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**HOPI ETHNOHISTORY AND THE GRAND CANYON**  
**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE**  
**HOPI GLEN CANYON ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES**

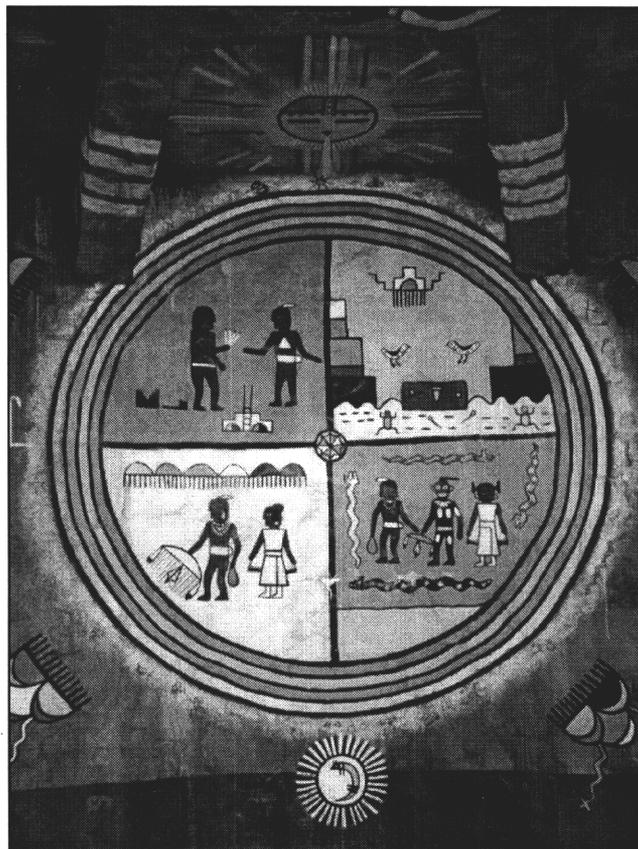
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GLEN CANYON ENVIRONMENTAL  
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Cover Illustration: Fred Kabotie mural painted in 1932 depicting Tiyo's journey down the Colorado River, Indian Watchtower, Grand Canyon National Park. Photograph by T. J. Ferguson, 1994.



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## INTRODUCTION

This annotated bibliography was prepared for the Hopi Tribe for use in the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies (GCES) project. The bibliography contains 415 annotations that summarize publications about Hopi ethnography and history related to the Grand Canyon, the Colorado River, and the Little Colorado River.

The annotations are project specific, and do not include information about aspects of Hopi culture and society that are not related to the GCES study area. Many of the works annotated in the bibliography contain a great deal of information about the Hopi Tribe that is not discussed in this document because it falls beyond the scope of the issues investigated as a part of the Hopi GCES. The information in this annotated bibliography was used in the preparation of "*Öönga, Öngtupka, niqw Pisisvayu*, (Salt, Salt Canyon, and the Colorado River), The Hopi People and the Grand Canyon," the final ethnohistoric report for the Hopi Glen Canyon Environmental Studies Project (Ferguson 1995).

No attempt is made in the annotated bibliography to standardize the spelling of Hopi words. The orthography used in each publication is retained in the annotation of that article. References to page numbers in the annotated works are provided in parentheses. Gail Lotenberg annotated 101 of the references; the remainder were annotated by T. J. Ferguson, who also edited the bibliography.

## ANNOTATIONS

**Aberle, David Friend**

**1951 *The Psychosocial Analysis of a Hopi Life-History*. University of California Press, Berkeley.**

This monograph comprises a detailed "psychosocial" analysis of the life history of Don Talayesva as documented in his autobiography, *Sun Chief*. Aberle dissects the autobiography and provides commentary on what he thinks it means in terms of Talayesva's personality, psychological development, and social relationships.

Aberle makes several observations pertinent to Talayesva's 1911 pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon (pp. 79-80). Among these is the fact that the men on Talayesva's pilgrimage were impressed by his recognizing the scenery in the Grand Canyon as identical with a "death journey" he had experienced while a youth. Aberle points out that Talayesva "showed great interest in exploring the sacred spots they visited and had continually to be restrained from such daring acts." Talayesva added his initials to the sun symbol he inscribed at *Tutuvehni*, and Aberle (p. 79) notes that this deviation from strict traditional behavior was a source of anxiety for him. Aberle (p. 80) observes that in 1911 "... very few people were willing to undertake such trips ..." and that only

three people went on the pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon. Aberle notes, "Don himself found the trips so difficult that he did not think he would ever repeat them. They form part of his general effort at being a good, conservative Hopi in order to gain success."

Aberle (p. 97) thinks "Contacts with anthropologists provided three things which Don had not found to a sufficient degree within the framework of Hopi culture — easy income, prestige, and relationships of mutual trust." As Aberle (p. 97) points out, "Perhaps because Don knew English, people visiting Oraibi asked for him. Sometimes they took his picture and paid him. Anthropologists asked for stories and paid him well, but he expurgated his accounts of folklore and mythology, since he knew that whites considered sex to be sinful." Talayesva's work with Leo Simmons, the editor of *Sun Chief*, began in 1938, when Talayesva was forty-eight (p. 99).

**Adams, Eleanor B.**

**1963** *Fray Silvestre and the Obstinate Hopi. New Mexico Historical Review*  
**38(2):97-138.**

The failure of Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante to convert the Hopis to Christianity in 1775 is described in this article. Adams includes a translation of Escalante's diary from his journey from Zuni Pueblo to the Hopi pueblos in June and July of 1775. Escalante was guided to Hopi by Zuni Indians. At the Pueblo of Oraibi, Escalante wanted to talk with some Cojninias Indians that were visiting the village so that he could learn about their land and arrange a visit there but the Cojninias Indians had already left Oraibi. At Oraibi, Escalante did speak with two Hopis who had gone to Cojquina many times and who "knew the land" (pp. 127-128). At Walpi Pueblo, Escalante was able to talk with a Cojninias Indian who was visiting that village, and who drew him a map depicting the landscape between the Hopi Mesas and the Grand Canyon (pp. 130-131). Escalante's diary thus documents that it was common in the eighteenth century for Hopis and Havasupais to visit one another.

**Adams, E. Charles**

**1978** *Synthesis of Hopi Prehistory and History, Final Report, A-77-127.*  
**Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff.**

In this synthesis of Hopi history, Adams briefly summarizes the accounts of the Spanish explorers who visited the Hopi Mesas between 1540 and 1821. Adams analyzes the information provided in these chronicles comparatively; he uses their descriptions as a point of reference to discern which elements of Hopi culture have persisted over time. Adams explains that the records offer "some insights into how the people lived and how the villages were organized." Comparing this earlier portrait to the present, Adams concludes that, "The willingness to trade with outsiders, the breadth of material culture and the governing body are all strikingly similar to modern Hopi" (p. 22). There is some disagreement about whether Pedro de Tovar's party first

encountered the Hopis at Awatovi or Kawaika-a. Adams (p. 21) contends this encounter probably occurred at Awatovi, where the Spaniards stayed among the Hopi for several days.

**Adams, E. Charles**

**1986 Hopi Use, Occupancy, and Possession of the Indian Reservation Defined by the Act of June 14, 1934: An Archaeological Perspective. Ms. on file, Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of New Mexico.**

This is a draft of Adam's report prepared for the "1934 Case." It contains a wealth of information pertaining to Hopi use and occupancy of northeastern Arizona, including some information specific to the interests of the Hopi GCES project. The archaeological information presented in this draft report was subsequently edited to reduce to its length and focus more tightly on the 1934 study area and period of interest. The draft report on file at the Museum of New Mexico thus contains more information than the Adam's final report that was entered into evidence in the 1934 litigation. Adams describes the archaeological data that document the Hopi's long use of Colorado Plateau, including the Grand Canyon. A map of "Tusqua" shows the "traditional boundaries" of Hopi land extending along south rim of the Grand Canyon from Page, Arizona, to Pota ve Taka.

With respect to Hopi land use after AD 1300, Adams (p. 21) states,

Modern Hopi use of their environment is not restricted to the area around their village. Farming villages, plant gathering and animal hunting areas, eagle shrine areas, shrines, and rock art denoting land ownership, springs, salt collecting, and grazing areas all occur at distances ranging up to 75 miles (120 km) from the main village ... With the exception of the grazing areas, these modern Hopi uses of land apply to their ancestor's use of the land. Indications of this use are the yellow decorated and plain Hopi pottery and rock art containing depictions of masked beings and other characteristic depictions postdating 1300 ...

Adams (pp. 24-25) notes that several archaeological sites in the Grand Canyon are associated with ancestral Hopi pottery. He also states (p. 25), "Rock art sites show Hopi use from the fourteenth century to the present along the Salt Trail originating on the Hopi Mesas and extending to the Little Colorado River where it intersects the Colorado River."

According to Adams, much of the movement of population to and from Hopi villages in the historic period was due to droughts. He notes that in 1780, the Spanish Governor de Anza reported that many Hopis had left their villages to seek refuge in other locations, including the Havasupai in the Grand Canyon (p. 35).

Adams (pp. 86-88) describes the archaeological evidence for ritual use of the landscape in the Moenkopi area. This evidence includes "the Hopi Salt Trail, which was used by Third Mesa Hopi, and shrines associated with Moenkopi villages." Adams says,

Two shrines on the Salt Trail were recorded and were in use in 1934. The first, site 107, lies 9.3 miles (15 km) east of the village. It consists of a pile of rocks where the Hopi users of this trail cleansed themselves. This portion of the trail was used by travelers from Oraibi and other Hopi villages to Moenkopi, as well as those on the expeditions to gather salt. Associated with this rock pile is a white clay (duma) outcrop (site 147) that could have been collected in conjunction with use of the rock pile or on separate occasions. The second site, Tutuveni (Writing or Inscription Rock), lies 9.5 miles (15.3 km) west-northwest of the village. At this place members of the salt expedition would stop and carve or peck their clan emblem in the rock at this shrine. The use of Tutuveni probably dates back hundreds of years and indicates the antiquity of the journey to the location of the salt and of the Sipapu which most Hopi believe is the original place of their emergence from an underworld into the present world. Both the Sipapu and salt source are located on or near where the Little Colorado River enters the Colorado River at the bottom of the canyons. The Sipapu is located in the 1934 Reservation area; the Salt deposit, just outside.

**Adams, E. Charles, Miriam T. Stark, and Deborah S. Dosh**  
**1993 Ceramic Distribution and Exchange: Jeddito Yellow Ware and**  
**Implications for Social Complexity. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 20(1):3-21.**

The authors use archaeological data to refute the "alliance model" of Hopi prehistory. The alliance model theorizes that elaborate economic "alliances" occurred concurrently with socio-political stratification, and that large sites were occupied by elites who controlled and managed people living in smaller sites. Jeddito Yellow Ware is interpreted as being associated with elites so one implication of the alliance model is that this ceramic should occur in significantly higher frequencies on large sites than on small sites. The alliance model is rejected after analysis of 430 sites with yellow ware shows that this ceramic occurs on both large and small sites. The authors suggest that household based complementary exchange accounts for the distribution of Jeddito Yellow Ware better than an elite-based redistributinal system.

One of the regions with yellow ware sites investigated by the authors is the "Northern Frontier." This region lies to the north of Hopi and encompasses the area extending from upper reaches of the Jeddito, Polacca, Dinnebito, and Moenkopi Washes to the Colorado River. Of this area, Adams et al. (p. 11) state,

Fourteenth-century rock art sites in the region bear a strong resemblance to contemporary art styles on the Hopi Mesa sites, and support the idea that the prehistoric Hopi Mesa population incorporated sections of the Northern Frontier into its land use patterns ... Twentieth-century ethnographers describe various Hopi uses of the area including hunting, gathering, trapping eagles for use in ceremonies, and visiting shrines marking ancestral homes and boundaries of Hopi land ... Titiev (1937) also records salt gathering and eagle hunting expeditions in areas north of the Hopi Mesas. Post A.C. 1400 yellow ware sites located more than 10 km away from the large sites are much less common and are associated with rock art or sites in circumscribed ecological niches that may have been more suitable for cotton agriculture (as is the case at Moenkopi). Alternately, these sites may be related to the procurement of local, rare resources, such as salt in the Little Colorado River gorge or eagles nested in the cliffs that are scattered across the plateau.

**Ahlstrom, Richard V. N., David E. Purcell, M. Zyniecki, Dennis Gilpin, and Virginia L. Newton**

**1993 *An Archaeological Overview of the Grand Canyon National Park*. SWCA Archaeological Report No. 93-92, Flagstaff, Arizona.**

The findings of dozens of archaeological projects conducted within the Grand Canyon National Park (p. ix) are summarized in this report to provide information for management of cultural resources. Approximately five percent of the Grand Canyon National Park has been archaeologically surveyed, yielding documentation of approximately 2,700 cultural resource sites.

Ahlstrom et al. discuss the need and advisability of using an alternate term for "Anasazi" (pp. 61-62) With respect to archaeological systematics, the authors suggest the prior use of the term "Hisatsinom" for a late Archaic phase in the northern Black Mesa area should preempt its use by archaeologists to label more extensive ancestral Hopi archaeological remains. For this and other reasons, the authors suggest the term "Prehistoric Pueblo" be substituted for "Anasazi."

In a brief overview of Hopi ethnography, Ahlstrom et al. describe the cultural importance of the Grand Canyon to the Hopi people, noting it is the place of emergence, where Hopis return after death, and the destination of a well-documented religious pilgrimage (pp. 82-83). The authors state the last documented salt pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon occurred in 1912. Citing a personal communication from Leigh Jenkins, reference is made to an attempted (but failed) salt pilgrimage from Hotevilla in 1936. Jenkins notes that ritual pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon for purposes other than the salt pilgrimage associated with the Wuwuchim ceremony have occurred as recently as the 1980s. Some sources suggest the Kohnina (Cohonino) Kachina, that represents the Havasupai people, resides in the Grand Canyon during the winter.

Ahlstrom et al. note the Grand Canyon was "intensively used" by the Hopis (and other Native American groups) in historic times (p. 92). This historic use is characterized as being "specialized" (p. 95), mostly relating to ritual use of the Salt Mine, *Sipapuni*, and other sacred sites. Other Hopi archaeological sites are described as including masonry rooms, a roasting pit, salt mines, and artifacts. It is noted that some of the distinctive Hopi yellowware ceramics found in the Grand Canyon were traded to Pai/Paiute groups.

**Ainsworth, Allan D.**

**1988 Hopi Use and Occupancy of the Indian Reservation Defined by the Act of June 14th, 1934: A Sociocultural Perspective on the Use of Natural Resources by the Hopi Indians. Ms. on file at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

This report was prepared as expert testimony for the "1934 Case" litigation between the Hopi and Navajo Tribes. While the focus of the report is thus on lands located within the disputed 1934 reservation, Ainsworth makes several observations about Hopi use of the Grand Canyon. Land use outside of the area subject to litigation is described but not mapped, so Ainsworth's report only presents general information about the location of Hopi activities in and near the Grand Canyon.

A number of wild plants are described as being gathered from the Grand Canyon area (p. 17). Greens such as *wi'wa* (coxcorn) and *ko'mo* (pigweed) are collected along the Colorado River (pp. 18-19). Pinyon nuts were collected in the Grand Canyon area (pp. 22-23). Cottonwood for prayer sticks, katsina dolls, other ceremonial paraphernalia and construction use is collected at Lee's Ferry and other locations along the Colorado River near the Grand Canyon (pp. 30, 44). Medicinal plants are collected in the Grand Canyon (p. 32). Plants for religious use are collected from the Grand Canyon (p. 33). Oak for hunting sticks is collected at the Grand Canyon (p. 36). Wood for bows and arrows is collected at Marble Canyon (p. 37). In the past, Hopis collected fuelwood in the Watch Tower area of the Grand Canyon area (p. 42).

Ainsworth also reports the Hopis hunted a number of animals in the vicinity of the Colorado River and Grand Canyon. Rabbits were hunted at Lee's Ferry and in the Grand Canyon area (p. 72). Deer were hunted near the Grand Canyon (Appendix 3, Table 1). Hopis fish at Lee's Ferry (p. 73). Eagles are gathered in the Grand Canyon (p. 76).

The importance of the Hopi salt pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon and several of the major shrines along the Hopi Salt Trail are discussed (pp. 82-83). Minerals collected in or near the Grand Canyon include clay, copper carbonate, and blue coloring (pp. 85-86).

The names of the Hopi consultants providing information about Hopi land use in the Grand Canyon (and other areas) are provided in Appendix 3, Table 1. For the Grand Canyon area, two Hopis document collecting greens, nine Hopis document collecting pinyon nuts, one Hopi documents collecting pine pitch, one Hopi documents collecting Cottonwood roots, three Hopis document collecting medicinal plants, one Hopi documents collecting unspecified plants, one Hopi documents collecting Oak, fourteen Hopis document collecting cedar and juniper, one Hopi documents hunting rabbits, sixteen Hopis document hunting deer, four Hopis document religious use, twenty-eight Hopis document collecting salt, pigments and other minerals.

**Aitchison, Stewart**

**1968 A New Route. *Canyon Echo*, 11/1/68, p. 6. Ms. in "Hopi Salt Trail Paraphernalia" file at Museum of Northern Arizona Library.**

Aitchison briefly describes a hike out of the Grand Canyon via the Little Colorado River. This route goes up a side canyon on the north side of the Little Colorado River about two miles east of the confluence with the Colorado River. Aitchison notes, "Without a doubt this is not an easy hike and may even border on the hazardous at times." Previous to the exploration of this route, Aitchison states the only trails into the lower Little Colorado River Gorge were the Blue Springs Trail, the Horse Trail, and the Salt Trail.

**Aitchison, Stewart**

**1985 *A Naturalist's Guide to Hiking the Grand Canyon*. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.**

In a hiking guide to the Grand Canyon, Aitchison describes the Tanner Trail, stating (p. 95),

The Anasazi and later the Hopi descended this route with some variations to reach homes within the Canyon and a sacred salt deposit near the mouth of the Little Colorado. It was near Lipan Point that the first Europeans saw the Grand Canyon. The Hopis led Garcia Lopez de Cardenas here in 1540 but did not disclose to the Spaniards that they knew of a way into the Canyon.

