the house of Ko'loowisi...watercress place...small spring...a spring in the hollow place in a mound, hidden by tall bending grasses...ashes spring...high-grass spring...rainbow spring...place of the Shalako...[twenty more sacred places]..., each phrase ending with "here we get up and move on" until "We come to the Middle place" (Stevenson 1904:85-88). There is no reference to the Navajo National Monument area in narratives summarized by Stevenson.

As Joseph Dishta, Director of the Heritage and Historic Preservation Office, Pueblo of Zuni, makes clear in his review of this study, this knowledge is preserved in the oral traditions of the Care Takers of the highly Sacred Icons representing the Northern Direction (10/6/97). What Stevenson's version provides is a fairly complete recording (not necessarily unabbreviated by either the narrator or her) in which the importance of sacred place is fundamental to the significance of the narrative.

More typical of Stevenson's mode of presentation is the following, taken from her version of "Beginnings of the Universe":

> The Zuni ceremonies cluster about a cosmology which serves to keep the beliefs alive and to guide both actors and spectators through the observances.
>
> In the beginning A'wonawil'ona with the Sun Father and Moon Mother existed above, and Shi'wanni and Shi'wano'kia, his wife, below. Shi'wanni and Shi'wano'kia were superhuman beings who labored not with hands but with hearts and minds. The rain priests of Zuni are called A'shiwanni and the Priestess of Fecundity is called Shi'wano'kia, to indicate that they do no secular work; they give their hearts and minds to higher thoughts in order that their bodies be so purified they may enter into communion with the gods.
>
> All was shi'pololo (fog), rising like steam. With the breath from his heart A'wonawil'ona created clouds and the great waters of the world. He-She is the blue vault of the firmament. The breath clouds of the gods are tinted with the yellow of the north, the blue-green of the west, the red of the south, and the silver of the east of A'wonawil'ona; they are himself, as he is the air itself; and when the air takes on the form of a bird it is but a part of himself--is himself. Through the light clouds, and air he becomes the essence and creator of vegetation. The Zuni conception of A'wonawil'ona is similar to that of the Greeks of Athena.

It is not strange, therefore, that the A'shiwi cover their altars with symbols of cumulus and nimbus clouds, with "the flame of the cloud crest," and "blue of the deep wells of the sky," and use all these, woven into plumes, to waft their prayers to the gods, and have as their symbol of life, embracing all the mysterious life-securing properties, including mystery medicine, an ear of corn clothed in beautiful plumage; for the spirit of A'wonawil'one is "put into and upon this created form." The name of this symbol, mi'li, is but another word for corn, and the et'tone, the most sacred fetish of the A'shiwanni, is another symbol of life, including rain and vegetation.

While every Zuni is taught that in inhaling the sacred breath from his fetishes or in breathing upon the plumes he offers to the gods he is receiving from A'wonawil'ona the breath of life or is wafting his own breath prayers to his gods, only the few have any conception of all that is implied in their observances or fully appreciate the poetic nature of their myths.

After A'wonawil'ona created the clouds and the great waters of the world, Shi'wanni said to Shi'wano'kia: "I, too, will make something beautiful, which will give light at night when the Moon Mother sleeps." Spitting in the palm of his left hand, he patted the spittle with the fingers of his right hand, and the spittle foamed like yucca suds and then formed into bubbles of many colors, which he blew upward; and thus he created the fixed stars and constellations. And Shi'wanni was well pleased with his creation. Then Shi'wano'kia said: "See what I can do," and she expectorated into the palm of her left hand and slapped the saliva with the fingers of her right, and the spittle foamed like yucca suds, running over her hand and flowing everywhere; and thus she created A'witelin Si'ta (Earth Mother) (Stevenson 1904:23-24).

In summary, Stevenson's work--to paraphrase Mark Twain's definition of a "classic"--is a work everyone cites but nobody reads, perhaps in response to the lengthy size of the ethnography (634 pages). Clearly as a "general ethnography," the essays on Zuni in volume 9 of the Handbook of North American Indians serve as superior introductions. Nevertheless, Stevenson conveys a sense of the form and content of Zuni narratives, especially with regard to importance of sacred places as meaningful embodiments of sacred knowledge. Stevenson's efforts reveal much about the form and significance of these narratives in Zuni life and their conception and maintenance of the spiritual world.

Finding the Center: Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians **Emergence Narrative**

Dennis Tedlock
1972
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, pp. xxxv, 298
Monograph
Field research: 1965-1966
Zuni consultants identified in the text

Dennis Tedlock (1939-; Ph.D., Anthropology, Tulane University) conducted field work at Zuni during 1965 and 1966. His 1968 dissertation focused on "The Ethnography of Tale-Telling at Zuni." Interest in narrative forms has led Tedlock to research and publications on several Middle and North American native peoples.

Finding the Center introduces an attempt to create a complete notation of the speech dynamics of the Zuni narrators. In doing so, Tedlock documents silence, emphasized phrases or words, audience response and other paralinguistic features. His methods take us much closer to a sense of dramatic speech than traditional representations of Zuni narrative which, at best, turns poetry into prose.

Fundamental to the process of representation is the use of a tape recorder. The nine narratives presented range from four to fifty-seven minutes of "performance time," and form witchcraft to bawdy humor in subject matter. In the introduction, Tedlock provides a detailed discussion of translation and speech notation.

The following excerpt from the Emergence narrative is intended to provide an illustration of Tedlock's method rather than to reproduce this version for its content. The Emergence narrative entitled "The Beginning" was narrated in two parts with notes regarding both performance and content added to each. Tedlock tells us this version was "narrated by Andrew Peynetsa on the evening of March 26, 1965, with his wife, son, Walter Sanchez, and myself present. The performance took fifty-two minutes" (Tedlock 1972:269):

> Well then
> this
> was the BEGINNING.
> At the beginning
> when the earth was still soft
> the first people came out
> the ones who had been living in the first room beneath.
> Whey they came out they made their villages
> they made their houses a------ll around the land.
> They were living this way
> but it was the Sun's thinking

that this
was not right
not the way to live.
They did not offer him prayer-sticks, prayer-meal.
"Well, perhaps if the ones who live in the second room come
out, it will be good."

THEN
SO
when the ones who lived in the second room came out
THEIR OZONE SMELL
killed the ones who had already come out.
All of them died
and the second people lived o--------n for some years
but they did not think of anything, it was not right.
Those who lived in the third room beneath were summoned.
When they came out
when the third ones came out their ozone smell killed
all the second ones.
Their runs are all around the land
as you can see.
Around the mountains where there is no water today, you
could get water just by pulling up the grass
because the earth was soft.
This is the way they lived, there at the beginning.
Sun thinking
The was
That they did not think of anything.
The ones who were living in the fourth room
were needed

but
the Sun was thinking

he was thinking
that he did not know what would happen now.

The clouds, the clouds were swelling.
The clouds were getting better aaaaaaAAAAAAH THE
RAIN CAME
fine drops came, it rai------ned, it rained and it rained
it rained all night (Tedlock 1972:225-227).

In summary, Tedlock's contribution to the study of traditional history narratives is his method of notation and analysis of the oral performance (the telling of the stories). Tedlock notes, "When

told in a ritual context they [Emergence narratives] are chanted; the present examples, told as they were in a hearthside context, contain only a few chanted lines and make less use of esoteric language than ritual versions" (Tedlock 1972:xvii). Nonetheless, as Joseph Peynesta told Dennis Tedlock, "If someone tells a story, you can just imagine it" (Tedlock 1972:xxxi). Clearly Tedlock enables the reader to imagine something more of the actual telling of Zuni traditional narratives to other Zuni men, women, and children.

Zuni Religion and World View **General Ethnology**
Dennis Tedlock
1979
Washington: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 499-508
Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9
Article in a monographic set
Field research: not applicable
Zuni consultants not identified

Dennis Tedlock (1939-; Ph.D., Anthropology, Tulane University) conducted field work at Zuni during 1965 and 1966. His 1968 dissertation focused on "The Ethnography of Tale-Telling at Zuni." Interest in narrative forms has led Tedlock to research and publications on several Middle and North American native peoples.

Tedlock's "Zuni Religion and World View" is a systematic review of the Zuni world view, ritual calendar, organization of religious societies and individual life cycle. This is a description of Zuni concepts of space and time and of the place of various categories of person, human and spirit in their cosmology. While informed by his own field work, this essay is a synthesis of research by Ruth Benedict, Ruth Bunzel, Frank Hamilton Cushing, Elsie Clews Parsons and, especially Matilda Coxe Stevenson.

Tedlock begins by describing "The World and the Raw People":

> There are six points of orientation in the Zuni world, each with its own color and its own hierarchical position: the yellow north, the blue west, the red south, the white east, the multicolored zenith, and the black nadir. Towards the nadir are a black mountain and the four underworlds... Toward the zenith, beyond the inverted stone bowl of the sky, are a multicolored mountain and the four upper worlds... Towards the north, west, south, and east are oceans... In the oceans are four mountains... At the water outlets and on mountaintops are the *telassinawe* 'sacred old places,' or shrines, of the world.
>
> The people who inhabit the world are of two kinds: ... 'raw people'...and 'cooked people' or 'daylight people'... Raw people can change their forms; they are "people" in the sense that one of their potential forms is anthropomorphic, and in the sense that they and daylight people (humans) should behave as kinsmen toward one another (Tedlock 1979:499).

Tedlock continues to describe the earth, the oceans, the mountains and the 'homes' various persons, priests, and kachinas in the Zuni world view. "Equidistant from the four oceans is Zuni itself, also called *'itiwan'a* 'the middle place'" (Tedlock 1979:501).

The second section of the essay is concerned with "Religion and the Daylight People." Tedlock writes:

> In the beginning the Sun Father had no one to give him offerings, so he asked his twin sons, the *'ahayuta*, to bring the daylight people out of the fourth underworld. In return for the prayers and offerings the daylight people now give him, he grants blessings, including the daylight itself. The daylight people have a similar relationship with all the other raw people, be they rainstorms, bears, deer, kachinas, or corn plants; this is *teusu* 'religion'.
>
> The offerings made to the raw people consist of food and clothing. The food is tobacco smoke, cornmeal (plain or mixed with crushed turquoise, shell, and coral), or small portions of cooked food. The "clothing" consists of *telikinawe*, willow sticks given life by the cutting of a face and the addition of feathers and paint; these sticks are not merely offerings but sacrifices, lives given up to the raw people as a surrogate for the self. The daylight person making such a sacrifice prays that the raw people will grant breath, a completed life (a life not shortened by an untimely death), old age, waters, seeds, riches (clothing and jewelry), fecundity (children, domestic animals, and game), power, strength of will, good fortune, and daylight (Tedlock 1979:501).
>
> Zuni religious action is discussed:
>
> Sometimes the purpose of religious acts is to *'elekk'a* 'make good' or *suwaha* 'purify' (literally 'make circular motions') when something has already gone wrong, but often the main purpose is to *T'cu'ma* 'do something now that will come to fruition in the future', even reaching all the way into the afterlife (Tedlock 1979:502).

In final section of the essay, "Death and the End of the World," Tedlock completes the cycle of Zuni life:

> Death was introduced among the daylight people by the first witch, who was allowed to live among them because he brought the first yellow corn. ... Every living person carries with him an invisible road, long or short, which determines the proper time for his death (Tedlock 1979:507).
>
> There is some talk at Zuni about the death of the world itself. At the beginning the earth was soft and wet; the fathers and grandfathers of the present-day elders began to wonder whether it was getting old and dry. They prophesied a famine, and some now say that the famine is already here but has been made invisible by the supermarket. At the end, they said, all man-made things would rise against us, and a hot rain would fall (Tedlock 1979:508).

In summary, Tedlock's essay provides in its portrayal of the Zuni world view and religion, a critical context for understanding how cosmology frames all aspects of life--including persons, place, and time.

Zuni Prehistory and History to 1850 **Regional Archaeology**

Richard B. Woodbury
1979
Washington: Smithsonian Institution, pp. 473-476
Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 9
Article in a monographic set
Field research: not indicated
Zuni consultants not identified

Richard B. Woodbury (1917-; Ph.D., Anthropology, Harvard University) began his lifelong interest in Southwestern archaeology when he was a member of the Peabody Museum Awatovi Expedition (Hopi) in 1938. He later conducted field research on Zuni prehistory, including a reexamination of F. W. Hodge's excavations at Hawikuh. From 1963 to 1969, he was curator of North American archaeology and anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution and directed its Office of Anthropology from 1966 to 1967. In 1969, he was invited to establish a new anthropology department at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, where he continued until his retirement in 1981. He received the A. V. Kidder Award for Eminence in the Field of American Archaeology, presented by the American Anthropological Association in 1989.

In discussing Zuni prehistory and history, Richard B. Woodbury employs a limited definition of the Zuni traditional use area:

> The area traditionally used by the Zunis extends 35 miles east and northeast [of Zuni Pueblo] to the Zuni Mountains, which rise to elevations of 8,000-9,000 feet, and about 50 miles west and south into lower, dryer country (Woodbury 1979:467).

Even within this delimited area, nearly a century of survey and excavation has not provided a comprehensive understanding of Zuni prehistory. Woodbury notes early work by Victor Mindeleff, the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition (Halona; 1888-1889), Kroeber (1916) and Spier (1917). Kroeber's study of the chronological meaning of the varieties of potsherds led to a systematic survey and use of seriation by Spier. Spier concluded that "the Zuni valley has been occupied continuously from an early period...[with] no site being occupied for any considerable period"(quoted in Woodbury 1979:467). He noted, too, that the relative geographic isolation of Zuni had resulted in the "specifically Zunian character" of the pottery.

From 1917 to 1923, F. W. Hodge carried out extensive excavations at the historic village of Hawikuh which was "occupied from about A.D. 1300 to 1680 by the ancestors of the modern Zunis" (467). Woodbury, who was later involved in analyzing and publishing the results of this research, concludes "[Hodge] failed to achieve any real understanding of Hawikuh's place in Zuni prehistory" (Woodbury 1979:468).

Largely through the work of F. H. H. Roberts, three major sites were studied in the 1930s: Kiatuthlanna (PI and PIII); the Village of the Great Kivas (PIII); and the Allantown ruins (BMIII,

PI and PII). Roberts work "provided a record of continual cultural development from small pit-house settlements to the large accretionary masonry villages of the late prehistoric period and identified details of architecture and ceramics that linked the Zuni area to the Chaco Canyon cultural centers to the northeast" (468). Woodbury notes also possible southern influences from the Upper Gila.

At this point, the author states it is "perhaps important" to report that "the Zuni language, in contrast to those of other Pueblo peoples, has no close relatives in surrounding areas." This fact is of considerable importance as knowledge is developed regarding Zuni migrations. Woodbury concludes:

> Although the continuity of the modern Zunis with the past occupants of the area cannot be proved for more than the final two or three centuries prior to the conquest by the Spaniards, there is a relatively unbroken development from Basketmaker times onward (Woodbury 1979:468).

Woodbury observes that by the thirteenth century villages had greatly increased in size, but by the late 1300s, the "eastern end of the Zuni Valley was deserted, while villages to the west, including Zuni itself, were probably growing in size" (Woodbury 1979:469). By 1540 there were six major villages, Hawikuh, Zuni (=Halona in Spanish accounts), Kiahima and Matsaki at the foot of Dowa Yalanne, Kwakina and Kechipauan, all concentrated in a 25-mile stretch of the Zuni River, "where it provided broad level areas of farmland that could be irrigated easily from the permanent flow in the river" (Woodbury 1979:469).

The second section of Woodbury's article provides a brief overview of Zuni history from the first European contact in 1536 until the end of Spanish mission efforts in 1820. Between 1632 and 1680, the large villages were abandoned and the Zunis took refuge on defensible mesa tops. In 1592 the Zunis returned to only a single town, Zuni, leaving empty the other five towns. In the 19th century, several "summer villages" were established, first at Ojo Caliente and later at Nutria.

In summary, Woodbury's article provides an overview and introduction to the literature. The uniqueness of the Zuni language suggests there is more to be learned about when and how the Zuni people came to the Middle Place. No mention is made of the Navajo National area given Woodbury's working definition of the "area traditionally used by the Zunis." The Zuni Archaeology Program, which began in 1978, has produced a lot of research on Zuni since the publication of Woodbury's article.

Signs from the Ancestors:
Zuni Cultural Symbolism and Perceptions of Rock Art

General Ethnology

M. Jane Young
1988
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. xxv, 308
Monograph
Field research: 1979, 1980, 1981 (summers)
Zuni consultants not identified

M. Jane Young (1950-; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania) has conducted research and published on a number of topics relating to Zuni rock art, astronomy, ritual poetry and the Zuni Tribal Fair. At the time this work was published, she was an Associate Professor of American Studies at the University of New Mexico.

From 1979 to 1981, Young led the Zuni Rock Art Survey team that recorded 34 sites for the Zuni Archaeology Program and the Zuni Tribal Council (documentation procedures and site descriptions are included as an Appendix). While this was an important accomplishment towards the preservation of a significant aspect of Zuni culture and history, the dissertation and book which grew out of the project represent an important contribution to an understanding of the dynamic relationships which exist between Zuni oral traditions and rock art. Thus, while Young's project became with a concern to document rock art, the more significant contribution came through the interpretations of this rock art by Zunis as expressed though interviews with the author. As Dell Hymes notes in his forward, "rock art in the Zuni region is not a lost world to be appropriated by curious outsiders. It is an integral part of a continuing way of life" (Young 1988:ix).

In Chapters 1 and 2, Young provides an archaeological and ethnological overview. She places the rock art of the region into four time periods: pre-A.D. 400, 400-1325, A.D. 1325-present, and contemporary (within the past century). The style, technique and content of the rock art are proposed as the most effective means of dating. Most of the analysis focuses on the two periods before and after circa 1325. In Chapter 3, Zuni cosmology and cultural symbolism is discussed. Using her background in archeoastronomy, the author proposes a model of Zuni cosmology based on the four solstice points, the zenith and the nadir and the center place. This contrasts with Cushing's model that employs the "Cardinal directions."

In Chapter 4, "Metonyms of Narrative," Young is specifically concerned with what is "written in stone" and the meanings for contemporary Zunis. Thus, we learn that within the Zuni symbolic structure, some rock art is argued to "stand for" narratives such as the Zuni Emergence narrative. The pecked image of "lizard man" consistently evokes a description of life before the emergence:

> Several Zunis identified these figures as "the way the Zunis looked at the time of the beginning" or "in the fourth underworld," often adding, "when we still had tails." A few

> people even launched into telling the part of their origin myth in which these creatures, "moss people," are described as having tails and webbed hands and feet (Young 1988:122).

Importantly, Young recalls that Matilda Coxe Stevenson received a similar response by her Zuni guide to one such figure she photographed near Zuni in 1879.

Zuni interpretations of rock art are influenced by their position in Zuni society and their societal roles, and by the varied contexts in which tribal members view the rock art. Variability in Zuni interpretation provides Young with a valuable perspective for relating Zuni interpretations of rock art to Zuni concepts of cosmology, cultural symbolism, narrative, place and time:

> Thus, the very ambiguity of form and meaning of a number of rock art figures, especially those that were created some time ago, allows for a fluidity of meaning and a creative use of imagination in constructing cultural interpretations that probably differ from the "original" meanings of such images (Young 1988:233).

> It is likely that the ability of certain rock art depictions to evoke the past is related to their location in a landscape that *was* the scene of events of the myth time and *is* now the setting for contemporary Zuni life and stories that describe those past events (Young 1988:233).

> The Zunis believe that they have lived where they now reside ever since "the finding of the Center place" back in "the time of the beginning." They do not regard that time as past but as ever-present, constantly informing the here and now. For them, certain features of the landscape, as well as images carved and painted on rock surfaces that are integral to that landscape, encode events that happened in the past. Rock art depictions in particular have the power to evoke that past; they serve as vehicles that bind together past and present, linking the ancestors and myth time to contemporary Zuni life (Young 1988:8).

Young's emphasis on the fluidity and ambiguity of perceptions and interpretations serves as a basis to discuss differences within Zuni society and influences on Zuni perceptions. The author integrates contemporary Zuni perspectives with those of Western scholarship and in doing so creates a model for a holistic interpretation of rock art which could be profitably extended to other aspects of the built and conceptual environment.

In summary, the 34 specific sites examined by Young and her Zuni colleagues are all within the Zuni Reservation and its immediate surroundings. In this strict sense, her work has no direct applicability to the Navajo National Monument area. However, since the study area is included in Zuni migration narratives and cultural symbolism, Young's work serves as a model for collaborative understanding.

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Chapter 3. NAVAJO TRADITIONAL HISTORY

The sacred mountains
were brought from the lower worlds
and placed in their respective positions by First Man.
--Franciscan Fathers 1910:137

A. Introduction: Narratives of Navajo Traditional History

Traditional Navajo history is recorded in the ethnological literature published during the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century, primarily in two narrative forms:

1. Origin narratives that represent a complex emergence history and sacred geography; narratives that are the foundation for Navajo Chantways, and

2. "A story goes with that place"; narratives about place that have meaning within the traditional history presented in the Origin narratives; stories about the actions and statements of *diyin dine'e* or *dininni* (Holy People) that presuppose knowledge of the Origin narratives and other expressive and symbolic forms (e.g., the hogan; drypaintings).

In addition to these two categories of narratives, the following Literature Review section summarizes various accounts of Navajo use of the study area during the first half of the twentieth century.

The history of anthropological documentation of Navajo Origin Narratives has its beginnings in the work of Alexander M. Stephen, a Scotsman and prospector by occupation, who lived in Navajo country from 1869 until his death at Keams Canyon in 1894. Stephen had an excellent knowledge of the Navajo language by the time he became a border at Keam's trading post in 1879. He guided Washington Matthews to a Mountain Chant ceremony in November 1882 where Stephen recorded Navajo humor (Matthews 1892). An Army Surgeon, Matthews was stationed at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, from 1880 to 1884 and again from 1890 to 1894. During the later assignment he worked with Tall Chanter and Laughing Singer in recording the Night Chant.

In 1899, the "Franciscan Fathers" began work on materials that were to become An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language (1910). The Franciscan Fathers acknowledged the work of Stephen and Matthews. However, it is clear that Father Berard Haile, who moved to St. Michaels in 1900, began recording Navajo Origin narratives several years before the dictionary was published. For over half a century, Haile recorded various aspects of Navajo language and culture working first at Lukachuakai (1915) and later at Chinle, Tohatchi and in the Shiprock area.

It is historically significant that anthropological research conducted on Navajo Origin narratives during the 1920s and 1930s by the following scholars was conducted in the eastern and southeastern portion of the Navajo reservation (areas that are not in our study area): Pliny Goddard, Aileen O'Bryan, Mary Cabot Wheelwright, Franc Johnson Newcomb, and Gladys Reichard. Table 1 summarizes information regarding selected anthropological accounts of Navajo Origin Narratives.

B. The Navajo World View

SA'A NAGHAI BIK'E HOZHO
is *the* key concept in Navajo philosophy,
the vital requisite for understanding the whole.
--John R. Farella 1984:153

The ethnographic literature on the Navajo world view is extensive. While no systematic account is provided in The Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language, all later scholars have turned to the Franciscan Fathers' work. To ethnographer John Farella, the publications and manuscripts of Father Berard Haile, who contributed much to the dictionary, and the publications of Gladys Reichard are the primary sources of ethnographic information on this central Navajo concept. Haile wrote about the difficulty in studying the esoteric knowledge of the Navajo:

"There are...certain subjects which are surrounded with more or less secrecy. To the singer this knowledge is his life or "breath," part of his inner self or soul, which he carefully guards in the firm conviction that, the moment he imparts it to others, his usefulness in life is spent. Pleading and tempting offers are useless, the usual reply being that when old age is upon me and death is approaching, I will tell." As a case in point may be instanced in the two words sa'a naghai and bik'e hozho, the true meaning of which is known probably to few living singers. But the person and legends connected with these two names are not divulged by those who know even at a price which to us would seem prohibitive (Haile 1968:31 quoted in Farella 1984:17).

Reichard viewed the Navajo concept of *sa'a naghai bik'e hozho* as a "synthesis of the beliefs...attitudes and experiences of man" (Reichard 1971:45 quoted in Farella 1984:16). Witherspoon(1974) emphasized the pervasiveness of the religious belief in both everyday usage used by all Navajo and ritual prayers and songs known by a few Singers. It is basically a philosophy of life that gives meaning to Navajo people.

Anthropologists such as Louise Lamphere, Gary Witherspoon and John R. Farella explored the complexities of Navajo world view and the various recordings of the Navajo Origin narratives that document fundamental cultural knowledge. Witherspoon's integrated analysis of Navajo language and culture was presented in Language and Art in the Navajo Universe (1977) (i.e., balance, order and harmony as dynamic forces in Navajo epistemology) and Farella's synthesis of Navajo world view through a reanalysis of Haile and Reichard's ethnographies with his own field interviews in The Main Stalk (1984).

As John R. Farella observes, *sa'a naghai bik'e hozho* (abbreviated SNBH) is "the key concept in Navajo philosophy" (Farella 1984:153). The books by Witherspoon and Farella, explore the complexities inherent in the meaning of SNBH. The following definition of the concept by Washington Matthews is accepted by scholars:

> The expressions Sana nagai and Bike hozoni appear in many songs and prayers, and are always thus united. Their literal translation is given above, but they are equivalent to saying, "long life and happiness"; as part of a prayer they are a supplication for a long and happy life. Hozoni means, primarily, terrestrially beautiful; but is means also happy, happily, or, in a certain sense, good (Matthews 1897:266).

While Farella takes exception with aspects of Witherspoon's analysis (Farella 1984:159), the following statements serve as a concise summary of the concept:

> The goal of Navajo life in this world is to live to maturity in conditions described as hozho, and to die of old age, at which time one becomes incorporated in the universal beauty, harmony, and happiness described as sa'a naghai bik'e hozho (Witherspoon 1974:53)
>
> Sa'a nagai and bik'e hozho are the central animating powers of the universe, and, as such, they produce a world described as hozho, the ideal environment of beauty, harmony, and happiness. All living beings, which include the earth, the sacred mountains and so on, have inner and outer forms, and to achieve well being these inner forms must harmonize and unify with sa'a naghai and all outer forms just harmonize and unify with bik'e hozho (Witherspoon 1974:56)
>
> Wyman [in Blessingway] explains that all Navajos should identify with sa'a naghai bik'e hozho, and that this should be their goal in life. All ceremonials have as their prime purpose the restoration of the ideal environment symbolized by the phrase sa'a naghai bik'e hozho (1970:30). To connect up with this universal harmony, happiness and beauty is the Navajo task in life. It is this that gives his personality meaning, his behavior direction, and his soul contentment (Witherspoon 1974:58).

The Navajo Origin narrative provides the basis for this central cultural concept. It recounts the emergence from a series (four or a multiple of four) of underworlds onto the Earth Surface. During an all-night ceremony at the place of emergence, First Man, First Woman, and other Holy People, use a medicine bundle brought from the lower worlds and set in place the "inner forms" of natural phenomena (earth, sky, sacred mountains, plants and animals), creating the present (fifth) world. Changing Woman is born. Impregnated by the sun, she gives birth to twin sons, who kill various monsters that had been endangering the Holy People.

Louise Lamphere notes that in the Navajo creation narrative there is no dichotomy between the natural and supernatural:

> ...the human (the Earth-Surface People) and the divine (the Holy People) are conceived of in terms of the same set of motivating forces: the notion of "wind" (*nilch'i*), the concept of inner form (*bii'gistiin*), or "in-lying one" (*bii'siziinii*); and the opposing notions of "pleasant conditions," or harmony and balance (*hozho*), and "ugly conditions," or disharmony and disorder (*hocho*) (Lamphere 1987:337).

James K. McNeley explores another key concept in the Navajo world view in his book, Holy Wind in Navajo Philosophy (1981). Wind is the common source of all life, movement, and behavior. In Navajo thought, wind has different functions and consequently different names. Before the Emergence, winds are said to have given the means of life (i.e., breath) to the inhabitants of the lower worlds. After the Emergence, mists of light (what Farella terms "cardinal light phenomena")

were placed along each of the cardinal directions and four sacred mountains were created in each direction. Farella notes that there are three related sets of markers for the division of time--the cardinal light phenomena, the Sun and the Moon, and the seasons. The cardinal light phenomena are related to other important features of the cardinal directions, especially the "sacred mountains":

> The cardinal lights today, on the earth's surface, are hayoolkaal, the dawn, followed by nahodetl'izh, which glosses something like "horizontal blue" and refers to the layer or band of relatively darker blue which lies on the horizon during the day. Next is nahotsoi, which is usually glossed "evening twilight" but which is more literally "horizontal yellow"; it refers to the horizontal yellow band that lies on the horizon in the west just after the Sun has set, and before it becomes dark. The final one is chahalheel, the darkness (Farella 1984:103).

Table 2 summarizes the natural objects associated with the four directions.

Table 2: Natural phenomena associated with the cardinal directions and colors (based on Reichard 1945)

Direction	Color	Phenomena	Mountain	Jewel	Bird
East	White	Dawn Man	Mt. Blanca	White Shell	Pigeon
South	Blue	Horizontal Blue Man	Mt. Taylor	Turquoise	Bluebird
West	Yellow	Horizontal Yellow Woman	San Francisco Peaks	Abalone	Yellow Warbler
North	Black	Darkness Woman	La Plata Peaks	Jet	Blackbird

The Navajo concepts of space and time dynamically transform matter from the underworld to the earth's surface:

> The sacred mountains were brought from the lower worlds and placed in their respective positions by First Man (Franciscan Fathers 1910:137).

In 1932, Father Berard Haile elicited and recorded in the Navajo language a narrative entitled "Where People Moved Opposite" which conveys a sense of the correlation of time and space through traditional history and sacred space. Each direction and each sacred mountain created there, is said to have an "inner form" as well as an associated wind or "breath" A narrative describing the inner life of light (color) and mountains in Navajo cosmology was translated and published by Farella:

> They were living when there was no sun and no moon. From what was (supposed to be) the sunrise (direction) a white column usually arose and the sunset a yellow one. When

these columns met they spread light and the people went about in it. You see in that way it was day (time), in the same manner as we now go about in daytime. From the north a dark column arose, from the south a blue one. When these met it became night and people would go to sleep in the manner we now sleep at night.