Aitchison notes that Seth Tanner was a Mormon settler from Tuba City who prospected in the eastern Grand Canyon. The Tanner trail descends 4,700 vertical feet from the rim to the river. It is nine miles from the rim to Tanner Rapids, and then four miles from Tanner Rapids to Palisades Creek and five miles from Palisades Creek to the Little Colorado River (p. 93). Aitchison states the trail from Tanner Canyon upriver to the Little Colorado River "is an old Indian route" that was upgraded by the prospector Ben Beamer who "took up residence in an Anasazi cliff dwelling a short

distance up the Little Colorado River." Aitchison says that Beamer constructed a larger door and window in the ruin.

**Alter, J. Cecil**

1928 Some Useful Early Utah Indian References. *The Utah Historical Quarterly* 1:52-56.

This article reviews the late eighteenth century travels of Francisco Garces through what later became the Utah and Arizona territories. Garces' account reveals the Hopis were reluctant to engage in contact with non-Indians. Garces reports that when visiting the Hopi Mesas "(the people of this pueblo of Oraibe did not so much as wish to look at me" (p. 54). In coordinating his travels, Garces mentions that he would not pass through the Hopi villages without Yabipais (i.e., Yavapai) guides because it would be dangerous. Garces wrote, "I could not well return by way of Moqui, of whose Indians I should have cause to be afraid if I were to return without those companions" (p. 54). Garces remarks suggest the Hopis were vigorously defending their autonomy during a period of increased infiltration of European culture in the Southwest.

**Andrus, Philip**

1972 *At Home in Tuwanasavi: The Perceived Integrity of the Hopi Environment*. M.A. Thesis, Geography Department, University of Washington, Seattle.

This masters thesis is a product of its time, combining a somewhat naive if well-intentioned romanticized view of Native Americans with the rhetoric of the environmental movement in the afterglow of the first Earth Day. Andrus relies entirely on library research (drawing heavily on the *Book of the Hopi*) to describe the Hopi perceptions of the environment and the lessons that has for the American society as a whole. He characterizes the lifeway of the Hopi as centered on community and contrasts this with an alienation from community and environment in the larger American society. In his conclusion, Andrus suggests several "modest proposals" to correct what he sees as the ills of contemporary American society, including sharing, regional home centers, festivity, environmental education, and the recognition that there is no single solution.

**Annerino, John**

1986 *Hiking the Grand Canyon*. Sierra Club Books, San Francisco.

Annerino (p. 139) notes in this hiking guide that during the gold rush of the late 1880s there were supposed to have been 84 trails in the Grand Canyon. Today only a few of these are maintained as trails; others exist only as "routes" from the rim to the river. According to Annerino (pp. 139-141), Cárdenas approached the Grand Canyon

with the help of the Hopis "... somewhere west of Tanner Canyon." He provides the erroneous date of 1535 for this visit.

Annerino (p. 141) describes the Tanner Trail as "the old Hopi route that once descended the east arm of Tanner Canyon." He notes that "Mormon pioneer and prospector Seth B. Tanner rebuilt the upper third of this trail in ca. 1884," and that it was subsequently used by horsethiefs and moonshiners. In describing day hikes up the Little Colorado River Gorge from the Colorado River, Annerino notes there is a 4.5 mile hike to the "Hopi Indians' sacred Sipapu." He writes (p. 228), "

Please note: In deference to Hopi religious beliefs, the author agrees the area should not be visited - or photographed - by non-Hopi. If you must pass by the Sipapu en route to Salt Trail Canyon 6½ miles up from the Colorado River confluence, or coming down the Little Colorado River Gorge from Cameron, please exercise discretion in this area, as the Hopi know and revere it as the opening through which all mankind originally emerged.

#### **Arizona Daily Star**

**1995 Condors may Find, New, Safer Home at Grand Canyon. *Arizona Daily Star* May 27, 1995, p. B-2.**

This news article, with an Associated Press byline, reports that Federal wildlife officials plan to release California condors outside of California for the first time. The Grand Canyon is a prime location for relocation. The U. S. Fish and Wildlife says that four or five of the "majestic birds" are slated for release in the Vermilion Cliffs as early as the end of 1995. The chance for survival of the condor is thought to be higher in Arizona since there will be less human contact. Of the 19 condors released in California, only six remain in the wild. Five condors died and eight were recaptured to prevent them from endangering themselves. Four of the condors died when they flew into power lines; the fifth when it drank antifreeze. The condors in the "wild" are still dependent on being fed by humans. The plan is to release four or five condors a year to form a strong population base. The project will cost \$250,000 a year. The population of condors hit a low of 21 in 1982. There are now 101 condors, bred at the Los Angeles Zoo, the San Diego Wild Animal Park, and the World Center for Birds of Prey in Boise, Idaho.

#### **Arntzen, Ruth M.**

**1936 The Influence of Prehistoric Religious Ceremonies Upon the Living Indian Tribes of the Southwest. Master's thesis, Anthropology Department, University of Arizona.**

The objective of this masters thesis, based on library research, is to demonstrate there is continuity in the religious practices of prehistoric and historic Southwestern

Indians. Typical of the level of analysis is Arntzen's conclusion that the existence of kivas in excavated sites provides "evidence of a religious nature" (p. 25) among the early inhabitants of the region. In her discussion of the origins of the Hopi Snake ceremony, Arntzen recounts the story of Tiyo's journey to the underworld (p. 42).

**Bailey, Paul**

**1948 *Jacob Hamblin, Buckskin Apostle*. Westernlore Press, Los Angeles.**

Jacob Hamblin was the first Mormon missionary to proselytize the Hopis. A substantial part of this biography summarizes Hamblin's missionary activities with the Hopis and other tribes from 1858 to 1879. Of particular interest to the Hopi GCES project are the descriptions of the trails Hamblin used to travel from Utah to the Hopi mesas. These descriptions demonstrate there were well-established routes linking the Hopis to the Colorado River and the neighboring tribes that lived to the north of the river. The endpaper in the book binding provides a map of these trails but this depiction is obviously schematic. Nonetheless, from the descriptions and map, the general route of the trails is documented.

In October, 1858, Hamblin used a Paiute Indian named Naraguts as a guide on his first trip to Hopi (pp. 195-200). Naraguts had crossed the Colorado River several times previously, and took Hamblin's party across the river at "Ute Ford," or the "Crossing of the Fathers." From there it was a three day journey to Oraibi. This trail was also used during the second and third trips in October of 1859 (pp. 213-220) and in the fall of 1860 (pp. 225-240). On the fourth expedition to the Hopi in November, 1862, Hamblin used a trail that crossed the Colorado River to the west of the Grand Canyon (what later became known as Pearce's Ferry), traveling eastward to the north of the San Francisco Peaks and thence to the Hopi Mesas after crossing the Little Colorado River (pp. 250-254). Hamblin used the Ute Crossing on his return to Utah in December 1862.

Hamblin wanted to take several Hopis back to Utah with him, but reported they were reluctant to do so because of a Hopi tradition "forbidding them to cross the great river." After consultation, the Hopi chiefs sent three Hopi men with Hamblin. In his journal history, Hamblin states (p. 254) , "On arriving at the Ute crossing of the Colorado, we found the water deep and ice running. Fording was difficult and dangerous. This coupled with the traditions of the Moquis against crossing this river, visibly affected our Moqui friends." The Hopis were determined to return home, so Hamblin "encouraged" them to cross by sending their blankets and provisions across the river and persuading them to mount horses and enter the river where it became a situation of "swim or die." Once on the other side, Bailey describes how "the three Hopis sprinkled earth and water with sacred meal from their medicine bags, and prayed aloud their thanks." The Hopis stayed with Hamblin in Utah until March of 1863, at which time Hamblin returned with them to the Hopi Mesas (pp. 255-262), using the trail that ran through Pearce's Ferry and the territory of the Walapai. They also

visited the Havasupai, and used the Topocoba Trail to ascend out of the Grand Canyon. In returning to Utah after visiting Oraibi, Hamblin's party traveled west using part of the road constructed earlier by Beale.

In 1870 the Hopi chief Tuba also said the Hopis once lived on the northern side of the Colorado River, and that their fathers told them that never again would they go west of this river to live (p. 238). Tuba, like the Hopis in 1862, offered prayers before crossing the river (pp. 327-329, 340). In 1873, John D. Lee constructed a ferry (Lee's Ferry) at a crossing used earlier by Hamblin, and Hamblin used this route to pilot Mormons into Arizona via a route that ran south to Moenkopi (pp. 348-349).

**Balsom, Janet R.**

**1993 Native Americans of the Grand Canyon. In *Hiking the Grand Canyon* by John Annerino, pp. 6-13. Sierra Club Books, San Francisco.**

This brief account of Native American occupation of the Grand Canyon was written for a general audience. Balsom notes the cultural history of the Grand Canyon began 3,000 to 4,000 years ago during the Archaic period and Native American have continued to occupy the canyon in one form or another to the present. She discusses the Anasazi occupation of the western portion of the canyon from about AD 700 to 1150. Of the 2,500 recorded sites in the Grand Canyon about 1,500 (60%) date to the PII period. The Cohonina were using the western South Rim of the Grand Canyon at the same time the Anasazi were building their farming settlements. Balsom (pp. 10-11) thinks the Anasazi "abandoned" their occupation within the Grand Canyon around AD 1150 due to climatic change that made farming difficult. She thinks this climatic change also forced the hunting and gathering Cohonina to leave. Reoccupation of the Grand Canyon began about AD 1300 with Southern Paiute and Cerbat (ancestors of the Hualapai and Havasupai). Balsom (p. 12) states that Hopi and Havasupai trade began in the 1300s.

Balsom (p. 11) observes that the Hopi can trace their ancestry to the prehistoric pueblo people who inhabited the Grand Canyon. She notes (p. 12),

The Grand Canyon is very important to the Hopi. It is a symbolic place, the place where human beings and animals emerged from the underworld and the place where they dead returned. The Sipapu, or place of emergence, is located within the Grand Canyon, near the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado rivers. According to Hopi belief, the Hopi lived in a number of worlds below this one. They emerged through the Sipapu into this one.

The Hopi also used the Grand Canyon for salt. Salt deposits are found along the Colorado River near the confluence with the Little Colorado. These salt mines are sacred to the Hopi and have been placed off-limits

by the National Park Service. The Hopi have been known to make the 100-mile pilgrimage along the Salt Trail into historic times. The last documented trip was made in the 1960s.

Balsom (p. 12) observes, "The Navajo are newcomers to the Grand Canyon region."

**Balsom, Janet**

**1995 Cultural Resources: Where We Are and Where We are Going.**  
*Newsletter, Colorado River Studies Office 9 (February):4.*

The Grand Canyon National Park Archaeologist Balsom briefly describes the components of the cultural resources program associated with the GCES, including tribal ethnohistories that she notes will be available "on a limited basis." Balsom describes the "Programmatic Agreement" that will provide unifying management tool for cultural resources management in the Grand Canyon. This PA was signed by the Hualapai, Havasupai, Hopi, Kaibab Paiute, Navajo, San Juan Southern Paiute, Shivwits Paiute, and Zuni Tribes. A final Historic Preservation Plan is in preparation. A workshop and field trip on site stabilization have been scheduled to begin implementation of site preservation. Balsom concludes "We hope that our efforts will provide for lasting protection of these significant and fragile pieces of the past."

**Bancroft, Hubert Howe**

**1889 The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. XVII, The History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888. The History Company, San Francisco.**

Bancroft adds the following footnote (pp. 47-48) to his description of Cárdenas' exploration of the Grand Canyon, which was reported to have entailed a march of 20 days or fifty leagues.

Pedro de Sotomayor was the chronicler of this branch expedition, according to Casteñeda; and the three men who tried to reach the bottom of the great cañon were Capt. Melgosa, Juan Galeras, and an unnamed soldier. On the way back, at a cascade, they found crystals of salt. A westward course from Moqui would have led to the Colorado at the junction of the Colorado Chiquito, where the main river turns abruptly to the N. of W. As no crossing of the branch is mentioned, and as the course of the river is given as N. E. to S. S. W., it would be much more convenient to suppose that Cárdenas went N. W. to the river, and followed it southward, but not much importance can be attached to this matter. Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 272, and some other writers, speak of Cárdenas' trip as having extended to the sea, perhaps confounding it with that of Diaz to the gulf. This may partially account for the

subsequent curious transfer of Coronado's discoveries from the N. E. interior to the N. W. coast on many early maps.

Bancroft reports that Padre Jacobo Sedelmair of Tubutama set out in 1744 to visit the Moquis (p. 365-366). Sedelmair traveled up the Colorado River as far as the mouth of the Bill Williams River but did not reach the Hopi Mesas. Bancroft reports that "the Moquis were understood to live not more than two or three days journey away, having frequent commercial intercourse with the Colorado tribes."

**Barber, Edwin A.**

**1877 On the Ancient and Modern Pueblo Tribes of the Pacific Slope of the United States. *The American Naturalist* 11:591-599.**

As Barber states in this article, "The object of this paper is to give some facts which will help to prove that the ancient people with whom originated the ruins of this section [within Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona] were the ancestors of the three house-building tribes"—namely, the Zunis, Pueblos, and Hopis. To accomplish this, Barber compares the remains of these ruins with the modern styles of architecture, pottery, tools, etc. at the Hopi Mesas. He deduces that the inhabitants of the ancient and modern sites were the same (pp. 594-597). According to Barber, the Hopis believed that they once lived in the San Juan River Valley, stating (pp. 592-593):

The entire country covered by ancient habitations was occupied long ago by a peaceful, agricultural, and pastoral race, from the time the earth was but a small island. Here they flourished and multiplied for many generations, tilling the soil and raising flocks and herds along the fertile river valleys. After a time another tribe, uncultivated and barbarous, came down from the north to visit them. The people received them kindly and treated them in a hospitable manner, and their visits grew more frequent. Finally they became annoying and showed a warlike spirit. The owners of the land then fled to the cliffs, and subsisted as best they could, until the barbarians from the north came down with their families and settled permanently with their families, driving their victims from the country. Then the persecuted people gathered together once more at the *Cristone* (a needle-shaped spire of rock on the San Juan River). Here they built houses in the caves and cliffs; erected fortresses, watch-towers, and store-houses; and dug reservoirs to supply themselves with water. After a prolonged battle their enemies were repulsed; but the conquerors retired to the deserts of Arizona and settled on the high bluffs of that region, where their posterity, the Moquis, live to this day.

Barber reports that the Ute Indians of Southern Colorado acknowledged that the "Moquich" or Moquis were the people who lived in the prehistoric pueblos (p. 593).

Barber states this was a prevalent belief among the several bands of Utes he encountered. Barber suggests that Hopi migration all moved from north to south. "This supposition," he writes, "agrees with the traditions of the natives and is supported by the general appearance of the remains. Those farthest north are in the greatest state of decay, while as we advance southward they are much better preserved" (p. 593).

Barber points to the remains of art and tools discovered in his excavations to substantiate his claim that the ruins extending throughout the region were occupied by ancestors of the Pueblo, Zuni, and Hopi tribes. He claims that the findings throughout the region are so uniform that "It . . . matters little what we call the ancients, whether Moquis, Zunis, or Pueblos, although for convenience and on account of their architectural peculiarities, we may term them the ancient *Pueblos*, or town builders" (p. 597). Although the Colorado River is mentioned as one of the valleys with copious ruins left by these ancient town builders (p. 591), Barber offers no specific information about occupation of this river valley or migration from it.

Barber (p. 599) concludes with the observation, since proven wrong, that "The Moqui are dwindling away year by year . . . In a short time they will have entirely disappeared, and their deserted towns will form other groups among the ruins which now dot the desert of the far Southwest."

**Bartlett, Katherine**

**1934 Spanish Contacts with the Hopi, 1540-1823. *Museum Notes of the Museum of Northern Arizona* 6(12):55-60.**

Hopi contacts with Spanish officials during the period of Spain's rule in the Americas are summarized in this brief article.

**Bartlett, Katherine**

**1935 Prehistoric Mining in the Southwest. *Museum Notes of the Museum of Northern Arizona* 7(10):41-44.**

Bartlett describes the mines worked by prehistoric peoples in the Southwest to obtain turquoise, salt, and coal. With respect to salt, Bartlett (p. 42) states,

To appreciate the value of salt in ancient times we must imagine ourselves in a world with no sugar and very little salt, the state which the Pueblos enjoyed. To them, salt was a great luxury, for it could only be obtained in relatively small quantities, and the further they were from the source of supply the scarcer it was. Pueblo children were given rock salt to such as we would give our children hard candy. Thus we imagine that communities that had a source of salt nearby had wealth beyond

compare as far as its trading value went. Like turquoise, it was one of the things most desired by the Indians, even until recent times.

In addition to salt mines at Camp Verde and at St. Thomas on the Virgin River, Bartlett notes there were two other salt sources (p. 42). These are the Zuni Salt Lake and the source in the Grand Canyon where the Hopis obtained salt. Bartlett (p. 42) states, "A salt spring in the Canyon of the Little Colorado near its junction with the Colorado has been one source of supply for the Hopis for centuries."