This white column, mention as rising in the east happened to be the dawn, they say. Inside of it one just like a real breathing human lay, and as usual, his position was sunwise it was found. Inside of the column too, mentioned as rising yellow out of the west, a human like person lay sunwise. This yellow rising column mentioned happened to be evening twilight. The column mentioned as rising dark from the north showed a person in human form inside of it. That turned out to be darkness. The column which, as mentioned, rose blue in color from the south showed a real breathing person in human form lying within it. This happened to be the skyblue. You see, then, those four were really lying sunwise as usual, one behind the other. In a holy way unequally anywhere they lay there. According to these, people were living (at their homes). You see, when that white column met in rising, as said, it brought daytime, and the time had come for their various occupations by which their lives could be preserved.

Sisnajini mountain already stood there, here on the east side. On the south side stood Mt. Taylor, on the west side San Francisco Peak, on the north side La Plata range, it was found. This (thing) that rose as a white column in east time and again, is the inner form of sisnajini by which it breathes and this we know is the dawn. In the west (the rising column) is the inner form of San Francisco Peak by means of which it breathes. This, we see is evening twilight. When they joined the one from the east, you know, the people had made it daytime. (The column) from the south, the inner form of Mt. Taylor by which it breathes is, we know, the sky blue. The one from the north, the inner form of Perrin's Peak by which it breathes, is really the darkness, they say. This, when it would meet the one from the south, they had made (it) the night. Here towards the south stood a mountain yellow in color, and right opposite, towards the east there was a dark mountain. So you can see that was the condition of the country (Farella 1984:104-105).

Gary Witherspoon (1977) explored the symbolic meanings of gender, directions and color in Navajo thought. He quoted O'Bryan (1956) in his discussion of paired sexes, (First Man and First Woman) in a symbolic colored landscape of the First World.

The First World, Ni'hodilquil, was black as black wool. It had four corners, and over these appeared four clouds. These four clouds contained within themselves the elements of the First World. They were in color, black, white, blue, and yellow....

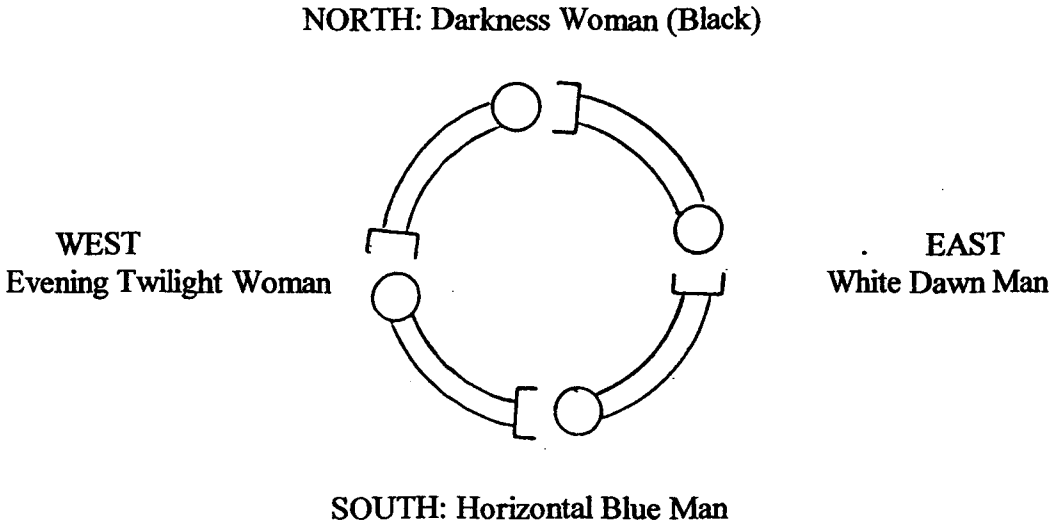
In the East, at the place where the Black Cloud and the White Cloud met, First Man, Atse'hastquin, was formed....

Now on the western side of the First World...there appeared the Blue Cloud, the opposite it there appeared the Yellow Cloud. Where they came together First Woman was formed...(O'Bryan 1956:1-2 quoted in Witherspoon 1977:140).

Witherspoon's study of the Navajo universe explored the nature of genders, colors and directions within a dynamic cultural system. Rather than viewed as static categories of thought, the narratives described some of these aspects as mutable depending upon the context. For example, there was no constant in genders and color symbolism across ceremonial contexts. However, color and direction symbolism appeared more constant in its references to cardinal points (East is white, South is blue, West is yellow and North is black) (Witherspoon 1977:145).

Lamphere made this observation: "From the four directions these winds give the means of life, movement, thought, and communication to the natural phenomena, the Holy People, and the Navajo. Wind's Child is sent to guide and advise the Earth-Surface People. Finally, each Navajo also has a "wind within one" (nilch'i bii'siziinii) that enters at birth and guides the individual" (1987:337). The circular Navajo cosmos depicted in terms of the four "light phenomena" is given in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Navajo model of the universe: the basic fourfold scheme (based on Haile 1943)



Although several anthropological studies analyze Navajo philosophy and emphasize language and metaphor, our study is concerned with the relationship of narrative to place. Meaning is inherent in place as it is through the inner forms of these places that they breathe. This relates not only to the natural environment, but to the built environment (architecture) as well.

In an article entitled, "Why the Navajo Hogan? ", Father Berard summarizes Origin narratives regarding the hogan:

> These prototype hogans mention either a four- or five-pole type of hogan, meaning the main poles upon which the structure leans. The four-pole skeleton was constructed of a white bead pole in the east, of a turquoise pole in the south, of an abalone pole in the west, of a jet pole in the north. The five-pole type adds a white, red-streaked stone pole in the northeast to complete the doorway structure. ... The legends let the spaces between the poles be filled with shelves of white...turquoise...abalone...jet. The course here described introduces an important observance known in Navajo ritual as... 'guided by the sun' sunwise (our clockwise course). Sandpainting figures, lines of prayersticks, sewing of the masks, winding of pouches, strewing of pollen or lotions, and numerous other prescriptions must be done sunwise and the reserve course... "sunward" (our anti-clockwise), is taboo in ritual (Haile 1942:42-43).

The hogan is the proper place for ritual, especially healing ceremonies. Father Berard accounted for the persistence of this architectural form coexisting with other house forms derived from Anglo-American culture which began to appear on the Navajo Reservation in the 1930s. Just as there is directionality expressed in the four sacred mountains, the arrangement of people within a ceremonial hogan reflect the social order according to the Navajo world view:

> The Navajo model of the cosmos as laid out in the creation myth is expressed in the setting of the ceremony itself. The chant takes place in the Navajo hogan, which is circular like the horizon. Movement during the ritual is always clockwise or "in the direction of the sun." Men sit on the south side of the hogan; women sit on the north side. The singer sits on the southwest side and the patient, when resting, sits on the northwest side. The east (where the door is located) is associated with the "diyin"; prayer sticks and other offerings are deposited toward the east. The north is associated with "hocho", and objects that have been pressed against the patient in order to remove "hocho" are deposited toward the north. Each chant uses color and directional symbolism as a condensed code for ordering and interpreting the myriad of ritual actions that are performed during the chant (Lamphere 1987:338).

Navajo ceremonial practice consists almost entirely of critical rituals concerned with healing. In the Navajo world view, everything is related to humans and their activities, including all natural phenomena, which are viewed either as friends or enemies. Earth Surface People (humans), the diyin dine'e (Holy People), and natural phenomena possess the same kind of souls and all share the same life-giving forces. However, some natural phenomena and the Holy People have the quality of being "dangerous" and are capable of causing illness to humans. In most Navajo rituals, a patient is treated for real or anticipated illness. As Louise Lamphere and Evon Vogt broadly categorize, Navajo rituals are of two kinds: (1) "chants" or "sings" (hataal) in which a rattle is used, and (2) all others in which a rattle was not used. Chants have two, five, and nine night forms and are differentiated according to mode of performance. A chant is selected according to the perceived origin or cause of the disease of the patient to be treated. Holy Way was used if the illness was thought to be caused by the Holy People, Evil Way if the illness was caused by the ghost of fellow tribesmen or witches, and Life Way for those suffering from injuries attributed to accidents, recent or past. If the cause was not know, divination was used (Lamphere and Vogt 1973:102-103).

The curing ceremony is performed by a hataali, a "singer" who sings or chants during every important act in the ritual performance. In Navajo ritual, symbolic objects and actions are used with reference to the patient's body to effect a transformation from a state of hocho to a state of hozho.

Table 3 summarizes the Navajo associations of direction, color, phenomena, mountain, jewel, and bird.

Table 3: Natural phenomena associated with the cardinal directions and colors (based on Reichard 1945)

Direction	Color	Phenomena	Mountain	Jewel	Bird
East	White	Dawn Man	Mt. Blanca	White Shell	Pigeon
South	Blue	Horizontal Blue Man	Mt. Taylor	Turquoise	Bluebird
West	Yellow	Horizontal Yellow Woman	San Francisco Peaks	Abalone	Yellow Warbler
North	Black	Darkness Woman	La Plata Peaks	Jet	Blackbird

Accompanying each chant is a narrative which identifies the major Holy People, aids in interpreting the songs which accompany the ceremony, and explains the origin and significance of the objects used. The sequence of events in the narrative are transformed into a representation of symbols in the elaborate ritual dry paintings. The symbolism of the hogan, the narratives, the dry paintings, and the arrangement of the participants represent the Navajo conception of the world. Harmony is expressed in the circular horizon, the pairing of the two sexes, the clockwise movement of the sun, and the four directions with their associated colors, animals, birds and plants. As Lamphere's research makes clear, the purpose of the chant is to counteract the "action against" the patient, to remove hocho conditions, to produce immunity by making the patient diyin (holy), and thus create health (hozho) (Lamphere 1987:337-338). Thus, ceremony and ritual poetry reflect the world view of the Navajo Origin narrative that provides the broader cultural framework of meaning for the Navajo people.

C. "A Story Goes with this Place"

> "Traditional history" refers to the way in which a traditional cultural group systematically recounts its origin and evolution...what is important is that the traditional history be accepted by the group, within its own cultural framework, as the proper description or recounting of its past (Downer 1989:176-177).

In 1987 and 1988, the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation and Archaeology departments surveyed 13 of the then 109 Navajo chapters. In this study, members of the Kayenta Chapter in Arizona were interviewed. [Note: Shonto and Inscription House Chapters are situated closest to Navajo National Monument but were not included in the survey.] Six of the ten individuals interviewed were medicine people or herbalists and all were residents of Kayenta. Representing primarily a traditionalist position, the interviewees identified culturally significant places in our study area, specifically, Tsegi Canyon, Kiet Siel and the Black Mountain cultural landscape called "Dzilijiin." Neither Betatakin nor Inscription House were explicitly mentioned. The recorded

narratives are summarized in the 1988 tribal report (32-36) and in Downer's 1989 dissertation (94-99). The following are excerpts from the first report:

Dzilijiin as a whole is viewed as a sacred place. It is associated with the body of the Female Pollen Range in the Blessingway (Navajo Mountain is the head...). Dzilijiin is considered a protector of the community...

> Tseyi' (Canyon), known in English as Tsegi Canyon, is the home of *Teeh Hooltsoodii* (Water Monster). *Teeh Hooltsoodii* is a Holy Being who made both Tseyi and Laguna Creek by scooping them out with his horn. Tseyi' is important because it is *Teeh Hooltsoodii's* home.
>
> *Kits'illi* (which translates as shards or ruins), is known in English as Keet. It is a large Pueblo III ruin in a side canyon of Tsegi Canyon. It is a part of the Navajo National Monument.
>
> Two Holy Beings, *Hasjeeltii* and *Hasjeeghwan*, live at *Kits'illi*. Our informant reported that he knows another medicine man who was with John Wetherill at *Kits'illi*, when John Wetherill had two encounters with *Hasjeeltii* and *Hasjeeghwan*.
>
> *Kits'illi* is a place where medicine men pray and make offerings. *Hasjeeltii* is reportedly also a Hopi Holy Being (Downer et al. 1988:33).

According to Kelley and Francis (1994), this tribal pilot study illustrates the ongoing relationship among Navajo people, their Holy People, place and landscape within a dynamic understanding of history as inclusive of past and present time. The oral narratives produced an inventory of sites for preservation and an understanding of sacred sites as "storied places." (Kelley and Francis 1994:2).

These narratives of place function on multiple levels. For tribal cultural preservationists, traditional histories provide "an alternative conception of the past and an alternative basis for making determinations of historical significance" (Downer et al. 1994:40). For the Navajo people, oral narratives comprise "the history that members of an ethnic or other community tell about themselves in their own terms" (Downer et al. 1994:42).

Native American sociologist Tessie Naranjo describes oral traditions as cultural axioms that are understood by Indian people as self-evident truths that explain the ancestral past "at multiple levels of signification" (cited in Anyon et al. 1997:81). Placing the stories in a cultural context, traditional histories are systematic, authoritative narratives that teach and preserve a world view from generation to generation.

The relationship of Navajo people to sacred places is an important component of traditional history embodied in Origin narratives and cultural place names collected by various researchers.

D. Introduction to the Navajo Literature Reviews

The following ethnographic literature review provides detailed bibliographical and biographical information regarding each source. The period of field research and the identity of Navajo consultants, if provided, is given. There are also key words at the top right of each listing that serve as a general index. Each literature view provides a summary of the publication with highlights applicable to the general objectives of this study. Taken as a whole, the Navajo Literature Reviews emphasize the value of ethnographic research to management and program activities at Navajo National Monument

E. Navajo Literature Review

Shonto: A Study of the Role of the Trader in a Modern Navaho Community
General ethnology
Trading post history
William Y. Adams
1963
Washington: Government Printing Office, pp. xi, 329.
Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Bulletin 188
Monograph in a series
Field research: 1954-1956, Shonto
Navajo consultants not identified

William Y. Adams (1927-; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Arizona) completed this study of Shonto as his dissertation (1958). He is also author of Survey and Excavations in Lower Glen Canyon, 1952-58 (Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, 1961). His more recent research has taken place in Egypt and Sudan. He has been Professor of Anthropology at the University of Kentucky since 1971.

This monograph is the result of a study carried out at Shonto by William Adams between 1954 and 1956 as a doctoral student at the University of Arizona. The fieldwork was prefaced and facilitated by Adams' earlier acquaintance with the community and his employment in a variety of capacities by traders of the region. The writing of the monograph was made possible primarily through a Wenner-Gren Pre-Doctoral Fellowship Grant. The costs associated with the fieldwork appear to have been met primarily from income earned through employment in the Shonto Trading Post and neighboring trading posts.

Adams describes his fieldwork as having been "conducted largely by observation rather than inquiry" (page 15), and there is little in this study that could be considered as documentation of Navajo knowledge and experience of Navajo National Monument and its resources. Where he does report information obtained through questioning of individual Navajos—and none of this questioning seems specifically relevant to matters related to Navajo National Monument although he acknowledges having "frequent and close contact with [its] Navajo employees [in English] (page 17), the individuals concerned remain anonymous. Similarly, individuals described or discussed in the report are also unnamed.

While the information contained in this monograph is tangential to the primary purposes of a traditional history, it is useful to briefly identify those sections that provide information on Navajo National Monument and its operations in the mid-1950s.

In a section entitled "Control of Resources," Adams describes how Navajo employment at Anglo-run institutions, such as the Shonto school, has been monopolized (through a variety of methods) by certain families. In the case of Navajo National Monument, "[a]ll seasonal and temporary jobs...have similarly been monopolized by the [unnamed] lineage upon whose territory the monument is situated" (page 102).

As part of a discussion on "Local Wagework" employment at Navajo National Monument is discussed:

Navajo National Monument (*Betatakin*) employs a seasonal ranger and a seasonal laborer during the tourist season (6-7 months) each year. Each earns approximately $2,000 during a normal year. The National Park Service does not have an agreement guaranteeing prior rights to these jobs to Navahos; they are theoretically open to all qualified applicants. In practice, as might be expected, all seasonal and temporary employees at *Betatakin* have been Navahos. The two seasonal jobs have been occupied for the past 7 years by the same two individuals. The ranger, who conducts tourist parties through the *Betatakin* cliff dwellings, is required to speak fluent English. *Betatakin's* regular seasonal laborer does not speak English. From time to time during the busy season *Betatakin* hires additional labor, on a day-to-day basis, as needed for special construction and maintenance jobs. Earnings average $10 a day. Such employment has in practice been the exclusive prerogative of half a dozen men, all of whom live close to the monument headquarters and are closely related to the two regular seasonal employees (page 128).

The seasonal employment in the mid-1950s ran from April to November, with leaves of absence permitted for lamb sales and harvesting (pages 142, 144).

Although Adams' study does not focus on individuals, one unnamed individual with connections to Navajo National Monument is discussed. This is the then-tribal councilman who held the concession to run pack-trips for tourists in the mid-1950s to the more remote archaeological sites in the monument (page 67-68).

This study is not to be considered a general ethnography of the Shonto community. Instead, it focuses, as the title suggests, on the role in the community of the Anglo trader and the trading post as an institution. Given the important and multifaceted role of trading posts in Navajo communities, however, this study touches on many aspects of community life, including the nearby Navajo National Monument—most especially its economic impact on the community.

The Early History of Navajo National Monument and the Tsegi Canyon

Navajo National Monument history

Mary Austin, Edd Austin, Bertha Austin, and Lee Austin
(translated and transcript recorded by Lawrence Isaac)
1968
Tape and transcript in the collections of Navajo National Monument
Field research:
Navajo consultants identified in the text

This is a record of two interviews with members of the Austin family that took place in early September 1968. The interviews were translated and transcribed by Navajo seasonal ranger Lawrence Isaac. Edd Austin was the holder of the concession that provided horseback trips for visitors to the monument. The interviews were initiated by Superintendent Gary Matlock in response to Edd Austin's contention that his family's claims regarding their traditional use of the lands on which the monument was located and their role in the early history of the monument were ignored in both published sources and the interpretations offered by rangers to visitors.

The principal interviewee was Mary Austin, daughter of "Big Hosteen," who was believed to have been 97 years old (date of birth ca. 1870). All other members of the family present, especially Edd Austin, contributed to the interview and sought to fill the gaps in Mary Austin's failing memory. It is difficult to determine whether these interjections reflect information Mary Austin had provided to her family members on earlier occasions, or information they had acquired from other sources.

In the preface to the transcript, Gary Matlock explained his perception of how the interview was conducted. In doing so, he succinctly summarizes Edd Austin's reason for having the interview take place:

> It should be noted the Edd had certain things said and that he more than anyone else directed the lines of inquiry. In addition to credit for the early discovery, Edd also wanted established that his family is essentially sole owner of the Tsegi and that they have been using it for a very long time. As is clear in the tape, he managed to establish this well (unpaginated transcript).

This was not the first oral history work carried out by National Park Service Personnel. Reference is made to an earlier interview of Edd Austin by Arthur White, as well as an interview by Jimmie Brewer of Edd Austin's father in 1945 (part 2, page 5). There was no account of this latter interview in monument records in 1968. Given the paucity of oral history projects at the monuments, these 1968 interviews have considerable historical value, although the lack of structure to the interviews and Mary Austin's understandable memory lapses, make them somewhat difficult to read and interpret.

For the purposes of this study, it is useful to present some of the more salient statements by Mary Austin and her family. As a result of how the transcript of the two interviews is paginated, the

second interview will be referred to as "part 2" in the citations that follow.

They lived "Near Bubbling Springs where the streams meet," "1/2 mile south of Keet," and family members report that in 1968 the remains of their hogans and "a large summer shed [that] caved in on them" was still evident (page 8). The Austins were not specific about the areas in the canyons that they used for grazing of sheep and goats, although it is clear that their use was extensive: "There were [sic] hardly anyone living here then. We were the only ones. There were a few families then. Those that lived nearby then are all gone now" (page 2). In more recent times, inhabitants seem to have been almost entirely limited to the Austin family and related families: Tule Grayeyes, Pete Grayeyes, the latter's family, and the latter's mother's family (page 18). They conceded that the Keel Kitso family lived in "dizawskebiko" Canyon. These were "the Singer's children" who were related to Mary Austin's husband. Mary explained the circumstances of how they came to the area: "He [the Singer] was having a hard time. We wanted to help one another. He asked my husband. Since he was a medicine man, my husband thought we would use him in times of sickness. Then he moved from over the other side of the canyon....We did use him through the years" (page 17). In the late 1960s, the Keel Kitso family were only using a small part of the canyon during the summers (page 19).

Bertha Austin recalled what Mary Austin had previously told her about the family's animal husbandry practices: "You said there were three herds. She would divide them up into three herds and put them into three separate canyons. Then she would sit and spin wool and [?at] the head of these three canyons" (page 16). Mary Austin added:

> These herds would go up these canyons a couple of canyon [sic] before eating up the vegetation. Then when it rained, I brought them up to the top of the canyon. These areas and land I do think about. Today these youngsters can't herd even a small herd. How to herd them and not to lose them. I remember shearing these sheep.... We had cows. There is still a cow corral in the canyon and we used to fill this corral. I had all of them. When the sheep used up all the vegetation, then we herded them out of these canyons. Especially when it rained. Then the district line was put into effect (page 16).

The family also owned horses (page 16). Other resources in the canyons that Mary Austin used included clay for making ceramics collected from "near the streams" and "from the stream walls" in the canyons (page 15) and a peach tree: "I used to have a peach tree near Babbling Springs where I used to dry my peaches. I don't even check this out anymore. I've asked the boys when they herd sheep that they ought to fence it" (page 5).

Mary Austin's father and husband both were interned at Bosque Redondo, but she believed that her great-grandparents were not (page 10). Bertha Austin added that:

> My late grandmother used to tell us that they were safely hidden in the lava beds on Navajo Mountain. They would see the Piutes and Mexican riders ride by them while they were hidden. These Canyonlands were probably used in the same manner. The children as well as livestock were also hidden in these lava rock beds (page 4).

Mary Austin described the area of the monument as it existed at the end of the last century: "During this time, there were lakes instead of streams in the Tsegi Canyon. There were some pretty heavy thick tamrisk. Some wild grass almost as high as the tamrisk around these lakes" (page 2). Later she commented further on the significance of the water in the canyons in response to a question about the location of lakes:

> [These were] below the Betatakin Canyon. My late father used to perform a ceremony before driving his horses beyond this large body of water. Some people used to come to us so my father would do the same so that they can put their horses beyond this sacred water. Sometimes they would bring horses with sore hoofs and after being left in these canyons they returned all healed. This is the way it was and that part I do remember. The Canyon was green with a lot of tamrisk vegetation. There wasn't a wash anywhere (page 13).

Lawrence Isaac followed up with a question about the wildlife in the area:

> They said these animals ["deer, wild cats, etc."] existed. Bears, mountain sheep, and you still find their horns in these canyons. Some places you wouldn't go alone. There was a place in the canyon where there were bear tracks indicating that they had danced there. They told us not to walk where they danced. There was a story about a man who was chased by a bear in the Canyon and was saved by climbing a rock. There were all these wild animals (page 13-14).

Mary Austin spoke comparatively little about the archaeological resources of the canyons, the history of research, or the management of the monument. She stated that:

> My late mother and father used the Tsegi Canyon long before I was born. Later I was born first and the others were born like my brother; my father used to herd sheep into the Tsegi Canyon and tell of his visits to the ruins. I remember only a small portion of these stories. He told of grinding stones being left in-tact [sic], storage rooms with grains stored, pottery and other artifacts still laying around, etc. My late father told Slim Woman (Mrs. John Wetherill) about these ruins.... My late father led them to these ruins and other areas throughout these canyons (page 1).

She then augmented this statement, clarifying the role of her father in the subsequent archaeological work at the monument:

> My father only told them where the sites were. He only watched these ruins. We moved down into the Canyon again once when my father brought home a grinding stone which we used. He used to farm in a boxed canyon, where we lived (page 1).

Later, she stated: "He only told them of these sites and 'Lo-Cow' [Lók'aa', added in pencil] guided them (page 3). The identity of Lók'aa' is not clarified. The willingness of the local Navajos to re-use items from the sites in the monument is attested to here, and reiterated in a seemingly humorous incident that Mary Austin recounted later when asked about the ceramics she made: "I

remember I discarded one in a bush that became broken and he (Edd, as a child) brought them back saying it was a prehistoric Anasazi pot" (page 16).

Mary Austin talked about the presence of archaeological expeditions in general terms, but talked specifically about a road-building project: "We lived near that Canyon when we learned about the road to be made down into the Canyon. Then we heard some explosions and later a trail was made. This took place when we lived down in the Canyon" (page 11).

In the second of the two interviews, Edd Austin—and to a lesser extent his wife Bertha Austin—provided significantly more information about the early history of the monument than his mother. This information can be divided into two topics: Edd Austin's involvement with early explorers and monument personnel, and the trials and tribulations of his horse concession business.

His earliest recollections seem to date to around 1917 (part 2, page 1). At this time was apparently called "Many Buildings" (the name in Navajo is not provided), and Edd Austin commented "we didn't know about Keet Seel being larger than Betatakin" (part 2 page 1). It was visited by John ("old John") and Richard ("the Policeman") Wetherill, who were guided by Frank Parrish and a Paiute whose name in Navajo translated as "No Neck's Son" and who was reportedly still living in Utah at the time of the interview (Part 2, page 1-2). At an unspecified date between 1917 and 1932, Edd Austin and his brother Buck Austin began furnishing horses and acting as guides for these expeditions, and Edd then began guiding groups to Rainbow Bridge in 1931. In the early 1930s Edd worked on the road-building projects at Tsegi Point and between Betatakin and Shonto (part 2, page 2-3).

In one statement at the end of the interview, Edd Austin summarized his perceptions of the monument superintendents:

> John Wetherill—he was very friendly and a good man. Ben Wetherill was about the same. Jimmy Brewer was also a pretty good man. A Mr. Wilson was also pretty good. He grew up with the Navajos. He really liked mutton. John Aubuckon wasn't good at all. He'd take your horse manure off the monument if your horse dropped some. We didn't get along with him at all. Foy Young lasted a short time but was real good. Arthur White was very outstanding, among all superintendents. Jack Williams set the monument back with the Navajos. Opposite of Art White. He was really one of us. He helped us with hospital runs and he'd care for the local people. We hated to see him go. He even helped with the ceremonial activities. Jimmy Brewer was almost like Art White (part 2, page 6).

Earlier in the interview, additional information was provided about some of these individuals and those interested in this particular aspect of the history of the monument are encouraged to read the full transcript.

The horse concession business appears to have been difficult, and Edd Austin relates some of the problems that he and his family faced in making it a profitable concern. Edd Austin was especially concerned to document his dispute with Pipeline Begishie in the 1930s or 1940s, contending that Begishie infringed on his rights to run the concession, conspired with Superintendent Aubuckon to

deprive him of these rights, and lied to the authorities in Window Rock about his operations (part 2, page 3, 5-6).

If You Take My Sheep...:
The Evolution and Conflicts of Navajo Pastoralism, 1630-1868

General ethnology

Lynn R. Bailey
1980
Pasadena: Westernlore Publications, pp. 300
Monograph
Field research: based on published and archival materials
Navajo consultants not identified

Lynn Robison Bailey (1937-; historian, publisher) has edited, written and published (he is the owner of Westernlore Publications) a number of works on the history of the Navajos in the 19th century. His work is based entirely on archival and published materials.

This monograph is a survey of the history of Navajo pastoralism, exploring the connections that pastoralism had to historical events and cultural traditions during the period from 1630 to the return from internment at Fort Sumner in 1868. Brief descriptions of Navajo land use in the Black Mesa/Tsegi Canyon/Navajo Mountain areas are included.

None of these descriptions seem to have derived from original research by the author using Navajo consultants. Instead, the short sections that deal with the region that now includes Navajo National Monument are mostly taken from sources that are discussed elsewhere in this study. Maps showing the distribution of Navajo hunting and gathering, farming and grazing between 1700 and 1870 are included that presumably derive from land claims-related research although their source is not identified. These maps use symbols to indicate the distribution of activities that by their very nature were extensive. They are likely to be a poor approximation of reality.

To the extent that the maps suggest only a scattering of subsistence activities in the region of Navajo National Monument in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it is recommended that they be used in conjunction with other maps illustrating Navajo land use..

The Early Navajo Occupation of the Grand Canyon Region **Migration narrative**

Richard M. Begay and Alexandra Roberts
1996
Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, pp. 197-210
The Archaeology of Navajo Origins, Ronald H. Towner, ed.
Article in monograph
Field research:
Navajo consultants identified in the text

Richard Begay (B.A., Anthropology, Dartmouth College) is a member of the Navajo Nation and has worked in the Navajo Nation's cultural preservation program since the late 1980s as both an archaeologist and an ethnographer. He is active in traditional Navajo practices, particularly the Nightway (*Yei Bichei*) and Blessingway ceremonies. Alexandra Roberts (Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico), served as assistant director of the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department, 1988-1992; from then until 1994 she was coprincipal investigator on the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies--Navajo Cultural Resources Project, researching Navajo history in the Grand Canyon; she is currently working as a cultural anthropologist for the Southwest System Support Office of the National Park Service.

This article in an edited volume summarizes part of a study conducted by the Navajo Nation Historical Preservation Department (NNHPD) into Navajo occupation of the Grand Canyon region in the period preceding the removal of a large portion of the Navajo people to Bosque Redondo in 1863. The work, funded by the Bureau of Reclamation, carried out in the early 1990s, was part of a background study for an environmental impact study for modified operations of the Glen Canyon Dam. The authors of this article were part of the NNHPD staff who conducted the study.