**Bartlett, Katherine**

**1936 Hopi History, No. 2: The Navajo Wars--1823-1870. *Museum Notes of the Museum of Northern Arizona* 8(7):33-37.**

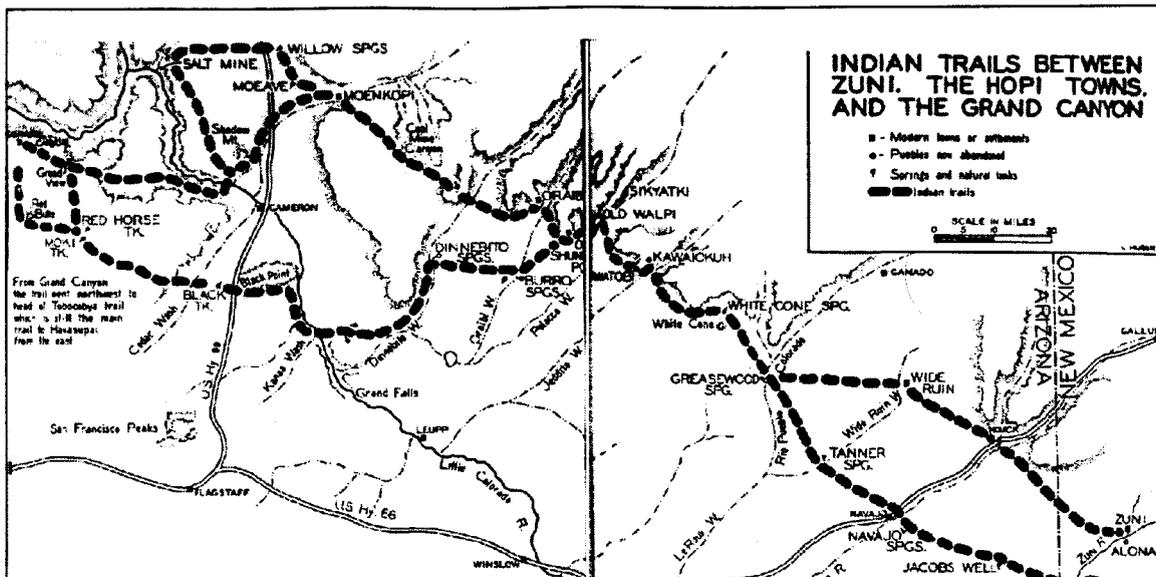
In this concise article, Bartlett summarizes the history of contact between non-Indians and the Hopi for a period of 53 years in the mid-nineteenth century. Bartlett argues that the Hopis remained largely isolated from non-Indian culture during this period because of the buffer created around them by Navajo warfare.

**Bartlett, Katherine**

**1940 How Don Pedro de Tovar Discovered the Hopi and Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas Saw the Grand Canyon, with Notes upon Their Probable Route. *Plateau* 12:37-45.**

This article includes a reprinting of George Winship's account of the Tovar and Cardenas expeditions to Hopi and the Grand Canyon. The only original part of the work is Bartlett's description of Indian trails that the parties might have followed on their journeys. Bartlett offers one possibility for the route between the Zuni village, Hawikuh, and the Hopi Mesas. She offers two possibilities for Cardenas' trip to the Grand Canyon: one crossing the Little Colorado River via the Moenkopi wash; the other passing near Grand Falls on the way to the Havasupai village. Bartlett speculates that on the return trip, the party did not merely retrace its steps, but, rather, followed a wholly new route which passed right by the Hopi's sacred salt shrine near the confluence of the Colorado and the Little Colorado. It should be noted that Bartlett mislocates the Hopi "Salt Mine" in the Grand Canyon, placing it on the Little Colorado River rather than at its true location on the Colorado River.

Bartlett includes a map of "Indian Trails between Zuni, the Hopi Towns, and the Grand Canyon," (reproduced below) based on historical descriptions of these trails by the non-Indians that used them. As described, these trails ran from water source to water source. On p. 43, Bartlett lists the major springs along the Indian trails she depicts and calculates the distances between these springs.



Map of Indian Trails between Zuni, the Hopi towns, and the Grand Canyon, from Bartlett (1940:40-41).

**Bartlett, Katherine**

1942 Letter to Alfred Whiting, November 9, 1942. Ms. SW-2, pp. 207-208, Whiting Collection, Cline Library Special Collections, Northern Arizona University.

This letter is one piece of a long correspondence between Bartlett and Whiting concerning trails between Havasupai and Hopi. In this letter Bartlett states that,

My impression would be that trails across country to Hopi, etc. would have been the same for generations, and would undoubtedly have variants. We know that over so much of this country you can go anywhere, and as long as they found water, that was all they needed. Trails in the Canyon would be different, for they could wash out and become impassable, because of a cloudburst, or other "act of God."

**Bartlett, Katherine**

1942 Notes Upon the Routes of Espejo and Farfán to the Mines in the Sixteenth Century. *New Mexico Historical Review* 17:21-36.

Bartlett describes the routes taken by two sixteenth-century Spanish explorers who traveled to mines with the help of Hopi guides. Bartlett contends that both parties visited the same mines, located in the Verde River Valley.

**Bartlett, Katherine**

**1943 Edible Wild Plants of Northern Arizona. *Plateau* 16(1):11-17.**

The principal wild plants used by the Hopis and other Native Americans in Northern Arizona are reviewed in this article. Bartlett observes (p. 11),

The Hopi ... make some use for food, medicine, drugs, tools and the like, of almost every wild plant that grows on their mesas. The Navajo, on the other hand, use some wild plants but not all that grow in the area they dwell. To an ethnologist this difference confirms what is known from other evidence — that the Hopi have occupied their mesas for many centuries, while the Navajo are relative newcomers.

Bartlett classifies wild foods into seven categories, occasionally identifying specific use by the Hopis but more often generalizing the use to "Indians." A number of wild food plants described by Bartlett were observed by Hopis in the Grand Canyon. In the category "Nuts and Seeds," these include *Pinus edulus* (Pinyon nuts); and *Yucca baccata* and *augustissima* (Spanish Bayonet yucca). In the category "Berries and Fruits," are *Opuntia histricina* and *polycantha* (Prickley Pear). In the category "Greens" are *Atriplex sp.* (Saltbush), for which Bartlett (p. 14) notes "The leaves and young shoots are used as greens by the Hopi, who boil them with meat;" *Stanleya* (Desertplume); *Cleome serrulata* (Rocky Mountain Beeplant), for which Bartlett (p. 14) notes, "Tender young shoots are used as greens by Hopi, and also dried for winter use." In the category "Sources of Meal or Flour" are *Sporobolus giganteus* and *auroides* (Dropseed), for which Bartlett (p. 16) says, "Used by Hopis to make a fine meal;" *Oryzopsis hymenoides* (Ricegrass or Indian Millet), "Used by the Hopis to make a fine meal." In the category "Beverages" are *Ephedra* (Mormon Tea); and *Rhus trilobata* (Squawbush), which Bartlett (p.17) says is "used by the Hopis to make 'lemonade.'" Bartlett discusses many other plants in addition to the ones referred to above.

**Bartlett, Katherine**

**1945 The Distribution of the Indians of Arizona in 1848. *Plateau* 17:41-45.**

In this article, Bartlett maps and discusses the distribution of Indians in Arizona in 1848. She writes that before 1150, "Pueblo peoples, like the Hopi, occupied" northwestern Arizona, which, by 1848, was inhabited by the Paiute Indians (p. 42). This territory is located across the Grand Canyon from where the Hopis were living in 1848 (and continue to live to the present.). Nothing is mentioned about the Hopi migration from one side of the Canyon to the other. Bartlett observes that "The valley of the Little Colorado had not been occupied since 1400, though it once supported a good population" (p. 44).

**Bartlett, Katherine, Harold S. Colton, and Jack Holterman**  
**1995 Spanish Pathways. *Canyon Journal* 1(1):32-41.**

This is a synthesis of the writings of the three authors that appeared in *Plateau* between 1934 and 1939. For the purposes of the Hopi GCES project, it is useful to reiterate the route Bartlett and Colton thought Cardeñas took from Hopi to the Grand Canyon in 1540. This route is hypothesized to run from Shungopavi southwest to Burro Springs (12 mi); from Burro Springs west past W past Masipa Spring to Dinnebito Spring (15 mi); from Dinnebito Spring west past springs to the Little Colorado River at the mouth of Grand Falls, and then across the Little Colorado River about Kana-a Wash (10.5 mi); from Kana-a Wash north along the river in Wupatki Basin to Black Point (7.5 mi); from Black Point west along south side of Black Point to natural tank (14 mi); from tank west to Cedar Wash (6 mi); from Cedar Wash northwest through the Little Colorado River monocline to Moki Tank or Red Horse Tank (18 mi); from Moki Tank west to Red Butte; from Red Butte northwest to a tank called Bear Spring (Hopi); from Bear Spring to the present Grand Canyon Village; from the Grand Canyon northwest to the head of Tobocobya Trail, the principal trail down into Cataract Canyon (p. 38).

Bartlett et al. note:

When considering the routes used by the Spaniards, we must remember several things. First, that the country was not overgrazed as it is today, and that many of the dry washes we know were probably gently flowing streams lined with cottonwoods and filled with beaver dams. If not flowing on the surface, water could be found by digging down into the sand. Second, the Spaniards with their horses would require far more water than a party of Indians on foot, and their progress was not so rapid, as they themselves said. Third, they would have taken the best watered route to reach their destination. Tovar made his trip during the 30 days from July 15th to August 15, the height of the summer rainy season when all possible waterholes would be full, under normal conditions. Cardeñas' trip was later, about August 25 to mid-November, the first part during the rainy season and the latter part in the fall dry period.

As the authors observe, Cardeñas took 20 days to travel to the Grand Canyon, and then spent 3 or 4 days there. This was ample time to undertake a lot of "sightseeing."

**Beadle, J. H.**

**1877 *Western Wilds, and the Men Who Redeem Them*. J. C. Chilton Publishing, Detroit, MI.**

This book describes Beadle's adventures and travels in the late nineteenth-century. Beadle traveled to the Hopi Mesas in June, 1872, for a four day visit. He stayed on First Mesa and reported information on Hopi eating habits, style of dress, cultivation of crops, and more. In his single effort to glean information about Hopi's beliefs and religion, he failed miserably. The Hopi man who Beadle interviewed provided evasive answers to all his questions. Beadle asked, "who made this *mesa*, these mountains, all that you see here?" The Hopi man answered simply that it is here and always was here. Beadle tried again, inquiring, "where do the dead Moquis go? Where is the child I saw put in the sand yesterday? Where does it go?" The reply: "Not at all. Nowhere; you saw it put in the sand. How can it go anywhere?" When asked about the purpose of ceremonial dances, the Hopi man replied: "The grandfathers always had them" (pp. 280-281). Even Beadle himself realized that the simplicity of the Hopi man's answers resulted from distrust. He remarked in his notes that, "Probably they [Hopis] were too suspicious of a stranger to let me know anything about" their religion (p. 281). Beadle notes that "*mescal*" [i.e., dried agave] was one of the Hopi's luxuries (p. 288). He describes it as a "dried like a mass of shoe leather, and tastes much like ripe sugar cane."

**Beaglehole, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole**

**1935 Hopi Death Customs. In *Hopi of the Second Mesa* by Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, pp. 11-14. *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 44.**

Two anthropologists report that data on Hopi death customs is difficult to collect because the Hopis are reticent to discuss death. This brief article is thus based on information from a very small sample of Hopi funerals. Several aspects of Hopi burial customs relate to deceased adults becoming clouds. After death the face of the corpse is covered with raw cotton, "which signifies its future existence as a cloud" (p. 14). After the deceased person is buried, prayer feathers and a pottery bowl of corn meal is taken to the grave." The meal is to feed the spirit of the dead man, the prayer sticks to help it on its journey and to help it easily to become a cloud" (p. 15).

**Beaglehole, Ernest**

**1937 *Notes on Hopi Economic Life*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 15. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.**

Beaglehole's monograph provides useful information about Hopi economic practices and social organization in the early twentieth century, including Hopi use of salt and the Grand Canyon. With reference to salt, Beaglehole (p. 52) writes,

One of the products of the more widely extended environment that the Hopi gathers at regular intervals is salt. Formerly this was obtained from deposits in Marble Canyon, close to the Grand Canyon. Prayer sticks were deposited at the shrines of the Salt Woman and the Twin War Gods near the Canyon and the men either suspended themselves with ropes from the rim of the Canyon and broke off stalactites of salt from the sides of the cliff or else clambered down to the floor of the Canyon by means of ropes, trees and a step ladder and obtained salt from the Canyon bottom. This salt was brown in color, a soft rock salt, easily ground down but when added to food it turned the latter a yellowish color. The Canyon deposits later became too difficult of access and salt today is obtained almost exclusively from the salt lake forty-two miles south of Zuni, through Mishongnovi men on occasion used to obtain some salt from deposits on the wash southeast of the mesa.

Beaglehole provides a long description of salt pilgrimages from Second Mesa to Zuni Salt Lake (pp. 52-53). Like salt pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon, Hopi expeditions to Zuni salt lake were associated with a number of ritual activities and religious offerings. Beaglehole (p. 74) notes that abstinence from salt is part of the puberty rituals for young girls.

Regarding pigments, Beaglehole (pp. 55-56) says,

Although many pigments and dyes are obtained from wild plants and clay deposits close to the mesas and are gathered when required, two, however, require expeditions to the Colorado River to be obtained and were usually collected on journeys for salt. Today special expeditions are sometimes made to get these colors, yellow ochre and copper carbonate. At the point Grandview, some miles west of Grand Canyon township, there is an old trail leading down to an ancient copper mine situated about half way from the rim. From this mine, quantities of copper ore are dug which, when ground down and mixed with water, make a serviceable greenish-blue pigment. Since Grand Canyon and the San Francisco Peaks passed on the journey are intimately associated with legend and katsina mythology, it is inevitable that an expedition to the Colorado partakes of something in the nature of a religious pilgrimage. Prayer feathers are deposited at appropriate shrines close to the foot of the Peaks, feathers and sacred meal are also left at a shrine in the mine after the ore is extracted (p. 56).

Beaglehole (p. 84) states that the Hopi carried on an extensive trade with the Havasupai. Historically, the Hopis exchanged woven goods of all kinds, storage pottery, stone and shell beads, and other goods obtained from Spaniards and Indians to the east, including silverwork, buffalo hides, red cloth, iron tools, horses. From the

Havasupai the Hopis obtained tanned deer, antelope, and mountain sheep skins, skin shirts and leggings, mescal, piñon nuts, baskets, sheep horn ladles, and abalone shells. According to Beaglehole (p. 85), "The rates of exchange for Hopi blankets were as follows: a large bed-size blanket for two larger buckskins and one other small skin, a small saddle blanket for one small buckskin, a white wedding blanket with red stripes for a shell necklace, a blanket similar to the last for a (five pound) sack full of red ochre." Beaglehole (p. 85) says, "Anciently, according to informants, the Hopi always visited the Havasupai and Walapai as a side expedition to other journeys made to the Colorado River shrines or salt mines. When these journeys to the Colorado grew rare, the Havasupai came more frequently to the Hopi villages, and Oraibi became a meeting place for Havasupai and Hopi traders." Beaglehole suggests that in earlier periods the Hopis obtained iridescent shells and parrot feathers from the Gulf of Mexico and Mexico in similar trade conducted to the west of Hopi.

**Beaudoin, Kenneth Lawrence**

1951 *The Wuwuchim*. Salter House, St. Louis, Missouri.

This abridged version of the Hopi emergence narrative is translated into English and presented in the form of poetry. The publication was limited to 150 copies.

**Belknap, Buzz and Loie Belknap Evans**

1989 *Belknap's Waterproof Grand Canyon River Guide*. Westwater Books, Evergreen, Colorado.

This was the primary river guide used to document the locations visited during ethnohistoric research in the Grand Canyon. This river guide has maps at the scale of 1/42,100, with 40 foot contour intervals to illustrate topography within the canyon. The river guide includes a short poem by Hopi artist and poet Michael Kabotie (Lomayestewa). This poems reads,

"The Grand Canyon  
discovered in 1540  
by Pedro de Cardenas"  
The National Park pamphlet read  
I smiled  
knowing that my people  
always knew the Grand Canyon  
was there  
and didn't need to be discovered.

**Bell, Frank**

**1990 *The Snow Eagle*. Western Horizons Books, Helena, Montana.**

This narrative of this novel alternates between the past and present. The book includes a fictionalized account of the "discovery" of the Grand Canyon by the Spaniards.

**Benedict, Ruth**

**1925 Review of *The North American Indian* by Edward S. Curtis. *American Anthropologist* 27(3):458-460.**

Benedict favorably reviews Curtis's *The North American Indian*. With respect to the Puebloan oral traditions recounted by Curtis, Benedict says (p. 460), "The volume contains also valuable mythological material. The clan myths, compared with those already published and with Miss Ruth Bunzel's manuscript, are in their diversity of independent a self-sufficient rebuttal of their historicity."

**Bieber, Ralph P. (editor)**

**1974 *Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846-1854* by Philip St. George Cooke, William Henry Chase Whiting, Francois Xavier Aubry. Philadelphia: Porcupine Press.**

Of the three frontiersmen Bieber discusses in this book, Francois X. Aubry was the only one who traveled within the vicinity of the Hopi Mesas. In the years 1853-1854, Aubry past south of the Hopi villages while surveying a possible railroad route along the 35th parallel (which by and large traverses the Colorado Plateau and intersects the Little Colorado River at about its halfway point). Although Aubry kept a journal throughout his explorations, he included no information about the Hopi.

**Billingsley, M. W.**

**1971 *Behind the Scenes in Hopi Land*. Privately printed in the United States.**

This autobiographical book, subtitled "The Only Authentic White Chief of the Hopi Indians," is an exercise in self-glorification. Laird's *Hopi Bibliography* (1977:53) accurately describes this book by noting, "The book is a curious mix of truth and conceit, a hodgepodge of memories and irrelevancies." Billingsley was a resident of Arizona who maintained close ties with a set of Hopi men. Among Billingsley's many "accomplishments" were the construction of a "kiva" at his home in Glendale, and the production of a performance of a "Snake Dance" in the nation's capital, Washington, D.C. The following passages (p.100) in the book are relevant to Hopi clan history.

In 1923 I headed an expedition in Central America with these Hopi Indians in conjunction with Dr. Fewkes of the Smithsonian Institution in

Washington, D.C. We traced the hieroglyphics and pictographs from Arizona to the Yucatan border where in our excavations we found Hopi Katchinas and emblems. We were excavating in Mexico at that time under permits of President Obregon. This picture was taken in the throne room of the national palace in Mexico City. Here you see Hopi Indians and myself are in the company of President Obregon. We were his guests in the National Palace. There you see on the left of the throne is myself and then on the right is President Obregon. The two Mexicans in uniform are palace guards and the other Mexicans in civilian clothing were in charge of the detachments of the Mexican soldiers that were our guards while on the expedition into ancient ruins between Popogtitple and the Plain of the Sleeping Woman.

However, we have established the origin of the Hopi people according to Dr. Fewkes of the Smithsonian in Washington; Dr. Owen of the Field Museum in Chicago; and Dr. Cummings of the University of Tucson, Arizona.

The Hopi are the descendants of the pyramid builders of Central America who migrated north building their cliff and pueblo dwellings from the materials they could find at hand. So the Hopi are of the Mayan stock and not of the Aztec.