The study reviewed the scholarly literature addressing the issue of early Navajo occupation in the Grand Canyon region. The authors reviewed archaeological sites in the region and interviewed knowledgeable Navajo residents. The study area is about 30 miles away from Navajo National Monument. Nevertheless, a series of quotes from Navajo consultants reproduced in this article—and cited as having been taken from Begay and Roberts (1992)—offer insights into contemporary attitudes to Anasazi sites by Navajos living in the Cameron, Gap/Bodoway, and Tuba City Chapters.. The consultants quoted here are identified using pseudonyms.

In the course of a raft trip through the Grand Canyon, one consultant, "Mr. Manygoats" looked for the place of origin of a subcategory of the Navajo Tachii'ni Clan. On coming across an Anasazi site in a rock overhang by the river, the consultant examined the site and concluded that it was the place of clan origin he had been looking for. He stated:

> There are Anasazi Tachii'ni among us, they came from the Anasazi. Not many people know of this clan. There are several different kinds of Tachii'nii—there is the Nanasht'ezhi Tachii'ni, the Nat'oh dine'e Tachii'nii, they originated from the Hopi, and there is the Anaasazi Tachoo'nii, and they are the ones that came from here, the Grand Canyon. They

> originated from a site located under a rock overhang or cave. Something like a bad wind killed most of the Anasazi off, but this cave or overhang protected a group of them. After the bad wind passed those that survived left the canyon in search of others. They finally ended up at Canyon de Chelly where they lived. After a while they began to interact with Navajos and finally became Navajos themselves. They became known as the Anaasazi Tachii'nii. There must be some of this clan up toward Chinle, Canyon de Chelly area (p. 208).

Here, Mr. Manygoats states that the Tachii'ni Clan had disparate origins. He says that one part of this Navajo clan consisted of Hopis, and another consisted of "Anasazi" people. The consultant appears to suggest that the latter group become a sub-category of a Navajo clan after the rest of the Anasazis were killed by a "bad wind," their survival being attributed to the natural shelter afforded by the rock overhang under which they lived. They later traveled in search of other survivors, and eventually came to Canyon de Chelly where they settled. Presumably through the processes of acculturation and intermarriage, the Anasazi became incorporated into the Navajos of the region, according to Mr. Manygoats.

Another consultant, "Mrs. Darkwood," described the Navajo use of rock overhangs in the Grand Canyon region as refuge sites by Navajo families hiding from enemies such as Hopis and Utes. She described the difficult experiences of one such family:

> A family had been hiding for several years from enemies. They only burned dried sagebrush or saltweed to cook their small meals. They lived in a site like the ones the white people say belong to the Anasazi....A lot of the sites our ancestors built are located on cliffs, or under rock overhangs. There were too many enemies and people had to move and hide all the time (p. 209).

Here, Mrs. Darkwood states that the locations used as refuges by Navajo families were identical to those sites that archaeologists identify as belonging to the Anasazi.

A married couple, "Mr. and Mrs. Yucca," developed the ideas expressed by Mrs. Darkwood and accused archaeologists of ignoring the history of the region as recounted by the Navajo people:

> There are a lot of sites around here [the Grand Canyon region] and many of them are Navajo sites. We know this because both our families originated from here and we continue to live here. Our parents and grandparents told us about their grandparents moving around here living in these sites and living in the canyon when water was scarce up here. Our grandparents knew this land, they moved around here to survive and they told us which of these sites belong to us. Now archaeologists say many of our ancestral sites belong to the Anasazi. We tell our history and many people do not believe it (p. 209).

Both Mrs. Darkwood and Mr. and Mrs. Yucca highlight the conventional archaeological interpretation that certain sites "belong to the Anasazi." [The reader is reminded that often the published ethnographic literature does not explicitly cover the study area, but rather, provides a general cultural framework for understanding the history of the Navajo in the region.]

Indians I have Known **Biography**

Byron Cummings
1952
Tucson: Arizona Silhouettes, pp. xvi, 55
Monograph
Field research: 1909-1914
Navajo consultants identified in text

Byron Cummings (1860-1954; archaeologist, classicist). Educated in the classical languages and culture, he pursued advanced studies in archaeology at the University of Berlin. He taught Latin and Greek but at the University of Utah and, later, at the University of Arizona he surveyed and excavated archaeological sites in southern Utah and northern Arizona. He contributed to the establishment of the Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society in Tucson and, in 1935, its publication, Kiva. He is best known for Kinishba: A Prehistoric Pueblo of the Great Pueblo Period (1940) and the biographical work reviewed here.

This small volume consists of the personal recollections of American Indians by Byron Cummings whom he had come to know while conducting archaeological research in the Four Corners region during the early 20th century. These people, he notes in a tone characteristic of his generation, "measured up well in intelligence, industry and justice with other races in the world. even with Europeans and Americans" (page xiii). As a result of these biographical sketches, Cummings hoped "to increase our esteem and respect for native populations and encourage more active cooperation between the whites and the real natives of the soil" (page xiii). Whether "Natani Yazzie" (Little Captain, as Cummings was named in Navajo) was successful in these objectives is open to question, but one consequence of this publication is that we have a series of interesting biographies of Native American individuals including a number of Navajos from the area around Navajo National Monument. Each biography is accompanied by one or more photographs taken by the author.

The first biography is that of Hoskinini, prominent Navajo leader and medicine man who led a group of Navajos into the rugged country north and west of Black Mesa to avoid United States troops during the Navajo War of 1863-1868. Cummings appears to have only met Hoskinini a couple of times just prior to his death in 1909. He had a somewhat better acquaintance with Hoskinini's son, Hoskinini Begay, who was one of those involved in the death of two Anglo prospectors under uncertain circumstances in Monument Valley some years earlier. A brief account is offered by Cummings, probably from information supplies by the Wetherills.

Cummings had more first-hand knowledge of Hosteen Luca (Huddlechusley, "joker") who served as his guide on a number of occasions including in the winter of 1909 when he first excavated in Betatakin. Cummings writes at length about Hosteen Luca's dependability, resourcefulness, and generosity.

Sam Chief was a "successful and respected medicine man of the western Navajos" (page 16). During a visit to Tucson in 1918, Cummings urged Sam Chief to make a series of permanent

sandpaintings for the collection of the university museum. Sam Chief was reluctant but relented, saying "I hope the Good Spirits will not be too angry with me."(page 17-18).

Hosteen Jones (Pinieten, "no sense") lived with a group that Cummings refers to as his "band" in Nitsin Canyon near Inscription House. Cummings first met him in 1909 when he visited Inscription House with the Wetherills (this was when the children in the party discovered the indecipherable markings after which the site is named). They met again in 1914 when Cummings returned to excavate at Inscription House. On this occasion, the excavation crew used timbers salvaged from the site for firewood:

> When Hosteen Jones saw us cooking over a fire made of this material, he was horrified and assured us that we would be sick and "maybe all the Indians get sick." To prevent such a catastrophe, he took his mules and wagon and dragged in sufficient juniper and pine wood from the hills to supply us for the remainder of our stay.
>
> This was no easy task; there were no roads, the canyons were deep, and the mesas sandy. It was an act of friendship to protect us from our ignorance and to save his family from possible suffering or death. In those days a Navajo would not use anything from prehistoric ruins. Evil spirits had caused the destruction of these primitive puebloans, either killing them or driving them away (page 27).

Next year, Cummings was late arriving to begin his field season and Hosteen Jones was at a "sing" near Navajo Mountain when he finally arrived. During this season an incident occurred that Cummings describes in detail (pages 28-32). It involves the discovery of a deerhide pouch containing turquoise and shell pendants, shell necklaces, polished jet disks, some pieces of rock crystal and a root presumably with medicinal value). Two of Hosteen Jones' children who had been hired by Cummings "attempted to snatch up" these artifacts and in the confusion that followed one of the pendants disappeared. Members of the local Navajo community came to the site asking in a somewhat hostile tone to see this assemblage of artifacts. Hosteen Jones then came to the site and, according to Cummings, told him: "This is my territory, and these are my canyons and caves. Everything that is in them belongs to me and you must turn everything over to me and get out. I told the boys when I went away that if you came, you must not work in these canyons and they must drive you away."

Cummings presents himself as the rational party in this argument, which continued the following day. It ended when Hosteen Jones appears to have reluctantly determined that he was unable to force Cummings to concede the point, and he dropped his demands. Cummings' version of this incident is unlikely to be complete in representing the Navajo side of the story.

In the context of discussion of Navajo Bill, Cummings writes:

> "...In 1909...I spent several weeks excavating some small ruins along the wash that runs by Kayenta in northern Arizona. This wash, called Laguna Creek on the old government maps, is known to the Indians as Tiende Wash. It extends from Marsh Pass in a slightly

> northeasterly direction to the Chin Lee; it drains the region of the Tsagie canyons and seldom becomes dry. Its name of Laguna Creek came from the presence of numerous small lakes along its course some seventy-five years ago. Now the bed of the stream has so lowered by floods that the lakes have all been washed out, and it seems more fitting to retain the Indian name of Tiende Wash (page 22).

In summary, Cumming's memoir provides a small sample of Navajo biographies as they related to archaeological sites in the general vicinity of our study area.

Son of Old Man Hat: A Navaho Autobiography **Personal narrative**

Walter Dyk, ed.
1938
New York: Harcourt, Brace, pp. xiv, 378
Autobiography
Field research: 1933-1935
Navajo consultant: Left Handed

Walter Dyk (1899-1972; Ph.D., Anthropology, Yale University). There were few jobs in either anthropology or linguistics in the 1930s, and Edward Sapir (who had been Dyk's dissertation advisor), arranged a National Research Council Post-doctoral fellowship to study the functioning of clan and kin on the Navajo Reservation. To put the data he was collecting in context, he began to write down life histories, first from Old Mexican, which he later published as A Navajo Autobiography (1947), and then from Left Handed, which resulted in the book reviewed here, *Son of Old Man Hat* (1938). Left Handed (1868-; also called Son of Old Man Hat, and Abaa's son, a Bitahni clan member) was asked 'to relate whatever he could remember of his life, leaving out nothing." In Son of Old Man Hat he tells of the first twenty years and ends with his marriage to an unnamed Red Clay clan woman, an event not well received by many of their relatives; in Left-Handed he tells of the period from 1888-1891, an account of a 20-to-23-year-old, newly married whose marriage becomes increasingly troublesome and finally ends. He returned to the Navajo Reservation, 1947-1948, to gather materials, which were published after his death by his wife, Ruth Dyk, as Left Handed: A Navajo Autobiography (1980). Dyk's use of naturalistic language offended some readers but these autobiographies have no peer for the 'intensely human' accounts they provide. The onset of Parkinson's disease in his early 40s brought to an early end what promised to be more brilliant contributions to linguistics and anthropology.

Dyk spoke little or no Navajo, so Left Handed's narrative is interpreted by Phillip Davis. In 1980, Fred Eggan described this work as "still the classic autobiography of a Navajo Indian from childhood to maturity." (Eggan 1980, Foreword *in* Left Handed: A Navajo Autobiography).

After Dyk's death, his widow completed the editing of Left Handed: A Navajo Autobiography, published by Columbia University Press in 1980. This consisted of Left Handed's recollections of his first three years of married life in the 1880s.

Left Handed was born in 1868 during the return of the Navajo people from internment at Bosque Redondo. He subsequently lived at different times in many locations in the northwestern part of the Navajo Reservation, especially on and around Black Mesa and as far north as Navajo Mountain. While there are no specific references to places closer to Navajo National Monument, this work still remains a basic source of information about traditional Navajo lifeways in the northern and western part of the Navajo Reservation in the final decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth.

Traditional History and Alternative Conceptions of the Past Traditional history

Alan S. Downer, Jr., Alexandra Roberts, Harris Francis, and Klara B. Kelley
1994
Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 39-55
Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage, Mary Hufford, ed.
Article in collection
Field research
Navajo informants not identified

The volume in which this essay appears grew out of a conference entitled "Cultural Conservation: Reconfiguring the Cultural Mission" held at the Library of Congress in May of 1990 and was published for the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress. The contributors to his essay include: Alan S. Downer, Jr. (Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Missouri, Columbia) has been historic preservation officer for the Navajo Tribe since 1986; Alexandra Roberts (Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico), served as assistant director of the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Department, 1988-1992; from then until 1994 she was coprincipal investigator on the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies--Navajo Cultural Resources Project, researching Navajo history in the Grand Canyon; she is currently working as a cultural anthropologist for the Southwest System Support Office of the National Park Service; Harris Francis is a Navajo, an American Indian Cultural Rights Protection Consultant and co-author with Klara Bonsack Kelley of Navajo Sacred Places (1994); Klara Bonsack Kelley (Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico) is a consulting ethnologist who has published extensively on Navajo land use.

The Nightway **General ethnology**

James Faris
1990
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press
Monograph
Fieldwork: N/A (interviews 1984-1988)
Navajo consultants: Clarence Brown, Alfred Yazzie

James C. Faris is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Connecticut.

This book is concerned with anthropological representations of a non-Western ritual, the Navajo Nightway. The dilemma is over the misrepresentations of inherent meanings by Navajo who are involved in the complex healing ceremony by non-Navajo anthropologists armed with Western biological, theological, and psychological theories such as evolutionism (magic-religion-science continuum), comparative world religions, and Jungianism (primitive archetypes, dream interpretation, and symbolic healing). Faris also critiques the functionalist paradigm which charts a middle course between "economic determinism and psychological determinism," i.e., Kluckholn and Leighton. All these theoretical approaches present Navajo belief as "reflecting and symbolizing rather than constituting" an anthropological interpretation of ritual. The author is framing this analysis with historical paradigms that shaped the collection of texts.

Faris is concerned with the following points:

1. A critique of "rationalistic" Euro-American interpretations for the Nightway which dominate the literature, included an obsession with text over other culturally viable aspects of the healing ritual

2. Promoting an acceptance of local Navajo meanings of the Nightway; and doing so on their own terms and within their own history

3. Analyzing the Nightway in both Navajo and non-Navajo systems of knowledge

This is not an ethnographic description of the Navajo Nightway ceremony. Faris defers to previous anthropologists, particularly the medical doctor Washington Matthews.

Faris believes that these theoretical approaches result in cultural misinterpretation of Navajo beliefs. He uses the example of transferring Western concepts of causality (cause and effect). In Navajo though, there is a distinct concept, according to Faris, that the Navajo have command over their universe and are personally responsible for imbalances. Natural phenomena are only dangerous if there is an improper attitude to them, ambiguity about proper conduct towards them, or mistreatment, which then makes the interactions dangerous. Therefore, Holy People (yei) do not cause illness; illness is caused by a human violation, and humans are responsible for seeking a cure through ritual.

In summary, this book critically examined anthropological interpretations of Navajo ritual within the context of history and the construction of Navajo knowledge.

An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language **General ethnology**

Franciscan Fathers, Saint Michaels, Arizona
1910 (reprinted 1929)
Saint Michaels: The Franciscan Fathers, pp. 536
Monograph
Field research:
Navajo consultants not identified

The "Franciscan Fathers" was intended to indicate the communal nature of the authorship of An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language. Begun in 1899 by Fathers Juvenal Schnorbus and Anselm Weber, they were assisted by Sammie and Charlie Day, working first on plant names (using a manuscript by Washington Matthews) and grammar. Fathers Berard Haile and Leopold Ostermann joined in the work in 1900 and, later, Father Marcellus Troester. Father Berard Haile served as editor. Two hundred copies were printed at Saint Michaels in 1910.

The overall plan of this work is more like a handbook than a dictionary or encyclopedia, although it is all of these. The Introduction (23-24) provides an overview of the name "Navajo," origin and stock of the Navajo, migration of the Dine, the site and area of the Navajo country, and physical features of the land and population.

The first major section, "Cosmology and Natural Phenomena" (35-117) includes "Direction and Directional Assignment" (55-57) as well as "The Land: Mountain and Valley, Stone, Canyons, Miner," etc. (62-64).

Section two, "Persons, Places, Animals, Plants" (118-220) includes "Names of Places" (130-138), names "Suggested by Buttes, Peaks, Springs, or local peculiarities" as well as the names of "Neighboring Pueblos" and "Neighboring and Sacred Mountains." The Franciscan Fathers noted, "Springs and bodies of water, often far between, are distinctive landmarks, and are sometimes indicated by meadows, old ruins, or trees and plans thriving in the vicinity of water" (131). Examples include *dzil tqo binaes'ahi*, water around the point of a mountain" and *luka khintqel*, the wide ruins in the reeds" (= Ganado) (131). For the most part the names are "descriptive of local peculiarities" (133) and do not include "stories." However, the following is of interest to the study area:

> *Tqe nde*, where they fall into the pit of water. The place of this name in the Black Mountain region was formed by the fall of water, and was formerly a much frequented watering place for game. The smooth surface of the abruptly descending walls of this pit offered no sufficient foothold, but entrapped the game much after the fashion of the early native pit traps (134-135).

Under the "Names of Mountain Ranges" the following information is provided regarding the sacred mountains of the Navajo. The content of this passage is typical of much of the dictionary:

In addition, a mountain is sacred to each of the cardinal points.

Sisnajin, (woman's) standing black belt, Pelado Peak, north of Jemez pueblo, this is Sacred mountain of the east.
Tsodzil, mountain tongue, Mount Taylor of the south.
dookoslid, San Francisco Mountain of the west.
Debentsa, large sheep, San Juan Mountains of the north.
Other sacred mountains are in the Carriso (*dzilnaozili*), and the Juerfano (*dzilnaodili*), and *chol'i* (?), and *dzil esdza*, the mountain woman (?). (136).

"Arts and Industries" (221-345) is followed by "Religion" (346-422), which includes an extensive summary of the narrative ("Synopsis of Legend"; 347-361), which is based on published and unpublished work by Alexander M. Stephen and Washington Matthews as well as research by the Franciscan Fathers.

The final section of the work, "Sociology" (422-512) describes kinship and social organization, clothing, games, and various customers.

In summary, this work is a basic reference for all aspects of Navajo culture at the turn of the twentieth century. It represents an early effort to record and describe "place": Finally, the text of the narrative is relatively concise.

Traders to the Navajos:
The Story of the Wetherills of Kayenta

Migration narrative
Trading post history

Frances Gillmor and Louisa Wade Wetherill
1934
Boston: Houghton Mifflin, pp. 3, 265
Monograph
Field research: two summers prior to 1930
Navajo Consultants...

Frances Gillmor (1903-; M.A., English, University of Arizona; folklorist, novelist) wrote her master's thesis, an 'expository biography,' on John and Louisa Wade Wetherill, explorers and traders who lived at Kayenta. Living with the Wetherills provided an entree into Navajo life so successful that when Traders to the Navajos was published in 1934 it received an eloquent endorsement from the tribe. Gillmor taught at The University of Arizona, published extensively on folklore in the Southwest and Mexico and twice served as Vice President of the American Folklore Society. Her Windsinger (1930) is an ethnographic novel also based on her experiences while living with the Wetherills. Louisa Wade Wetherill (1877-1945) married John Wetherill in 1896 and the couple moved from Mancos, Colorado, to Oljato, Arizona, near Monument Valley, and later to Kayenta, where the Wetherill Trading Post became a point of departure for expeditions to Navajo Mountain and the Rainbow Plateau.

As a first-person account of life at the turn of the century in the western part of the Navajo reservation, this work represents an important source for information about the Navajos living in the vicinity of Navajo National Monument. In particular, there are accounts of the later life of important Navajo leader Hoskinini and photographs of him and his family, as well as a brief discussion of the period between 1864 and 1868 when Navajos including those lead by Hoskinini avoided internment at Bosque Redondo by hiding from United States troops in this area north and west of Black Mesa. The focus of this summary of *Traders to the Navajos*, however, will be material relating more directly to Navajo knowledge about Navajo National Monument and its resources. Consequently, this will not include general material on John Wetherill's explorations in the region.

Hoskinini is represented within a context concerning his attitude to prehistoric Puebloan artifacts. He was just one of many Navajos who, upon learning of the Wetherill's interest in such remains, told them of artifacts that they had seen or found:

> Hoskinini himself told Asthon Sosi of a basket.
> "Twenty-five winters ago I found it in a cave in *Tsegi Ot Sosi*, the Slim Canyon Among the Rocks," he said. "I was making a cache for some of my own property. But we do not touch the things that belong to the Anasazi, and I left it there."
>
> Now, in spite of his fear of the possessions of the Old People, he went back to the cave and found the basket, taking with him John Wetherill, Asthon Sosi, and Clyde Colville (page

130).

The first material directly relevant to Navajo National Monument is introduced during the discussion of the Wetherill family relocation from their former home in Chaco Canyon to Oljato in 1904. As they neared their destination they came to Laguna Wash at Todanestya. Twenty-six years ago there had been no water in the wash, but now it contained sufficient water to make their crossing difficult. From an unacknowledged Navajo source, the Wetherills were told why there was now water in Laguna Wash:

An old Navajo who was reputed to practice witchcraft had complained bitterly one day that there was no water [in Laguna Wash].

'There are lakes in Floating Reed Canyon,' he said. 'That water would be better here [in 'the Meadows of the People,' page 86] where we could use it.'

That day he went up into the side canyon of the Tsegi. He went even into Floating Reed Canyon where the Water God lived and caused the water to spout up twice a day.

On that very day a great storm arose. The rain came down in torrents. Black clouds hung over the Tsegi, and the lakes broke. The water came rushing down into the pass, out along the low-lying land beside the ridge of red rocks. On the flood came old phosphorescent logs, whole trees—and the people that night saw the Water God pass by in the stream, breathing fire as he went.

Through the years the wash had cut deeper. The water level was low now—and the place of the meadows only a sandy flat. The witch who had challenged the Water God and had broken the lake of Floating Reed Canyon had long since paid the penalty of death at the hands of the People (pages 78-79).

In this passage, Wetherill recounts the Navajo explanation for the disappearance of the lakes in the Tsegi Canyon system.

As noted above, some of Louisa Wade Wetherill's Navajo friends and neighbors shared origin narratives with her. From the point of view of Navajo attitudes to the cultural resources of Navajo National Monument, the story she was told about her own clan, the Tachini, is the most interesting of the narratives included in this volume. It is reproduced as if it were the verbatim words of the narrator, although it is very unlikely that Wetherill could have collected it in this fashion.

Many years ago, just after we came to this land where we now live, there came a drouth. The winters and summers went by without snow or rain. After several years had passed, the people who lived in the houses under the rocks, in the canyon we call Tsegi-Etso, Big Canyon Among the Rocks (the Canyon de Chelly), were compelled to move from their homes. A few of them came to live among our people. The rest of them went to the foot of the White-Reed Mountains (*Lukachukais*), where there was still a little moisture in the ground. There they built more houses. Still there was no rain, but the people kept on struggling to live. The people in the houses had to keep on moving. Our people did not live in houses; so it was easier for them to move from place to

place.

At the same time another tribe of people were living on the high mesa above the river we call *Toh-Ensosi-Co*, Slim Stream Canyon (Mesa Verde above the Mancos River). These people also lived in stone houses under the cliffs, because they were afraid of some of the tribes who made raids on them from time to time. With only one side of a canyon to watch and only one trail to get to the houses, they were safer than they would have been had they lived out in the valleys.

They had lived in these houses for many years, but when the drought [sic] came, they too were compelled to move. As the people from the high mesas moved toward the sunset, at the same time the people from Tsegi-Etso were moving from place to place.

Both tribes now built houses in the flats. They did not fear war now, as they had nothing their enemies would want. They were too busy hunting food with which to keep life in their bodies to do any weaving. Their enemies were also busy hunting food.

The rain came again, but for some time there was no war. By this time, the people from Tsegi-Etso were living in villages in the valleys, and the people from the mesa were living at the foot of Nat-Sees-An (Navajo Mountain). Then came another period of war. The people from the valleys and the people from Nat-Sees-An moved into the canyon we call the Tsegi, where there were cliffs under which to build their houses. The people from Tsegi-Etso built the houses we call Betatakin, and the people from Nat-Sees-An built the houses we call Kietsiel.

There were thus two different tribes of people living in the canyons, but they did not mingle with one another very much, for they did not speak the same language. Soon the tribes grew large, and each built houses in some of the branch canyons. The land was very fertile and there were several lakes in the canyons.

Everything went well for some time. Then there came another drought, and the lakes began to dry up, and the corn did not grow, and the people were growing weaker. The rain came again; but very soon after this the wind began to blow. It blew for many days, harder and harder, until even the trees went down before it. Then came a great hailstorm. By this time the people in the canyons were very weak. They were trying to live, but they had married into their own families and there were many blind, deaf, and hunchbacks among them. They were getting too weak to fight for their existence.

Then came a time when there were snakes moving everywhere. The people from the different houses at last came together. There were very few of them left by this time. They decided the canyons were bewitched and prepared to move.

Our people had been moving around the country from place to place all of this time, but they were near the Tsegi when the people came out.

Our people had visited them from time to time, while they lived in the canyons, as we were related

to them through those who had come out of the Tsegi-Etso and joined us at the time of the great drought. But we had not been to visit them for some time, and when we saw how weak the people from the canyons were we were shocked. Some of our old men said, 'They are growing weaker because they need new blood.' They said, 'These people have lived too long by themselves.'

So our people decided that anyone who married into his own family would be killed. Some asked how they could avoid marrying into their own families, since so many had died while the struggle for life was going on and so few were left. Then they decided to go out and steal girls from the different tribes to save the life of our tribe.

Our people were many years learning that to be strong we must not live too much by ourselves. You can learn from the trees about things like this. Have you ever noticed that where a tree grows by itself on a point where the wind sweeps the earth from its roots, it grows smaller and smaller? Then there are trees that grow in places where new soil is blown in from among the other plants and trees. Trees in places like that grow stronger and stronger.

The people from the Tsegi moved to the top of Sleeping Mountain, where they built houses and lived for some time. They got stronger from the time they came out of the Tsegi and the two tribes joined. After a time these people moved to the place we call Ozai (Oraibi), where they live to this day. Our people began sending out parties to steal girls from the Pueblos, and our tribe too grew stronger. That is why it was right for us at one time to steal girls from the Pueblos. Your clan, the Tachini, the People from Among the Red Rocks, is the clan which joined us when the people came out of the Tsegi-Etso at the time of the great drought. They brought with them the Night Chant. That is why it is their chant. It does not belong to the rest of us (pages 124-128).

In a later chapter, Louisa recounts the 'discovery' of Betatakin in 1908 by John Wetherill, Byron Cummings and some of the latter's University of Utah students (pages 164-169). Of particular interest is the role played by local Navajos in this event. The first information that they received about Betatakin came from the unnamed elderly wife of Nide-kloi ("the Whiskered One") who farmed and raised sheep in spring-irrigated fields in Tsegi Canyon. First, when asked about the Anasazi, she is reported as saying "There is a dead one over there" (page 164), commenting additionally that neither she nor her children would touch the skeleton or the pottery with which it was associated. She then said she knew of a ruin similar to Kiet Siel that she had seen while gathering plants for dye but which no Anglo had seen. The next day, Wetherill and Cummings were led to this ruin by Nede-kloi's son-in-law, who also knew of the place. He pointed it out, reportedly saying, "There is the house of the Anasazi" (page 167), but "Fearful of this silent dwelling-place of the dead, the Navajo stayed behind" (page 167) when the others climbed up to the ruin.

Nede-kloi reappears in Gillmor and Wetherill's narrative because of a flood in Tsegi Canyon that occurred at an unspecified later date. It will be recalled that an earlier flood was attributed to the actions of a Navajo witch who had washed out the pools along the canyon floor. This flood filled the channel and overflowed causing the destruction of Nede-kloi's spring, fields and crops. The authors describe his reaction in colorful terms: "Firing a six-shooter into the air, Nede-kloi rode up and down, cursing the Thunder People and the Lightning People, the gods who had brought him

destruction" (page 218).

In summary, this social history of the Navajos seen through the lens of a Southwestern trading post documents some traditional Navajo narratives relating to regional population movements and degradation. According to one Navajo friend of Mrs. Wetherill, the Navajos chose cultural strategies to rebuild their drastically reduced population through the capture of girls from diverse tribes, including the Pueblos, and intermarriage into Navajo society. The narrator, who was a member of the Tachini clan (People from the Red Rocks) related how the people came from the Tsegi area and later moved to Oraibi during the great drought. The Night Chant originated with the Tachini clan from the area that is now Navajo National Monument.

The Enduring Navaho **Photographic portraits**

Gilpin, Laura
1968
Austin: University of Texas Press

Laura Gilpin (1891-1979; Photographer) studied photography at the Clarence White School, New York. An independent and staff photographer, 1916 to 1945. From 1946 until 1968 she concentrated on a Navaho Indian photography project and carried out a similar project on Canyon de Chelly from 1968 until her death in 1979. The recipient of many awards and fellowships, Gilpin exhibited her work in one-woman and group shows, and her photographs are represented in permanent and private collections. She is best known for her photographic studies of the Navajo, especially The Enduring Navajo.

This is perhaps the best known book about the Navajo people, written and illustrated by photographer Laura Gilpin. It is noteworthy in the context of the present study only for a photograph depicting two Navajo employees at Navajo National Monument (page 106). The caption reads: "The first appointed Navaho to the National Park Service staff, serving as ranger at Navajo National Monument, was Hubert Laughter.

The Enduring Navajo provides a popular pictorial resource for mid-20th century lifeways on the Navajo reservation.

Explorations in Northeastern Arizona: Report of the Archaeological Fieldwork of 1920-1923

Regional archaeology

Samuel James Guernsey
1931
Cambridge: The Museum, pp. xi, 123
Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 12:1
Report in a series
Field research:
Navajo consultants not identified

Samuel James Guernsey (1868-1936; archaeologist) studied at various seminaries in New England. Later he studied at the Cowles Art School in Boston and for many years was a designer of decorations. In 1910 he joined the staff of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University as an Edward E. Hemenway assistant in archeology and in 1914 was appointed assistant curator of archeology and ethnology. He became assistant director of the museum in 1921 and from 1929 until his death was curator of archeology. During 1914-1917 and 1920-1927 he made extensive explorations in northeastern Arizona and Utah. Beginning in 1910 Guernsey placed in the Peabody Museum a long series of models depicting the development of human culture. Model no. 23, placed in the museum in 1933, depicts Betatakin. Guernsey's major works are reviewed here.

This is a report of archaeological research carried out in the Tsegi Canyon area between 1920 and 1923 under the auspices of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University. The principal investigator was Samuel Guernsey, with significant assistance from A. V. Kidder early in his career.

Guernsey's report says little about the people of places of Tsegi Canyon as he encountered them in the early 1920s. One description of Navajo irrigation agriculture about 30 miles west of Navajo National Monument may be typical of similar activities within the monument itself:

> Water Fall Ruin overlooks a flat of considerable size, where the Navajos have small cornfields and melon patches in the shelter of the canyon wall. These gardens are irrigated from a number of springs along the base of the cliff, which furnish a not too abundant supply of water for the purpose. At times the Navajos are able to divert water from the stream by the means of dams above the falls, but, owing to frequent floods which come without any warning, the dams are maintained with great difficulty. One such dam on which the Indians had expended a great deal of labor went out while we were at the ruin (page 36).

In a section of this report written by Kidder, the cutting of arroyos and the subsequent demise of the lakes that formerly had been present along the water courses of the Tsegi Canyon (and which gave Tsegi Canyon its original English name given to it by Kit Carson, "Laguna Canyon," page 3) is explained in terms of overgrazing by Navajo horses, sheep and goats. This explanation may be

compared with that offered by an unnamed Navajo to the Wetherills a few years before (Gillmor and Wetherill 1934).

Although this report includes discussions of numerous archaeological sites in the Tsegi Canyon, Guernsey clearly had little interest in the Navajo people of the area, or in their opinions on these sites. Brief discussions of rock art in Tsegi Canyon and its branches are mentioned and, perhaps more usefully, are rendered as line drawings and photographs. No comment on this rock art seems to have been elicited from the Navajos who were obviously living nearby.

Basket-Maker Caves of Northeastern Arizona
Report on the Explorations, 1916-1917

Regional archaeology
General ethnology

Samuel James Guernsey and A. V. Kidder
1921
Cambridge: The Museum, pp. vii, 121
Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 8:2
Report in a series
Field research: 1916-1917
Navajo consultants not identified

Samuel James Guernsey (1868-1936; archaeologist) studied at various seminaries in New England. Later he studied at the Cowles Art School in Boston and for many years was a designer of decorations. In 1910, he joined the staff of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University as Edward E. Hemenway assistant in archeology and in 1914 was appointed assistant curator of archeology and ethnology. He became assistant director of the museum in 1921. From 1929 until his death Guernsey was curator of archeology.

During 1914-1917 and 1920-1927, he made extensive explorations in northeastern Arizona and Utah. Beginning in 1910, Guernsey installed a long series of models depicting the development of human culture in the Peabody Museum. A replica of Betatakin, model no. 23, was exhibited in the museum in 1933,.

Alfred Vincent Kidder (1885-1963; Ph.D., Anthropology, Harvard University) was one of the first students to be professionally trained in archaeology in the United States. Beginning in 1907, Kidder surveyed and mapped many areas in the Four Corners. In 1914 he began work in the Kayenta district. His work emphasized stratigraphic and typological techniques which were given practical application in excavations at Pecos Pueblo (1915-1930). Out of this and other fieldwork came the practical knowledge of the cultures of the region which led to Introduction to the Study of Southwestern Archaeology (1924), one of the most influential books in the spreading of the stratigraphic, controlled approach to American archaeology.

The Guernsey and Kidder report addresses some aspects of interest to our study, such as ethnobotany:

(1) Sayodneechee Canyon. Heads near Agathla Rock running northward into Monument Valley--Navajo corn cultivation in some places (Guernsey and Kidder 1921:28).

(2) "In our own explorations we came upon an old Navajo squaw in the vicinity of Sagiotsosi who was gathering the small seeds of a low weed. She told us that these were cooked and made into a kind of mush by mixing with goat's milk, and that they were now (1917) being used again for the first time since the "great war" (Navajo war, 1863). These are identified by Mr. Safford as *Chinopodium sp.*... (Guernsey and Kidder 1921:43).

In summary, although the text is essentially an archaeological report on excavations, it includes minor ethnobotanical information that is useful to our study.

Why the Navajo Hogan? **General ethnology**

Berard Haile
1942
Primitive Man 15:39-56
Article
Field research:
Navajo consultants not identified

Father Berard Haile, O.F.M. (1874-1961; ethnographer, linguist) came to the newly established (1898) Franciscan mission at St. Michaels, Arizona, in 1900. He soon joined the other Fathers who were working on An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language (1910) (refer to 'Franciscan Fathers' for a review) and A Vocabulary of the Navaho Language (1912). He is credited as editor for both publications. In 1915, Father Berard (*Enishodi yazzi*, little priest) became the first resident priest at Lukachuakai. Over the next ten years, he worked in all parts of the reservation, especially at Chinle, Tohatchi, and in the Shiprock area. His health failing, he returned to St. Michaels in 1926 to devote himself entirely to his studies. By that time, Father Berard Haile was well established as the outstanding student of Navajo language and culture. In 1929, he was appointed a research associate in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago and between then and his death in 1961, he published numerous articles and books.

In 1942, the quarterly bulletin of the Catholic Anthropological Conference entitled "Primitive Man," carried an article by Haile on the ceremonial significance of the Navajo hogan. In addition to linguistic and construction information on the hogan, he explored the relationship of the structure to the narratives of the "Holy People" after emergence.

> Talking God approved the circular shape of the hogan and the function of the hogan in as a gathering place for Holy People during the creation of the world. Each cardinal direction of the poles carries its own color symbolism. The poles themselves are regarded as living, gendered (female) beings. Human movement in the interior of the hogan is prescribed to follow the sun's movement in the sky, from east to south to west to north. The hogan is the appropriate site for ceremonies, for example, it is where the prayers begin for the Blessingway. Larger hogans are built for the Chantway and Enemyway because more floor space is needed, particularly for the sandpaintings. More than a domestic residence, Navajos consider "the hogan as a proper place of native worship" (51). In modern times, if a new government house is provided to a Navajo family as a residence, the owner frequently builds a hogan (either conical or round) on his/her property for the performance of traditional ceremonies (56).

In summary, the Navajo hogan is the embodiment of traditional histories. The Holy people narratives and the traditional architecture of the Navajo converge as a domestic space and potentially a sacred place that can be spiritually transformed through ceremonies. This article helps readers understand the significance of the hogan as a central symbol of the Navajo cultural landscape in and around Navajo National Monument.

A Camp at Kiet Siel **Regional archaeology**

Julian D. Hayden
1980
Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, pp. 96-102
Camera, Spade and Pen: An Inside View of Southwestern Archaeology, Marnie Gaede, ed. (With photographs by Marc Gaede)
Essay in a collection
Field research:
Navajo consultants identified in text

Julian D. Hayden (1911-; M.A., Archaeology, Harvard University) was introduced to archaeology while in high school, at 19 was involved in the excavations of Compound F at Casa Grande National Monument. In 1934 he was involved with the excavation and stabilization of Kiet Siel. Here he was to meet Ben Wetherill and John Wetherill, then custodian of Navajo National Monument. Work at Snaketown, Pueblo Grande, the University Indian Ruin (Tucson), Ventana Cave preceded a visit in 1958 to the Sierra Pinacate in northwestern Sonora which was to become the focus of the rest of his career. He was the winner of the 1988 Crabtree Award for Avocational Archaeology.

This volume began as a photographic study of archaeological sites in the Southwest by Marc Gaede. Fortunately, the images were augmented by personal accounts of field experiences by eleven archaeologists. Julian Hayden wrote about his experiences excavating Kiet Siel under his father, Irwin Hayden, and Harold Colton in 1933. The project was funded by the Depression-era civilian Works Progress Administration and was primarily staffed by Mormon workers. Hayden suggests that no Navajos were employed even though John Wetherill participated, and he invariably arranged for Navajos to work on projects.

One pair of incidents is told by Julian Hayden about the 1930s excavation and the Navajo/Anglo interactions:

Navajo National Monument was unfenced, and lush with spring growth when Nakai Yazzi, from down the Tsegi, announced he was moving his sheep and goats in to pasture. Hosteen John [Wetherill] took steps to prevent this. He sent to Kayenta for a Halloween mask. When a Navajo friend of Bill Young's [the head packer] came to visit one day, I climbed up to Turkey Cave. I put on John's stocking cap, the mask, and a tarp over my shoulders, knocked some stones together and made noises like a wildcat with a sore paw. The Navajo burst out of Bill's tent, stared up for a moment, and took off down the canyon on his horse. When he stopped at the last ridge, I yowled again and he disappeared. Next day, word came that Nakai Yazzi had been shot with arrows in all his joints by the Little People, the spirits who lived in the ruins. He was so ill with rheumatism and fear that he stayed at home.

A couple of days later this backfired on us. A delegation of aged Navajos, old friends of Hosteen John, rode in from all over the western country, some from as far as 80 miles. They said that one

of us had the "bad heart" and that we must be sung over, for the safety of Hosteen John. They gathered us all, sprinkled corn pollen on us, sang, and left. I believe John and I felt equally ashamed, but the monument was protected (page 101-102).

Beyond the obvious insensitivity of earlier generations of archaeologists, this shows that not only did the news travel large distances very quickly, but many elderly Navajos apparently dropped everything to travel to Kiet Siel to address the problem. It appears that the delegation knew that one of the archaeologists had been responsible for the apparition, but their response seems to have been to cure an underlying problem rather than to punish the guilty party. Their principal motive was to protect their friend John Wetherill.

In this passage, Hayden also mentions that Nakai Yazzi's bout of rheumatism had been attributed to the "Little People" who lived in the ruin.

Navajo Trading Days **Autobiography**

Elizabeth Compton Hegemann
1963
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. 388
Monograph
Field research:
Navajo consultants identified in text

Elizabeth Compton Hegemann (1897-1962) was a trader, at Tuba City, 1928-1929 and at Shonto, 1929-1939 and a photographer recording aspects of Hopi and Navajo life in the 1920s and 1939s. Her photography is documentary.

This is the autobiography of Elizabeth Compton Hegemann focusing on the period 1929-1939 when she and her second husband, Harry Rorick, operated the trading post at Shonto. The text is illustrated by 317 photographs taken by the author, the majority of which reflect this period of her life.

This volume is most useful as an overview of life in the northwestern part of the Navajo Reservation during the 1930s from the perspective of an Anglo trading post owner. It mentions a number of named "Navvies" (as she termed Navajos), including Calamity, Starley Yazzie, Donald and Mabel Tsayutcissi, Hosteen Tsayutcissi, and Hosteen Haske (aka Hoskeninni Begay). Donald Tsayutcissi went on to own the Tsegi Trading Post at the entrance to Tsegi Canyon. Many of these individuals appear in her photographs.

"Shonto," she notes, means "Sunlight Water," and Oljato means "Moonlight Water."

Although there is minimal information relating directly to the cultural resources of Navajo National Monument, Hegemann describes visits to both the better-known and some of the lesser-known sites in the monument.

In recounting the first visit by John Wetherill to Betatakin (see Gillmor 1934 ref), the author identifies the husband of the woman who told them of the site as "Hosteen Ahnee-becloi" or "Old Man Grey Whiskers." This is the same person identified in Gillmor (see Gillmor, 1934) as "Nide-kloi" or "the Whiskered One" [in the next quotation he is named Hosteen Neede-cloi]. Futhermore, we are told that Hosteen Ahnee-becloi had hidden from the United States Army in 1863.

Later, Hegemann describes her husband's successful efforts to find a trail into Canyon from Shonto in order to make the trading post at Shonto a staging post for tourist visits to Betatakin ruin. These efforts had unanticipated consequences:

> As to the Navvies living in Tsegi, they were so surprised and delighted that Harry had found a way in and out of the deep canyon that they asked Agent Walker if he could help make it a horse trail. These were the Little Salts, Tom Hallidays (census name), and Hosteen Neede-cloi or Old Man Grey Whiskers, who wanted it for moving their sheep at

certain times of year and also for access to the piñons on the mesa (page 363).

Agency funds were made available and a trail was blasted in October 1931 and an unnamed member of the Little Salt clan was the first to drive his sheep up the trail.

In summary, although there is minimal information relating directly to the cultural resources of Navajo National Monument, Hegermann describes visits to both the better-known and some of the lesser-known sites in the monument.

The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians **Ethnography**

W. W. Hill
1938
New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 194
Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 18
Monograph in a series
Field research:
Navajo consultants...

Willard Williams "Nibs" Hill (1902-1974; Ph.D., Anthropology, Yale University) began a life long association with the Navajo in 1933. His fieldwork that year resulted in his dissertation, the work reviewed here. Hill joined the faculty of the University of New Mexico's Department of Anthropology in 1937, served as Chair from 1947 to 1968 and retired in 1971. He wrote a number of essays on Navajo ceremonies, material culture, warfare, humor and cultural change. After retirement he completed the monumental Navaho Material Culture (1971), started in collaboration with his friend, Clyde Kluckhohn (1905-1960), and finished with the assistance of Lucy Wales Kluckhohn.

This work represents work conducted by W.W. Hill between 1933 and 1935, initially as a student at Yale University, and subsequently as a Fellow of the National Research Council.

Hill lists a total of 43 consultants and five interpreters who assisted him during his research. For each individual, Hill lists the region of the Navajo reservation on which information was supplied. He remarked in his Preface:

> It became immediately apparent that there are several sub-ethnic units represented in the Navajo area. In some cases these local variations are so pronounced that an individual can be located geographically according to his school of thought and type activity. In many other areas more evidence is necessary before conclusions can be drawn (page 3).

None of Hill's informants came from the immediate area of Navajo National Monument, the closest being "Mr. Headman" who hailed from Head Springs/Hard Rock on the southern part of Black Mesa adjacent to the northern edge of the Hopi Reservation (a photograph of him using a digging stick is reproduced as part of plate 2. Other informants were drawn from the Keams Canyon/Steamboat Springs area further to the southeast.

Hill indicates these regional variations in traditional Navajo knowledge in the text of this monograph when he comes across them. His observation raises the question of the appropriateness of using for interpretative purposes at Navajo National information drawn from other parts of the Navajo territory.

Despite these caveats, this 194-page study remains an important source of information about the traditional Navajo agricultural and hunting practices. It documents information about subsistence activities as well as ritual activities that either accompany these subsistence activities or are

conducted independent of them.

It is worthwhile to briefly discuss the cultural information contained in this monograph that relates in one way or another to the resources at Navajo National Monument. In particular, there are a number of passing references in Hill's study to Navajo knowledge and use of pre-existing Puebloan cultural materials. For instance, he states: "The Navajo say that while they found watermelon seeds in the cliff ruins, those that they grew came from the Pueblos" (page 27).

Hill makes a number of references to a series of Navajo agricultural-related rituals to rid the fields of cutworms with the use of "Cliff Dweller" pottery:

The "Cliff Dweller sherd" practice was prevalent throughout the area under consideration. When cutworms bothered the corn, farmers caught one in the field and carried it some distance away. The worm was then placed on a sherd of Cliff Dweller pottery. Pollen and pulverized "jewels" were sprinkled on it. It was called by its "secret" name and told to return to its mother, from whence it came, and not to bother the field anymore. The sherd was then placed on the ground. The direction in which the worm crawled on leaving the sherd predicted the success of the procedure. If the worm started away from the corn field it was a sign that all the worms would leave. Contrarily, if the worm turned in the direction of the field it showed that the ceremony had been ineffective.

There are individual variations and elaborations that have crept into this ceremony. Two informants...stated that the sherd had to be taken from a ruin, and that when the worm was placed on it, it was taken back to the ruin again. Here a ceremony was performed by a shaman. Two other informants...stated that the worm was merely placed on the sherd, which was then deposited on the ground at some distance from the field. Other individual practices consisted of throwing the worm and sherd into the ruin..., and placing the sherd on top of the worm....
The Navajo believe that this ceremony was taken over from the Pueblos. "This is really a ceremony belonging to the Hopi people. It is in the myth of the Twins that it originated with the Hopi people."

Related to the above were other rites. The farmer procured an arrowhead and taking a sherd and worm walked toward the east about a mile. He placed the worm on the sherd facing east.
Then the man sat down and began to saw the worm very gently with the arrowhead. As he sawed the first time he said "ha ha," the second and third times "ha ha ha." On the fourth time he said "ha ha ha ha," and cut off the worm's head. Then the worm was removed from the sherd and its head was placed toward the east while saying, "Go back to your mother, White Shell Woman, from where you came." ([According to Mr. Headman,] a long time ago when White Shell Woman was alive worms were sent to the field by the winds). After this the man immediately went home.

Another method of ridding the fields of worms was given by [Mary McKinley]. Four worms were gathered and inside out over twigs from the "slim" sunflower. These were taken to the kiva in a cliff ruin and stuck into the earth with the worms level with the ground. The worms were then covered with a sherd. After this four circles were drawn around the sherd with an

arrowhead and the ceremony was complete (page 58-59).

Although the principal targeted pest of these rituals was the cutworm, Hill notes that they were also used less often against other pests. One consultant, Left Handed, had tried the "Cliff Dweller pottery method" against grasshoppers, a common pest for which no successful remedy was available: "It was no good. It is funny about grasshoppers, if they are after weeds they just eat up the weeds in the corn field and do not touch the corn. If they are after corn they eat only it" (page 37)." Elsewhere, Hill notes that a version of the ritual was used against kangaroo rats.

Another common prehistoric Puebloan artifact, arrowheads, figured in Navajo hunting ritual: "It was taboo to make flint points and only those which could be found were used. [As consultant Ace Moon informed Hill,] 'It was told in the past that the "giant" had all the arrow points. Later it was said that the "Horn Toad People" made them'" (page 96-97).

Hill also talks about Navajo appropriation of cultural resources and space. In a discussion of Navajo storage technology, he discusses the use of prehistoric Puebloan storage pits and comments that:

The stones from the Cliff Dweller ruins were utilized in making the pit walls and also on occasion the rock storage houses of the cliff dwellers were repaired and reused. [According to Little Man,] "[t]his was often the cause of War Sickness and the War Dance had to be held to cure the people."

A number of other bibliographic citations in this study have discussed Navajo reuse of pre-existing cultural resources. Hill's brief mention of this phenomenon is important because Little Man, a consultant from the Canyon de Chelly area, indicates that the reuse of prehistoric sites was not without its risks, and indeed could cause sickness for which a ritual cure was necessary.

A History of Navajo National Monument **Monument history**

Robert J. Holden
1964
Typescript in the Navajo National Monument library
Report
Field research:
Navajo consultants identified in text

Holden had a large amount of official correspondence available to him when he compiled his history of the Monument. Some of these materials were more relevant to the operation of the facility than others, and the some is little more than anecdotes that would not be documented as part of the official record. One such item that Holden chose to include in his history was a letter that John Wetherill wrote to Superintendent Frank Pinkley on April 3, 1934:
We have a witch here. He comes to camp nearly every day. He has a camp, about three miles down the canyon, where he lives with his niece, and her husband and child. They have a bunch of goats, about 150 in number....In 1908, he claimed to be a witch, and threatened to bewitch seven people. His mother was one of them. They tried to capture him and did, but made the mistake of taking him to the traders store at Oljato where Mrs. Wetherill was and she worked with Nocki, until he promised not to bewitch any more Indians. On the strength of the promise, the Indians turned him loose. He had been free only a couple of weeks, when one of the seven he said he would not bewitch, died. The Navajos got after him, stronger than ever, but he stole a mule and rode to Keams-Canyon in the night....(Government officials) picked him up, and sent him to the Insane Asylum for Indians in Dakota. He escaped from there about 1925, and returned to his old stamping ground. He was safe after his return, as the Gov't had things in hand, and the Navajos were afraid to act. Very soon after he left the reservation, two of the Squaws died and the Navajos tried to get the Gov't to send him back, but their request was refused. Since his return he has been accumulating a herd of goats. He goes to a Navajo and tells him if he does not give him a goat or sheep he will bewitch him. They usually give him the worst they have.
Also:
Navajos of the immediate region, noticing me in full uniform, asked a trader the meaning of it all. The trader, exaggerating slightly, told them I was from "Big Washington" and that the badge meant plenty of authority. Since then I have acquired the title, "Na-asaz-i Binant-ai", which means "Chief of the Cliff Dwellers."

Holden refers to the employment of non-English speaking Navajo at Navajo National Monument:

> On July 1, 1948, Seth Bigman entered on duty as temporary ranger. He was the first Navajo Indian to work as a uniformed employee at the Monument (p.24).

> On October 13, 1949, a mountain lion was shot by Jim Black, intermittent laborer at Navajo, three miles south of Betatakin on the Reservation. The skin and claws were preserved for ceremonial purposes and the meat boiled and eaten in the belief that eating lion meat gives strength (p. 24).

Navajo communities surrounding the Monument have many reasons to be interested in its operations. In Superintendent's Arthur White's monthly report for April 1957, quoted by Holden, it is clear that one such reason has been the Monument's practice of hiring laborers from these communities. White described the informal communication network on the Reservation as the "Navajo telegraph" (following the generic term, "bush telegraph")...

One of the peculiarities of this country is the so-called "Navajo telegraph." A good instance of its workings occurred during the week of the 22nd. Permission had been requested from the Secretary of the Interior to put on two extra laborers. The answering telegram from Washington was phoned from Flagstaff to Shonto Trading Post on Monday the 22nd. I did not get down to the trading post until Wednesday the 24th, at which time I was given a copy of the telegram. On Thursday morning the present crew of Navajo Indians came on duty and asked if I had received the telegram which was at Shonto. I answered in the affirmative and they said they had two fellows who were ready to go to work. Later that same day I went to Navajo Mountain Trading Post to arrange for horses to go to Rainbow Bridge and the first thing I was asked was whether or not I had received the telegram and if I wanted laborers from up there. (Navajo Mountain is 50 miles away). Later I went to the Indian School at Navajo Mountain and the teacher asked if I had received the telegram, saying that she had heard from one of the Indian employees that I needed two laborers. Seems that about half of the Navajos in the northern part of the reservation know of it and are ready to go to work. Beats me how the news gets around so fast (page 27).

The Excavation and Repair of Betatakin **Biography**

Neil Merton Judd
1930
Washington:
Proceedings of the United States National Museum 77 (September) Article 5
Report in a series
Field research: 1930
Navajo consultants: unidentified

Neil Merton Judd (1887-1976; M.A., Archaeology, George Washington University) was introduced to archaeology by Byron Cummings while a student at the University of Utah in 1907 and 1908. In 1911 Judd became an aid with the Division of Archeology in the Smithsonian Institution's United States National Museum, and he remained employed at the museum until he retired in 1949, rising to the position of curator of archaeology. He is best known for his work in the Southwest**Error! Bookmark not defined.** which had its beginnings with the partial restoration of in 1917. Between 1920 and 1927 he carried out major excavations at Pueblo Bonito and other sites in Chaco Canyon. In 1930 he directed an aerial reconnaissance of the Hohokam canal systems in the Salt and Gila river valleys in Arizona. He was president of the Society for American Archaeology in 1939 and of the American Anthropological Association in 1945.

Judd's report contains these references to Betatkin and the realities of his stay on the Navajo Reservation (from his diary written while he was in the field):

> My diary recalls the succession of discouragements under which our special task was pursued. Both economic and climatic obstacles intervened. We broke trail through snow 2 feet deep to establish camp at Betatakin, March 27; once there, each night brought freezing temperatures until May 1 and occasionally thereafter; rain, hail, and snow fell with annoying frequency. All this, so our irregular Navajo boarder insisted, was owing to the fact that our work in the ruin disturbed the spirits of the ancient people....Foodstuffs were at a premium; trading-post stores were practically exhausted. Wool continued in demand and the Navajo, childishly prodigal in time of plenty, had bought freely. Having received twice the customary price for their last clip, the Indians still had credit to draw upon; native jewelry to pawn. None cared to work; winter lingered...The Navajo would willingly sell neither sheep nor goats.... As with other transients before and since, Mr. and Mrs. Wetherill welcomed me whole-heartedly into their hospitable home; drew generously from their family larder at times of urgent need, and persuaded reluctant Navajo into our service when my own efforts failed (Judd 1930: 1-2).

This Indian pointed the way and then sat down beside the trail to await the party's return. Through inherent fear of all things associated with the dead, he steadfastly refused to advance within sight of the ruin. The Kayenta district was wild and untamed at that time; canyons to the westward

sheltered many young Indians who had yet to see their first white man, unbelievable as that may seem (p. 12).

Navajo Sacred Places **Ethnography of sacred places**

Klara Bonsack Kelley and Harris Francis
1994
Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. vi, 260
Monograph
Field research:
Navajo consultants...

Klara Bonsack Kelley (Ph.D., Anthropology, University of New Mexico) is a consulting ethnologist who has published extensively on Navajo land use over the past 20 years. Harris Francis is a Navajo, an American Indian Cultural Rights Protection Consultant and is co-author (with Kelley) of several articles on Navajo cultural rights and sacred places.

This volume has paired the labors of two scholars in the field of Navajo cultural preservation. Harris Francis is an "American Indian Cultural Rights Protection Consultant" (from back cover) raised to follow traditional Navajo practices. Klara Bonsack Kelley is a consulting ethnologist who has lived and studied in Navajo communities for two decades. Together they have research and written a book that carries the same title as at least two previous publications (Watson 1964; Van Valkenberg 1974).

This book is a well-regarded publication by applied anthropologists who are engaged in tribal cultural and historic cultural preservation programs. The Kelley and Francis publication advocates great federal protection for all Native American sacred sites. Although the case study was conducted with Navajo residents, the book can be applied to all tribal peoples who are concerned with the preservation of traditional cultural properties.

The significance of this book to our study is that it provides personal narrative accounts from Kayenta Chapter residents on local sites of cultural significance. The project was conducted during 1987-1988 by the Navajo Nation's Historic Preservation Department. It uses ethnographic methods in the early chapters of the book to identify areas of cultural significance to local residents.

For example, Mrs. Mamie Salt, describes Tsegi Canyon in relation to a narrative describing the Water Monster. Note: Although the place name is deleted in this publication, it is identified in Downer's 1989 dissertation as Tsegi Canyon.

> Every inch of ground, all vegetation and the fauna on it are considered sacred. There are no places that are holier than others. There are so many stories that go with the land that it would take more than twenty years to tell them. (She informed us of some of the local landmarks around Kayenta.) The Water Monster, a Holy Being, made the (name) canyon and lived in there (this is the same being whose baby coyote stole and caused the flood in the creation story in Chapter One). He used one of his horns to dig the channel where (name) creek now flows (Kelley and Francis 1994:28-29).

The survey methodology used by Kelley and Francis is described in the text:

> People in the thirteen chapters tended to identify places significant to them in the context of their fears of loss of Navajo land and culture in the face of "economic development"... The reason that most people emphasize damage and loss is that we told them we were asking about such places to do a better job in protecting them. (Kelley and Francis 1994:46).

The authors collected traditional histories to create a persuasive argument for advancing the cultural concerns of the Navajo Nation (i.e. land and water rights) within political and economic contexts of public policy initiatives. In the second section of the book, the narratives provide cultural knowledge as they relate to diverse issues of tribal sovereignty.

In summary, the Kelley and Francis book provides an excellent source for exploring the cultural interpretations of traditional cultural properties and holistic cultural landscapes as represented in the rich and diverse ideologies of Native American peoples today. It also resonates with anthropologists who are currently engaged in researching the interrelationships between history, language, and identity embodied in a sense of place.

Archaeological Explorations in Northeastern Arizona **Regional archaeology**

Alfred Vincent Kidder and Samuel J. Guernsey
1919
Washington, DC: GPO, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 65
Monograph
Field excavations: 1914-1915 by Peabody Museum, Harvard University
Navajo consultants: N/A

Although archaeological features of "Sagi Canyon" site were previously described by Fewkes (1909) and Cummings (1910), this monograph provides an early discussion of regional petroglyphs and pictographs in the Kayenta district (1914-1915).

Kidder and Guernsey present text and illustrations on primarily pecked petroglyphs and secondarily painted pictographs (Kidder and Guernsey 1919:192-199). The images depicted are mountain sheep, anthropomorphic birds, snakes, hand prints, spirals, and flute players.
They note that these incised and painted forms are mostly located near "the entrance to caves or at the mouths of canyons that contain dwelling places" (Kidder and Guernsey 1919:192).

They also witnessed contemporary Navajo pictographs drawn by Navajo children with charcoal: wagons, sheep, and horsemen.

In summary, the archaeological report provides us with several early twentieth-century photographs and drawings of the petroglyphs and pictographs in the region (text on pp.192-199, localities listed on pp. 219-220). Although the descriptions do not offer any significant interpretations of the images, they do document the prevalence and physical condition of the petroglyphs and pictographs as they existed almost 100 years ago. Of note are the pecked pictographs of mountain sheep as an historical natural resource in the region, and a brief discussion of contemporary charcoal pictographs by Navajo children that illustrates an ongoing interest in this medium of expresssion (p. 198-199). Along with other published studies of petroglyphs in and around the Monument, this book's illustrations could be helpful in developing a chronology of the scholarly interest in documenting rock art in the region and changing physical conditions of the images for preservation concerns.

To Run After Them: Cultural and Social Bases of Cooperation in a Navajo Community

Ethnography

Louise Lamphere
1977
Tucson: University of Arizona Press
Monograph
Field Research: 1965-1966
Navajo consultants not identified; pseudonyms used

Louise [Anne] Lamphere (1940-; Ph.D., Anthropology, Harvard University) has conducted field research and written on the Navajo since the mid-1960s. Her major articles include "Symbolic Elements in Navajo Ritual" (1969) and "Navajo Religion" (1987). She is Professor of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico.

Lamphere provides a sociocultural analysis of an unidentified Navajo community in the area north of Gallup, New Mexico during the mid-1960s. Although not situated near our study area, the ethnography provides a case study of a "typical" Navajo community that describes the practical aspects of group cooperation (through social relations) in economic and ritual life. How individuals cooperate through flexible kinship and residence groups helps explain the preservation of Navajo culture (i.e., ritual life that sustains narrative histories through social structure).