The photograph Billingsley refers to shows the Hopis dressed in Plains Indian War Bonnets (p. 99). A second photograph shows the Hopis at a Mayan temple dressed in more traditional clothes and headbands (p. 100). This second photograph states "Hopi emblems and Pahoes were much in evidence in these ruins." Since Billingsley does not present any archaeological data, his claims of finding Hopi kachinas and emblems are impossible to evaluate or confirm using a scientific perspective. His expedition with Hopi elders, however, does represent a long-standing interest the Hopi people have in cultures of Mexico stemming from Hopi oral history of clan migrations.

**Bindell, Stan**

**1991 Petroglyphs Get First Cleaning. *The Navajo-Hopi Observer*, October 9, 1991, p. 2.**

This newspaper article describes how Vanessa Brown, a resident of Tuba City of Navajo, Sioux, Mohawk-Seneca and German ancestry, and her sister Kazuko Toelken, of Japanese, German and Iroquois ancestry, used acetone to erase the painted graffiti at the Hopi petroglyph site of Tutuveni. The article notes Tutuveni is recognized in the Navajo Nation Historic Preservation Plan as a Hopi religious site and is also recognized by the National Register of Historic Places.

**Bishop, F. M.**

**1947** *Letters of Captain F. M. Bishop to the Daily Pantagraph, 1871-72. Utah Historical Quarterly* 15:239-253.

Bishop wrote a number of letters to the Daily Pantagraph newspaper while a member of John Wesley Powell's expedition exploring the Colorado River. In a letter written in February 1872 and published in the newspaper on March 27, 1872, Bishop (p. 250) describes the "scattered relics of a once numerous people" observed in an area extending throughout the region of the Colorado River "... from Green River City to Callville ... along the valley of the Uintah ... along the valleys of the Great Salt Lake, Utah Lake, and in all the valleys leading to the great Cañon on the Colorado." These "relics" include kivas, "houses of stone and dwellings in caves, histories written in hieroglyphics upon cliffs and cañon walls; fragments of pottery of every description; pathways up seemingly inaccessible cliffs by footholds cut in the rock, and ladders of poles .." Bishop says (pp. 250-251), "There is a tradition among the Shenomos, or Moquis Indians, to the effect that their tribes once lived over this entire country, and that disease and war have finally reduced them to the little handful now living in the 'Seven Cities' of northern Arizona, which seems quite probable."

**Black, Robert A.**

**1964** *A Content Analysis of 81 Hopi Indian Chants. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University.*

Black analyses 81 secular chants by town criers making roof top announcements at 10 Hopi villages on all three mesas. The primary purpose of secular chants (p. viii) is to "communicate information and news which is of concern to the village as a whole, or to individual inhabitants in particular. They serve to mobilize cooperative participation of the villagers for communal activities, such as work parties, hunting and festivities, as well for voicing individual grievances, and complaints." Black illustrates the categories of Hopi verbal behavior in a tree-diagram in which casual discourse (conversation) is distinguished from non-casual discourse (p. x). Non-casual discourse includes the categories of folktales, chants, and songs with words. Chants includes two subcategories: secular chants and religious, non-secular chants. Chants consist of a number of statements made within the framework of a series of musical pitches that serve to relay the message to the whole village by projecting the voice for a distance of up to half a mile (p. xi). Black notes that Voegelin and Euler (1957) analyze non-secular, religious chants, which are more formal than secular chants, and are only made by the person holding the hereditary office of the Crier Chief.

**Bloom, Lansing B. (editor)**

**1931 A Campaign Against the Moqui Pueblos. *New Mexico Historical Review* 6:158-226.**

In 1716, the Governor of reconquered New Mexico, Phelix Martinez, came to Hopi for the express purpose of "reducing" the Hopis once and for all and also to bring back those Pueblo Indians from the east who had taken refuge at Hopi. Bloom collected Martinez's correspondence and reconstructed the routes of travel and events of this expedition. Bloom's conclusion about the expedition is that it served "only [to] confirm them [the Hopis] in what Governor Martinez terms their 'apostasy'" (p. 164).

**Bolton, Herbert Eugene**

**1916 *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.**

This book contains records from two expeditions that visited the Hopi Mesas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Espejo and Oñate expeditions. These records demonstrate Hopi knowledge of the Colorado River. Zárate (1626) claimed that Oñate learned from Hopis that the Little Colorado River "runs from southeast to northwest, afterwards turning to the west, and they say it enters California" (p. 269). Zárate goes on to say that from California, the Colorado River continues to the sea.

**Bolton, Herbert Eugene (editor)**

**1928 Escalante in Dixie and the Arizona Strip. *New Mexico Historical Review* 3:41-72.**

In this journal article, Bolton presents his translation and edition of a portion of Friar Silvestre Velez de Escalante's travel diary from 1776. The text includes information that documents the trail system linking the Hopi Mesas with Paiute territory on the north side of the Grand Canyon.

**Bolton, Herbert E.**

**1940 *Coronado on the Turquoise Trail*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.**

This classic book recounts the first Spanish Entrada in the Southwest. The account includes a description of the reconnaissance of Hopi that Pedro de Tovar undertook for Coronado. Tovar left Zuni and set out for Hopi on July 15, 1540. In describing Tovar's route, Bolton wrote (p. 135),

Meanwhile Tovar went on his way to Tusayan, or Hopi Land ... He was led by Zuni guides who presumably took him over the accustomed route by which the Hopis periodically came to the famous Zuni salt lakes to

supply their needs. The old trail led northwest past well known water holes, skirting the now famous "stone trees" of the Petrified Forest ..."

**Bolton, Herbert Eugene (editor)**

**1948 (1919) *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta: A Contemporary Account of the Beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona, 1683-1711, by Eusebio Francisco Kino. Vol. 1. University of California Press, Berkeley.***

Kino performed missionary work in the Southwest for 24 years. During this extensive period, he tried to contact the Hopi many times, sending them letters and messages, but they never responded. Kino mentions the Hopis a few times in his memoir, but discusses only their apostasy and his inability to bring them under the Christian fold.

**Bolton, Herbert Eugene**

**1949 *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.***

Bolton provides a very thorough reconstruction of Coronado's 1540-1542 Entrada in the Southwest. One chapter describes the expedition's survey of Hopi and the Grand Canyon. Bolton points out that Zuni guides led the Spanish explorers to the Hopi Mesas and probably took them "over the accustomed route by which the Hopis periodically came to the famous Zuni salt lakes to supply their needs" (p. 135). Bolton (p. 138) notes that after retracing Tovar's trail to Tusayán, Cárdenas was well received by the Hopis and given lodgings, liberal supplies, and guides to the "Great River." Cárdenas reported that the Hopis said it was a twenty day journey over uninhabited country before reaching the settlements that Bolton infers were those of the Havasupai. Bolton surmises that the explorers who traveled to the Grand Canyon with help of Hopi guides, must have witnessed the canyon from a place near Grand View. Bolton writes (p. 139),

The approximate region where the gorge was first reached by the explorers can be conjectured from the description given by Castaneda. The evidence indicates that it was in the vicinity of Grand View. The country was high, dry, "open to the north," and covered with low and twisted pines. It is at Grand View that vision sweeps north as far as Vermillion Cliffs and Lee's Ferry, some fifty miles away.

**Bourke, John G.**

**1892 *On the Border with Crook. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.***

Bourke recounts his adventures while serving as part of General George Crook's troops in the West. In states that 1874 he visited the Hopi Mesas with Crook to

investigate news that Hopis had been selling arms and ammunition to the Apaches. The Hopis had supposedly been obtaining the trade items from their neighbors across the Colorado River, the Utes and the Mormons. The American officers learned that the report was, in fact, true. Crook sternly warned the Hopis not to continue this form of enterprise. He then departed Hopi and appears to have never returned (p. 230).

**Bourke, John G.**

1984 *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson. [Original publication: 1884, Scribner, New York].

In 1880-1881, Bourke visited the Hopi Mesas and recorded some interesting information about Hopi ties to the Colorado River system. He recorded a story from Hopi oral traditions which describes the advent of sea shells into Hopi culture and the origin of the Hopi Snake Clan and the Snake Dance. He wrote (p. 177):

As to the sea-shells seen before the altars, he [Hopi informant with clan affiliations with *Hushpoa* or chapparal cock clan and *Quingoi* or oak clan] remarked as follows:--"Many years ago the Moquis used to live upon the other side of a high mountain, beyond the San Juan River" (in the extreme S. W. corner of Colorado. This is the same mountain which the Navajoes call Notizan). "The chief of those who lived there thought he would take a trip down the big river to see where it went to. He made himself a boat of a hollow cottonwood log, took some provisions, and started down. The stream carried him to the seashore, where he found shells. When he arrived on the beach he saw on top of a cliff a number of houses, in which lived many men and women. They had white under their eyes, and below that a white mark. . . . That night he took unto himself one of the women as his wife. Shortly after his return to his home the woman gave birth to snakes, and this was the origin of the snake family (gens or clan) which manages this dance [the Snake Dance]. When she gave birth to these snakes they bit a number of the children of the Moquis. The Moquis then moved in a body to their present villages, and they have this dance to conciliate the snakes, so they won't bite their children.

This is a version of the Hopi narrative of Tiyo. The content of Bourke's rendition of this Hopi tradition demonstrates that part of Hopi culture derives from a connection to the Colorado River. Earlier in his account, Bourke stated specifically that shell bracelets were worn exclusively by men of high status. "[I]ndeed," he wrote, "I have never detected them upon the wrist of any Moqui or Zuni who was not invested with some trust or dignity of great importance in the eyes of his tribe" (p. 142). The trade in sea shells played a role in perpetuating status distinction in Hopi society.

**Bradfield, Richard Maitland**

**1973 *A Natural History of Associations, A Study in the Meaning of Community.*  
Duckworth, London.**

This two volume ethnological study includes an extensive discussion of the Hopis to exemplify how culture and community are related. Bradfield notes that the Hopi salt expeditions are closely linked with death and burial (p. 40). He draws upon Titiev's (1937) and Beaglhole's descriptions of salt expeditions to describe the basic features of the ritual pilgrimages (pp. 40-41). Bradfield then notes (p. 41),

The only point to which I wish to draw attention in this narrative, before passing on to consider death and burial, is the parallel between the man's return from a salt expedition and the woman's emergence from child-birth. Both are periods of danger: out of which the man passes by having his hair ceremonially washed and new names bestowed upon him, and out of which the woman passes, again by having her hair washed, and by having her body 'fumigated' in juniper steam. In the rites surrounding death and burial, we shall find these two sequences brought into juxtaposition.

Bradfield (pp. 41-42) observes that the continued existence after death is well defined in Hopi religion. The *hi'ksi* ("breath") is immortal and at death leaves the body through the mouth. The *kya'a* (eldest paternal aunt) washes a deceased man's hair and dresses it, washes the dead body, and gives the corpse a new name. The deceased man's father or other male relatives prepare prayer feathers and a *püh'tabi* (road) consisting a cotton string about three feet long with a feather at one end. The father blackens the chin and places a "white-cloud mask" of raw cotton over the face. Bradfield remarks (p. 42), "The underlying idea behind each of these ritual elements is the same: namely, that the 'breath body' may be light, not 'heavy' (*pe'te*), and so be enabled to go on its way to the land of the dead." The women who place offerings of food and vessels of water in the grave say or imply "You are no longer a Hopi, you are changed [*nih'ti*, grown into] a *katçina*, you are Cloud [O'mauwû]. You are to eat once of this food, i.e. accept this food offering, and when you get yonder, you are to tell the chiefs [i.e., of the six directions] to hasten to bring the rain clouds here." In the process of leaving the corpse, the "breath body" undergoes a metamorphosis into *katçina* or Cloud.

For three days after the interment, bowls of food are placed at the grave. On the third day, the father or uncle of the deceased makes prayer-offerings and takes these to the grave. A *püh'tabi* (road) is laid on the ground pointing to the west of the grave. Four parallel lines are drawn across the trail to the village to make certain that the spirit does not return there. Upon returning home, all the members of the household wash their hair and ritually purify themselves in the smoke of a fire. Bradfield states (p.44),

Early in the next morning, according to Hopi belief, the 'breath body' (*hi'ksi ah'paa*) of the dead person rises from the grave, partakes of the 'breath' of the food, mounts the 'breath' of the single black prayer-stick, and then travels westward along the 'road' to the house of the dead, taking the 'breath' of the double green *pa'ho* with it as an offering to the Masau'u.

Bradfield (pp. 44-45) thinks the hair washing and naming rituals that accompany burials signifies a change in status comparable to birth or initiation. With respect to the salt pilgrimage, Bradfield states (p. 45), "Clearly there is an element of 'danger' in the situation, in that the salt deposits are located near the home of the dead and to fetch salt requires special precautions (e.g., abstinence from sexual intercourse); but the fact that the head-washing is followed by name-giving indicates that the element of 'danger' is outweighed, in Hopi thinking, by that of the change of status involved."

In Chapter 12, "A Pueblo Liturgy," Bradfield (pp. 46-55) articulates what he considers the underlying concepts of the Hopi religion, including the most fundamental concept of belief in the continuity of life after death. He describes color symbolism, katsinas, prayer feathers and prayer sticks, and the ceremonial cycle.

Bradfield (p. 208) notes that while approximately 120 clan names have been recorded for the Hopi villages by six independent field workers, all of these clans are (with only a few exceptions) placed into the same twelve phratries on the three mesas. Bradfield (pp. 208-240) analyzes the associations of ideas, traditional history and ceremonial referents that relate to these phratry groupings.

The ritual collection of eagles and their role in Hopi ceremonies is reviewed (pp. 238-240).

In a chapter on the "Social Morphology: The Hopi," Bradfield (pp. 414-436) reviews parallels in actual items (i.e., ritual elements, deities, and ceremonies) and in underlying principles between the Hopis and Maya culture in the Yucatan. Bradfield suggests Hopi culture is historically related to the Mayan culture.

#### **Bradfield, Maitland**

**1974 *Birds of the Hopi Region, Their Hopi Names, and Notes on their Ecology.*  
Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin 48. Northern Arizona Society of  
Science and Art, Inc., Flagstaff.**

This monograph is based on field work conducted in the Oraibi Valley between 1969 and 1972. Bradfield describes the birds of the Hopi region, and then documents the 1588 birds that he observed during his field work. The observed birds belonged to 45 resident species, with additional migratory species present during the fall. This is a useful reference for Hopi names of birds and ethno-ornithological information.

**Brew, J. O.**

**1941 Preliminary Report of the Peabody Museum Awatovi Expedition of 1939.**  
*Plateau* 13:37-48.

This preliminary report provides the findings of the fifth, and last, field season of archaeological research in the Jeddito Valley and Antelope Mesa in northeastern Arizona. Also included is a summary of the findings of the whole five-year project. The information collected demonstrates Hopi occupation of these abandoned ruins from about 500 A.D. until around 1700 (p. 40). Brew comments that some of the larger sites, including Awatovi, Kawaika-a, Chakpahu, Nesuftonga, Kokopnyama, and Lululongturqui, "were comparable in extent to the modern Hopi towns" (p. 38). He adds that "Either Awatovi or Kawaika-a was presumably the first of the Tusayan towns encountered by Tobar in 1540" (pp. 38-39). Awatovi was the place of contact for both the Espejo and Oñate expeditions.

**Brew, J. O.**

**1949 Part I of *Franciscan Awatovi*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. 36.**  
Cambridge, MA.

This monograph is part of a research program that included the archaeological excavation of Awatovi. In this report, Brew summarized the historical records dealing with Hopis, focusing on the missionary and reconquest periods of Awatovi. None of this information documents Hopi ties to the Grand Canyon.

**Brew, J. O.**

**1979 Hopi Prehistory and History to 1850. In *Southwest*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 514-523. Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, William G. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.**

This article reviews Hopi history to 1850. Brew reports that in 1540, García López de Cárdenas visited the Hopi, where he obtained guides to take him to the Grand Canyon. According to Brew (p. 519), "The expedition discovered the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, but since the Spaniards could not even find a trail down from the rim, the discovery did not result in a practical route to the Gulf of California. The failure of the party to find a way down suggests that perhaps Cárdenas did not have the complete cooperation of his Hopi guides."

**Broder, Patricia Janis**

**1978 *Hopi Painting, The World of the Hopis*. Brandywine Press, New York.**

Broder's discussion of contemporary Hopi painting demonstrates the continuing importance of the *Sipapuni*, the Emergence, and clan migrations in Hopi culture. All

of these themes are incorporated in contemporary Hopi art. Broder (pp. 44-45) describes how Massau, the Huring Whuti, and other principal figures in the Emergence account are depicted in Hopi paintings by Neil David, Sr., Terrance Talaswiama and other Hopi artists. Recognizing that the *Sipapuni* is a "physical reality," Broder quotes Don Talayesva's description of the site from *Sun Chief*. She then discusses a painting by Millard Lomakema entitled *Se Pa Po Nah*, which is described as,

... an abstract representation of the Sepapu in which the four rings represent the four worlds. The figures are the High Priests and the interlocking crescents in the center represent friendship or the brotherhood of man at the time of Emergence ... This painting illustrates the interrelation between the place of Emergence and the kiva, the central underground meeting place of the Hopis. Lomakema emphasizes that his painting simultaneously represents the Sepapu and the kiva. The friendship symbol also represents the spirit of brotherhood in the kiva. The kiva, like the Sepapu, is a womblike form. Emergence is a symbolic birth from one world to another, in which man the child is symbolically reborn from the Earth Mother. In the kivas, each generation of priests teaches the young and performs the sacred rites in order to assure the spiritual rebirth of the Hopi people. The kiva symbolizes the Earth Mother, and within each kiva is a symbolic representation of the Sepapu.

Broder summarizes her observations about this and other Hopi paintings by noting, "The concepts of Emergence and rebirth pervade every level of Hopi life and thought. For the Hopi, all life is a progressive cycle." Common design elements associated with clan migrations include the spiral, footprints, and clan symbols. Broder's analysis reveals that "The Migrations and the symbols of the Migrations are frequently used as purely aesthetic rather than narrative elements in paintings, important components of composition and design, rather than as a means to express the tenets of Hopi life." Broder thinks that "The concept of Migration goes deeper into the Hopi psyche than simply events of the past. The Hopis look upon the span of life from birth to death as a Migration through life, a Migration in which they seek the meaning of their existence and spiritual enlightenment."