Cooperation is identified by Lamphere as an essential aspect of the Navajo cultural system. It implies a special obligation to cooperate, reciprocate, and help each other as related or residence groups that perform essential tasks (work, transportation, and ceremonies). Ceremonies in which help (food, wood, ritual work) is requested through social networks include sings, peyote meetings, puberty rites, dances, and funerals.

The Lamphere book is helpful to NPS personnel engaged in consultations by explaining the underlying dynamics of Navajo social networks. The concept of Navajo cooperation and reciprocity when understood and respected will make consultation efforts more understandable (i.e., how social networks help to find appropriate knowledgeable people in the community to serve as consultants).

Our People, Our Past **Monument history**

Albert Laughter
1979
National Geographic 156 (1:July) 80-85
Article
Field research:
Navajo consultants: author and others identified in text

In an issue of *National Geographic Magazine* devoted to some of the National Parks, Albert Laughter wrote about his work as a seasonal ranger at Navajo National during the summer of 1978 and, more generally, of his life as a Navajo tribal member. The middle section of the article is a brief description of an Enemy Way ceremony held in 1978 for the author's brother, a veteran of the Vietnam War. Albert Laughter is the son of Hubert.

After a summary description of the archaeological sites that comprise Navajo National Monument, Laughter asks rhetorically about their former inhabitants:

> Who were those prehistoric people? Anthropologists call them Anasazi, a Navajo term meaning "enemy ancestors." But my family has always said Anosazi—"buried ancestors." Many believe they were the forebears of Pueblo Indians like our Hopi neighbors, that drought and soil erosion drove them away by 1300, and that we Navajo, arriving much later, are unrelated to them.
>
> My heart disagrees. From all our spoken history handed down to me through generations, I feel a kinship to these vanished ones. Like us, they were Indians. Like them, we learned to survive in this harsh land. My grandmother says they became over-confident and ignored the gods. They went too far and were punished (Laughter 1979:81-82).

Later he adds in the same vein:

> The ruins in Navajo National Monument and others at Chaco Canyon, Mesa Verde, Hovenweep, and Canyon de Chelly all seem part of the same heritage. To visitors they may seem like the remains of a lost people, but to me they are like the homes of forefathers. Their life goes on, as in our ceremony for [my brother] (Laughter 1979: 85).

Both emotionally and as a result of traditional history passed down to him, Laughter identifies a "kinship" with the prehistoric inhabitants of Betakin, Kiet Siel, and Inscription House.

Navajo Mountain and Rainbow Bridge Religion

Karl W. Luckert
1977
Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, pp.viii, 157
Monograph in a series
Filed research:
Navajo consultants identified in text

Karl Wilhelm Luckert (1934-;Ph.D. History of Religions, University of Chicago), taught at Northern Arizona University, 1969-1982, before becoming Professor of Religious Studies, Southwest Missouri State University. He has published several books on Navajo religion.

This study explores the religious significance for Navajos of the landscape of the northwestern part of the Navajo Reservation. The study was precipitated by the creation of Lake Powell as a result of the construction of Glen Canyon Dam. Rising waters and a variety of recreational uses threatened Rainbow Bridge, a large sandstone arch in southern Utah. This natural feature was, in effect, regarded as a "Traditional Cultural Property" by Navajos (although this term was not in use at the time), and Karl Luckert was contracted by the tribe's legal services office to determine whether religious significance could be documented for Rainbow Bridge. The study expanded to include the area surrounding Rainbow Bridge, primarily the nearby Navajo Mountain.

The study largely involved interviews with knowledgeable Navajos residing in the northwestern part of the reservation: Robert Long-Salt, Floyd Laughter, Buck Navajo, Ernest Nelson, Buster Hastiin Nez, Paul Goodman, and Lamar Bedonie. These interviews were conducted using a number of other named Navajos who translated or provided additional information or assistance. This act of documentation itself raised ethical concerns for Navajo consultants. Generally speaking (to use an unattributed quote), Luckert's consultants agreed to reveal religious knowledge because "The gods will not object when we, their people, try to protect their own sacred places and bodies" (Luckert 1977:vii). Luckert's study took place in the summer of 1976 and was funded, at least partially, by the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund.

Luckert's contention is that Navajo religious beliefs about this region began to be created after 1863, the year Navajo occupation of the region supposedly began as a result of escape from the military campaigns of Kit Carson that resulted in the confinement of most of the tribe at Bosque Redondo. With reference to versions of Navajo traditional stories collected by early anthropologists, Luckert describes the evolution of Navajo ideas about the region and, particularly, about Navajo Mountain. He argues that until the 1860s, the mountain had tangential religious significance, but that later acquired greater significance (as the Head of Earth as well as the birthplace and home of Monster Slayer) as the region became settled and explored by Navajos.

Rainbow Bridge is close to forty miles northwest of Navajo National, and Luckert clearly made no specific attempt to elicit information about the monument's cultural and natural resources from his consultants, one of whom (Floyd Laughter) was a long-time employee of the National Park Service stationed at the monument . Consequently, there is no specific information about the park in the

main body of the text. As a final chapter, however, Luckert included a pair of traditional narratives (a 'prayer' and a 'legend') recounted by a resident of Kayenta, Slim Woman (*Asdzáá ts'ósí*). The narrative was collected and translated by Hoffman Birney in 1927, and found by Luckert in the Richardson Collection at the Arizona State Library.

The latter narrative, reproduced here in full, is as follows (Luckert 1977:152-154):

In the days before our (Navajo) fathers came
The Little People dwelt on the Mountain,
Building their homes in the walls of the canyons—
The black canyons that run down from the north,
From the black flanks of Head Mountain,
From the flanks of *Naatsis'áán*.
There, in the canyons and on the fertile mesas
They planted their cornfields,
Planted their fields of squash and cotton.
And the Rains came and blessed their crops—
The gentle, kindly (female) Rain,
Sent in answer to their prayers—
Made where the Rock Rainbow spans the canyon,
Made at *Tsé náátś'íilid na'nízhoozhí*.

But the gods became angry with the Little People,
For the sanctuary of the Rock Rainbow was violated.
Tai'eldo, the hunter, returning empty handed
To *Kin Ií chíí*, the Red House,
Shot with his arrows a mountain sheep
That stood on the crest of *Tsé náátś'ílid*.
Pierced by the flint point,
The horned sheep fell....
Angered were the Gods of the Canyon,
And angry was *'Átsé Hastiin*,
First Man, the creator—
He who made the Little People,
And the Rock Mountain,
And the mountain sheep.

Then the rains ceased and came no more
To *Naatsis'áán*.
And the springs died,
And the cornfields died and withered in the sun—
Till the people from the Red House,
The Little People, the Anasazi of *Kin Ií chíí*,
Fled before the gods' anger,

Fled around Head Mountain,
Fled to *Tsé bikooh*, the Canyon of Rocks,
And joined with the people there—
The people of *Kiits'iil*, the House of Broken Pottery,
And of *Bitát'ah kin*, the House in the Side of the Hill.
But the anger of the gods followed them.
And the red rocks came in(to) the valley of the *Tséyi'*,
And the waters sped away,
Back to the Mother-Water's distant bed.
And the rains came no more to the *Tséyi'*.

So the Little People departed,
Moving away, family and family, clan and clan—
Until but three were left in all *Kiits'iil*,
In the great stained cave where the pine-tree
Lies across the broken walls of the houses.
And in the end the three left,
Moving down the *Tséyi'* to *Bitát'ah kin*,
To the Side Hill House,
The house built by the people from *Kininíáhígíí*,
The White House far to the eastward.
Till they too moved on,
Moved southward and built their homes anew—
At Oraibi, at Oraibi on the mesa.
Where their children live today,
Forgotten by the older gods—
Whom they have forgotten,
Dying one by one....

And *Kininíáhígíí* is empty,
And *Kin l/ichíí* is empty,
And the owls and rats
Nest in *Bitát'ah kin*,
and *Kiits'iil*.

And the gods dwell alone at *Tsé nááts'ílid*,
Where the ruined altar stands
Beneath the Rainbow Rock.

And this is the story of the Rainbow Bridge,
as told by *Asdzáá ts'ósí* to Hoffman Birney and by him
written in its present form for Dr. Herbert E. Gregory,
scientist and friend, with a deep appreciation
and a profound admiration. 1927

Luckert regarded Birney's translation of this narrative as essentially. It consists of a detailed explanation of the prehistoric communities of Tsegi Canyon and their relationship to the Navajos people.

Slim Woman believed that cliff dwellings of the region were built by "Little People," a people that she later equates with "the Anasazi of *Kin Ií/ichíí*." *Kin Ií/ichíí* is the puebloan settlement also known as Red House. It is located 10 miles east of Ganado and is now administered as a Navajo Tribal Park. These cliff dwellings were occupied by the Little People before the Navajo entered the region. They were farmers, growing squash and corn in canyons and on mesas.

These people prayed for rain at Rainbow Bridge (like the Navajos do), and rain was received until one of the Little People from Red House, an individual named Tai'eldo, angered the gods by killing a mountain sheep on Navajo Mountain. The gods caused a drought that forced the people of Red House to join others living at Betatakin and Kiet Siel. The drought followed them to Tsegi Canyon, and all the Little People were forced to leave—with the exception of three people who initially remained at Kiet Siel but who later moved to Betatakin. Slim Woman asserted that Betatakin was built by people from *Kininíáhígíí*, White House Ruin in Canyon de Chelly. These three remaining individuals eventually had to move, ending up at Oraibi. It is unclear from Slim Woman's narrative whether they joined others from Tsegi Canyon (or elsewhere) who were already living at Oraibi, or whether they became the founders of the community. In either case, the present Hopi inhabitants are their descendants. The narrator's perception is that Oraibi community is declining, and her belief is that this is because they have lost their faith.

Navaho Legends

Washington Matthews
1897
New York: American Folk-Lore Society, pp. Viii, 299, 6
Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, Vol. 5
Monograph in a series
Field research:
Navajo consultants identified in text

Washington Matthews (1843-1905; M.D., University of Iowa) served as a surgeon in the United States Army, 1864-1865, before being assigned to various military posts in the west. He spent six years at Fort Berthold, North Dakota, and produced three important works on the Hidatsa language. He was assigned to Fort Wingate, New Mexico, from 1880-1884 and again from 1890-1894. "Navajo Silversmiths" appeared in the 2d (1883) and "Navajo Weavers" in the 3d (1884) annual reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology. In 1887 "The Mountain Chant: A Navajo Ceremony" appeared in the 5th annual report. Navaho Legends appeared in 1897. "The Night Chant," his last important work, was published in the Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History (Vol. VI, 1902). His contributions have been assessed recently in Washington Matthews: Studies of Navajo Culture, 1880-1894, Katherine Spencer Halpern and Susan Brown McGrevv. eds. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

M. Paul Zolbrod said of this: "...a restrospective compilation of ntoes and recollections collated as a unified text and edited intentionally or unintentionally to demonstrate to an English[speaking audience that Navajos did indeed have literary traditions comparable to those of the Greeks." (Zolbrod 1984:8).

This quote presents Matthews' point of view very well:

> "It is possible that poets, novelists, travelers, and compilers will search this humble volume and cull from it facts and fancies which, clothed in fairer diction, may add interest to their pages. The author does not ask that such writers shall acknowledge the source of their inspiration. This is more than he has a right to expect. Our greatest poets have borrowed from sources as obscure and never named their creditors. The author has often, ere now, experienced the pleasure of seeing his thoughts and discoveries blazoned in print over other names. But he ventures to make a few requests of the literary borrower. He begs that the latter will not garble or distort what is here written,—that he will not put alien thoughts into the minds of these pagan heroes; that he will not arm them with the weapons nor clothe them in the habiliments of an alien race; that he will not make them act incongruous parts."

This monograph begins with a lengthy introduction constituting an ethnographic overview of the Navajo people, illustrated by photographs by John Hillers and others. In this section he explains that his rendition of what he describes as "origin legends" "give the spirit of the original rather than the exact words" (p. 53), although he contends that his Navajo consultants spoke Navajo in a way

that he found easy to understand and that he has "taken pains never to exceed the metaphor or descriptive force of the original, and never to add a single thought of his own." (p. 53).

Matthews used a number of consultants. In his Introduction he names some of them as *Hatáli Nez* (Tall Chanter), *Hatáli Natlói* (Smiling Chanter), *Torlino*, and *Náltsos Nigéhani* (Paper-carrier, otherwise known by Anglos as Jake the Silversmith). For each consultant he offers a brief biography and some insight into his relationship with them..

The origin narrative recorded and translated by Washington Matthews contains a substantial amount of ethnographic information. For the purpose of this review, we will limit our discussion to the themes of this narrative that have direct bearing on Navajo National Monument. This includes discussions about the relationship between Navajos and Pueblo Indians—a theme that seem particularly important at the present time.

Before the first Navajos—"First Man" and "First Woman"—were created, there were people identified as, or indistinguishable from, different types of insects and birds. They traveled as exiles up through a series of worlds until they reached the Fourth World (the present world is the Fifth World). The people sent out pairs of couriers to explore this world. The last pair to be sent out traveled north:

> When these got back to their kindred they said they had found a race of strange men, who cut their hair square in front, who lived in houses in the ground and cultivated fields. These people, who were engaged in gathering their harvest, the courier said, treated them very kindly and gave them food to eat....The day following the return of the couriers who went to the north, two of the newly discovered race—Kisáni (Pueblos) they were called—entered the camp of the exiles and guided the latter to a stream of water....The Kisáni gave the wanderers corn and pumpkins to eat, and the latter lived for some time on the food given to them daily by their new friends. They held a council among themselves, in which they resolved to mend their manners for the future and do nothing to make the Kisáni angry. The land of the Kisáni had neither rain nor snow; the crops were raised by irrigation (p. 68).

Despite the intermarriage of the two groups, the cultural differences between the two groups persisted after they both traveled to the Fifth World: the Kisáni built a shelter in the form of a stone wall (this, we are told, is still standing, but it is not identified) and the Navajos built a brushwood shelter. Some time later, the rivalry of the two groups came to a head, provoked by young Navajos and brought to ahead by the character of Coyote, the trickster character of both cultures:

> [I]t was told around that the Kisáni, who were in camp at a little distance from the others, had brought with them from the lower world an ear of corn for seed. Some of the unruly ones proposed to go to the camp of the Kisáni and take the corn away from them; but others, of better counsel, said that this would be wrong, that the Kisáni had had as much trouble as the rest, and if they had more foresight they had a right to profit by it. In spite of these words, some of the young men went and demanded the corn of the Kisáni. The latter

> said, after some angry talk on both sides, "We will break the ear in two and give you whichever half you choose." The young men agreed to this bargain, and the woman who owned the ear broke it in the middle and laid the pieces down for the others to choose. The young men looked at the pieces, and were considering which they would take, when Coyote, getting impatient, picked up the tip end of the ear and made off with it. The Kisáni kept the butt, and this is the reason the Pueblo Indians have to-day better crops of corn than the Navahoes. But the Pueblos had become alarmed at the threats and angry language of their neighbors and moved away from them, and this is why the Navahoes and Pueblos now live apart from one another (Matthews 1897: 78).

In the course of the Divine Gambler narrative as recounted by Matthews, a young Navajo man meets the gods and is empowered by them to challenge Nohoílpi because of the latter's disrespect to the Sun. At one point, Matthews equates this young man with "the son of Hastséhogan" (page 83) although it is unclear how this relationship was created and the equation causes confusion in the mind of the reader because Ni'ltse ("Wind") is also described as Hastséhogan's son (p. 83). Matthews concludes the Divine Gambler segment with the statement:

> The Navaho who went at the bidding of the Sun to the tyst [sic]of the gods stayed with them until the Gambler was shot into the sky [the consequence of losing]. Then he returned to his people and told them all he had seen. The young stranger went back to Tse'gíhi, the home of the Yéi (p. 87).

> "Hastséhogan...may be freely translated House God. Hastséhogan is one of the leading personages in each of the local groups of the yéi, or divine beings, who dwell in caves and old cliff-dwellings. He is commonly spoken of as if there were but one; but an examination of the myths shows that the Navahoes believe in many of these gods. Those of Tse'gíhi, Tsé'nihogan, Tsé'nitse, Kininaékai, and the sacred mountains are the ones most commonly worshipped. In the myths he appears as second in authority to Hastséyalti, the Talking God, but occasionally he is represented as equal or even superior to the latter. He is a farm god as well as a house god. To him are attributed the farm-songs sung during the night chant, and many other songs. He is a beneficent character and a friend to man. There are many songs and prayers in his honor (p. 224).

The origin narrative continues with an account of the exploits of Nayén_zgani. Matthews interprets his name as meaning "Slayer of the Alien Gods" and he identifies him as the "elder brother" in the Navajo pantheon of gods (page 35). Having, at one point, listed some of the alien gods that Nayén_zgani was aiming to kill, we are told: "besides these [gods] there were a number of stone pueblos, now in ruins, that were inhabited by various animals (crows, eagles, etc.), who filled the land and left no room for the people" (Matthew 1897:126).

The next major section in Matthews' work is entitled "Growth of the Navaho Nation" (p. 136). It begins with Yolkaí Estsan, the goddess White Shell Woman, traveling to the Place of Emergence and other locations in search of people who could relieve her loneliness. At almost every place she stops, she searches in ruined pueblos for people. Eventually, with the help of other gods, people are created: "From these people are descended the gens [clan] of Tse'szinki'ni, House of the Dark

Cliffs; so named because the gods who created the first pair came from the cliff houses of Tse'gíhi" (page 138). Later, this clan joined with other clans that they encountered. These earliest Navajos appear to have found the cultural remains of earlier cliff dwellers useful, "[digging] among old ruins and found pots and stone axes; with the latter they built themselves huts" (page 140). As argued by others more recently, Matthews notes that Navajos also used the same types of locations conventionally associated with puebloan peoples in (or at the base of) cliff walls, at least for storage purposes: "They built stone storehouses, something like pueblo houses, among the cliffs, and in these stored their corn. The storehouses stand there yet" (page 143). At least for one clan, the reason for this change in strategy was an increase in population (page 142).

Matthews describes the origin of other clans, some being named for their puebloan origins (e.g. the Nanast_'zi, a group of Zunis who reportedly "deserted the Zuñi villages on account of scarcity of food") or named after pueblo ruins that existed near where they lived (e.g. Kinaá'ni, High Stone House People, a puebloan site whose location was unknown to Matthews (page 158).

Matthews' compilation of traditional Navajo narratives concludes with one called "The Great Shell of Kintyel" that explains the origins of the so-called "Bead Chant" ceremony (pages 195-208). In this narrative a poor young Navajo beggar is induced by the Puebloan inhabitants of Chaco Canyon to make a dangerous ascent of a cliff to capture the eagles nesting there. The Wind intercedes and encourages the Navajo to disobey the instructions given to him and, instead, tells him to hide in the nest. He is protected and befriended by the eagles who, with the help of 'Arrow-snakes" carried him into the sky and beyond—"through the sky-hole, and landed him safely on the surface of the upper world above the sky" (page 200). Here there were four pueblo towns where the eagles lived as humans and fought tumble-weeds and bumblebees in battle. The Navajo helped the eagles to victory over their enemy. He returned home after 24 days and found the pueblo people who had treated him so poorly suffering from a disease caught from the eagles' feathers that had fallen from the nest they had attacked. The Navajo promises to cure them of this disease, stating the requirement that he be adorned by large amounts of jewelry including the largest shell owned by the pueblos. In the middle of the rite, and wearing all the jewelry, he was lifted into the sky by the gods, never to be again seen on earth.

Richard Wetherill: Anasazi **Regional archaeology**

Frank McNitt
1957 (revised, 1966)
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. xii, 370
Monograph
Field research: not applicable
Navajo consultants not identified

[Virgil] Frank McNitt (1912-1972; historian and publisher) attended Yale University and the Art Students League of New York. He worked on various newspapers, primarily as managing editor, and was manager of the advertising department of the University of New Mexico Press, 1954-1957. He worked on his father's The Southbridge Evening News in his youth and returned to it in 1957, becoming president at his father's death in 1964. He sold the paper in 1969. McNitt's interest in the history of the Southwest, especially of the Navajo people, began in the 1940s. His research involved both work in archives and on the Navajo Reservation. Richard Wetherill: Anasazi (1957) was his first work, following by The Indian Trader (1962) and Navajo Wars: Military Campaigns, Slave Raids and Reprisals (1972), and he edited Navajo Expedition: Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Navajo Country Made in 1849 by Lieutenant James H. Simpson (1963).

This is a biography of Richard Wetherill, a controversial figure in the history of archaeological research in the Southwest. He is best known as the American discover of the prehistoric ruins in Mesa Verde and the first to excavate at Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon, but he was also the Anglo-American discoverer of Kiet Siel, that he found in 1895 and named "Long House."

Only a small portion of Richard Wetherill's career was spent investigating Tsegi Canyon. This is reflected in the small amount of material relating directly to the cultural resources of Navajo National Monument that is included in this study. Nevertheless, for those interested in the historical background to the creation of Navajo National Monument, this volume is an important resource. It describes, for example, Wetherill's initial discovery of Kiet Siel (pages 78-84) and reproduces verbatim his description of the site that he wrote while working there two years later (pages 161-162).

There is, however, very little in this work that is directly relevant to a traditional history of Navajo National Monument. One rare insight offered by this work comes in the above-mentioned description of Kiet Siel in which he states:

> Our camp was made on the opposite side of the Cañon in a cave which had been used as a sheep corral by the Navajos. [At one time it] contained a building of several rooms. With burials in the slope in front, since we found several skulls sticking out. This cave we did not work (page 161).

The value of this statement lies in its identification of a specific location opposite Kiet Siel, which had, at different times, been used by both prehistoric puebloans and by Navajos. This pattern of use

and re-use is typical of many locations in the area of Navajo National Monument as well as more widely in the Southwest, and has been discussed elsewhere in this study as one of the reasons for contemporary tensions between Navajos and Pueblo Indians over issues of "ownership" of places and cultural resources in the Southwest.

Sacred Land, Sacred View:
Navajo Perceptions of the Four Corners Region

General ethnology
Ethnobotany

Robert S. McPherson
1992
Salt Lake City: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University,
pp. viii, 152
Monograph
Field research:
Navajo consultants....

Robert S. McPherson (1947-; Ph.D., History, Brigham Young University) moved to southeastern Utah in 1976 to work for the Utah Navajo Development Council for two years and then accepted a position with the College of Eastern Utah, San Juan Campus. He has also written "A Brief History of the Utah Navajos" (1996).

This monograph is a compilation of information about Navajo perceptions of the natural environment and prehistoric cultural resources of the Four Corners Region. While much of this information is taken from previously published sources, there is also a considerable amount of information that has been collected by the author himself, and is reported here for the first time. In the sense that it is an overview of Navajo beliefs about the sacred significance of the lands in which they live, this monograph is similar to—but, in many ways, complementary to—Kelley and Francis' *Navajo Sacred Places* (1994).

McPherson explained his reason for writing this book:

> The purpose of this study is to look at one part of [the] Navajo universe—the Four Corners region—and to show how traditional thought and values reflect a close observation of and appreciation for the land. Only by taking a comprehensive look at a small part of the reservation area can the intricacies of Navajo perception be applied to the mountains, earth, sky, rocks, rivers, plants, and animals to explain the symbiotic relationship between the Diné and their surroundings. What results is a rewarding view of life (McPherson 1992:13).

McPherson considers the landscape forms identified in the penultimate sentence of this quotation as comprising the "sacred geography" of the region. Taking each one in turn, he discusses traditional beliefs about their origins and nature. In these discussions there are no specific references to places or resources within the boundaries of Navajo National, although there are references, for example, to nearby Rainbow Bridge (McPherson 1992:31), Black Mesa (McPherson 1992:32) and Agathla (McPherson 1992:29). Besides these discussions of specific geographical locations there are also sections on the sacredness of plant and animal life in Navajo culture. Many of these plants and animals are to be found in Navajo National Monument, and should be compared with the current species list at Navajo National Monument.

The Dîné: Origin Legend of the Navaho Indians

Aileen O'Bryan
1956
Washington: Government Printing Office, pp. vii, 187
Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution No. 163
Monograph in a series
Field research: November-December, 1928
Navajo consultant: Sandoval, Hastin Tlo'tsi hee (Old Man Buffalo Grass)

This monograph, although published in 1956, reports information collected by the author in November and December 1928. The sole consultant was "Sandoval, Hastin Tlo'tsi hee (Old Man Buffalo Grass)...first of the four chiefs of the Navaho People." Serving as interpreter was Sandoval's nephew, Sam Ahkeah, who, the author reports subsequently became "head of the Navaho Council at Window Rock, as well as First Chief of his people" (O'Bryan 1956:vii). O'Bryan reports that the tales were told to Sandoval by his grandmother, Esdzan Hosh kige: "Her ancestor was Esdzan at a', the medicine woman who had the Calendar Stone in her keeping" (O'Bryan 1956:1).

The collection of the traditional narratives took place at Mesa Verde National Park where O'Bryan was living at the time. O'Bryan states that Sandoval believed Mesa Verde to be (in O'Bryan's terms) "the center of the old cultures," or (in Sandoval's terms) "the Place of the Ancients" (O'Bryan:vii). Some of the narratives specifically relate to Mesa Verde and its former puebloan inhabitants. It is unclear whether this geographic specificity was introduced into the narratives by Sandoval for the purpose, for example, of helping O'Bryan better appreciate or understand the narratives and their underlying meaning. For the purpose of this study, we have assumed that those narratives specifically tied to Mesa Verde (such as the account of when Coyote married the Maiden, (O'Bryan 1956:40-44) are, indeed, specific to this location. Accordingly, they will not be discussed in any detail this report. Throughout the narrative there are also discussions of traditional Navajo beliefs about plants and, particularly, animals, many of which are to be found within the boundaries of Navajo National Monument and would be useful to natural resource interpretation after a comparison with the current National Park Service species list.

O'Bryan reports that Sandoval wished to explain his motives for sharing his traditional knowledge and allowing it to be written down:

> "You look at me," he said, "and you see only an ugly old man, but within I am filled with great beauty. I sit on a mountaintop and I look into the future. I see my people and your people living together. In time to come my people will have forgotten their early way of life unless they learn it from white men's books. So you must write down all that I will tell you; and you must have it made into a book that coming generations may know this truth" (O'Bryan 1956:vii).

Sandoval conceived of the origin narratives as representing accounts of the "early ways of life" of

the Navajo people, and as the basis for the "chants and ceremonies" held by medicine men. In the series of narratives recounted to O'Bryan there is no specific mention of the cultural resources of Navajo National Monument, yet, like some of the other citations discussed in this report, these origin narratives discuss ideas of more general relevance to an understanding of traditional Navajo attitudes towards their pueblo neighbors.

As discussed in Matthews, the Navajos ancestors, First Man and First Woman, together with others, emerged into the present world through a series of other worlds. When they emerged into the Third World they found it already inhabited: "Within this land there lived the Kisa'ni, the ancients of the Pueblo People. On the six mountains there lived the cave dwellers or Great Swallow People" (O'Bryan 1956:6). Sandoval clarified this identification, providing information that was included in a footnote: "The Great Swallow People, Tqashji'zhi dilk'si, lived in rough houses of mud and sticks. They entered them from holes in the roof." (O'Bryan 1956:6) Later, O'Bryan indicates that Sandoval specifically identified the Swallow People with the "Cliff Dwellers of Mesa Verde" (O'Bryan 1956:97).

O'Bryan says: "The Swallow People, the people who live in the cliffs, appear in the myths of the Zuni and Hopi as well as Navajo (O'Bryan 1956:97). The Swallow People were "the last of the great ills" (O'Bryan 1956:97).

Sandoval describes the creation of the six sacred mountains in the Fourth World. At the same time, other features of the landscape were created. Canyons such as Tsegi had been formed by the actions of rock wrens—*tse na'olch oshilchi*. These birds ground rock into a powder and sprinkled it around the landscape, thus causing the cliffs to be formed (O'Bryan 1956:26).

Sandoval's narration continues with an account of "The Age of the Gods, or the Story of the Twins." This section of the narration, in turn includes a subsection entitled "The People of the Stone Houses" that is reproduced here in its entirety:

> Now a certain group of people had already built their houses of stone. They were known as the Blue Bird Clan People. The person at the head of this clan was a woman. She had in her keeping the rock with the 12 months and the seasons marked on it. This rock had been given to her; and by it she was able to know the seasons, the months and the days of the year. Having this rock gave her the knowledge of what is beyond the blue sky, what is under the earth, and what is in the air and the water.
>
> First Man spoke to this woman to whom had been given the Calendar Stone. "I shall go now," he said, "but my work is not yet finished. You shall hear of me later." He was thinking that later he would form another tribe which would be called the Dîne.
>
> At this time all the people lived in peace; and all the work that First Man had done was good. He told the different peoples to go over the world and to live as each had been directed. Then he left them.
>
> So it came about that people, human beings, went to the mesa country and built their

homes in the caves in the cliffs. They grew to a great number. These people knew how to plant and to care for corn. They learned how to build great houses. They had all that they wanted on the earth. There was plenty, and there was no need to travel afar. It was because of this that they built their houses of stone.

At this time they grew in great numbers and they became a very strong people. But many of them practiced black magic; when they left their homes they traveled in the forms of the coyote, the bird, or the wildcat. It was while in these forms that they began to kill each other. Evil grew among them. They planned to kill First Man.