**Brown, Jo Jeffers**

**1966 Rain Song: The Story of the Hopi Snake Dance. *Arizona Highways*.  
August 42:2-11.**

This popular article describes the Hopi Snake Dance. Jeffers notes, "To the Hopi, the snake is sacred, a messenger to the gods of the Underworld, where man once lived before he emerged out of the first 'sipapu' onto this earth. An ancient and respected brother to be revered, not feared" (p. 2). Jeffers also tells us that Huru-ing Wuti is the Goddess of Hard Substance who Lives in a "western ocean kiva" (p. 2).

**Brugge, David M. (editor)**

**1964 Vizcarra's Navajo Campaign of 1823. *Arizona and the West* 6:223-244.**

During its brief period of rule in the Southwest, the Mexican government had little contact with the Hopi. It seems that only one Mexican official ever visited the Hopis. In the year 1823, the governor of New Mexico, Jose Antonio Vizcarra, came to the Hopi Mesas as part of a campaign waged against Navajos in the region. In his journal, Vizcarra mentioned using Hopis as guides in the area between the Mesas and the Little Colorado River, and possibly to the river's gorge (pp. 231, 233-235). Vizcarra otherwise offers no substantive information about the Hopi.

**Bunte, Pamela A. and Robert J. Franklin**

**1987 *From the Sands to the Mountains: Change and Persistence in a Southern Paiute Community*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.**

The authors of this work on Southern Paiute history and culture, document that part of the Southern Paiutes' past includes a tradition of trade with the Hopis. They provide evidence from Friar Escalante's journal that a trail system existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which connected Hopis with Paiutes living on both sides of the Colorado River. Bunte and Franklin state that there was evidence for human maintenance of the trail along the route from Southern Paiute territory to the Hopi Mesas. They argue that the existence of a stairway and other improvements to the route, "bespeak the importance of the road and the interaction which took place along it" (pp. 42-43).

**Bureau of Indian Affairs**

**1955 *Hopi Hearings, July 15-30, 1955*. Hopi Agency, Phoenix Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs.**

This is a transcript of hearings that the Bureau of Indian Affairs held at several Hopi villages in 1955 to document Hopi concerns about tribal and federal governance, land claims, and related issues. Many Hopis discussed the pact of stewardship the Hopis made with Masaw when they first came upon this land and how the Hopi people are obligated to live according to the life principles Masaw established. These Hopis include Dan Katchongva of Hotevilla (pp. 23-26), David Monongye (p. 44), Andrew Hemequaftewa (pp. 79-87), George Nasoftie (pp. 81-82).

Andrew Hemequaftewa described how the first people got their clans during the migrations that followed their meeting with Masaw. He says (p. 82),

Many people came directly to this area and somewhere the first group found a dead bear lying in their path and another group came along and found all the hair had fallen of, leaving only the hide and from this the people who made came there made straps from the hide, and they

became the Strap Clan, and another group found the bear's hair buried in the ground by a gopher and they took their clan name from the gopher and they became the Gopher Clan. The next group found a spider inside of this bear's body and there were cobwebs all over inside and they became the Spider Clan, and then another group came along and found the bear's body but it was full of holes and grease was all around it, and they became the Grease Cavity Clan. Then another group came along and found nothing but bluebirds sitting on top of the bear's skeleton, and they became the Bluebird Clan. This is how the first people got their clans.

With respect to shrines, Hermequaftewa (p. 86) says,

Our land is divided among [us] our shrines are established in the various directions for the purpose of prayer altars where we are to offer our prayers. The land we which we considered as our land was from shore 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 place they call Salt down south at Zuni.

Peter Nuvamsa read into the record the petition that Shungopavi submitted to the Indian Claims Commission, mentioning the map that accompanied the petition (pp. 110-114). Nuvamsa (p. 111) refers to the Hopi land (Tutsquat) as "fixed in our traditional life and which we must use in our traditional way in carrying out traditional practices and regulations." Included in section of the petition that describes the land and its purpose is the statement "It is upon this land that we made trails to our salt supply" (p. 112).

Viets Lomaheftewa stated that in the late nineteenth century his grandfather Honanie went to Washington to present the land claim of the Hopi people (p. 114). The Hopis returned with the understanding that the government officials would respect the Hopi's land.

Charlie Homehongva described a Hopi "tradition which in our minds is believed and to our thinking is true" (p. 148). He says (pp. 148-149),

We all know there was a meeting called many years ago on Old Oraibi. There the representatives of the villages met and they took into consideration this land question and as they talked they brought up the fact that there was a generation of children growing up and that they had to be cared for and they had come specifically for the purpose of trying to establish land that would be sufficient to take care of our future generation of children, our own children, our nephews, our nieces, our grandchildren. So they said "Loloma" - he was 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 on the 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. They said whereas it is true that there were many ruins across the country, the fact that they became ruins, the fact that they became ruins was testimony to the fact that something was wrong and much of this land in time may be taken back by the whites and many of the Hopis will not come back ... This is the way the meeting was run at Old Oraibi. These are the points that were made at that village. I respect them.

John Lomavaya of the First Mesa Snake Clan related an account of the boy from Navajo Mountain that traveled down the river in a hollowed-out cottonwood log (pp. 339-341), bringing back to his people the Snake ceremonies. He said in part,

While they were living at Navajo Mountain, the Chief's son happened to sit on the edge of the river that was flowing by the village. He was wondering where the body of water was coming from and where it is flowing to. While he was wondering, he made up his mind to try to find out, because of his curiosity, where that river flows into, and he intended to follow it. I said he intended to follow the river where it flows to. So he cut himself a cottonwood tree and hollowed it out and he covered with this cottonwood with a lining of pitch to make it water-proof. He also made an opening and furnished himself also with a rod so in case he wants to go on he can push himself. So when he got ready

he prepared enough food to go along, got inside of what he had made and closed the opening and lined it with pitch and used the rod to roll himself into the river. As he started to float down the river he noticed that because of no vibration or movement of what he was occupying, he opened the port-hole and look out and discovered that he had drifted ashore among river trash, or the things that collect on a river bank. So he prodded with his rod and floated down again. The second time he noticed that the thing that he was drifting in was still, he again opened the hole and when he looked he saw a great body of water, but on account of the waves it pushed him to the shore. He saw the land and also the big body of water. He must have reached the ocean ...

Lomavaya also discussed the Hopi tradition of the Franciscan Fathers who required the Hopis to go to the Colorado River to get sweet water. He adds (p. 341), "In those days it is very dangerous for anyone to travel. Many did not return, and when the fair maidens, girls, grow up, these people liked to keep them together all alone. After discovering this they all decided to get rid of them."

#### **Bureau of Reclamation**

**1995 *Operation of Glen Canyon Dam, Colorado River Storage Project, Final Environmental Impact Statement.* U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, Salt Lake City.**

This final Environmental Impact Statement was prepared using data collected by the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies. It discusses the purpose and need for the action, the alternatives for operation of the dam, the affected environment, environmental consequences, and consultation and coordination. This EIS contains a tremendous amount of technical data pertaining the cultural and natural resources of the Colorado River and how the Glen Canyon Dam has impacted these resources. The EIS was issued in two volumes. One volume contains a compendium of the technical data and findings, while a second, much shorter volume contains a summary.

#### **Butchart, Harvey**

**1970 *Grand Canyon Treks, A Guide to the Inner Canyon Routes.* La Siesta Press, Glendale, California.**

This hiking guide to the trails in the Grand Canyon, contains the following description of how to get to the Hopi Salt Mine and the *Sipapuni* (pp. 39-40).

At Palisades Creek one must decide whether to go high on a slope above the bluff or follow the narrow bench along the river. The latter pinches out about two-thirds of the way to the Little Colorado but when you can go no farther, you are at the source of Hopi salt.

Until about 1912 the Hopis came as puts to this place. It was a religious observance with many rituals. Entering the Little Colorado Canyon through Salt Canyon 6½ miles from the mouth, they had to use a rope for the last 20 feet to the bank of the Colorado. The salt is in the form of stalactites and stalagmites in shallow caves. I recognized this as the right place when I came down from above and found the peculiar knob of bedrock where the Hopis fastened the rope.

About 4.5 miles up the Little Colorado from the mouth is a travertine cone formed from the minerals of a little bubbling spring. This is the original Hopi Sipapu, the reputed route from which the progenitors of the human race issued from the underworld. At 6.5 miles from the mouth on the north side is Salt Trail Canyon. The trail is now marked by many cairns and is an easier way to reach the rim than the Walter Powell route.

Butchart also describes a route out of the canyon about 1.6 miles up the Little Colorado River. He notes, "An Indian told an acquaintance of mine about this route but he predicted that white men wouldn't like it." Butchart notes that John Wesley Powell wrote in 1869 his brother Walter spent a day in going to the top and back, and suggests this must have been his route.

**Byrant, H. C.**

**1944 Memorandum for the Files, January 17, 1944. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.**

This memorandum describing the first roads to the Grand Canyon was written by the Superintendent of the Grand Canyon National Park, based on a conversation with Dan Hogan. Hogan arrived at the Grand Canyon in 1890. With regard to the Moqui Trail, Bryant states, "The first road to Grand Canyon from Hance's Place followed along the old Moqui Trail to the vicinity of Rowes Well and then up the canyon, which the railroad now follows, to the rim."

**Byrkit, James W.**

**1988 The Palatkwapi Trail. *Plateau* 59(4):1-32.**

Byrkit reviews the history of a trail from the Hopi Mesas to the Verde Valley. As Byrkit notes, this trail was used continuously by the Hopis and a few others well into the twentieth century. As described and mapped by Byrkit (pp. 28-29), the trail runs in a southerly direction from First Mesa past to Comar and Chandler Springs, across the Little Colorado River east of Winslow and the Sunset Crossing, where the trail turns to the southwestward, through Sunset Pass and Chavez Pass, where the trail then heads westward to Jerome. Byrkit describes how the Hopis, the Spanish explorers

Espejo and Farfán, and the American military expeditions of the mid-nineteenth century all used this trail. Byrkit calls this the Palatkwapi Trail because he considers Palatkwapi, a site that figures prominently in Hopi traditional history, to have been in the Verde River valley where the trail terminates. Byrkit (pp. 4-6) does acknowledge, however, that the exact location of Palatkwapi is controversial and that the Hopis suggest there are several alternative locations for this site.

**Byrkit, Jim**

**1995 The Meaning of Trails. *Canyon Journal* 1(1):7-15.**

This brief article provides an overview about prehistoric and historic trails in the Southwest. Byrkit (p. 9) suggests that "Most prehistoric and historic trails in the American Southwest probably followed those first established by animals." These animal and human trails were created to create basic needs for food and water, to connect with other members of the species, and to migrate to areas with better living conditions. Over thousands of years, the best trails were established through trial and error. In the Southwest trails are rarely direct since their route is determined by impediments such as deserts, rivers, lava fields, canyons, mountains, resources, flooding, cold weather, and hostile enemies (p.10-11). Byrkit (p. 12) points out the Spaniards used trails less often but more intensely than Indian populations. During the nineteenth century, many of the trails in the Southwest were used as means of crossing or "getting through" the region.

He describes the Palatkwapi Trail, saying (p. 13),

The Palatkwapi Trail, old and much-used, was the central segment of a complex prehistoric trail network connecting Los Angeles to Santa Fe. The Hopis used it to reach present-day Jerome, where they mined malachite and azurite for their pigments, and salt from the Camp Verde area. These items, along with finely crafted pottery, were then traded with Indians of the Pacific coast and the Gulf of California, for shells, feathers, and other goods from even greater distances.

Byrkit (p. 13) notes that the routes along the 35th Parallel (i.e., the Beale Road and Atlantic and Pacific Railroad) were used for driving sheep from New Mexico to California, as well as by immigrants, supply wagons, and mail stages.

**Camp, Charles L. (editor)**

**1923 The Chronicles of George C. Yount: California Pioneer of 1826.  
*California Historical Society Quarterly* 2:3-67.**

In this article, Camp edits the papers of Reverend Orange Clark who recorded the personal narratives of an old trapper of the Southwest named George C. Yount. One story which Clark recorded from Yount's life occurred in the 1820s when Yount was

traveling with Ewing Young's trapping party in the Salt River system. Clark reported Yount as saying that when the party reached a fork of the main river, about eighty miles from its mouth (p. 11):

... our company divided, a part ascending one fork, and a part the other. The left fork heads due north, and the right fork north east. It was my lot to ascend the latter. It heads in the mountains covered with snow [White Mountains], near the head of the left hand fork of the San Francisco. . . . The other division found that their fork headed in snow covered mountains [San Francisco Mountains], as they supposed near the waters of Red River [Colorado River]. They also met a tribe of Indians, who called themselves **Mokee**. They found them no ways disposed to hostility ...

The identity of Clark's informant is somewhat obscure, with Clark referring to him as simply "an old trapper" (p. 19). Possibly this old trapper is Yount, being around sixty years old at the time of his interviews with Clark (p. 5). It is certain, however, that either Yount or another trapper from the early nineteenth century visited the Hopis and reported that, "No history at all exists of their nation, or of its origin, save a vague tradition that their forefathers came from the Big Canon of the Red River [the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River]" (p. 22).

**Carle, Peggy**

**1941 *Burial Customs of the Indians of the Southwest*. Master's thesis,  
Department of Anthropology, Texas Technological College.**

This masters thesis is a descriptive work based on the research of earlier anthropologists, especially Ernest and Pearle Beaglehole and Elsie Clews Parsons. The thesis contains little original research or analysis. Carle includes this information about Hopi burial practices (p. 55):

The grave is a hole deep and wide enough to receive the flexed body, which is put in a sitting position, facing toward the west. The hole is filled with sand and a stick is placed on the grave to serve as a ladder for the soul (breath-body) to depart to the next world, which place is supposed to be to the west.

Carle refers to the relationship between the travels of the deceased person and the coming of rain. She explains that Hopis bury their dead with, among other things, a vessel of water. That water, "is to be given to the Cloud that he may send rain" (p. 59).

**Carothers, Steven W. and Bryan T. Brown**

**1991 *The Colorado River through the Grand Canyon, Natural History and Human Change*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.**

This book summarizes the natural history of the Grand Canyon with an emphasis on the relationship between ecology and the operation of Glen Canyon Dam. The book includes chapters on the physical environment, the aquatic and riparian ecosystems, and the biopolitical environment. It admirably presents a tremendous amount of technical information in a easily understandable form.

**Carothers, Steven**

**1994 Glen Canyon Dam EIS Perspective. In *Perspectives on the Glen Canyon Environmental Impact Draft Statement*, p. 17. Grand Canyon River Guides, Flagstaff, Arizona.**

Carothers provides a personal perspective on more than twenty years of research in the Grand Canyon as a Grand Canyon River Guide and scientist. He notes that he and other river guides have "... witnessed first hand incredible changes the dam has brought to beaches (adios), riparian habitat (whoa, not too bad in this department), aquatic ecology (yikes), and archaeological sites and other signs of Hisotsinom passing."

**Carothers, Steven W.**

**1995 Adaptive Management in Transition: Where do we go from here? *Newsletter, Colorado River Studies Office 9* (February): 3-4.**

Carothers is identified as the Hopi Tribe's representative on the EIS Team. He describes the first meeting of the Transition Work Group in January 1995, in laying the foundation for the establishment of the Adaptive Management Program that is slated to replace the GCES now that the Environmental Impact Statement has been completed. Carothers (p. 3) notes this is a critical juncture requiring a "... a major reorganization as a matrix of goals, roles, and players shift orientation." Carothers (p. 4) concludes ends by pointing out that a number of research questions about endangered species of fish and other issues still need research before "... we really understand how to operate Glen Canyon Dam. Such is the immediate responsibility of the Adaptive Management Program process."

**Carr, Neita V.**

**1992 *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and the Rainbow Bridge National Monument*. Prepared by the Department of Anthropology, Northern Arizona University, for the**

**Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Ms. on file, Glen Canyon National Recreation Area.**

This ethnographic overview was prepared by a graduate student at Northern Arizona University and is based primarily on a review of published literature. Carr conducted one "exploratory interview" or consultation with Leigh Jenkins, the Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (pp. 43, 48-50). Carr's review of the literature indicates (1) there is evidence of "contemporary and historic Hopi resource usage due to their maintenance of strong associations and use of ancestral clan sites" (p. 14) and (2) that the Rainbow Bridge National Monument is an cultural site important to the Hopis (pp. 32-33). Carr notes the Hopi Tribe thinks more ethnographic research is needed to document Hopi ties to and use of the Glen Canyon National Recreation Area and the Rainbow Bridge National Monument (pp. 48-49).

**Casanova, Frank E.**

**1967 Trails to Supai in Cataract Canyon. *Plateau* 39(3):124-130.**

Casanova reviews the documentary history pertaining to seven trails to the Havasupai with routes down Cataract Canyon. Casanova cites Emerick [1954, *The Havasupais, People of Cataract Canyon*, University of Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin 18(3)] to document that there are at least a dozen trails from the plateau to the Havasupai village, seven of which have been modified for horse trails. Casanova reviews information about the Moqui Trail to Havasupai, which is described as one the horse trails still in use (p. 124).

The first non-Indian to visit the Havasupai village was Padre Francisco Garcés, who arrived on June 20, 1776, via the Hualpai Trail (see Figure 1). Garcés documented that the Havasupai had cattle and horses that they had obtained from the Moqui (Hopi). When Garcés left Cataract Canyon he took the Moqui Trail which Casanova (p. 124) says, "... had been used for centuries as a trade route between Supai and the Hopi villages. This remains the main trail by which the Havasupais move their small herd of cattle from the never-failing springs in the depths of Cataract Canyon to their only available area of abundant feed above the rim."

In 1863, Jacob Hamblin took the Hualpai Trail out of Cataract Canyon, and then cut across the plateau to continue his journey on the Moqui Trail (pp. 126, 129). In June of 1881, Lt. Col. Redwood Price was dispatched by General O. B. Wilcox, Commander of the Department of Arizona, to survey the Havasupai Reservation that had been established the previous year. Major Elliot Coues (the translator of the Garcés diary) accompanied this party as surgeon and naturalist. They descended the Kla-la-pa Trail, where they were met by the Chief of the Havasupai. Casanova (p. 127) says, "The next day they rode down the canyon 25 miles to Supai, passing on the right a side canyon up which was a plain trail leading to the Moquis. This was the trail

by which Garcés had left." A week after the Price expedition, Casanova (p. 127) says, "Lt. F. C. Cushing descended the Moqui Trail with Hopi guides."

Comparison of Casanova's map (Figure 1) with USGS maps indicates the Moqui Trail comes into Cataract Canyon via Heather Wash. The Grand Canyon Village on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon National Park is approximately 20 miles due east of the Moqui Trail where it extends off Casanova's map.

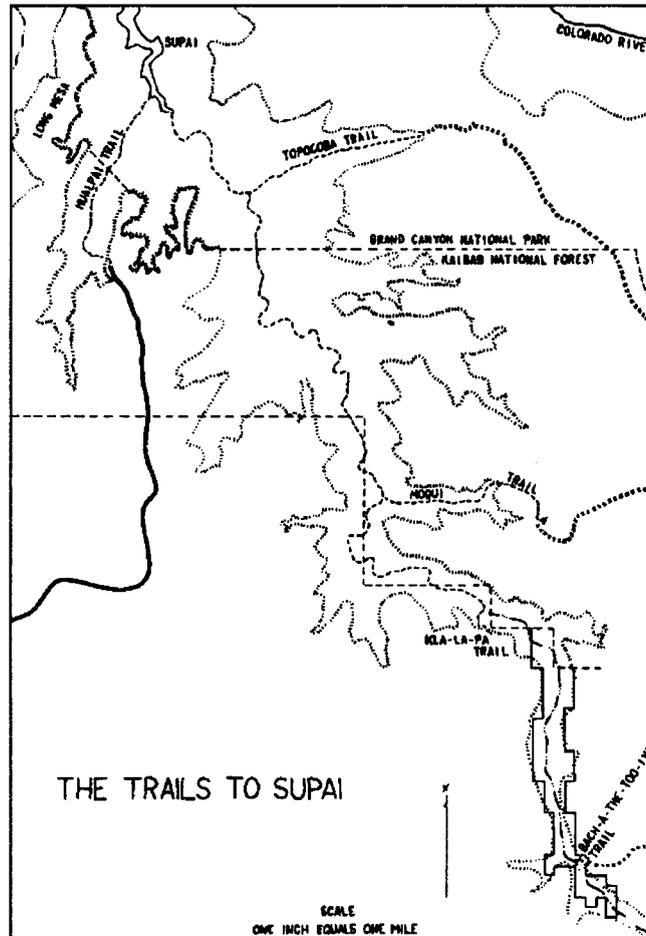


Figure 1 from Casanova (1967) "Trails to Supai in Cataract Canyon"

**Clemmer, Richard O.**

*1978 Continuities of Hopi Culture Change.* Acoma Books, Ramona, California.

This anthropological monograph makes no pretense at being an objective study (p. 1). As Clemmer states (p. 3), it is a "subjective but factual introduction to the real Hopi ...," focusing on contemporary Hopi political and social issues. Clemmer

presents an analysis of Hopi socio-political organization in relation to the development of the traditionalist movement

**Clemmer, Richard O.**

**1993 "Hopi" in *An Investigation of AIRFA Concerns Relating to the Fruitland Coal Gas Development Area* by David M. Brugge, pp. 77-89. Office of Contract Archaeology, University of New Mexico.**

Chapter 5 of this cultural resources management report contains an abridgment of Clemmer's longer manuscript (presented as Appendix B), entitled, "A Brief Introduction to Hopi Culture, History, and Context." Clemmer describes Hopi stewardship and the land, stating (p. 79),

"The Hopi concept of stewardship is summarized in the words *wuya*, "symbol or plan or tradition" and *nawis*, "must, irrespective of consequence, take some action;" and in the phrases, *tina:tyaw-yingwa*, "they guard, look after, take care of [it]" and *nawistota*, "they are willing to, obliged to ..." (Voegelin and Voegelin 1957:41, 42, 53). Belief in the necessity for stewardship and the actions that accomplish it are pervasive in Hopi life and extend to almost all facets of it. The objects of stewardship are collective, meaning they are linked to clan, matriline, village, sodality, ceremony, tradition, and to 'Hopiness' in general."

He adds (p. 79), "With regard to land in general, stewardship is regarded as a spiritual as well as a practical matter; land is generally worthy of protection, especially land within the Hopi Techqua." Clemmer (p. 80) observes the Hopi's relationship to the land is "multi-levelled." On the spiritual level is a general relationship "between the area where Hopis say they have left their marks ... and the interest or purpose of Hopi religion." This broadly includes all of North America. More specifically, Hopis claim a special relationship and responsibility for a more narrowly circumscribed area called "Hopi Techqua."

Clemmer (p. 80) notes, "The general relationship of land to the intent of Hopi religion is this: land is the object of prayers and intends to maintain its life-giving properties, that is, water, fertility, and renewability. Clemmer (p. 80) adds, "In Hopi belief, Massaw entrusted certain land to the Hopi as a 'shrine' to be used wisely for the perpetuation of life, and gave the Hopi instructions for the care of this land ... Hopi elders still speak of their land reverently and emotionally, some even referring to it as the Hopi's 'social security.'"

Clemmer (p. 82) identifies the Hopi-Tewa place of emergence to be Sibopay, "a brackish marsh near Great Sand Dunes, Colorado." Clemmer (pp. 82-84) draws upon

the work of Fewkes, Yava, and Courlander to synthesize a brief overview of Hopi clan migration traditions that relate to the Hopi-Tewa.

With respect to Hopi religion, Clemmer (pp. 84) writes, "In Hopi belief, there are few if any unintended consequences or unintentional events or circumstances. There is neither serendipity nor coincidence ... The universe ... entwines humans in a pre-established fate and destiny." Once humans figure out their role in system of fate and destiny that is a part of a dynamic and changing universe, they can then take action. Clemmer (p. 85) opines that,

... Hopi cosmology is partly reflected in the legendary migrations that occupied Hopi history, and in the resettlements they made and left that reflect the various Hopi *wuwutchim* (pluram of *Wuya*). Thus the ruins and rock writings identifiable with these *wuwutchim* are a kind of "road map" of the Hopi spiritual progress through the universe, at least in this world (and perhaps the previous world as well.), to the point where the Hopis "found their chief" and received instructions from Massaw on how to live and how to play their part in keeping the universe's energy forces in balance in the Hopi Techqua.

Clemmer (p. 86) observes, that "... the Hopis identify their ancestral dwelling places as much by symbols etched into rock and architectural ruins as by clan legends and traditions. In a sense, knowledgeable Hopis "read" an archaeological landscape with reference to the fundamental principles of their cosmological system."

**Clemmer, Richard O.**

**1995 *Roads in the Sky, The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change.* Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.**

The book on Hopi history in the twentieth century focuses on the political dynamics that have characterized Hopi governance. In a brief section on intellectual cultural property, Clemmer describes the Hopi's opposition in 1990 to a linguist's proposed book on the "Hopi Salt Journey" to the Grand Canyon, and notes that the Hopi Tribal Council declared this scholar *persona non grata*, stopping just short of excluding him from the Hopi reservation (p. 284).

**Coder, Christopher**

**1994 Letter from Christopher Coder, National Park Service, to T. J. Ferguson. Ms. on file at Institute of the NorthAmerican West, Tucson, Arizona.**

Coder's letter enclosed six slides and seven black-and-white photographs of the Hopi Salt Mine in the Grand Canyon. These images were provided through the auspices of Jan Balsom, NPS Grand Canyon Park Archaeologist. Additional slides of the Hopi Salt Mine are on file in the cultural resources archive at the park. The slides

were taken by R. C. Euler on April 13, 1975 and document that there were hematite pictographs at the Salt Mine at that time. One slide shows a prayer feather hanging down from the salt deposit. The black-and-white photographs were taken on December 7, 1990 during the 1990 NPS archaeological survey conducted for the GCES.

**Cole, Sally J.**

**1992 *Katsina Iconography in Homol'ovi Rock Art, Central Little Colorado River Valley, Arizona.* The Arizona Archaeologist 25, Arizona Archaeological Society, Phoenix, Arizona.**

This monograph describes and interprets petroglyphs found at and near Homol'ovi. The research was designed to investigate the role of the "katsina cult" in the development of large, complex pueblos in the 13th and 14th centuries. Cole (p. 153) concludes that the iconography evidenced in petroglyphs served "... to communicate socioreligious alliances of the katsina cult, which enjoyed a high degree of social cooperation over time." Cole's analysis demonstrates a cultural and geographic association between the occupants of the Homol'ovi area and the Hopi and Zuni regions. In reviewing the traditional history of the Hopi with respect to Homol'ovi, as documented by Fewkes, Cole (p. 13) notes,

The Hopi clans described as stopping at Homol'ovi are Agave, Badger, Corn, Coyote, Eagle, Fire, Flute, Fox, Frog, Hawk, Horned Toad, Lightning, Lizard, Pavatiya (Tadpole), Pawik (Duck), Rainbow, Rain-cloud, Sand, Squash, Tobacco, Turkey, Rabbit, Reed, Sun, and Water or Water-house (rain and cloud people). Ceremonies brought to Hopi by representatives of these clans include katsina ceremony of Soyaluna (Patki or Water-house clan) ....

**Collins, J. F.**

**1861 *Report of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, New Mexico.* 37 Cong., 2 Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, Serial Set #1117, pp. 732-737.**

Collins states in his report that Indian Agent John Ward went to Navajo country. He makes no reference to Ward's visiting the Hopis.

**Colton, Harold Sellers**

**1941 *Prehistoric Trade in the Southwest.* Scientific Monthly 52:308-319.**

Colton begins this article on prehistoric trade in Arizona and its surrounding area, with the assertion that, "Until 1880 and the coming of the Atlantic and Pacific Railway, the Indians of northern Arizona were little affected by white men." He claims that, "the east-west commerce across northern Arizona [until 1880] was still much as it had been in prehistoric times . . ." (p. 308). He then goes on to explain the

relationships of trade which spanned northern Arizona, originating at the coast and continuing on to Zuni. He writes (pp. 308-309):

Over this thousand miles of trail, shell from the coast passed to points on the plateau and along the route other objects east and west. Spier reported how the Walapai Indians killed deer or mountain sheep and traded the hides to the Havasupai, for woven goods procured from the Hopi. The Havasupai in their homes tanned the hide and traded it to the Hopi for woven goods and pottery. The Hopi manufactured the buckskin into white boots for the women or traded the hides or boots to Zuni or Rio Grande pueblos, receiving in return turquoise from Santo Domingo, Mexican indigo from Isleta and buffalo skins from the plains.

Colton also claims that Hopis traded with the Havasupai for ceremonial red paint. He explained that an interesting item of trade was (p. 309):

[a] curious red paint, a particularly greasy red ochre, procured by the Havasupai Indians from a cave in the Tonto formation in the Grand Canyon near the mouth of Havasu Creek. This paint is in great demand by the Hopi and other Indians for a face and body paint. It is red, yet has a metallic sheen. The Hopi Indians purchase the paint from the Havasupai ... and peddle it to other Indians.

Colton demonstrates that trade in red paint existed since at least 1680. He quotes a letter from the Viceroy of New Spain to Don Diego De Vargas in 1691, in which Hopi's use of red paint for the body and face is documented. The letter states (p. 309):

From the accounts of persons who have lived there I am told that in the revolted province of New Mexico is located the province of Moqui and that at a distance of twelve leagues from there toward the big river (he means the Colorado River) there is a range of mountains one of the most prominent in those parts, in which is found a metallic substance or earth containing vermilion. This is used by the Indians to paint themselves with, and by all the people especially the Spanish women to preserve the complexion ...

Colton's work advances the thesis that a well-established system of trade existed in the prehistoric and early historic Southwest, including a great deal of Hopi involvement. He mentioned that Hopis were one of the tribes that sent out trading expeditions to distant tribes (p. 312). He also states that Hopi pottery from 1300-1500 was found in the Verde Valley and the Tonto Basin (p. 317).

**Colton, Harold S.**

**1946 Fools Names Like Fools Faces—. *Plateau* 19(1)1-8:**

The name of this article derives from Colton's observation that there is a human propensity for people to mark their names in the places they visit, whether it be tourists at the Milan Cathedral or Kit Carson at Keams Canyon. Be this as it may, Colton thinks that the study of abundant rock art in the Southwest is challenging and "has failed to produce more than a few valid conclusions" (p. 1). This is because rock art is hard to date and difficult to place in a cultural context.

Colton suggests the Hopi site of Tutuveni near Willow Springs is one of the most important rock art sites in the Southwest, second only to the famous inscriptions on El Morro in New Mexico. Colton (p. 2) thought the petroglyphs at Tutuveni "are important because some of the Indian draftsmen who worked on them are still living, thus placing the interpretation on solid ground." The petroglyphs at Tutuveni occur on large boulders of Mesozoic sandstone that have rolled to the bottom of talus slope at the edge of a mesa. Many of these boulders are covered on the top and sides with images. Colton (p.2) observes that some of the petroglyphs at Tutuveni are similar to those found near archaeological ruins, while others are quite different in subject matter and in the way the images are placed in rows.

Colton notes that the geologist G. K. Gilbert "discovered" the petroglyph site in 1878, calling it "Oakley Springs." Colton quotes Garrick Mallery's 1886 article "Pictographs of the North American Indians (1st Annual BAE, p. 29), who reports on what Chief Tuba had to say about the significance of the rock art.

Mokis make excursions to a locality in the canyon of the Colorado Chiquito to get salt. On their return they stop at Oakley Springs and each Indian makes a symbol on the rock. Each Indian draws his crest or totem, the symbol of his gens. He draws it once and only once each visit.

There are probably some exceptions to this but the etchings show the general truth. There are many repetitions of the same design, from two to ten will often appear in a row. In several instances I saw the end drawing quite fresh while the others were not so. Much of the work appears to have been performed by pounding with a hard point, but a few of the pictures are scratched on. Many drawings are weather-worn beyond recognition, and others are so fresh that the dust left by the tool has not been washed away by the rain.

Colton notes that when he and his wife documented the site in 1931 they did not realize that Willow Springs and Oakley Spring were the same place (p. 3). In 1931 Edmund Nequatewa, their Hopi informant, gave the same explanation about the



In one place, depending upon the skill of the artist, different forms of the same symbol appear. In other places different symbols stand for the same clan. This use of apparently unrelated symbols for the same group is explained in the clan legends which all Hopis know. As an example, the symbol for the cloud clan may be a cloud, a rainbow, lightning, a duck, a tadpole, a frog or any aquatic animal or bird; for the corn clan a corn plant is most common but a picture of the Germ God will do as well; the Kachina clan may be represented by a Kachina mask, but just as well by a branch of Douglas fir.

Nequatewa told Colton, as Talayesva later told Titiev, that a symbol repeated with same elements represented repeated visits by the same individual (p. 5). Nequatewa recognized the symbols for two clans that had recently become extinct at Hopi (i.e., the Moon and Oak Clans), suggesting to Colton that the other drawings he could not recognize were symbols of other extinct clans. Colton (pp. 5-6) thinks a petroglyph site similar to Tutuveni that also functioned as "registration book" occurs at Inscription Point, about eight miles northeast of Wupatki Pueblo. Unlike Tutuveni, however, the petroglyphs at Inscription Point do not occur in repeated rows.

Colton (pp. 6--8) notes that rock art is hard to date. He suggests that the rock art of different "tribes" can be distinguished by looking at the petroglyphs that occur on the frontiers of different cultures. Colton illustrates rock art elements from the Kayenta, Sinagua, and Cohonina areas as an example. Colton (p. 8) concludes by stating,

To try and draw general conclusions on rock drawings in northern Arizona is still dangerous at the present time. We can say with confidence only that rock art drawings have been made for three general purposes, as "doodles", as fetishes, and as signatures of travelers so perhaps the old adage is not always true, that "He is a fool and ever shall, who writes his name upon a wall."

**Colton, Harold S.**

**1947 Hopi Deities. *Plateau* 20(1):10-16.**

Colton briefly describes Hopi deities and their role in Hopi culture in this article, noting that (p. 10),

In the mind of the Hopi there is a distinction between the dieties [sic] and the spirits. The spirits of men, animals and plants are the kachinas which are often impersonated. The spirits of some of the dieties appear as kachinas and are impersonated but most of the dieties are never impersonated or even represented by images. The Hopi recognize about

thirty-six dieties. These grade from four major gods through minor gods to folk heroes.

The deities described by Colton include Sotunangu (God of the Sky), Masao (Earth God), Kwanitaqa (One-Horned God), Alosaka (Germ, Two-Horned God), Huring Wu-uti (Goddess of Hard Substances), Tawa (Sun God), My-yao (Moon God), Taiowa, Kokyang Wu-uti (Spider Woman), Po-gang-hoya and Palo-ngao-hoya (Twin War Gods), Kochoi-laf Tiyo (Poker Boy), Pi-tsingsivos Tiyo (Cotton-seed Boy), Pivitamni (Patches), Ong Wu-uti (Salt Woman), Tikoui Wu-uti (Outcast Woman), Talao-tumsi (Goddess of Love), Tiponi, Patusun-ala, Tawavo-gang (Servant of the Sun), Yaponcha (Wind God and Dust Devil), Kwi-nyao (God of the North Wind), Tea-mahiye (Snake Chief of the Underworld), Awahiye (Assistant Chief of the Underworld Snake Fraternity), Katoya, Ponochona (South Star), Hachokata (God of Gamblers), Chimomana (Jimson Weed Maiden), Pasommana (Spiderwort Maiden), Somaikoli, Kakikoli (Fire Chief), Siwikoli, and Palolokon (Plumed Serpent or Water Serpent).

**Colton, Harold**

**1948 Indian Life—Past and Present. In *The Inverted Mountains, Canyons of the West*, edited by Roderick Peattie, pp. 111-128. Vanguard Press, New York.**

Colton describes three trails used as trade routes (p. 123-124). A trail with one terminus on the Pacific Coast near Los Angeles extended across the Mojave desert to Barstow where it split into two trails. One branch traveled north of the Grand Canyon through Nevada and Utah. The other branch crossed the Colorado River and followed the South Rim of the Grand Canyon to the Hopi Mesas. This trail continued east to Zuni, Acoma, and the Rio Grande Valley. The third trail ran from the Gulf of California through the Phoenix basin northward to the Verde Valley, the Hopi Mesas, and Kayenta.