They learned to build ceremonial rooms, round in form and covered, with the entrances in the roof. They made a ventilator shaft to admit air. These round rooms or kivas were their meeting places, their places of prayer, and also, where some practiced black magic. They set a time when they would go into the kivas and hold meetings. This was the plan of First Man, but they did not know it. Now many of these people did not practice black magic; they were good people. These good men gathered together and formed a plan. They ground a lot of chili, and they ground and dried bile from eagles, hawks, mountain sheep, and mountain lions. This they mixed together to use as a poison. When the time came to go into the kivas, they, the good people, threw the mixture into the fire, and their relatives closed the smoke hole outside. The bad people were killed and the good ones remained unharmed. Now when the relatives of the bad people found what had happened they turned against First Man. They said that it had been his plan. "Now kill us," they said, "for we have lost our brothers and sisters." First Man heard them and he sent diseases which killed still more of the wicked ones. After the fourth plague was sent among them almost all who practiced black music were destroyed. The good people went south and grew their corn in other canyons; but after these evil things passed away many of the good people returned to the mesas to live (O'Bryan 1956:35-36).

It was then that the people moved into the caves in the cliff walls. The Rainbow's strength was their strength. The people, in those days, used a rainbow for their ladder as well as for their bridge. They used it and it was not difficult for them to carry up their goods and to build houses in the caves. For a long time the people abandoned their homes on the floor of the canyon; but the bear woman followed them. She would dig up through the earth and kill them. After that they built their homes of rock in the caves.

Soon she went out even during the day to kill people. She became so terrible that the Spider People, the Lizard People, and the Swallow People built high in the sides of the caves where she could not reach them (O'Bryan 1956:45).

When she was finally killed, her blood became the pitch found on cedar and pinon trees, and her breasts that were cut off became pinon nuts. The narrative continues:

After these things happened many people planned to leave the mesas. They were afraid of the woman who became a bear. They buried the Calendar Stone; they wrapped their

> dead; and leaving their belongings, they went away. But before they left they drew pictures on the rocks of all the things that trouble came from.
>
> Now only the Swallow People and the Lizard, Snake, and Spider People remained. All the others said that they would never return to make the mesa country their home. They moved into Montezuma Valley and built their homes around Ute Mountain. Their main dwellings were Yucca House and a place near a spring east of Ute Mountain. They multiplied and their homes covered quite a lot of territory. They moved to places where they found good water, good building material, and where their plants would grow. But always they came to where their chief person lived. This was a place west of Dolores called Sage Brush Spring. They moved their chief, or head person of their tribe, there. This person was considered sacred, and kept away from the sun and the light all the time. Where he lived sacred stones were placed at his feet, at his outstretched arms and head. Prayer sticks guarded his body. Then bluebird feathers were set around him. What ever he said was done. They lived for a time at Sage Brush Spring; but corn did not grow well there; living was difficult. They moved to the foot of Elk Mountain (O'Bryan 1956:46-47).

In the first paragraph of this passage, an explanation for petroglyphs is offered. In the second paragraph of this passage, the wandering of some of the peoples living at this time is described. In a footnote containing information supplied by Sandoval and reportedly checked by the interpreter, this movement is further explained:

> Here is the list of the names of the places where the people of the mesas moved to: Mesa Verde, the great center; Moki Springs ruin, about 2 miles west of Towoac; Yucca House, about 3 miles east of Towoac; McElmo Canyon; Sage Brush Springs near Dolores; near the foot of Elk Mountain; peak above Hesperus; Aztec ruin; Blue House, above Farmington; ruin under cliff southeast of Farmington; Pueblo Bonito; ruin in the canyon due east of Bonito; from there the Jemez people branched off, they moved to Pecos; reoccupation of Bonito; below Shiprock on mesa; south of Little Shiprock; in canyon south of Carrizos; Navaho Mountain; Keetseel; Begashibito; Hopi Villages (O'Bryan 1956:47-48).

It would appear that Sandoval was encouraged to explain his initial discussion of the wandering of these "people of the mesas" in more detail and, possibly with significant encouragement by O'Bryan, described the wandering in terms of archaeological sites of various sizes in various parts of the region. Clearly of interest in the context of this study is his final three locations in the people's wanderings: Keetseel, Begashibito, and the Hopi villages. The final destination reinforces the identification of the "people of the mesas" with the Hopi people that has been noted earlier. The earlier locations indicate that Sandoval believed that the Hopi people had come from Kiet Siel, with an unnamed location in Begashibito serving as an intermediate location.

According to Sandoval in the passages cited above, the Swallow People remained while the "people of the mesas" moved elsewhere. They had been warring among themselves since killing Coyote. They were all killed by Elder Brother and Younger Brother—the former killing

"thousands and thousands" and the latter finishing the task by causing a deadly hailstorm.

During the movement of the "people of the mesas" described above the Calendar Stone appears to been used to judge their actions and predict the future:

> The medicine woman who kept this stone saw that the people had made a mistake. The people had been making pots that were coiled up like a snake. She saw that at the home of the Five Chiefs of the Winds their water jars were made of coiled snakes. They were the jars which contained the Chiefs of the Winds medicine: the clouds and vapors, rain and lightnings. The people of the earth were not to copy the jars of the Five Chiefs of thw Winds. This medicine woman saw in the Calendar Stone that the lives of all the people were threatened from above. So word was sent to all the people of what she had seen, and of their mistake. They were told that there would come a tribe to their land called the Dinae'e or Dîné. Now some of the people destroyed the pots that they had made; but others just laughed and said: "The wind never told me to make such jars, it was my own idea. I made the jars with my own hands. This has always been our country, and we shall do as we please in our own country.
>
> The Blue Bird Clan people and the different Corn Clan people got together and destroyed their coiled pots. They took all the different kinds of beads and they put them in a big smooth jar, and with them they placed the flint stone, the two feathers of the giant birds, and the Calendar Stone. They placed this large jar on a rock which they had hollowed put; and they sealed it with four slabs of rock and pitch.
>
> After they had done this, the hail fell for 4 days, and through some of the hailstones were little young spruce trees. The hail became soft when it fell on those people who had listened to the warning; but the hard hail, and the little spruce trees, like arrows, destroyed those who would not listen. All those who were willing to leave the country were saved (O'Bryan 1956:120).

This passage describes the mechanism by which the "people of the mesas" left the lands that would later be inhabited by the Navajo people. Although the Navajo people were not responsible for this departure—and the death of those who would not leave—their subsequent arrival is represented as being part of a supernatural plan. This passage concludes with an explanation for a common petroglyph symbol:

> Sandoval's grandmother, who was a Hopi Indian, told him that the pictograph of the coil was the symbol of the winds. She took him to the different places and showed him how the people had carved the coil in the rock so that people would always remember this story and never make the mistake again (O'Bryan 1956:121).

Sandoval's narratives conclude with "The Story of the Dîné," describing their creation by White Bead Woman and their migration under the guidance of the Holy Beings (O'Bryan 1956:166-175). As described in much greater detail in other sources, the route of this migration comes close to, if

not actually through, Navajo National Monument. Sandoval describes some of the landscape features of the region, and some of the plants and animals they encountered in this region:

> They had, by this time, passed Navaho Mountain. There were tall, standing rocks near, and around these rocks and through the country were many mountain sheep. So they lived there for some time. They killed the sheep for food, and they used both the wool and the hides.
>
> One spring they decided to move on. They wanted to name this place. "What shall we call it?" they said. Then they named it Ag'thlan, Much Wool, because they had gathered much wool from the mountain sheep. Then they followed the foothills of the Black Mountains, and the bear [who was traveling with them] found tlochin, wild onion, for them. They ate the wild onions. They also gathered a low plant with little white and red flowers and flat leaves called chas tigee. They dug up the roots and ate them. And they ate the roots of another plant called il se'nee, Mariposa lily.
>
> Then they went to the mouth of the Tse'ji or Segi Canyon and crossed the Tse'hel ne' to Tsin tlo hogan (O'Bryan 1956:171-172).

A parenthetical note needs to be made concerning two locations identified in Sandoval's narrative that may be confused with locations in Navajo National Monument. First, in "The Story of San'hode'begaeye, the Beggar's Son" there is mention of a place called "Keet seel." According to the narrative, this is place is located "south of the Carrizos near Beck shi'bi tqo, Cow Springs" (O'Bryan 1956:145). This is many miles to the east of Navajo National Monument. Later in the same narrative there is discussion of events that took place called "Tse gee (Sage) Canyon" (O'Bryan 1956:155). Sandoval equated this location with Kiet seel (different place), south of Carrizo Mountains.

In summary, O'Bryan records significant Navajo Origin narratives, at the explicit request of Sandoval, to preserve them for future generations.

Pueblo Bonito **Archaeological Site Report**

George H. Pepper
1920
New York: American Museum of Natural History, pp. 398.
Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 27
Monograph in a series
Field research: Pueblo Bonito, 1896-1899 (summers)
Navajo consultants not identified

George Hubbar Pepper (1873-1924; Archaeologist) studied anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History and at the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, before being appointed Assistant Curator of the Department of the Southwest at the American Museum of Natural History. He directed excavations of Pueblo Bonito for the Hyde Southwestern Expedition of the American Museum for four summers beginning in 1986. He returned to the Southwest to study Navajo textiles in 1904 and again in 1918. He served on the staff of the University of Pennsylvania Museum for two years beginning in 1909. He spent the remainder of his career on the staff of the Heye Foundation.

As part of his remarks that preface the site report that comprises the main part of this monograph, Pepper recounted what he was told, through an interpreter named Thomas Torlino, by an unnamed seventy-year-old Navajo man. Pepper was skeptical of the value of the information that this elderly Navajo provided, and included it in the monograph more for its curiosity value than for its bearing on the scientific research he was conducting:

> Though of doubtful value some note may be taken of modern Indian traditions as to the history and fate of Bonito.
>
> During the early part of the season of 1896 two Navajo Indians came into camp. One was an old man of about seventy, who knew no English, the other was a younger man who had been educated at Carlisle and had traveled to some extent in the east. His name was Thomas Torlino and he was one of the interpreters used by Dr. Washington Matthews in his Navajo studies at Fort Defiance, Arizona. The older man gave considerable information concerning the old Pueblo people. He stated that his ancestors had been in touch with the old people of the Chaco region. At that time there was no arroyo in the center of the Chaco; it was a level plain and the Pueblo people cultivated all of the space between the cañon walls....
>
> Pueblo Alto, the ruin lying just north of Pueblo Bonito, on the cliff, was the "Chief's house." From its high position he could view the surrounding country for miles; then too, by going to the edge of the mesa almost all the pueblos in the cañon could be seen. In this way he could keep an eye on his own people and his sentinels could note the approach of any hostile bands. He said that this was the richest "House" in the region and that his people, the Navajo were in the habit of exchanging game and corn and other produce with

them. According to the statements of his fathers the old people left the region on account of the scarcity of water and that there were no records of the Navajo having fought with the Pueblo people who occupied this group of buildings. There were no irrigating ditches in the cañon, the people relying on the rain for their crops and for their drinking water. Regarding the big logs which were used in the houses he said that they came from large pine trees that formerly grew in the side cañons which branch from the Chaco and that they were hauled to the building on little wagons made of a small tree, having at either end a cross-section of a log for a wheel (Pepper1920:25-26).

The consultant believed that both groups lived in the Southwest at the same time and participated in an exchange of agricultural and other products.

Between Sacred Mountains:
Navajo Stories and Lessons from the Land

Cultural geography
Origin narrative

Migration narrative
Anasazi

Rock Point School
1952
Chinle: Rock Point Community School, pp. 287 (Reprinted in 1984 by Sun Tracks and The University of Arizona Press, Tucson)
Monograph
Field research:
Navajo consultants listed in text

This volume represents the result of a four-year project by the members of the Rock Point community, located forty miles southeast of Navajo National. This project, funded in part by the National Endowment for the Humanities, was carried out by the Rock Point Community School, a "contract" school administered by the local community with funds provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It represents a collaboration between community members of all ages. It was originally intended to be used by students in the Rock Point Community School and subsequently published for a much wider audience by the University of Arizona Press through the Sun Tracks series.

The material is varied, and includes scientific descriptions of the environment and natural resources of the Navajo reservation, first and third person descriptions of Navajo history and culture, poems, prayers, original artwork, and photographs. While some of the material published in this book is reproduced from earlier works, there is also a considerable amount of material that was collected for this publication. In discussing the parts of this work which relate to Navajo National Monument, we will indicate the source of the information. When material has been discussed in other bibliographic references elsewhere in this report, it will be noted here, but not duplicated.

> "The purpose of this book is not to "fix one truth" but to encourage readers, no matter what their culture, to go out and actively seek many truths from the land and the people around them." (Rock Point 1952: x, "About this book")
>
> "This book is about *Diné Bikéyah*, Navajo Country, where Navajos have lived for a long time, but it is not the whole story. The earth is old. No book can tell all that is written on the land."

There is also a section on "Stories" that relates more generally to this project (Rock Point 1952: 89). The idea is expressed that you have to be sincere about wanting a storyteller to share a traditional narrative with you, and be willing to provide food or a similar form of compensation as a sign of your sincerity. A clan brother of George Blueeyes suggests that a storyteller should not relate a narrative in its entirety to a single individual, but provide complementary versions to several individuals who can only hear the whole narrative by sharing the versions among themselves (Rock Point 1952: 89). Furthermore, he adds: "You cannot tell everything. You MUST not tell everything. This protects you and shields you. You walk behind this shield. It protects you,

and you walk behind it. It is like that" (Rock Point 1952:89).

Reading the Landscape

In the initial chapter on the "Land," the anthropomorphic description of the landscape of the late Frank Mitchell, a medicine man from Chinle is given (Wyman 1975:397): "...A woman rests her head at Navajo Mountain, her body at Black Mesa, and her feet at Balakai Mesa. Her arms lie in Shonto Wash. Her cane is *Aghaal/á* [El Capitan], a tall black rock near Kayenta. She rules all water and wild creatures (Rock Point 1952:6)." She is paired with a male figure in the Carrizo and Chuska Mountains who is in charge of all plants and wildlife. In this conception of the landscape, Navajo National Monument—located between Navajo Mountain and Black Mesa—is part of this female figure.

In a subsequent chapter on "Ancestors," an unattributed statement suggests an alternative way of looking at the landscape:

> It is often said among the Navajos that the four sacred mountains are the posts of a great hogan. For years, the Navajos, Hopis, Zunis and other tribes lived along together inside that hogan. They fought, traded and suffered drought, but the world outside the four mountains mattered little to them [until the arrival of the Spanish] (Rock Point 1952:99).

While this conception does not relate directly to Navajo National, it reflects one school of thought among Navajos (but certainly not the only one) that views the different American Indian groups of the region as "family," living under the same roof albeit not always peacefully. The relationship between American Indian groups is further explored in the first part of the chapter entitled "Navajos and Hopis" that explores the issues associated with the Joint Use Area and the so-called "Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute" (Rock Point 1952:193-211).

The chapter on "Plant Watchers" (Rock Point1952:17 -37) and "Hunters" (pages 39-57) contains a considerable amount of information on the plant and animal resources of the Navajo reservation. While none of this relates explicitly to the resources in Navajo National Monument, it does discuss species that can be found within the boundaries of the monument and, for that reason, may be useful as a source of information to be used in educational programming.

Anasazi

The chapter entitled "Anasazi" (Rock Point1952:59-79) contains information from traditional Navajo sources as well as from archaeological research. Hashk'aan Ts'ósí spoke of the Anasazi as having lived over a wide area of the Southwest before the arrival of the Navajo, and does not suggest any direct connection between the two people. A pair of statements by Navajos about the identity of the "Anasazi" people are particularly valuable. Hashk'aan Ts'ósí stated:

> "Yes, there was a people who became the Anasazi, the Ancient Tribe. But now you only see the ruins of their homes. Over there, where the sand is, the broken pieces still lie. Against those rocks too. They were there. So it is everywhere, even far up into Utah.

> Wherever you go, the broken pots and stones and signs of the Anasazi are there before you. You can see that their numbers became large and crowded—like the Navajos are becoming crowded today.
>
> What took them? Maybe the holy ones they lived by. Nothing survives alone. It is the same for sheep and horses. There is no rain, so they die away. The Anasazi were taken and afterwards we Navajos came (Rock Point 1952:61)."

Barney Mitchell offered a different perspective on the identity of the Anasazi and their relationship to the Navajo people:

> My grandfather, a well-known medicine man, used to say he didn't understand why people speak of the Anasazi as some foreign race. "We ourselves are Anasazi," he would say. He believed that pure Navajos once existed, but from time to time across the years they were joined by others who were refugees or had left their homes to find food. And surely some people always moved from place to place and did not settle in towns. In time they all came to speak Navajo and so called themselves Navajos. This can be seen in the stories of Navajo clans.
>
> There are supposed to be four original Navajo clans, but there is no agreement on these. Other clans we know came from other people in other places. They carry the names of ancient ruins, of other tribes and the clans of other tribes. So you can't point back in time and say, "Here the Anasazi ended and there the Navajos began (Rock Point 1952:83).

Emma Lee Jim describes one incident during this time that provides an interesting insight into traditional Navajo beliefs about Anasazi cultural remains:

> One day in a mound of Anasazi pottery, *Asdzáá Atsidí* dug up a jar. When you find something like that, they say you shouldn't open it right away. You should cover your eyes as if you are crying, then cover the jar. Only then open it. If you do that, they say, there will be something in it. She did that and found white corn right to the top of the jar.
>
> She took the ancient jar of corn home and gave half to her brother. "Make these your planting seeds," she told him. But he only gave them to his wife to grind.
>
> But *Asdzáá Atsidí* hid her corn, and when spring came, she planted it.
>
> In the Chinle Valley before you come to Valley Store there is a mesa where ladies dig up *dleesh* (white clay) for cooking. On that mesa she built a small stone house. To this day the place is called *Kin Dah Lizhiní* (Black House on Top). In the valley below she planted the white corn, and it grew richly.
>
> Just as her crops were ripening, people began coming back from *Hwéél dí* [Bosque Redondo]. They came to her from all directions, asking her for corn, and she fed them with kneel down

bread and they ate.

Her brother came to her several times too for corn, but she chased him away saying, "You go back and get your wife to grind something for you."

Asdzáá Atsidí lived for many years, and that is the way she told her story, they say (page 135).

The chapter on "War and Reservation" includes a long account by Emma Lee Jim of her grandmother's capture by Mexicans and subsequent escape. Her grandmother's name was *Asdzáá Atsidí*, and the events she describes took place some time before the internment of most Navajos at Bosque Redondo. She, herself, avoided being taken to Bosque Redondo, and lived with her brother and his wife at Dennehotso, thirty-five miles northeast of Navajo National Monument.

Navajo Livestock Reduction: A National Disgrace **General ethnology**

Ruth Roessel and Broderick H. Johnson, compilers
1974
Chinle: Navajo Community College Press, pp. 224
Monograph
Field research:
Navajo consultants identified in the text

Navajo Lifestock Reduction, like Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period (Roessel 1973) and Stories of Traditional Navajo Life and Culture (1977), were produced by Navajo Community College and consist of oral histories collected from Navajo elders. As the title suggests, this volume focuses on the 1930s livestock reduction mandated for Navajos and other Southwestern American Indian groups by the United States Government.

Several of the individuals who were interviewed as part of this project came from the northwestern part of the reservation. They include Mose Denejolie (beginning on page 96), Hosteen Whitewater (Roessel 1974:114), Ason Attakai (Roessel 1974:127), Mary Cook (Roessel 1974:143), and John Smith (Roessel 1974:183) all from Pinon, Herbert Zahne (Roessel 1974:136) from west of Kayenta, Ernest Nelson (Roessel 1974:155) from near Navajo Mountain, and Clifford Beck (Roessel 1974:197) from Black Mountain. Their autobiographical accounts of the stock reduction program and its effects on them and their families are an important historical resource, but they have only tangential relevance to the history of Navajo National Monument.

Of more direct relevance is the narrative of Buck Austin, a member of a family from the Tsegi Canyon area (see Isaac 1968). It describes how stock reduction began in the area:

> The horses were marked first, and later in the same spring, they were reduced greatly. I took in [to the processing area] about 40 horses, but the people just helped themselves to them. I did not sell any of them, nor did I receive any money for them. The people would just lasso the horses they wanted; but some were killed or shot in cold blood (Roessel 1974:17).

Stock reduction regulations and particularly the grazing permits that set limits on stock ownership forced Austin to reduce the size of his sheep flock several times until he reached the point where he would no longer comply. He contributed $50 to a fund to send a Navajo delegation to protest this action. He believed this caused him to be arrested. During a period of several days, but without being charged with any crime, he was transported in turn to Kayenta, Tuba City, Fort Defiance, Gallup, Holbrook, and then to Prescott. Many other Navajos from all over the reservation were arrested and transported in similar circumstances at this time. After an unspecified period of time he was released through the intervention of an attorney.

He returned home to find that all his cattle had been taken from his family, and he had only 154 sheep left out of an original flock of about 800. He had also only 4 horses left. Reflecting on this

traumatic period in Navajo history, Austin said:

> Those disturbances over stock reduction affected the entire Reservation. Hundreds of men and women were arrested because they simply refused to limit their herds. We went through extreme hardship, hunger, thirst, being beaten by police, arrested and being thrown in jail at places far away from our homes.
>
> The sheep and goats that were collected from the Navajos in our region were killed. None of them were driven to some distant market to be sold. The bones of thousands of sheep and goats that were killed are still visible in some areas, especially near Kayenta and Piñon, where thousands of these animals were slaughtered. Only a very few were given back to the Navajos to be butchered for food. They could not be put back into the herds. The people that conducted the killing were government officials and White range riders (Roessel 1974:22).

It is clear from testimony such as this offered by Buck Austin that the stock reduction of the 1930s had a devastating effect on both Navajo economics and self-identity. In the area around Navajo National Monument, as throughout the reservation, Navajo attitudes to the United States government and its policies are understandably still viewed through a lens that is colored by events that took place 60 years ago.

Buck Austin also contributed to a volume entitled Stories of Traditional Navajo Life and Culture that was edited by Broderick H. Johnson and published by Navajo Community College Press in 1977 (Roessel 1974:135-142). This is a more general story of growing up and does not mention any specific places in or around the Navajo National or issues directly or indirectly related to the Monument's cultural resources.

Also in this volume:

> Molly Richardson, who lives(lived) near Inscription House. Story of murder and execution (Roessel 1974:266).
>
> Tom Ration gives part of the gambler story (Roessel 1974:316), starting with:
>
> "Today, many archaeologists dig into our ruins for ancient relics. Their findings tell us that people lived there ages ago. But their research still does not really tell us who the Ancient Ones were."

In summary, this research utilizes first-person experiences to build an argument for the adverse effects of the federal stock reduction program on the Navajo people and lands. It would be useful to park interpreters when discussing the history of changing land uses, including federal trust lands and national monuments.

Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period

Prepared under the supervision of Ruth Roessel
1973
Tsalie/Chinle: Navajo Community College Press

In her Foreword, Ruth Roessel writes, "Now, for the first time, Navajo history is looked at, interpreted and presented by Navajos for Navajos" (Roessel 1973:xiii). While this statement may be a slight exaggeration—after all, this volume was preceded by earlier publications by Navajo Community College that were created with the same purpose in mind—it is certainly true that this volume was a landmark in oral history collection and publication on the Navajo Reservation. In particular, for the first time, a large number of individual narratives about the years and events surrounding the internment of a large portion of the Navajo people at Bosque Redondo (or Hwéél̨di as it was known in Navajo) were compiled.

Evidently, therefore, the scope of the material included in *Navajo Stories of the Long Walk Period* far exceeds the issues related to Navajo National Monument that are the subject of this study. Nevertheless, this volume provides valuable background information into the events which resulted in the Navajo people being divided into two groups, a larger group who participated in the so-called "Long Walk" to Bosque Redondo and a smaller group that managed to evade capture and who maintained their freedom in the far western and northern parts of the present-day reservation. Furthermore, this volume also contains some more specific information from a number of different individuals about Navajo occupation of the area around Navajo National Monument that is worth noting briefly.

Howard Gorman from Ganado believed that Navajos had moved west and north beyond Black Mesa and into the Navajo Mountain area and had established permanent homes there before the Navajo War of the 1860s (Roessel 1973:28). Clifford Beck, Sr., of Pinon believed that Navajos had been living in this area as much as 250 years ago (Roessel 1973:176). Of this region, Gorman wrote, "It is a really desolate area. It's a torn-up area. To this day people get lost, even Boy Scouts." The Navajo occupation of this region at an early date is contradicted (but, of course, not invalidated) by Anglo scholarship. He estimated that "maybe 1,000 or 2,000 or more Navajos" found refuge in the Navajo Mountain area. Specifically, he refers to how they "moved down below [Navajo Mountain]" (Roessel 1973:41), suggesting perhaps the occupation of the mountain's lower slopes or the area to the south of the mountain. He reckons that in contrast about 8,000 Navajos were interned at Bosque Redondo. Herbert Zahne of Coal Mine, Arizona, also thought that Navajos "hid in deep canyons or on the mountains, such as at Navajo Mountain and other rugged areas where they couldn't be found" (Roessel 1973:234).

Akinabh Burbank of Valley Store, Arizona mentions that when her great-grandparents returned from Bosque Redondo they found Navajos living on Black Mesa (Roessel 1973:134). Frank Goldtooth of Tuba City was more specific when he was interviewed: "I want to say here that a lot of people managed to avoid the march to Hwéél̨di. They hid in rugged areas, cliff dwellings and other places where enemies were not likely to find them" (Roessel 1973:152). This statement is

interesting because it specifically identifies cliff dwellings as having been occupied by Navajos during this period.

Robert Littlesalt's grandfather and other family members told him of his forebears who hid in the Inscription House area during the Navajo War. Scott Preston of Klagetoh concurred with this opinion (page 196). Specifically, according to Robert Littlesalt, they lived at *Nii'tsí'ii* ("Raw Face") and *Ch'ááyáhii* ("Under Arm"), both in Navajo Canyon, and farmed at a unidentified location near Inscription House (Roessel 1973:169).

Earnest Nelson of Shonto spoke of how his ancestors were not interned at Bosque Redondo. Instead, they lived in the Navajo Mountain area, fleeing "into the canyon gorge behind the Navajo Mountain" when danger approached (Roessel 1973:173). Like Robert Littlesalt, Earnest Nelson also had family members who lived at *Ch'ááyáhii* in Navajo Canyon during the period of internment. He identified *Ba'ázchiní* in Paiute Canyon as another place where they lived during this period. Earnest Nelson states that *Nii'tsí'ii* was so-named because Navajos shot a Paiute soldier in the face at this location. Similarly *Ch'ááyáhii* was so-named because they shot a Paiute soldier in the side of his body with an arrow at this location. In the same vein, the location named Bil*áyázhí* ("His Short Finger", in Navajo Canyon, was so-named because a Mormon who had had his finger shot off by Navajos during the Navajo War went on to live here (pages 173-174). In concluding his narrative, Earnest Nelson notes that he belongs to the *Kinl/ichii nii* (Red House People Clan), and that "it was the tribe of the Hopis that we descended from, as it is said" (Roessel 1973:175).

While this compilation of narratives contains much information about Navajo history, only one of the interviewees, Eli Gorman, a medicine man from Nazlini, discusses the larger picture of cultural relations in the Southwest:

> There used to be people of many races. We lived among them, and lots of events took place. The tribes were *Nast'ézhí* (Zuni), *Kiis'áanii* (Hopi), *Chíshí* (Chiricahua), *Naal/ání* (Comanche) and *Nóóda'í* (Ute). We lived among these other Indian tribes—tribes of the same general race—that's what I've been told. Also, before us were the *Anaasázi* (Ancient People). They lived approximately 1,500 years ago, pretty close to 2,000 years ago. In *Tséyi'* (Canyon de Chelly) there is a place called *Kinnii'na'ígí* (White House Ruin) that is said to be one of the their living places. Farther up that canyon, there used to be a lot of houses built by the *Anaasázi*. Throughout each and every canyon there were more houses, lived in by the same people. They also lived in the *Tooh* (San Juan River) area, as well as around and under *Dibé Nitsaa* (La Plata Mountain) according to our forefathers.
>
> Even though we have been living among many other Indian tribes, we always have kept our own culture. It is said that there was a time when we got over-populated. That was pretty close to 2,000 years ago. Anyhow, tornadoes, flood, hunger and many kinds of sickness almost annihilated man completely. All of this came about as a result of people's misconduct. At least, that is the way our stories go. When a few people survived from each tribe, they separated and started living their various ways as groups. Each group of people was very few in number (Roessel 1973:197-198).

The chronological relationship between the *Anaasázi* and the Navajo laid out in this passage is a little difficult to understand because it has the *Anaasázi* living in the area before the Navajo 1,500 to 2,000 years ago, but also has the Navajos suffering along with other groups in the region 2,000 years ago. Nevertheless, the passage is interesting because it has Navajos living alongside other American Indian groups for a period of time before separating out. While there is no claim of a relationship between the Navajos and the *Anaasázi*, it is worth pointing out that neither is there any suggestion that the *Anaasázi* were related to the Hopis or Zunis.

Indian Rock Art of the Southwest

Schaafsma, Polly
1980
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, pp. xii, 379
Monograph

Polly Schaafsma (1935- ; M.A. Anthropology, University of Colorado). She and her husband Curt (archaeologist) live in Cerillos, New Mexico. She is a well-known specialist in Southwestern rock art and has published extensively on the subject.

Schaafsma provides explicit descriptions of the "Tsegi Painted Style" at Betatakin and Bat Woman House. She states that they are:

> "large white circular paintings occurring with cliff dwellings. They tend to be situated on the right-hand side of the Village Alcove and are visible from some distance (Schaafsma 1980:148).

Along with prevalent images of mountain sheep, an anthropomorphic figure within a white circle was identified. She notes that Hopi interpret it as a clan symbol:

> "Ethnographic support...has been offered by Hopi elders who feel that the large circular painting with an interior anthropomorphic design at Betatakin is a Fire Clan symbol representing Masauwu (Schaafsma 1980:148).

The same symbol was described in a popular account by S. H. Babington, Navajos, Gods, and Tom-Toms, as a Navajo symbol of "Nayenezgani," one of the ancient war gods (Babbington:54-55). On November 29, 1995, one of the Navajo employees at Navajo National Monument said that the figure dates back to the Anasazi and is interpreted today by Navajo people as one of the twin War Gods, a child of Changing Woman and one of the Monster Slayers.