With respect to hematite, Colton states (p. 125),

Probably the most interesting story of aboriginal trade is that of a curious red paint, a particularly greasy red ochre, procured by the Havasupai Indians from a cave in the Grand Canyon near the mouth of Havasupai Creek. This paint is in great demand by the Hopi and other Indians for face decoration. It is red, yet has a metallic sheen. The Hopi Indians purchase the paint from the Havasupai for five dollars a pound, write up the price, and peddle it to other Indians, even as far as the Rio Grande, for twenty-five cents a teaspoonful. This red paint is considered by the Indians of the Southwest a very superior cosmetic.

Colton (pp. 125-125) describes how the trade in hematite from the Grand Canyon was documented in 1691.

At this time, Spanish officials conducted an inquiry to determine if this mineral might be red cinnabar, a mercury ore used in Mexico to refine silver. Since red cinnabar was being imported to Mexico from Peru or Spain, the location of mercury ore in New Mexico would have been advantageous. The Spaniards documented at that time that Hopis traded the red pigment to Santa Fe, where the ladies preferred it to other forms of rouge. This red ore was described as being obtained from a cave four days travel from Oraibi. De Vargas was dispatched to Oraibi, where he obtained a burro load of the ore. This ore was shipped to Mexico City, where it assayed to be iron ore and not mercury.

**Colton, Harold S.**

**1949 *Hopi Kachina Dolls*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.**

Citing Fewkes (1903:Pl. LXII), Colton lists the Pakiowik or Fish Kachina as item 223, describing it as an "Old mask at First Mesa."

**Colton, Harold S.**

**1960 *Black Sand, Prehistory in Northern Arizona*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.**

In Chapter 10 of this book (pp. 77-83), Colton repeats information about the Hopi clan marks at Tutuvehni that was published in Colton and Colton (1931) and Colton (1946). No new information is presented. In Chapter 11 (pp. 85-91), Colton reviews information about commerce in ancient times. Much of this information is drawn from Colton (1941).

There is documentary evidence from the period 1680-1691 concerning Hopi trade in a greasy red paint to pueblos along the Rio Grande (pp. 85-87). This paint was used by Spanish ladies in Santa Fe as rouge. Don Diego de Vargas was instructed by the viceroy to find the source of this pigment so an assay could be conducted to determine if this pigment was cinnabar, which was used in to extract the mercury needed in silver refinement. De Vargas learned this paint was procured by the Hopis from a cave west of their pueblo that required a journey of four days. De Vargas did not find the mine but he did obtain a burro load at Oraibi and this was sent to Mexico City where it was assayed and found to be iron ore (hematite) and not cinnabar. Colton adds, "For the past three hundred years the Hopi have been buying this red paint from the Havasupai Indians, who live in a tributary of the Grand Canyon, four days by trail west of the Oraibi. The Hopi buy it at \$5 per pound and peddle it to other Indians at 25 cents a teaspoonful, thus making a tidy profit." Colton notes the Havasupai closely guard the location of their hematite cave from outsiders (p. 86).

Colton (p. 86) also describes trade in deer skins and agricultural produces between the Havasupai and Hopi.

**Colton, Harold S.**

**1964 Principal Hopi Trails. *Plateau* 36:91-94.**

The purpose of Colton's article is to describe eight major segments of the trail network from the Hopi Mesas to other portions of the Colorado River region. He bases his reconstruction on documentation recorded by non-Indians who traveled the region between 1540 and the late nineteenth century. Colton demonstrates that trails connected the Hopis to many other peoples and places in the historic period.

Colton describes that two trails leading from the Hopi Mesas to the Havasupai villages within Cataract Canyon of the Grand Canyon (pp. 91-92). One of these trails left the Hopi Mesas near Hotevilla, crossed the Dennebito Valley, Howell Mesa, and the Moenkopi Wash and then went to the Hopi gardens at Moenkopi. This trail continued to Moenave, and then to the southwest around the east flank of Shadow Mountain to the head of the Hopi Trail Canyon. The trail then went down the canyon to the Little Colorado River. Colton notes that a landslide a few centuries ago blocked the channel of the river just below where the Hopi Trail Canyon joins the Little Colorado River. While most of the rock has been washed away, the trail is still a hard rock crossing. On the west side of the river, the trail switchbacked up the canyon wall and headed west through the Coconino Basin to Supai. This trail thus runs about a distance of 150 miles. Colton thinks this is the trail followed by Father Garces in 1776.

A second trail to the Supai followed the Dennebito Valley and crossed the Little Colorado opposite Black Point (p. 92). It then switchbacked up the talus slope of Black Point to the mesa top. Colton says there is a Hopi shrine at this point. The trail then heads westerly, climbing up the monocline to the juniper forest. The trail then heads northwesterly, passing the Moqui Tanks to a point several miles above the spring that feeds Cataract Creek. The trail then goes down the canyon to Supai. This trail traverses a distance of about 140 miles. Colton thinks this is the trail followed by Cushing during his trip to the Havasupai in 1881.

There was also a trail leading to the Verde River Valley and one which crossed the Little Colorado River near Winslow and continued on its way to the White Mountain Apaches (p. 92). Other trails are documented leading from the Hopi Mesas to Zuni Pueblo, Fort Defiance, the Ute territory, and the San Francisco Peaks (pp. 92-94).

**Colton, Mary-Russell Ferrell**

**1965 *Hopi Dyes*. Museum of Northern Arizona Press, Flagstaff.**

Colton notes that "rock salt" from Zuni Salt Lake and the Grand Canyon is a common mordant used in Hopi dyes (p. 14). "A mordant is a chemical used to precipitate the active principal of the dye in the fiber. The mordant is said to fix or set the color and make the dye insoluble in water or water with neutral soaps."

**Colton, Mary Russell and Harold S. Colton**

**1931 *Petroglyphs, The Record of a Great Adventure*. *American Anthropologist* 33(1):32-37.**

This journal article describes the Hopi petroglyphs at "Picture Rocks," located one mile south of Willow Springs and six miles west of Tuba City. The Coltons discuss the use of this petroglyph site in relation to the Hopi pilgrimage to the Salt Mines at the mouth of the Little Colorado River in the Grand Canyon. The petroglyphs are interpreted as providing a physical record of the Hopi men who participated in the Salt Trail pilgrimage. Based on an explanation of a Hopi man, the Coltons describe the importance of the Salt Trail in Hopi Culture. They state (pp. 33, 36),

Down in the labyrinthian depths of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado river and the gloomy box canyon of the Little Colorado, abide the spirits of the Hopi. From the great canyon they emerged in the dim past and down into its mysterious depths the dead return to reside in Hadean gloom. Weird legends deal with the ghostly inhabitants who, arising from the abyss with glowing eyes and monstrous form, travel out across the Painted Desert to revisit their earthly homes on the Hopi mesas, where they maintain a lively and beneficent interest in human affairs.

It is natural, therefore, that these great canyons, the abode of the dead, should be regarded from time immemorial with superstitious dread. In the bottom of the canyon of the Little Colorado, on the west side near its junction with the Colorado, there is a salt deposit formed by dripping springs in the canyon wall. An ancient trail runs from the Hopi villages across the mesas to the valley of the Moencopi, along the foot of Echo cliffs and thence across the desert to the rim of the Grand Canyon where it plunges in and follows the south side to the mouth of the Little Colorado and crosses it to the west shore.

A pinnacle of rock just below the rim of the canyon is described as the located where a rope was attached to lower men to the trail below. "It is said that the remnants of an ancient yucca rope still hang from the pinnacle and that it was the custom of the

Hopi salt gatherer to bring with him generous supply of corn-meal mush, boiled as sticky as chewing gum, to assist in holding the rope against the rock and to prevent chafing (p. 36)."

The Coltons note that "From prehistoric times the ancient peoples have made this precarious journey to the old salt mines... (p. 36). They state (p. 37),

When the early salt gatherers trotted down the trail by the red Echo cliffs, they felt a great urge to leave a record of their daring. They came upon a great sandstone boulder close beside the way and here they stopped and each man, with the point of a sharp rock, laboriously pecked into the smooth surface of a boulder the symbol of his clan, that all who passed might read.

Through the centuries many brave men came down the old trail upon the same errand, an unending line into the dim past. Each man paused beside the boulder and placed his clan symbol beside those of his clan brothers who had preceded him. Finally the great boulder became crowded with an intricate record of the clans, an overlapping network which covered every surface of the rock ... And the record moved on to another boulder and to another, and who can say they do not still pass that way? There are symbols there of recent date, whether idly placed or with ceremonial intent.

Edmund Nequatewa assisted the Coltons with identification of the petroglyphs as clan symbols (p. 32). Symbols representing 26 clans were identified on "Picture Rock:" Badger, Bear, Bluebird, Bow, Butterfly, Cloud, Corn, Coyote, Crow, Eagle, Horn, Katchina, Lizard, Moon, Oak, Parrot, Rabbit, Red Ant, Reed, Sand, Sivapi (rabbit brush), Snake, Snow, Spider, Strap (rope), Sun (pp. 32-33). These are compared with lists of clans provided by Mindleff (1900) and Fewkes (1900). Representative drawings of each clan symbol are presented Figures 1 and 2, and provide a useful guide to the range of variation in the petroglyphs (pp. 34-35). Unrecognized symbols were interpreted as extinct clans.

### **Colton Collection**

**n.d. The Man Who Followed his Wife to the Home of the Dead ("Skeleton House" in the Bottom of the Grand Canyon near Salt Mine). Ms. 207-113-5, Colton Collection, Museum of Northern Arizona.**

This is a brief translation of a Hopi narrative about a man who follows his dead wife's spirit to the place of the dead in the Grand Canyon. A wren helps the grieving man get down into the canyon where he finds that the people there eat the steam of food rather than the food because they did not have heavy bodies. When the people go on a deer hunt and call out they have taken a deer, the living man only sees a dead cricket or other little dead bug. Eventually the man meets the Old Spider Woman who

takes pity on him (p. 2). "She told him that it was no use his trying to live with his wife down here, that her body had passed into a different phase of existence, she was gone and separated from him forever and the dead and the living cannot dwell together." She calls upon two large owls to help transport the man out of the canyon, where the man went home. However, the man did not live long after returning to his village and thus returned to Skeleton House to live with his wife.

In an addendum to this account, several observations are made about the Hopi beliefs about death, including: "When a person is ill and unconscious, the Hopis say that he has left his body and gone down into the place of the dead, the "Skeleton House," which is in the bottom of the Grand Canyon at the junction with the Little Colorado, where the old salt mine is (p. 2)." It is also noted (p. 4) that night is day for the people who live in Skeleton House and that they must always return there when they go abroad.

#### **Connelly, John**

**1979 Hopi Social Organization. In *Southwest*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 539-553. *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, William G. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.**

This article succinctly summarizes the social and community organization of the Hopi people. With respect to clans and phratries, Connelly concludes (p.545), "Instances of clan extinctions and mergers, clan revivals through adoptions, and clan reidentification all illustrate the remarkable flexibility that the phratry gives to Hopi social organization."

#### **Coues, Elliot (Translator)**

**1900 *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés (Missionary Priest) in His Travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California, 1775-1776.* Francis P. Harper, New York.**

Garcés was a Catholic priest who visited the Grand Canyon and Hopi Mesas in 1776 [see annotation for Garces, Francisco, 1965, *A Record of Travels in Arizona and California, 1775-1776*, Fr. Francisco Garces, translated and edited by John Galvin. John Howell Books, San Francisco for notes on the substantive information about Garcés journey to Hopi from another translation of the work.]

A valuable aspect of Coues' translation is his extensive annotation concerning the route Garcés traveled. For instance, on pp. 346-347, Coues notes that Garces lost his compass in California and that as a result neither his distances nor courses are very accurate for that part of his journey in Arizona. His measurement of the distance from the Havasupais to the Hopis converts to 107 miles when in fact it was at least 112 miles

or more. Coues (p. 349) notes the trail from the Havasupai to Moqui in the area south of the Grand Canyon passes north of Red Butte.

Coues (p. 350) suggests the Hopi-Havasupai Trail was the route the Hopis used to take Cárdenas to the Grand Canyon in 1540. Coues also notes that the requisite data to really determine where the Spaniards saw the Grand Canyon in 1540 does not exist and that "in their absence, conjecture has been rife."

According to Coues (p. 393) the etymology of the word Moki is:

MOKI, Spanish form, *Moqui*, evidently derived from the Zúñi name *A'-mu-kwe*, an opprobrious epithet, although *moki* in the Moki language signifies "dead." Their own name in Hópituh-shínnumuh ("peaceful people"), abbreviated to Hopituh and Hopi, the last form now being generally applied to the people by ethnologists.

**Courlander, Harold**

1971 *The Fourth World of the Hopis*. New York: Crown Publishers.

This book about Hopi "legends and traditions" contains some information related to the Grand Canyon, the collection of salt, and other items pertinent to GCES. The Hopi origin into the fourth world is summarized, including the role of the Twin War Gods and Spider Grandmother (pp. 17-33). The creation of the salt beds at Zuni Salt Lake and elsewhere is described (p. 26).

In the Hopi story of "The Lalakon Dance at Shungopovi" (pp. 111-117) the Twin War Gods attended a dance at Shungopovi, but because they were dirty, the people in the village treated them rudely. After returning to their Spider Grandmother, the gods decide to teach the Hopis to respect them by moving the salt so it is more difficult to get. Spider Grandmother accompanied the Pokanghoya on their journey to the Grand Canyon as they moved the salt, and the shrines along the Hopi salt trail were established as they traveled together. After he descended into the Grand Canyon, the Pokanghoya (p. 116),

... passed the place where the Colorado and the Little Colorado meet. There he went deep into the gorge, and he went around touching the rocks and canyon walls with his hands. Everything he touched turned to salt. He emptied the salt bag they had brought from the old salt bed north of Moenavi, spreading its contents on all sides. Then Pokanghoya ascended part way up the canyon wall, where he turned himself back into rock.

Courlander (p. 214) notes that the Walpi and other First Mesa people do not agree that the sipapuni is in the Grand Canyon, asserting that its location is no longer

known. The salt myth he gives is not part of the First Mesa belief. "Walpi customarily sent its salt expeditions to Zuni in the southeast.

**Courlander, Harold**

*1982 Hopi Voices, Recollections, Traditions, and Narratives of the Hopi Indians.*  
University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Courlander (p. xxiii) notes that some Hopi narratives are the property of particular clans and societies and are restricted from telling to people outside those groups. There is therefore a reluctance to give stories to outsiders, particularly if they concern ceremonial and religious matters (p. xxv). With respect to history, Courlander (p. xxiv) observes,

While many stories are of the entertainment variety, some of them are ingredients of clan chronicles or doctrines, and though they contain what we usually define as myth or legend, they are seen as history. And because this "history" is not written, but preserved orally through stories, songs, and ritual dramas, great attention must be paid to their accuracy. Therefore, clan (or kiva society) authority is of great importance. A responsible person will not chance mutilating facts. And if he is knowledgeable, he will tend toward literalness in story narration. He will be attentive to what kind of a tree grew in a certain place, or to what direction a man took in departing from a village, or to what kind of a prayer feather was made, not because that detail is meaningful to the outcome of the narrative, but because that is the way the story was told to him, the way it really happened.

Courlander (pp. xxv-xxxvi) identifies major themes in Hopi narratives, including flight from evil; hard work in a hard land; running racing, and gambling; transformations from man to animal and animal to man; animals as messengers or agents; journeys to distant lands; the number four; and miniature magic.

Homer Cooyama explains (pp. 97-98) explains that Hopi children are not told the "real story" of origins until they are initiated in the kiva societies. The children's story and the men's stories are therefore not the same. Cooyama notes that the emergence accounts recorded by Voth were not the true, secret stories of the religion. In some places Voth is "altogether wrong."

Pautiwa (Ned Zeena) from Walpi narrates an account of "The Land of the Dead" (pp. 100-105). He notes the Oraibis claim this as their story. The place where the dead ones go is called Maski. "That word *mas* means dead. It's the town of the dead" (p. 101). Pautiwa (p. 101) explains,

According to those Oraibis, you go west when you die to the Grand Canyon, over where the Oraibis go for their salt. Somewhere around

there. They claim the sipapuni is there too, the place where we Hopis all came out of the underworld. around there somewhere is the road to Maski. That's where the dead spirits go. And they have all kinds of punishments for the bad ones.

Pautiwa narrates an account of a boy from Oraibi who went to visit Maski. At the end of the account, after the boy is returned to the land of the living, Pautiwa says "He told his father everything he'd seen, and that no one was ever supposed to try and go there [to Maski] while he was still living. That place was only for the dead spirits.

**Crampton, C. Gregory**

**1988 *Ghosts of Glen Canyon, History beneath Lake Powell.* Publishers Place, St. George, Utah.**

This popular history of Glen Canyon contains a section on Indian Trails. Crampton notes that the Anasazi inhabitants of the area constructed trail systems running from uplands to the canyon bottoms to gain access to lithic sources in the river bed (p. 34). In some places cross-canyon trails were developed. These trails were common in the lower reaches of Glen Canyon in the area now covered by Wahweap Bay and Rock Creek Bay.

Crampton notes (p. 34, "Not having iron tools, the Indians laboriously pecked out foothold steps often over breathtakingly steep surfaces. The smooth cup-like steps were not more than four inches wide and two inches deep, the minimum required to keep one from falling." He adds that some Anasazi trails were reused in the historic period by Paiutes and Navajos who sometimes improved them using metal tools.

With reference to Moqui Canyon, Crampton (p. 84) suggests that the Hopi word Moqui, meaning dead, was often used to "... describe almost anything that looked like it had been made by prehistoric man. Thus in Glen Canyon there were Moqui ruins." Moqui Bar was a rich gold mining sand and gravel bar possibly named for the prehistoric "Moqui steps" which provided overland access. "Fort Moqui" is described as Glen Canyon's first tourist attraction (pp. 98-99). This was a prehistoric two story masonry building built near what became the settlement of Hite. This archaeological site was described by the expeditions of Powell and Stanton.