There is also an unpublished "Survey of Tsegi Canyon Rock Art" by Polly Schaafsma (1966) in the Navajo National Monument library. The report focused on "rock paintings and carvings of Betatakin, Kiet Seel, Turkey Cave, and Inscription House of Navajo National Monument (2). (Schaafsma 1966:29-30)Both of Schaafsma's studies (1980 and 1966) are excellent descriptive accounts of Navajo Much of the large amount of research that Polly Schaafsma has undertaken into the subject of American Indian rock art in the Southwest is contained within unpublished reports for various governmental agencies These specialized reports are synthesized in her 1980 publication for a wider audience, Indian Rock Art of the Southwest.

.Typical of this research, perhaps, is her survey of the rock art in Tsegi Canyon (1966).This report is wide-ranging in its scope. Only a small portion of the text and illustrations relate specifically to the rock art in the Tsegi Canyon area (figures 5, 106, 107, 108, 109 and plate 16). Schaafsma writes of the so-called Tsegi Painted Style:

Indian Rock Art of the Southwest **Petroglyphs**

Schaafsma, Polly
1980
Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, pp. xii, 379
Monograph

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the rock art in the Tsegi Canyon area (figures 5, 106, 107, 108, 109 and plate 16). Schaafsma writes of the so-called Tsegi Painted Style:

> Also of significance...are the large white circular paintings occurring with cliff dwellings. They tend to be situated on the right-hand side of the village alcove and are visible from some distance. Anderson (1971) suggested that these paintings may have served as integrative symbols standing for certain socioreligious institutions or affiliations. As such they would have served a social function at a time when such devices were helpful in furnishing a means of group solidarity. Ethnographic support for this type of interpretation has been offered by Hopi elders who feel that the large circular painting with an interior anthropomorphic design at Betatakin is a Fire Clan symbol representing Masauwu (Fig. 109) (Schaafsma 1980:148).

Diné Bikéyah "The Navajo's Country" **General ethnology**
Richard F. Van Valkenburgh
Edited by Lucy Wilcox Adams and John C. McPhee
1941
Window Rock: United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Navajo Service, pp. 180 (Mimeographed)
Monograph
Field research: 1935-1941
Navajo consultants not identified.

Richard Fowler Van Valkenburgh (1904-1957; University of California) was characterized by Robert W. Young as a "historian, anthropologist and long-time friend of the Navaho." He worked closely with J. P. Harrington, E. L. Hewitt and F. W. Hodge and studied several Indian groups in California, Arizona and New Mexico, 1929-1934. From 1935 until his death his major interest was the Navajo. From 1935-1941 he was employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to head a social and economic survey of the Navaho Reservation. From 1952 to 1957 he was employed by the Navajo Tribe, in charge of its Department of Land Use and Surveys. His work on Navajo prehistory and ethnogeography was and continues to be of considerable value in claims cases and in the identification of "traditional cultural properties."

In his introduction, Van Valkenburgh outlined the purpose for writing the report. It was primarily intended as "a guidebook and gazetteer of the Navajo country and adjacent regions." Locations selected for inclusion were considered to be "most important and interesting to government employees, students and travelers." A secondary use for the report was to facilitate the standardization of Navajo geographic terms in the wake of the establishment of an "official Indian Department system of writing the Navajo language" (Van Valkenburgh 1941:1). To produce the report Van Valkenberg acknowledges the assistance of at least 37 named Navajos and other Native Americans, as well as "many" unnamed individuals who helped with information about place names, their meanings and associations.

The two major components of Navajo National Monument, Betatakin and Kiet Siel, are located within Tsegi Canyon and its branches, that Van Valkenberg discusses as follows:

> SEGI CANYON. Also Laguna Canyon. Navajo: tséghi'. In Between the Rocks, the general Navajo term for any deep canyon lined with sheer walls. Deep canyon cut into the Navajo sandstone with many side canyons lying between Skeleton and DziLnez Mesas and running northeast to debouche at Marsh Pass some 11 miles southwest of Kayenta, Arizona. Parts of the Navajo National Monument. Custodian's office and residence at the head of Betatakin Canyon, some 12 miles northwest of Shonto.
>
> John Wetherill and his brothers, well known archaeological explorers of Mesa Verde and the Navajo country, explored the canyons in the 1880s. Members of some of the early military expeditions may have entered the canyons, but left no record. Inscriptions at the Long House Ruin at the lower end of Long House Valley and at the opening of Marsh

Pass, 3 miles from where the Segi joins Marsh Pass, are dated 1859.

In the Segi and its numerous side canyons and rincons are hundreds of 'anaasází' ruins. The best known are Betatakin (bitá'ah kin, House on the Edge), which has the old name of kin L/ani, Many Houses, and Keet Seel. Betatakin, located on the north wall of short Betatakin Canyon, is the second largest cliff dwelling in the Segi. It has some 200 rooms which tree rings tell us were cut between 1260-1277 A.D. Keet Seel, also Kietzeel (kiits'iilí, Pot Sherd) is located in Keet Seel Canyon. This is the largest cliff dwelling in the Segi, having some 350 rooms. It was built between 1274-1286 A.D. The name kiits'iilí is questioned by the local Navajos according to James and Sallie Brewer. They state that the ruin is called Kin yíts'iil, Empty Houses. Another interpretation refers to a large spruce log that lies across a retaining wall. Other important ruins are Rubbish Ruin (1257 A.D.), Turkey Cave, Bat Woman, Twin Caves, and Swallow's Nest.

At one time there were many small pools and marshes in the floor of the Segi held in check by natural earth dams at the mouth of the main canyon. In the floods of 1912 the dams were washed out and great heads of water gushed out of the canyon into Marsh Pass and dropped eastward to chisel deeply through the soft alluvia of the Laguna Valley until the sandstone bedrock was reached. Today, the Segi Canyon with its slick sandstone run-off feeds an appreciable amount of water for the Kayenta and Dinnehotso Irrigation projects (Van Valkenburgh 1941:140).

Van Valkenberg's characterizes the name "tséghi'" as a "general Navajo term for any deep canyon lined with sheer walls. He provides explanations for the names of the two principal sites. Betatakin is written as "bitá'ah kin" and interpreted as "House on the Edge." Elsewhere this is interpreted as Ledge House and has a meaning that is widely recognized. Less well known is Van Valkenberg's assertion that the site was previously known as "kin L/ani," interpreted as "Many Houses." Kiet Siel was written by Van Valkenberg as "Keet Seel" and "Kietzeel," names considered to derive from the Navajo word for "pot sherd,"kiits'iilí."

Van Valkenberg's gazetteer also briefly discusses the third component of Navajo National Monument, Inscription House:

INSCRIPTION HOUSE LODGE. Navajo: ts'ah bii'kin, House in the Sage. Trading post and lodge located some 49 miles north of TUBA CITY. Trader (Inscription House T.P.).

Name comes from Inscription House, famed 'anaasází' ruins, with an almost illegible wall inscription interpreted by some to read, "Carlos Arnais 1661." Others interpret it as, "S-haperio Ano Dom 1661." This ruin, a part of the Navajo National Monument contains some 48 rooms, and is reached by a horse trail from the lodge to NAVAJO CANYON and the ruins (page 78).

We are told that the lodge is named after the nearby Puebloan site, Inscription House, but Van Valkenberg does not make it clear whether the Navajo name for the lodge, "ts'ah bii'kin," or

"House in the Sage", is the local name for the site or for the lodge.

Van Valkenberg provides similarly valuable information about the communities in the region immediately surrounding Navajo National Monument. The entries in his gazetteer for each of these communities are also usefully reproduced in full, beginning with Segihotsosi Canyon, north-east of the Monument and working in a clockwise direction.

> SEGIHOTSOSI CANYON. Navajo: tségi'hats'ósí, Slender Rock Canyon. Deep, sheer-walled canyon heading in the slick Navajo sandstone of Skeleton Mesa and running between the northern end of Thye'ndeh Mesa and the southern end of 'asdzááts'ósí Mesa and running north east to break out into the sandy rolling country of western Monument Valley. Agricultural area (USIS) with some 20 acres under irrigation from a diversion dam.
>
> This deep canyon was once thought favorable as a mining area, and several prospectors, daring Navajo resentment at their encroachments, lost their lives here. Some years ago, Sam Day II and his brother Charley found the remains of a prospector and his equipment on a small rise in the upper part of the canyon ((Van Valkenburgh 1941:141).
>
> OLJETOH [now Oljeto]. Navajo: 'ooljee'tó, Moonwater. Located on Moonlight or Oljetoh Wash where the valley opens. Water seeps out of the arroyo here and runs past Oljetoh to drop into the San Juan River some 7 miles east of PIUTE FARMS. Trading Post (Oljetoh T.P.) some 25 miles north of KAYENTA. Small agricultural area of 15 acres (USIIS).
>
> John and Louisa Wetherill set up their first trading post at Oljetoh in 1906 after moving from Chaco Canyon. The first post was established 1 mile upstream from the present one and later a wood and stone store was erected. This was once the home camp of the chief of the Navajos in this region, Hashkenenih, Handing Out War. Wetherills moved to Kayenta in 1910 ((Van Valkenburgh 1941:110).
>
> KAYENTA. Navajo: tódinéesh zhee', Spraying Water Settlement located at the foot of a small bench a short distance from Laguna Creek and some 5 miles northeast of Lolami Point, the northernmost extremity of Black Mountain. Day School, Tubercular Sanatorium (USIS) (once a boarding school). Office. Traders (Wetherill and Colville; Joe Kerley). Wetherill Ranch. Navajo agricultural area.
>
> Captain John Walker and his Mounted Rifles (see BLACK MOUNTAIN) named the place Laguna in 1860. This was owing to the pools and lush vegetation once found along the creek. Navajos call a place one mile down stream from the present Indian Irrigation Service dam and at a fall in the creek bed, téé'h'nidéé'h, Boghole, which has been anglicized in Kayenta.
>
> Kayenta was first settled by the pioneer traders, John and Louisa Wetherill, in 1910. The settlement has served as a base for numerous archaeological and exploratory expeditions into the great wild country that spreads northward like a fan. The post office is the most

distant from a railroad in the United States. Some 150 acres of land, served by an Indian Irrigation Service concrete dam on Laguna Creek, are under irrigation here ((Van Valkenburgh 1941:83).

BLACK MOUNTAIN. Also, Black Mesa. Navajo: dzil/ijiin. Mountain which appears black. Extended high mesa. Located in central western Navajo country and in Hopi country.

Black Mountain was referred to as Mesa de las Vacas by Captain John Walker in a report to the War Department in 1858, and is similarly shown on McComb's map of 1860.

The region is perhaps best visualized as a broad, hand-shaped mesa across whose "wrist" runs a pine-covered rim of generally 8,000 foot elevation; along its "fingers" extending to the south-west lie the Hopi villages and the headwaters of the Polacca, Wepo, Oraibi and Blue Canyon drainages. It is probably the greatest watershed, both in size and capacity, in the entire Navajo country. Springs fed by seepage in porous sandstones far back on the mesa give the Hopi villages a permanent supply of drinking water. It is generally agreed that the Hopis' long tenure of their present lands is to be ascribed to Black Mountain's permanent water supply.

With the exception of the Navajo Mountain region, this great mesa contains the remotest area in the entire Navajo country. Inaccessible in many sections to automobiles, the only all-weather road is the one running from Second Mesa in the Hopi country to Pinon Day School and store.

There are many coal beds in mesa formations, one being operated at Marsh Pass and another at Black Mountain Store.

Navajos say that bears should never cross over to this mesa from the Chusca-Tunicha-Lukachukai ranges on the east lest they bring bad luck. They go to considerable effort to stop any bear that appears to be on his way westward across the intervening Chinle valley. See Navajo Mountain for ceremonial relationships of Black Mountain ((Van Valkenburgh 1941:10).

SHONTO. Also: Shanton. Navajo: shaa'tóhí, Sunshine Water. Short, deep canyon cut through the Navajo sandstone heading in the Little Salt and John Smith Canyons and running southwest to debouche into the Cow Springs Wash (béegashii, name comes from Spanish vaca for cow with the added shi) thence into the Moencopi drainage. Navajo agricultural area along canyon bottom. Day school (USIS). Trader (Betatakin T.P.). 'anaasází ruins.

shaa'tóhí, Sunshine Water Spring, is located 1.5 miles up-canyon from the Shonto Trading Post. Now sanded-in, the Navajos were led into this canyon from Black Mountain some time before they went to Fort Sumner by tséyii'sizíní, and hashke'. Navajos state that the

Navajos are afraid to go above the lower elevations of the mountain and greatly fear underground rumblings that are reported on the west slopes. Very few Navajos will go north of the mountain into the broken country between there and the Colorado River. Piutes regularly travel this section with no fear.

The only stand of Limber pine (Pinus flexilis) located in the Navajo country is found on Navajo Mountain ((Van Valkenburgh 1941:105-6).

PIUTE CANYON. Navajo: General name is the common descriptive term for any dry rock canyon, tsókooh. The upper crossing is called, bá'azhchiní', Born for Him. The middle crossing, nástl/'ah, Long Box Canyon, and the lower crossing is called, tiis náát'i', Hanging Cottonwood. Canyon heads in the Shanto Plateau some twenty miles northeast of Navajo Mountain and runs northward to the San Juan River. Beaver still found at mouth of canyon.

This deep, rugged canyon scenic canyon channeled through red sandstone is used by the Navajos and a few Piutes for summer farms. There is some Hopi blood in the population introduced by two Hopi women who were drouth refugees, and were taken as slaves by prominent Navajos in the late 1890s.

The Piute blood is dying out and these people have generally followed Navajo material culture in their mode of life. It was one of these people, na'ashjaa bighe, who led John Wetherill and Byron Cummings to discover RAINBOW BRIDGE.

Navajo Sacred Places **Regional archaeology**

Richard F. Van Valkenburgh
Edited by Clyde Kluckhohn
1974
New York: Garland Publishing company, pp. 199
In Navajo Indians, Vol. III, edited by David A. Horr
Document published in a series
Field research: 1935-1941
Navajo consultants not identified

Richard Fowler Van Valkenburgh (1904-1957; University of California) was characterized by Robert W. Young as a "historian, anthropologist and long-time friend of the Navaho." He worked closely with J. P. Harrington, E. L. Hewitt and F. W. Hodge and studied several Indian groups in California, Arizona and New Mexico, 1929-1934. From 1935 until his death his major interest was the Navajo. From 1935-1941 he was employed by the Bureau of Indian affairs to head a social and economic survey of the Navaho Reservation. From 1952 to 1957 he was employed by the Navajo Tribe, in charge of its Department of Land Use and Surveys. His work on Navajo prehistory and ethnogeography was and continues to be of considerable value in claims cases and in the identification of "traditional cultural properties."

Navajo Sacred Places was first presented before the Indian Claims Commission, docket no. 229, plaintiff's exhibit, no. 687.

Given the importance now ascribed to Van Valkenberg's research and it limited availability, it is worthwhile including his discussions of each of these places in full (internal references omitted).

> Black Mountain. (Mesa) Navajo: *Dzil/zhin*, Mountain Which Appears Black. Extended high mesa system superimposed by a number of isolated mesas, some 60 miles long and 40 miles wide. Starts with high rims southwest of Kayenta, Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona, and slopes southwest to terminate at the Hopi villages, out by Blue Canyon, Dinebito Wash, Oriabi Wash, Wepo Wash, and Polacca Wash, all of which drain southwest into the Little Colorado River. Associated with Blessingway rite traditions as the body of the Female Pollen Range. Other traditional associations with Yale Point. Old Navajo groups located throughout mesa by Long Mustache [a "traditionalist" from Pinyon, Arizona], Maxwell Yazzie, and Son of Silversmith in 1953-54 (page 113-114).
>
> Navajo Mountain. Navajo: *Naatsis'aan*, referring to the head of the traditional Female and Pollen range of the Navajo Blessingway rite. Dome-shaped mountain with an elevation of 10,416 ft. located in Utah, just north of the Arizona State Line, and some 90 miles northeast of Tuba City, Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona. One of the important ceremonial mountains of the Navajo. In Blessingway rite association, Navajo Mountain represents the head of the female figure of the Pollen Range, Black Mountains, the body, and Balukai Mesa, the legs. Haile states that there was also Chiricahua Windway traditional

association. Matthews gives the mountain traditional association in the story of the migration of the Western Water clans of the Navajo. Old Navajo sites in vicinity located by...Tony One Salt, Tsegini, and Warren Small Canyon [all of Navajo Mountain], in the summer of 1953 (Van Valkenburgh 1974:114-116).

El Capitan. Navajo: *'Aghaa 'la*, Much Wool. Volcanic Pinnacle which rises some 1,000 ft. above the surrounding plain, elevation 7,100 ft., located some ten miles north of Kayenta, Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona. Identified to Van Valkenberg as an important Navajo traditional location in 1936 by Henry Chee Dodge ["former Navajo leader and traditionalist"] and Frank Walker. Given traditional association by Goddard and associated with Navajo clan traditions by Matthews. Old Navajo site located north of El Capitan by Van Valkenberg, Gedekoh, and Ralph Gray on March 13, 1953 (Van Valkenburgh 1974:117-118).

Shonto. Navajo: *Shaa'to*. Sunnyside Water. Refers specifically to a short, deep canyon in which is located the Shonto Trading Post and Day School. Traditionally associated with the red sandstone formation that extends west from the Segi country toward Shonto. According to the Navajo Blessingway, this is one of the arms of the traditional Corn Pollen Mountain, which is believed to represent a female figure, the head being Navajo Mountain; the arms Coms Ridge on the east, Shonto Ridge on the west; the body Black Mountain; and the legs, Balukai Mesa (Van Valkenburgh 1974184).

Although none of the prehistoric sites within the boundaries of Navajo National Monument are discussed here by Van Valkenberg, similar sites elsewhere are noted. These include *Wijiji* (*Kin dootl'izh*), *Pueblo Pintado* (*Kin teel*), *Khinya* (*Kin Yaa'a'hi'*), unnamed sites on Mesa Redondo (*Dzil/ bii'dzooldzisii*), west of Concho Arizona, that according to Navajo tradition were destroyed by wind and fire, *Awatovi* (*'Awat'ovi*), *Mesa Verde* (*Gadelzah*), *Aztec Ruin* (*Kin niteel*), and *White House Ruin* (*Kin nii Na'igaith*).

Kelly and Francis interpret Van Valkenburgh's 1974 research as the first land claims project. It produced critical documentation on 88 sacred sites for the Navajo Nation's aboriginal land claims. The site information is presented as legal evidence of Navajo land use in the contested Navajo-Hopi land dispute and enforced relocation of Navajo families on Hopi partitioned lands (1970-1990s) (cf. Kelly and Francis 1994:54-55). The preconquest claim (aboriginal land use) was for 60,000 square miles (Ibid.)

The Navajo Story of Keet Seel and Betatakin

John Wetherill
1934
Southwestern Monument Monthly Report, May
pp. F-G
Article

John Wetherill (18866-1944). His interest in archaeology began when, from the Wetherill Ranch at Mancos, Colorado with his four brothers, he explored Mesa Verde and discovered the cliff dwellings that now form the center of public interest at Mesa Verde National Park. In 1896 he married Louisa Wade and the couple moved to Olijato, Arizona, near Monument Valley, and later to Kayenta, where the Wetherill Trading Post served as a base and John a guide for many expeditions in the areas of Navajo Mountain and the Rainbow Plateau. Both Rainbow Bridge and the cliff dwellings of Tsegi Canyon were discovered during this time. For a number of years "Hosteen John" served as Custodian of Rainbow Bridge and Navajo National Monument.

For all the superintendents at Navajo National Monument one of the most onerous tasks must have been the writing of regular reports to one's superiors. For the first superintendent, John Wetherill, who had been (and continued to be) a trader and explorer rather than government employee, report writing must have been a particular chore. Yet one report, written in May 1934 and reproduced in the *Southwestern Monument Monthly Report* series, goes far beyond the normal listing of statistics and events of the reporting period and includes a migration narrative told to Louisa, his wife:

> The Navajos tell Mrs. Wetherill that our [sic] prehistoric people left Canyon de Chelly many generations ago and that they separated one band crossing the Lukachukai to the San Juan River and to the Mesa Verde. They then went down through the McElmo Canyon to the Hovenweep and from there down the north side of the San Juan to the Grand Gulch and Clay sections in Utah, and crossed back across the river to Navajo Mountain in Northern Arizona. From there they settled Tsegie Canyon. This group of people had the round kivas of the Mesa Verde type. (The supposition is that they began making their red pottery while they were in the Clay Hill district where they found the yellow ocre of which most of the red pottery is made in this district).
>
> The other party followed along the foot of the Lukachukai and Corrizo mountains building in the canyons of the head branches of the Chinle and following down the Chinlee to the San Juan River and up the different branches to the South. They followed up the Kayenta Creek (named Laguna Creek by Kit Carson, but afterward changed to Kayenta, after all the lakes had been washed out). They had a great many settlements in the Kayenta district. They followed up the Kayenta into the Laguna Canyon (now known as the Tsegie) (They built both cliff dwellings and open sites. They built both of rock and turtle backs. Where they built of turtle backs there is now just a mound of earth with a few broken pieces of pottery scattered around.) This group had no round kivas. The square they did have were not below the other rooms of the house as is the case of the round kivas. They were the

same as the other rooms but had the firepit and the ventilator shaft. The ventilator shaft was the door of the room with the deflector between the door and the firepit. The people of both groups became so few in number through intermarriage, war with outside tribes and starvation that the few that were left of both groups joined together and moved on the top of the Black Mesa where they built another home that the Navajos call Keet Zeel on account of the amount of broken pottery. From there they moved to Orabi [sic] and founded the oldest inhabited village in the United States.

Some of you may not know what a turtle back is, so I shall try to explain: On an open site they first built a foundation of two or three layers of rock. The turtle back is a brick made by taking a long bunch of grass and rolling it in the mud made of the sand that is found everywhere. This is laid on the rock foundation and rounded off on top while it is still wet. The first layer is allowed to become almost dry, then another layer is laid on. This is continued until the wall is of the desired height. The building is then finished up in the regular way. The turtle back is about five inches in width and from fourteen to eighteen inches in length, and from four to six inches in thickness. The best example we have of the turtle back building is Inscription House in Netse Canyon, one of the branches of the Navajo Canyon.

In summary, it is notable that ethnographic information can be found embedded in contemporary administrative reports.

Language and Art in the Navajo Universe **General Ethnology**

Gary Witherspoon
1977
Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. xviii, 214
Monograph
Field research:
Navajo consultants not identified

Gary J. Witherspoon (1943-; Ph.D., Anthropology, University of Chicago) went to the Navajo Reservation "as a nineteen-year-old Mormon missionary and came back as a teacher, community worker, and school administrator. In all of these latter roles I was an employee of the local Navajo community, hired by the local Navajo boards of education, and assigned tasks within the structure of theirs goals and aspirations. I participated in their activities and attended their ceremonies, not as an outside and temporary observer, but as an interested and concerned helper and friend. Thus I never took field notes, never recorded a song or a prayer, never photographed a ceremony or a sandpainting, and never had an interview with an 'informant.' I learned the culture as an interested and concerned participant, not as a detached observer" (6). By the time Language and Art in the Navajo Universe was written, he had lived on the reservation for more than 10 years. He is the author of several works used in teaching Navajo, two books of Navajo stories as well as Navajo Kinship and Marriage (1975) and Dynamic Symmetry and Holistic Asymmetry in Navajo and West Art and Cosmology (1995)

In Language and Art in the Navajo Universe, Gary Witherspoon sets out to "uncover and articulate the constant and enduring core of Navajo culture" (Witherspoon 1977:6). The book "is an attempt to articulate the metaphysical assumptions with which Navajos think and according to which they analyze and explain the events that occur in their world" (Witherspoon 1977:8).

The book has four major sections: (1) Creating the World through Language; (2) Controlling the World through Language; (3) Classifying the World through Language; and (4) Beautifying the World through Art.

Witherspoon begins by advancing the not unfamiliar hypothesis that every culture is based on and constructed from a single metaphysical premise that is accepted by members of the culture as axiomatic and unprovable. For the Navajo, this premise is one that asserts an unbreakable association of mind with matter, and of speech with event. Accordingly, Navajos hold that thought, in and of itself, has the capacity to influence the structure and operation of the external world, and that spoken words (which are thoughts in tangible form) have the power to create and alter physical substance. From these general principles follow a number of more specific ones, and much of Witherspoon's book is a description and interpretation of how they are related. The end result is the portrait of a world of ceaseless movement and constant action in which men and women, thinking and speaking, are continuously shaping and reshaping the contours of their lives, the lives of other people, and aspects (visible and invisible) of the nonhuman environment. The dominant theme is one of process, of controlled energies perpetually at work, and of vitality and

renewal.

Witherspoon's strategy for identifying Navajo metaphysical assumptions proceeds from an investigation of selected linguistic categories and the semantic distinctions underlying them. Major distinctions (e.g., "static" vs. "active," "inner form" vs "outer form") are then traced through separate conceptual domains (e.g., ritual, kinship, art), where they are shown to operate in differing but equally pervasive ways.

Witherspoon begins his characterizations of the Navajo worldview by exploring a central theme found in the phrase *sa'ah naaghaii bik'eh hozho* (SBNH) or simply *hozho*. This is a central idea in Navajo religious thinks, in ritual song and prayer, but it occurs frequently in everyday speech:

> A Navajo uses this concept to express his happiness, his health, the beauty of his land, and the harmony of his relations with others. It is used in reminding people to be careful and deliberate, and when he says good-bye to someone leaving, he will say *hozhoogo naninaa doo* ("may you walk or go about according to *hozho*").

Witherspoon proceeds to an analysis of the implicit meanings of each lexical item in the phrase *sa'ah naaghaii bik'eh hozho*. Briefly, Witherspoon concludes, "The term *sa'ah*...express the Navajo concern for an emphasis upon life, and their attitude toward death of old age as a goal of life" (21). The verb *naaghaii* carries forward the concern with life: *Sa'ah* refers to the completion of the life cycle through death of old age, and *naaghaii* refers to the continual reoccurrence of the life cycle" (23). *Bik'eh* means "according to it" or "by its decree" so that "what follows *bik'eh* is, then the product of or exists in conjunctions with *sa'ah naaghaii*. The byproduct of *sa'ah naaghaii* is *hozho*" (Ibid.). *Hozho* is often translated as "beauty," the opposite of which is *hochxo* (the ugly, unhappy, and disharmonious environment). SBNH can be understood in this way:

> The goal of Navajo life in this world is to live to maturity in the condition described as *hozho*, and to die of old age, the end result of which incorporates one into the universal beauty, harmony, and happiness described as *sa'ah naaghaii bik'eh hozho*. (Witherspoon 1977:25).

In the Navajo view of the world, Witherspoon writes, "language is not a mirror of reality; reality is a mirror of language" (Witherspoon 1977:34). Following Austin, Witherspoon says the language of Navajo ritual is performative, not descriptive. Ritual language does not describe how things are; it determines how they will be:

> The primary purpose of Navajo ritual is to maintain or restore *hozho*. ...*hozho* is everything that is good, harmonious, orderly, happy, and beautiful. The opposite is *hochxo*, which, of course, is the evil, the disorderly, and the ugly. Navajo rituals can be divided into three general kinds, depending on how they maintain, insure, or restore *hozho* (Ibid).

Witherspoon describes these in detail, noting that ritual language can be used to create order.

Witherspoon summarizes, "Navajos believe strongly in the power of thought. The world was created by it; things are transformed according to it; life is regenerated from it. People are cured and blessed, vegetation is improved and increased, and health and happiness are restored by the power of thought." He continues:

> Thought is of primary importance in the Navajo world, for it is not only the source of control but the means by which the goals of control may be attained. The goal of control is the creation of form, order, harmony, balance, and beauty. In order for people to produce *hozho* in their world, they must be able first to create *hozho* in their minds. Everything in the universe cannot be materially constituted or reordered in the mind, but mental ordering and reordering of the universe can take place through symbols. Symbols come in both linguistic and nonlinguistic forms, for in ritual both language and art are utilized in efforts to reorder the universe and restore it to the condition of *hozho*.

Witherspoon then explores four principal value orientations or emphases in Navajo thought: (1) emphasis on activity and creativity; (2) emphasis on control; (3) emphasis on balance and order; and (4) emphasis on beauty and harmony. He continues:

> The Navajo emphases upon creativity and control, balance and beauty, actually reflect the basic complementary dualism of static and active. Control and balance (order) are essentially static oriented emphases, while creativity (activity) and beauty (harmony) are dynamic and active. (Witherspoon 1977:195).

It is not surprising, he writes, that

> Changing Woman, the every essence and personification of regeneration, rejuvenation, renewal, and dynamic beauty, is the Supreme Mother of the Navajos and is the most blessed, the most revered, and the most benevolent of the Holy People. And, appropriately, she is the child of the static male *Sa'ah Naaghaii* and the active female *Bik'eh Hozho*. This, I believe is the model of creative synthesis that underlies and pervades all of Navajo culture...(Witherspoon 1977:201-202).

Witherspoon builds on the work of Haile, Wyman, Morgan, Hoijer, Kluckhohn, McAllester, and especially Gladys Reichard but Language and Art in the Navajo Universe expands their insights, particularly through his analysis of the core concept SBNH. Witherspoon sought to establish for us "the rationality of Navajo thought and the sensibility of their behavior" (15) and in doing so provides a foundation work for understanding Navajo culture. It is essential reading for park interpreters in understanding and explaining the Navajo worldview (through language) to the general public.

The Ethnobotany of the Kayenta Navajo: **Ethnobotany**
An analysis of the John and Louisa Wetherill ethnobotanical collection

In University of New Mexico Publications in Biology, No. 5
Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press
Leland C. Wyman and Stuart K. Harris
1951

Writing from the Department of Biology at Boston University, Wyman and Harris (1951) published a 66-page article that analyzed Louisa Wade Wetherill's private collection of more than 300 Navajo ethnobotanical specimens and accompanying notes. After her death in 1945, Mrs. Wetherill bequeathed the collection to the Arizona State Museum in Tucson. These plant materials and archives were forwarded to Wyman and Harris as part of Clyde Kluckhohn's project to edit the ethnological papers of the Wetherills. The authors had previously published in the field of Navajo ethnobotany (cf. Wyman and Harris, Navajo Indian Medical Ethnobotany in University of New Mexico Bulletin #5, 1941).

This particular article is most relevant for our study area since it reflects Navajo cultural knowledge of plants within a 50-mile radius of Kayenta. The plants were collected in the field by a variety of people including a Navajo herbalist named "Wolfkiller" of the Deer Spring clan, her husband, John Wetherill, and their nephew Milton Wetherill. The approximate time of the field collection is between 1906 and 1931.

The Wetherills moved from Oljetoh, Utah to Kayenta, Arizona in 1910, and the collection reflects a number of sites in both states. For our particular study, the five field collection areas that are most relevant are as follows: Navajo Mountain region, Segi Canyon, Betatakin, Kietseel and Segihotsosi.

The documented cultural uses of the wild plants are diverse. Plants were used as food, as raw materials in baskets and arrows, as healing lotions for insect and animal injuries, for medicinal relief of gastrointestinal disorders, and for ceremonial uses (refer to pages 60-62 for specific chants and related diseases such as Red Antway and kidney disease).

Mrs. Wetherill noted that plants with ceremonial uses also required specific rituals that were conducted in the field. However, the authors decided to provide one general ethnographic description rather than make specific annotations in their article for each ceremonial plant. Louisa Wade Wetherill noted:

> "The gathering of the medicines for the ceremonies of the Navajos is all done with some kind of a ceremony and some of them are very interesting. This part of the ceremony is never seen by anyone except the ones who are sent out to gather the medicine so nothing has ever been written on it. I only learned what these ceremonies were when I began to collect the medicine plants and get the data on them. The old man who gave the names of the Navajos have for the plants and their uses told me how the ceremonies were all

performed while the plants were being gathered. So with every plant especially in the nine day chants there is much ceremony when the medicines for them are being gathered." (Mrs. Wetherill in Wyman and Harris 1951:14).

The Navajo names for plants were troublesome to the authors who enlisted the aid of Navajo anthropologists Gladys Reichard, Clyde Kluckhohn and Father Berard Haile for a standard orthography of Mrs. Wetherill's notes.

The Wyman and Harris study arranges the plants alphabetically according to Western botanical classifications of family and genera. The locality or localities where these plants were found in the early twentieth century are noted followed by the Navajo names for the plants with a brief translation and a brief section of plant uses. The common Western names of the plants are not given. References to other botanical publications are given as symbols (i.e., "F" signified the Franciscan Fathers. There are indices at the end of the plant listings that cross reference genera, medicinal uses of plants, ceremonial plants, and Navajo names for plants.

To make this article more useful to Navajo National personnel, the project staff reviewed all plant listings and compiled a list of plants by geographical locales (codes by the numerical order of the plant as arranged in the article). These five areas may be helpful in future tribal consultations regarding natural resources with ongoing cultural significance:

Betatakin: 170

Kietseel Ruin: 69, 100

Navajo Mountain: 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 20, 23, 29, 30, 35, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 67, 71, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 83, 87, 89, 93, 101, 106, 107, 109, 113, 114, 115, 119, 122, 127, 129 130, 140, 145, 149, 150, 151, 153, 168, 173, 183, 184, 188, 190, 191, 192, 194, 196, 197, 200, 202, 204, 207, 211, 212, 215, 216, 231, 232, 233

Segi Canyon: 2, 5, 7, 18, 34, 43, 44, 52, 54, 56, 68, 69, 77, 83, 85, 86, 88, 90, 102, 108, 110, 112, 113, 121, 135, 139, 143, 164, 170, 173, 175, 177, 179, 182, 185, 187, 197, 205, 206, 218, 220, 225

Segihotsosi: 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 45, 47, 50, 57, 63, 64, 80, 81, 83, 91, 98, 105, 111, 113, 115, 119, 122, 126, 128, 130, 131, 132, 136, 137, 140, 142, 153, 159, 162, 170, 175, 178, 193, 194, 199, 203, 214, 215, 221, 224

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Chapter 4. Log of Traditional History Study

Aug. 15, 1995	National Park Service issues Scope of Work
Sept. 18, 1995	Dr. Marilyn Norcini submitted a response to RFQ 1443RQ712095003
Sept. 27, 1995	NPS awards contract to Norcini
Fall-Winter 1995	Archival Research and consultations with anthropologists
Oct. 10-14, 1995	Consultation with NPS Technical Officer, Dr. Alexa Roberts and Library research at Santa Fe Support Office
Nov. 2-5, 1995	NPS project staff consultation at Navajo National Monument
Nov. 27 to Dec. 3, 1995	Research trip and park consultations at Navajo National Monument
Nov. 29, 1995	Scope of Work amended in a letter from Contract Officer, Tammy Gallegos
March 15, 1996	Research design delivered to Contract Officer, Tammy Gallegos
July 18, 1996	Consultation with Leigh Jenkins and staff at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office at Kykotsmovi; Presentation to Hopi Cultural Resource Advisory Task Team by Norcini and NPS Ranger Russell Bodnar at Third Mesa, Hopi
Mid-July 1996	Consultation with Joseph Dishta, Director of Zuni Historic Preservation Office, at Pueblo of Zuni
Mid-July 1996	Consultation with Rena Martin, Program Manager for the Navajo Nation's Historic Preservation Department, at Window Rock
Aug. 1997	Draft Report submitted to NPS
Nov. 24, 1997	NPS written review of Final Draft Report by Technical Officer Dr. Alexa Roberts and NPS Seattle ethnographer, Frederick F. York. Request for a second draft report to be submitted.
Aug. 1998	Second Draft Report submitted to NPS
Dec. 21, 1999	NPS Letter with Comments on Second Draft Report

Sept. 12, 2001	NPS contacted about printer's delays and extended delivery date for report
Sept. 27, 2001	Delivery of final report with required number of copies

Chapter 5. Survey of Archival Collections

In addition to anthropological publications, archival collections of unpublished materials offer researchers and park managers another source of ethnographic information on Hopi, Zuni and Navajo cultural histories. Ten archival repositories were surveyed in our study and are listed below. Our objective was to identify the archival repository and manuscript collection and provide brief descriptions of promising research collections to be analyzed during a future Ethnographic Overview of Navajo National Monument.

Contact Information

Arizona Historical Society Archives
Tucson, AZ
Rose Burn, Archivist
520-628-5774

Arizona State Museum Anthropological Archives
University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ
Alan Ferg, Archivist
520-621-6281

Arizona State Museum Archaeological Site Files
University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ
Sharon Urban, Site File Manager
520-621-4011

Museum of Northern Arizona Research Library and Archives
Flagstaff, AZ
Barbara Thurber, Archivist
602-774-5213

National Park Service
Navajo National Monument Archives
Tonalea, AZ
Bruce Mellberg, Ranger/Curator
520-672-2366

National Park Service
Western Archaeological and Conservation Center
Tucson, AZ
Johanna Alexander, Librarian
Lynn Mitchell, Archivist
520-670-6501

Northern Arizona University
Cline Library, Special Collections
Karen Underhill, Head of Special Collections
Diane Grua, Archivist
520-523-6802, ext. 35912

Smithsonian Institution
National Anthropological Archives
Robert S. Leopold, Archivist
Washington, D.C.
202-357-2240

University of Arizona Library
Special Collections
Tucson, AZ
Theresa Salazar, Librarian
520-621-4289

University of New Mexico General Library
Center for Southwest Research
Albuquerque, NM
Kathlene Ferris, Archivist
505-277-7172

Descriptions of archival collections

Several archival collections that were surveyed during the Traditional History Study were researched at the document level if the collections seemed pertinent. The archival survey entailed a considerable amount of time searching the historical record collections to glean a few gems of ethnographic data about our study area. However, archival treasures such as the Byron Cummings Papers at the Arizona Historical Society (AHS) were discovered. For its exceptional information on diverse traditional histories and notations about cultural affiliation to the Monument, the Cummings Collections is listed first.

Byron Cummings Collection
Arizona Historical Society (AHS)
Manuscript 200
8 linear ft, 12 boxes
Finding Aids: Biographical Note, Scope & Content Note, Inventory
Requires written permission from the Director of AHS

Byron Cummings Papers
Arizona State Museum Anthropological Archives
A-196, A-468, A-439, A-285, A-198

ASM Archives Subject Index
A-196 written permission required from Director of AHS

Byron Cummings was the Director of the Arizona State Museum and Professor of Archaeology in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Arizona in Tucson, AZ.

The Byron Cummings Papers have no records group number nor manuscript collection finding aid. The papers are distributed throughout the archives "A" series. Helpful indices include ASM Archives Subject Index under cummings and site names, a corresponding indices for "A" series of General Archives, and Accession Notes, Cummings Field Seasons 1915-1930 compiled by Laurie Webster, Cummings Documentation Project, Spring 1991 (concerning museum objects collected by Cummings during University of Arizona archaeological expeditions).

A-196: Byron Cummings Field Notes No. 1, 1908-1909
In 1963, Alexander Lindsay and MNA staff produced a transcript of Cummings fieldnotes from AHS Archives with a Table of Contents for the Glen Canyon Project at MNA. 107 pages of carbon copy transcriptions. Data is available on Turkey House (p.84), Kitsil (89), Paiute (91), Navajos (92), Betatakin (106).

A-468: Letters between various government officials and Byron Cummings (1916-1917) concerning the preservation and stabilization of Betatakin. Lists expenses for Navajo laborers and Indian guide for 1915 expedition.

A-439: Stabilization at Navajo National Monument.

A-198: Cummings field notebooks - Arizona, Utah. Nine notebooks.
Notebook #3 (53 pages) dated 1909. Betatakin as "Kinnigban" is described on page 32. A transcription of the notebook was made by Alexander Lindsay in 1963.

Archival Records of Navajo National Monument (1909-1968)

Box 3, Fieldnotes, 1900-1929
Folder 28, Fieldnotes 1900-1901:
Cummings was apparently initiated into the "Snake-Antelope Fraternity" in August 1899. This folder contains a legend of Tiyo as the Snake Hero and an essay on "The Pueblo Indians of Arizona."

Folder 29, Fieldnotes 1908:
Notes regarding a meeting with John and Louisa Wade Wetherill at Oljato, Utah (sic)

Folder 30, Fieldnotes 1908:
6 documents relating to Betatakin, the side-hill house including
handwritten lists of "Material obtained by the University of Utah Archaeological Expedition, Oct. 28-Dec.31, 1909 working under permits granted to the Archaeological Institute of America."
Several records marked "Sagi Canyon, AZ."

Folder 31, Fieldnotes 1908-1909
(Note: In 1963, these fieldnotes were copied and distributed by Alexander Lindsay at MNA to National Park Service, Arizona State Museum Archives, University of Arizona Tree Ring Laboratory and Museum of Northern Arizona):
Original field journal entitled "Betatakin 1908-1909" includes "Kitsil and Turkey House"

This field journal contains important information on the cultural affiliations of Paiutes and Navajo to the Monument.

Cummings wrote about "The Paiute Traditions":

"The Paiutes say that their mother was the form of the bear and that they came from the west and lived in the caves in this country. They lived here before the cliff dwellers and had no houses but simply occupied the caves and holes in the cliffs" (Cummings 1908-1909:163).

He also recorded Navajo clan traditions stating:
"The Navajos say that one clan, the head tribe, were cliff dwellers Tachinis Talechi Prayer - spoke a different language, others sprang up from the Pueblos of the Little Colorado, a few clans came from the west, the majority from the east, some from the foot of the Carisos, the McKenzie Indians sprang from the Navajos, clans that moved north when the eruption of Mt. Taylor occurred" (Cummings 1908-1909:165).

Folder 36 Fieldnotes 1919
Cummings took University of Arizona students on archaeological field trips to Navajo Mountain. The students and teachers slept in the ruins at "Betataken and Kit Zil" (Cummings 1919:22-23).

He commented on stabilization efforts as early as 1919:
"Betatakin has truly been a side hill house. The cave in which it has been built is tremendous. It has been restored in a way which does not spoil the effect" (Cummings 1919:23).

A three-page typed manuscript gave the additional anecdote that "The class slept one night in the latter pueblo [Betatakin] hoping thereby that the gods would reveal to them the true status of the ancient population."

Series 3. Oversize maps
Folder 55 has 21 miscellaneous maps of Greater Southwest including Betatakin Ruin.

A **Byron Cummings Photographic Collection** consisting of 7 boxes should also be noted. There is a finding aid.

File 21: Ruins
Includes two original photographs of Betatakin stabilization taken by S.M. Young, photographer with the 1909 University of Utah Archaeological Expedition.

Archival summary descriptions and note on restricted access

Summaries of select archival collections are presented to stimulate future ethnographic research. Brief notations on the record groups will describe the scope of collection on topics pertinent to a future Ethnographic Overview of Navajo National Monument.

Note: Restricted collections are becoming more common as culturally sensitive ceremonial information is intentionally inaccessible to researchers. In some circumstances, the restricted papers (a) may be read but not quoted in a public document (i.e., Louisa Wade Wetherill Collection at the MNA.), (b) may require written permission from the individual(s) who hold the literary rights to the manuscript collections (i.e., Cummings Papers at AHS), and (c) may have a specific time restriction before public access is allowed (i.e., to protect the privacy of author and/or living informants/consultants). The researcher needs to consult with individual archives and manuscripts collections on a case-by-case basis regarding restrictions to archival collections.

Richard Van Valkenburg Papers
1890-1940
Arizona Historical Society
Manuscript 831
Finding Aid

Van Valkenburg was an Indian agent to the Navajo Tribe.
In the later 1940s, his published research on Navajo place names became the core of Navajo Nation's tribal archives at Window Rock.

The Museum of Northern Arizona Library has several archival collections that could become a future archival research project for Navajo National Monument cultural resource staff. For example, manuscript collections (some restricted access) that could be consulted in more detail include Gladys A. Reichard Collection (MS 22), Harry F. Rorick Collection (MS 7), Mischa Titiev Collection (MS 57), Father Berard Haile Collection (MS 63), and Sallie Brewer Harris Collection (MS 113). Photographic collections (some restricted access) that may yield additional visual data include as Alexander J. Lindsay Collection (MS 11), Byron Harvey III Collection (MS 21), H.R. Voth Collection (MS 50), Odd Halseth Collection (MS 79), and Ansel F. Hall Collection (MS 122).

Arizona State Museum Archaeological Site Files
University of Arizona

The Arizona State Museum operates a site file office through their Archaeology Division. Sharon Urban is the Public Archaeologist and Site File Manager. The files were consulted in the November 1995 at the beginning of the Traditional History Study. The search was conducted by site name of the major archaeological resources at Navajo National Monument.

"Inscription House"

AZ D:5:10, MNA NA 2160
Original name: Adobe House
Other names: Inscription Cave, G.P - Echo Cliffs:8:1
Type of site: Cliff dwelling, Tsegi Phase AD 1250-1300,
80 remaining rooms
Culture represented: Anasazi-Basketmaker III-Pueblo III,
sporadic Navajo (petroglyphic art), Hopi, Mormon
Reported by Sharon Urban in 1973.

"Keet Seel" or "Kiet Seel"
AZ D:3:1, NA 2519, GP Marsh Pass:2:1
175 rooms
unsurveyed (as reported by E.W.Haury in 1939)
Condition: good, stabilized
Photographs: several color photos in ASM Photo Archives

"Betatakin"
AZ D:6:2, NA 2515
Type of site: Pueblo III cliff dwelling
Culture represented: Kayenta Anasazi-Pueblo III; 135 rooms
Depth: excavated
Remarks: Discovered by Cummings and John Wetherill in 1909. Excavated by Cummings in 1909. Visited by Fewkes in 1910. Excavated and stabilized by Judd in 1917.
Part of Navajo National Monument.
No sherds collected, none left (as reported by J.S. Dean and J.W. Hannah, no date)

"Turkey Cave"
AZ D:3:2, MNA NA 2520, GP Marsh Pass 2:2
Other name: Rubbish Ruin
Type of site: Cliff dwelling
Pottery: Basketmaker III to Pueblo III
Photograph: one wall painting in ASM Photo Archives
Reported by E.W. Haury in 1939

Alfred F. Whiting Papers
Museum of Northern Arizona Research Library
Manuscript 59 and 140
Finding Aids
Manuscript 59
Folder 1:
1964 field notes on Hopi ethnobotany and zoology.

Folders 2 through 5 include notes on Hopi ornithology, textiles, language and foods. There are tapes of Hopi interviews with Edmund Nequatewa at Polacca in 1964. Hopi and Tewa names for plants and

animals, migration narratives, place names, etc...

Folder 6:
Hopi ethnozoology.

Folder 7:
Hopi astronomy. First draft of manuscript of Edmund Nequatewa, circa 1940-1945.

Folder 8:
Hopi musical instruments.

Folder 9:
Hopi loom.

Folder 10:
Revised manuscript for publication, "Ethnobotany of the Hopi."

Manuscript 140
1961 addendum to the autobiography of Edmund Nequatewa as told to Alfred F. Whiting.

The collections include ethnobotanical essays for Volney Jones' "Hopi Crop Survey of 1935."

Leland C. Wyman Collections
Museum of Northern Arizona Library
Manuscript 33, 62, and 110
Finding Aids
Restricted access to MS 33
Permission of librarian to copy MS 110

Manuscript collection 33 contains restricted information on Navajo sandpaintings. It may be consulted but the sandpaintings may not be reproduced.

Manuscript collection 62 consists of notebooks, field notes, correspondence, and manuscripts on Navajo ethnobotany and ceremonies. Typescripts of Wyman's publications and those co-authored with Bailey or Harris on diverse aspects of Navajo culture are also available to the researcher.

Folder 21 contains information on Kayenta Navajo sandpaintings collected in 1952. It includes an interview with Milton Wetherill in 1928.

Manuscript collection 110 has a sandpainting index that may not be copied without permission of the MNA librarian. In 1967, Wyman established MNA's sandpainting collection. He prepared an index of all published photographs of sandpaintings in major collections at that time. Photographs are mounted on cards with the name of the ceremony, medicine man, and collector. Note that in 1952, Wyman published a book on Kayenta Navajo Sandpaintings through the University of New Mexico Press.

John Wetherill Collection
Museum of Northern Arizona Research Library
Manuscript 1 and 144
Finding Aids

Manuscript collections 1 and 144 are primarily photographs that record Betatakin between 1909 and 1929 and Keet during the 1920s and mid-1930s.

Archaeological and petroglyphic areas are documented.

The photographs provide visual documentation of stabilization efforts at Navajo National Monument in the early twentieth century.

Manuscript collection 144 is the Wetherill Photograph Collection on permanent loan from Arizona State Museum. They were found in the John and Louisa Wetherill photo collections at the Arizona State Museum and transferred to MNA in 1972. Dr. Harold S. Colton and Lyndon L. Hargrave sponsored the project. Over 100 photographs of the excavation of Kiet Siel were taken by John Wetherill's nephew, Milton O. Wetherill, during the C.W.A. Project in 1933-1934.

Leslie Spier Collection
Museum of Northern Arizona
Manuscript 118
Finding Aid

Spier's manuscript collection contains data on Zuni archaeological sites. There are maps from his Chronology of Zuni Ruins published by the American Museum of Natural History in 1917 that indicate sites from the Pueblo of Zuni, New Mexico, east to Inscription Rock and then south.

Folder 8 contains "Zuni 1916. One holographic notebook."

Stewart M. Young Collection
Museum of Northern Arizona Research Library (MNA)
Manuscript 10
circa 1909-1912
Finding Aid

Stewart Young was a student of Byron Cummings at the University of Utah. He took photographs of archaeological sites such as Betatakin. There are several portraits of the Wetherills and Byron Cummings.
Folder 1:
Undated correspondence between Young and Katharine Bartlett, MNA Curator of Anthropology. Contents of letter acknowledge receipt of "photographs of various Hopi villages and the Flute and Snake Dance scenes."

Folder 2:
Prints and negatives of John Wetherill and Byron Cummings at Oljato in 1909 and Hoshkinninni in the same year. There are prints and negatives of a Navajo summer shade and winter hogan in the Kayenta region in 1909.

Folder 3:
14 prints of the Flute Dance in Mishongnovi in 1912.

Folders 4, 6 and 7:
Prints and negatives of Tsegi Canyon and Bat Woman House, 1919-1912.

Folder 5:
Photographs and negatives of Tsegi Canyon and Betatakin.

Folder 7:
62 negatives and prints taken in 1912 of Keet Seel, the Wetherills, Segi Canyon area. Snake Dance at Oraibi between 1940 and 1953.

In addition, the Young Collection contains photographs of ruins in 1909 taken before vandalism (presumably at Betatakin).

Louisa Wade Wetherill
Museum of Northern Arizona Research Library
Manuscript 27
Finding Aid
Restricted access

Condition: Fragile. The manuscript collection is in urgent need of archival processing and conservation treatment, especially the notes on Navajo folk tales.

Researchers are not allowed permission to quote from this archival collection. The collection was quickly surveyed.

Folder 1 contains Navajo folktales and animal stories.
Folder 2 contains Navajo chant ways.
Folder 3 lists Navajo clans.
Folder 4 records Navajo ethnobotanical data.
Folders 5 and 8 have Navajo ceremonial information.
Folder 7 covers Wetherill personal and family history (1915).
Folders 11, 13, 14 and Portfolio 14 contains notes, slides, journals and reproduction Navajo sandpaintings.

Wetherill documented a story of a Ute Raid on the Navajos at Black Mesa.

Gladys A. Reichard Collection
Museum of Northern Arizona Research Library
Manuscript 22
Finding Aid

Personal papers, correspondence and manuscripts of Navajo scholar, Gladys Reichard. Includes Navajo photographs.

Neil M. Judd Collection
Museum of Northern Arizona Research Library
Manuscript 93 and 115
Finding Aid

Manuscript 93:
104 negatives and prints of Dean Cummings' expeditions in Northern Arizona and Southern Utah during 1908-1909. The original nitrate negatives and prints are stored in the library's cold vault. Contact prints are available to researchers.

Of the 55 personal negatives given to MNA, several document Keet-Seel Ruin in 1909 (numbers 253, 256, 257, 259, 264, 266). Other photographs document Betatakin on the day of discovery by Cummings (numbers 234, 235, 237). Unfortunately, the prints are very pale.

Manuscript 115:
66 photographs of the excavation and restoration of Betatakin in 1917. There are good documentary photographs of Navajo laborers in the ruin.

In a letter to Edward Danson, Director of MNA, archaeologist Neil Judd describes his gift to the Museum:

"I enclose a list of 80 personal negatives taken during my 1917 restoration of Betatakin Ruin, Navajo National Monument, which negatives are being presented at this time to the anthropological archives of the U.S. National Museum" (Letter, Judd to Danson:June 30, 1967).

The list notes that the excavation and restoration were "partially reported in the 1930 Proceedings of the U.S. National Museum, Vol. 77, Article 5:1-77."

Northern Arizona University

Alfred F. Whiting Collection
Northern Arizona University
Cline Library, Special Collections
Manuscript 25
24 linear feet
Finding Aid: User Guide and Index by P. David Seaman

"A comprehensive collection of field notes collected by the late A. F. Whiting, anthropologist. The materials include information on several Southwestern groups."

Of particular interest to the Traditional History Study at Navajo National Monument are materials on Hopi ethnobotany and Whiting's transcript of MNA Tape #16 which includes a brief reference to Kawestima.

Bureau of American Ethnology Records (1879-1965)
National Anthropological Archives
Collection 10
157 linear feet
Finding Aids: Inventory; general description in Guide to the National Anthropological Archives by James R. Glenn

The papers of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1879-1965) include letterbooks of outgoing correspondence, unbound incoming correspondence, administrative records and maps.

Of particular interest to the Traditional History Study was Collection 10, Section 15. Boxes 3, 28, and 30 contain incoming correspondence regarding the fieldwork and field methods of Frank Hamilton Cushing and Jeremiah Sullivan. Cushing's correspondence has an account of the circumstances of his recording of the Hopi Emergence narrative. A 19-page manuscript received in Washington in 1888 is entitled "Notes on the Snake Dance." Narrative material on the Snake Clan Migration was unfortunately absent in Cushing's materials.

Sophie D. Aberle Papers
University of New Mexico General Library
Center for Southwest Research
Manuscript 509 BC
38 linear feet
Finding Aid: Inventory

"This collection reflects Dr. Sophie D. Aberle's career, most of which was spent working with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. It includes research materials generated during anthropological and medical studies conducted at the Pueblos and the Navajo reservation, and records of Aberle's term as Superintendent of the United Pueblos Agency, 1935-1944."

National Park Service
Western Archaeological and Conservation Center
Record Group 49
Card Catalogue and Archives Finding Aid

The Western Archaeological and Conservation Center (WACC) maintains the institutional archives for Navajo National Monument from its establishment by Executive Order in 1909 until 1968.

Box 1, Subseries 6: Correspondence

Folder 22, #5 discusses the adverse effects of NPS fencing plans for the Monument and curbs on grazing by the Commission of Indian Affairs on local Navajo people in 1933.

Folder 24, #13 is an undated letter from John Wetherill recounting his early experiences in the area. He wrote:
"I've worked 27 years without a salary to try to protect these Ruins and was partly successful until the road was run in from Shonto."

Folder 24, #17 concerns herbarium specimens collected by Wetherills.

Folder 26, #1 is a memo with proposals of place names to the Board of Geographical Names. #2 is a memo on the discovery of Keet Seel by Richard Wetherill.

Folder 26, #4 regards federal legislative appropriations for a highway across the Navajo reservation in 1941.

Folder 27, #6 is a memo from J.W. Brewer regarding a 1948 feud between two Navajo men because of the presence of a White researcher John Weakland in a man's hogan.

Box 2
Folder 28, #6 contains a memo from Sallie Brewer on a Navajo Ethnology exhibit in 1952.
Folder 28, #1 regards fencing Betatakin Canyon to keep out livestock.

Folder 29, #7 is a letter from John Wetherill to Frank Pinkley dated June 9, 1934 quoting from Mrs. Wetherill's book on Navajo narratives on Keet Seel and Betatakin.

Folder 30, #2 is a 1946 memo regarding the spelling of "Navajo."

Folder 32, #1,#2,#3,#4:
Monthly Reports to Frank Pinkley (aka "Natany") who was the Superintendent of Southwest National Monuments.

The reports discussed visitation, roads, vandalism, excavation, stabilization, park needs, and the weather. The authors of the monthly reports were John and Milton Wetherill (1931-1937), J.W. Brewer, William Leicht, and Milton Wetherill (1936-1938), J.W. Brewer (1939), J.W. Brewer and W.W. Wilson (1942-1943) and John A. Aubuchon and J.W. Brewer (1944-1951). From 1940-1945, W.W. Wilson wrote Administrative and Personnel reports.

Information on Ruins Stabilization are in Subseries 9, folders 41, 42, and 43.

Navajo National Monument Archives
Navajo National Monument
No archival record group numbers

The Monument maintains diverse archival materials pertinent to research and documentation on the history of Navajo National Monument.

The Photographic Archives are located in the Museum collection storage room. There are photographs and negatives of park activities and resources. Photographs of park buildings such as the Ranger hogan beside Kiet Siel document the influence of Navajo culture on monument operations.

Superintendent's files contain memoranda of agreement, informal agreements, operations at the Museum Shop and the Austin's horseback operations.

There is a Curatorial file that includes correspondence regarding the Navajo Medicine bundle. The Museum Collection storage room has collections arranged by categories such as "Navajo, Navajo ceremonial and religion, Hopi." Some collections were transferred to WACC in 1990.

Archival materials include construction records from the Old Ranger Station.

A rare-book case in Museum Collection storage contains several archival materials such as the original stabilization reports for the Monument (with glued photographs), Charlie Steen's 1940 stabilization report for Inscription House with tipped in photographs, Polly Schaafsma's rock art manuscript with original photographs, Alexander Lindsay's reports and Herbert Gregory's 1916 survey of The Navajo Country that notes Ute trails in the region.

The excellent library collection contains some photocopied archival materials including the Monument's Monthly Reports in Southwestern Monuments from the 1930s.

Chapter 6. Reflection and Recommendations

The contribution of this first ethnographic study of Navajo National Monument is to survey and give a context for narratives that speak about Hopi, Zuni and Navajo traditional histories. The traditional histories that are reviewed represent only those stories recorded by anthropological or anthropologically-minded researchers. The publications do not necessarily represent all stories by these three identified American Indian communities who have affiliation to the Navajo National Monument. They do provide a framework for understanding how primary types of narratives (i.e., origin, clan migration, etc...) fit into broader cultural frameworks (world view, social organization, construction of knowledge). Consequently, when a "story of place" is related to park officials there will be a way to relate it to the cultural history of each American Indian community (that is, to see how the part fits into the meaning and values of the culture as a whole).

This work will increase in value as the work on other ethnographic studies proceeds in the future. It is understandably out of sequence for NPS studies and perhaps hard to appreciate at the moment it was submitted. However, it will ably inform the Ethnographic Overview by serving as a reference book for stories told during future site visits by American Indian elders and other knowledgeable consultants. It will function as a handy reference tool for planning the management of cultural and natural resources at the Monument, since many sources can be quickly identified and later explored in-depth for specific needs.

The Traditional Histories of three American Indian communities surveyed in this study produced a various insights into the topic. They revealed: (1) the complexity of multiple cultural affiliations to the Monument; (2) the differing American Indian perspectives on how and who produces and reproduces oral traditions; (3) the challenge and responsibility to represent culturally diverse narratives (rather than one authoritative story) in park planning; (4) the role of ethnographic literature to record cultural perspectives accurately and to provide information on the scholars who collected the work and individuals with whom they worked; and (5) the ongoing need for effective consultation with these and other American Indian communities to better plan, preserve, and interpret the cultural and natural resources at Navajo National Monument.