**Crane, Leo**

**1925 *Indians of the Enchanted Desert.* Little, Brown, and Company, Boston.**

This book was written by the Indian Agent at Hopi in 1911 when the Secretary of War dispatched Colonel Hugh G. Scott and a detachment of cavalry troops to quell Hopi "hostilities" about sending children to school. According to Crane, Scott proceeded from Keams Canyon to Hotevilla where he spent ten days talking with Youkeoma about the origins of the Hopi and other matters. Crane (p. 162) wryly

observes, "It was the seventh day, and Youkeoma, in the recital of his traditions, had reached a date only four hundred years removed." An abridged account of this origin narrative furnished to Crane as a rough transcript by the troop surgeon is presented on pp. 163-167.

**Curtis, Edward S.**

1922 *The North American Indian*, Vol. 12. The Plimpton Press, Norwood, MA.

This book is a rare and out-of-print publication that is only available in specialized libraries. The oversized volume contains a lengthy ethnographic summary of the Hopi Indians, accompanied by artful photographs taken by Curtis. Curtis draws upon and summarizes much of the anthropological literature about Hopi available at the time the book was written. He adds to this additional oral history and ethnographic observations he personally made during his field work to take photographs at Hopi. Curtis lists 14 informants from Walpi, all born between 1830 and 1878 (p. 244). Much of his description of Hopi clan migration history is thus taken from the perspective of these First Mesa informants.

As a preface to presenting detailed information about Hopi clan migrations, Curtis (p. 16) says,

So much for recorded history. It remains to detail the steps by which various migrant groups in centuries past gradually assembled in Tusayan. Mostly the information to be had on this subject is legendary, but the latest of these movements are known also from documentary evidence. How much of fact lies in these clan legends, who can say? The present writer would not be understood as taking the ground that all of the patently unmythical parts is historical truth. On the other hand, he does not reject them *in toto*. He believes that the roots of these legends are embedded in the truth, that they actually indicate the directions from which various groups of people started in a series of wanderings that finally brought them together in the Hopi country.

As a summary (p. 19) Curtis states, "To summarize the evidence, legendary and documentary, it may be stated that the Hopi consist of the descendants of various groups that entered the country from the north, the east, and the south, and that the series of movements covered a period of probably three centuries, and perhaps considerably longer."

Curtis notes (p. 30) that *sáqa*, a very soft variety of turquoise that the Hopi obtained from the Havasupai, is processed in several steps and used for a turquoise blue paint.

**Cushing, Frank Hamilton**

**1923 Origin Myth from Oraibi. *The Journal of American Folk-lore* 36:163-170.**

This text, published posthumously in 1923, was recorded during Cushing's visit to Oraibi in 1883. It summarizes the Hopi's origin narrative, beginning with life in the first world. Cushing describes this place as a dark and crowded cave where people complained and felt unhappy (pp. 163-64). To help the people find a better place to live, "The Two"--presumably, the Twin War Gods--descended into that cave world and planted a variety of plants, "hoping that one of them would grow up to the opening through which they had descended, yet have the strength to bear the weight of men and the beings" (p. 164). The efforts of "The Two" eventually paid off--Cushing writes:

At last, after many trials, the cane (*arundinaria*) was found so tall that its top grew through and so strong that men could climb on it to the top. It was jointed that it might be like a ladder readily ascended, and ever since then the cane has grown in joints as we see it today along the Colorado [River].

In this way, the people passed from the first cave into the second and then, again, on to the third world. Each level was as dark and crowded as the first had been. Such conditions "caused men to long for light" (p. 165). Cushing explains that the darkness in the third world led the people:

... to seek again deliverance. They ascended to the fourth world which was this world. But when they came out, they found it as dark as it had been below, for the earth was closed in by the sky, as had been the cave worlds by their roofs. Men went abroad and did their doings only by the light of torches and fires.

Finally, the people and other creatures consulted together and decided that they needed light. Consequently, they created the sun and the moon. With the sun's light, the people could now see around them and they realized that (p. 166):

the world was indeed very small and surrounded on every side by waters . . . . The people appealed to Vulture who spread his wings and fanned the waters, that they flowed away to the east and west until mountains began to appear. Across these 'The Two' cut channels through which the waters rushed away, wearing their courses deeper and deeper, thus forming the great canyons and valleys of the world.

Within a short time in the fourth world, the people learned that this place of emergence was also where they would return when they died. A witch who was proving to some angry people that although she had killed a priest's daughter, this young girl was happy in the world below. The witch urged the people, "to return to

the hole whence they had all come and look down, promising that she would willingly die should they, after looking, still wish to destroy her" (p. 167). The people found the priest's daughter happy and at play in this netherworld. The witch explained

"Thus shall it be with the children of men."--"When we die then," said the people to one another, "we are to return to the world whence we have come out . . . ."

**Cushing, Frank Hamilton**

1965 *The Nation of the Willows*. Northland Press, Flagstaff, Arizona [original 1882.]

This book reprints two articles published by Cushing in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1882. Although written for a popular audience, Cushing's articles were the first ethnographic description of the Havasupai, or "Kuhni". Cushing made his journey in June of 1881. Of interest to the GCES is Cushing's description of the Moqui Trail (see Casanova 1967, Trails to Supai in Cataract Canyon), and his comments on the trade between the Hopis and Havasupai.

Cushing, accompanied by a Zuni friend and a Cheyenne assistant, traveled from Zuni to Hopi, crossing the Puerco River and traveling by the Hopi Buttes. At Hopi, Cushing he visited First Mesa and obtained a Hopi guide named Pu-lá-ka-kai (p. 23). Cushing notes the Hopis tried to persuade him to wait until the "autumnal rains" before making the trip since water was scarce along the trail. Cushing persisted in going, however, "... and with the blessings and prayers of the high priest, said while giving me his parting embrace, and with every facility which Moqui generosity could give or Moqui ingenuity could contrive, — water-bottles, goat-skins, pi-ké, and he-pa-lo-kia-óé, — we set out."

The trail Cushing followed from First Mesa ran by Oraibi, where Cushing observed a Navajo Dance. From there, Cushing (p. 24) says, "... we headed westward, over rolling, sandy stretches of country, turning at last southward, and following a well beaten trail into the Dieserto Pintado, which borders the Colorado Chiquito." They camped at the Colorado Chiquito [Little Colorado River], which was their last known water source for several days. The next day, Cushing (p. 26) says, "The trail, well beaten, led over plains and little glades, which merging into side valleys, ended in the great gray malpais terrace, over which the stoniest, most difficult trail at last brought me to the long but abrupt ascent of the border of the Kuhni Desert, the eastern edge of the Great Colorado Plateau." In his usual flamboyant style, Cushing (pp. 26-28) describes traveling through the "Kuhni Desert," a tortuous journey of over sixty miles without water. From Cushing's description of "piñon-clad hills," the "pine regions," and the "grand parks," it is clear he traveled through what is now the Kaibab National Forest south of rim of the Grand Canyon." Eventually Cushing's (p. 30) party came to "aing-shi-ki-ana," Bear Spring, located "a day's distance ... from the

entrance to the Kuhni cañon." There was a little water at this spring, and they camped there two nights, hunting and recuperating before proceeding down the side canyon which led into Cataract Canyon and the village of the Havasupai.

In his ethnographic overview of the Havasupai, Cushing (p. 43) states, "Separated by the terrible waterless wastes I have the described, the Moquis and the Zuñis have nevertheless been their constant visitors for generations."

The date of Cushing's journey is fixed by his reference to a visit six or seven days earlier by an expedition from the Sixth Cavalry led by Colonel Price (p. 45).

Cushing describes the red ochre used for body decoration by the Havasupai (p. 53). He also inexplicably talks about an absence of salt in their food preparation (p. 55). With respect to trade with Hopi, Cushing states (p. 56) "Earthen pots and brass kettles, procured by barter with the Moquis, serve as cooking vessels. Moqui bowls and native baskets are used in serving food ..." Cushing (p. 59) observed a Hopi woman living with the Havasupai. He notes men outnumbered women and there was thus some intermarriage with other tribes.

The Havasupai were described as agriculturists in the summer and hunters in the winter. Cushing (p. 63) says the are,

... justly famous for the quantity, fineness, and quality of their buckskins, which are smooth, soft, white as snow, yet thick and durable. These buckskins, manufactured into bags, pouches, coats, and leggins, or as raw material, are valued by other Indian tribes, even as far east as the Rio Grande ... All of this material is bartered with the Pueblos for blankets and various products of civilization, the former being again traded to the Hua-la-pai for red and black paints, undressed buckskins, and mountain-lion robes. Their red paint, ochre of the finest quality, has ... celebrity among Indian tribes ...

**Davis, Dan E.**

**1956 Memorandum to Chief Ranger, Grand Canyon National Park, from Supervisory Park Ranger Davis on subject of "Reconnaissance of Salt Trail Canyon, Little Colorado, Beamer Trail, and Tanner Trail on October 3-6, 1956. Ms. in "Hopi Salt Trail Paraphernalia" file at Museum of Northern Arizona Library.**

This memorandum by a National Park Service Ranger reports on a reconnaissance of the Salt Trail and other trails in the vicinity of the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers. A party of three rangers hiked down the Salt Trail Canyon to the Colorado River. Davis notes the trail head at Salt Trail Canyon was marked by two large cairns (p. 1). It took almost seven hours of "hard walking" to hike down to the Little Colorado River. Davis reports there is little trace of a trail in the first section of

Salt Trail Canyon that crosses a jumble of boulders and scree. After the Supai formation was reached, the trail followed a bench on the east side of the canyon. Davis notes there were cairns every few feet marking the route and observes "... it could hardly be called a trail but is the easiest way down." A crossover to the west side, made at the top of the Redwall, was not well-marked with cairns. Davis reports there were pot holes that would hold water after a rain at this location.

The rangers camped at the Little Colorado River and then hiked to the Colorado River the next day (p. 1-2). This hike entailed crossing the Little Colorado River four times. Davis reports there was no sign of a trail and no cairns were observed along the stream. The rangers put up Park boundary and "Closed Area" signs just inside the Park boundary on the south side of the Little Colorado River. A "Government Property" sign was put up at the Beamer Cabin "to deter vandalism." The rangers camped on a island gravel bar at the confluence of the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers.

The third day the rangers hiked the trail built by Tanner, presumably in the 1880s for prospecting. Davis states (pp. 2-3), "Several vague references have been found concerning the use of what is now the Tanner Trail by the Havasupai to get to the salt deposits of the Hopi so this could be an old Supai trail." Davis calls this the Beamer Trail, as Ben Beamer's old cabin is at the northern terminus of the trail along the Little Colorado River. The rangers hiked out the Tanner Trail, noting that Supai horses might be able to use the trail but not NPS mules. In summarizing the archaeological aspects of the reconnaissance, Davis states (p. 3)

As there has been, and is some controversy concerning the route to and the location of the Hopi salt mine, every effort was made to tie in the various landmarks with the narratives of the salt trek. While many of the places mentioned in the account of Don Talayesva's trek in 1912 were missed, the general description fits this route and some shrines and places were definitely identified and there is no doubt in my mind that this is the same route taken by Talayesva.

The shrines or general shrine locations Davis identified included images of the War Twins just below the trailhead, Spreading Buttocks, home of the deer of the Reed Clan, Stitching Seam carved by War Twins, Home of the Chickens, Nose Scraping Place, cave of Nukpana, Home of the Koyemshi (p. 3). In addition, two shrines not mentioned by Talayesva were observed, "... consisting of piles of fist size pieces of jasper about 2-3 feet high." Along the Little Colorado, Davis located "Blue Salt" and "Going Down Salt" on the north side of the stream about 1.5 miles below the mouth of Salt Trail Canyon. Davis also located the "Original Sipapu." The rangers did not visit the Hopi Salt Mine but Davis accurately describes its general location. A road log is attached to the memorandum describing how to get to Salt Trail Canyon from the Cedar Ridge Trading Post.

**Davis, William M.**

**1926 Biographical Memoir: Grove Karl Gilbert. *National Academy of Sciences Memoirs*, vol. 21, no. 5. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.**

Geologist Grove Karl Gilbert came to the Colorado River country in 1878 under the auspices of the newly-created United States Geological Survey to lead a topographical study of the plateaus north and south of the Grand Canyon. Gilbert spent the year doing research in an area ranging from Salt Lake City, Utah, to the San Francisco Mountains in Arizona. According to his biographer, William M. Davis, Gilbert's research "led to no published report" (p. 113). A resourceful Garrick Mallery, however, writing for the American Bureau of Ethnology, was able to obtain information from Gilbert about his research. This led to documentation about Hopi salt pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon (see Mallery 1886, "On the Pictographs of the North American Indians," *Fourth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*.)

**Davis, W. W. H.**

**1857 *El Gringo; or, New Mexico and Her People*. Harper & Brothers, New York.**

In this book, W. W. H. Davis' described the places and peoples of New Mexico. The book contains a fairly lengthy discussion of the Hopis, describing their economic patterns, appearance, and village names. Yet, Davis felt limited in what he was able to report about the Hopi, for, as he put it, "not having visited that country," his information was incomplete (p. 115). Davis probably got his information about Hopi from Henry Schoolcraft's publication about Indians of the United States, which one of the earliest collections of ethnographic data on Native peoples in the country. As a United States Attorney, Davis accompanied Governor Meriwether into Navajo country in 1855 for the purpose of making "treaties with the various Indian tribes of the Territory." Davis, however, did not travel to Hopi (p. 389).

**Day, A. Grove**

**1940 *Coronado's Quest: Discovery of the South-Western States*. University of California, Los Angeles.**

Day's book recounts the history of the Coronado Entrada of 1540-1542. Much of the information comes from the Castañeda chronicles, as this is the only extant testimony of the entire expedition. Day also includes supplementary information from other primary documents and secondary sources.

Chapter Six discusses the experiences of Tovar and Cárdenas among the Hopi. Day says that "The men who offered to get salt," on the return voyage of the Cárdenas expedition from the rim of the Grand Canyon, "had to be suspended over the edge by

ropes to reach the clusters" (p. 144). There is no documentary evidence to substantiate this claim. Day merely assumed that the salt mine which the Spaniards visited was the same one Hopis used in this manner in the Grand Canyon. This is erroneous.

Day remarks that (p. 145),

Both the Tovar and Cardenas parties journeyed through the desert plateau of northern Arizona that today is the chief range of the nomadic Navajo, now the largest tribe in North America; but neither party reported the existence of any inhabitants in this country except the people of Tusayan. If any Navajos lived then in the territory that they were later to make their own, they were merely a few prowling newcomers who kept out of sight of the Spanish invaders.

**Day, Joseph R.**

**1990 Letter to the Editor, *The Sun*, September 7, 1990, p. 6.**

This letter to the editor of the Flagstaff newspaper criticizes Ekkehart Malotki's attempt to publish a book about the Hopi salt trail. Day is an Anglo trader married to a Hopi woman, and resides at Shungopavi Village. In part, Day states,

Malotki's contention that he re-discovered the trail and that ... "The Hopis haven't cared about this trail. All those journeys to the mines came to an end in 1909," ... is laughable. I personally know of at least four trips made by Hopis during the last 20 years including trips made by villagers from Shungopavi, who, according to Malotki, have never used the trail.

In addition, the first Anglo to discover the trail and related sites was not Malotki but Vernon Taylor of Prescott College, who, rather than publish his findings for personal gain, chose instead to work with the Hopi people and the National Park Service during the 1960s to protect these sites.

**Dellenbaugh, Frederick S.**

**1988 *A Canyon Voyage, The Narrative of the Second Powell Expedition.***

**University of Arizona Press, Tucson. [Originally published in 1908.]**

Dellenbaugh was an artist and assistant topographer on the second Colorado River Expedition directed by John Wesley Powell. This book provides a detailed account of this two year long expedition. In several places, Dellenbaugh remarks on archaeological sites that were encountered and how these were attributed to the ancestors of the "Moki" (Hopi). At Camp 35 (in the Upper Colorado River basin), Dellenbaugh (p. 79) states,

There had been people here before any white men, for Steward found an artificial wall across an indentation of the cliff, the first work of the ancient builders we encountered. It was mysterious at the time, the South-western ruins not then having been discovered with one or two exceptions. We ascribed this wall, however, to the ancestors of the Moki (Hopi).

Near the junction of the Green River and the Grand River, the expedition found a prehistoric corrugated jar containing a coil of split willow used in basketry (p. 113). Upstream of Cataract Canyon, Dellenbaugh documents "Fragments of arrow-heads, chips of chalcedony, and quantities of potsherds scattered around proved our ancient Shinumos had known the region well" (p. 117). Below Cataract Canyon, Dellenbaugh describes finding walled caves containing corncobs, pottery, and other artifacts (p. 132). Today archaeologists would probably call these granaries. In Glen Canyon, Dellenbaugh describes a trail "where the old Shinumos for fifty feet had cut steps into the smooth rock" (p. 145).

At the mouth of the Paria, the expedition was met by a party of Mormons and Navajos, including Jacob Hamblin. Dellenbaugh describes the trip the Hamblin and Powell had made to the Hopi Mesas in 1870. He also describes how earlier Hamblin had taken a Hopi named Tuba and his wife across the Colorado River. Before crossing the river, Tuba recruited Hamblin to help offer prayermeal and a Hopi prayer. Dellenbaugh quotes the book *Jacob Hamblin* (1881) describing how, "We scattered the ingredients from the medicine bag into the air, on to the land, and into the water of the river."

#### **DeSauss, Raymond**

**1956 Remains of the California Condor in Arizona Caves. *Plateau* 29(2):44-45.**

This brief article reports on findings of Condor bones in four caves in the Grand Canyon. All of these caves are located in the Redwall limestone. Split-twig figurines were also found in three of the four caves, although not in direct association with the Condor bones. DeSauss concludes (p. 45) that the presence of Condor bones "... in figurine sites may be fortuitous or there may be some connection, such as ceremonial use of the feathers."

#### **Dockstader, Frederick J.**

**1985 *The Kachina and the White Man: The Influences of White Culture on the Hopi Kachina Religion*, rev. ed. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.**

In this survey of Hopi-White relations, Dockstader includes a summary of contacts between non-Indians and the Hopi at the end of his work. Much of his

information is unsupported in that it provides no scholarly references for a variety of nineteenth-century encounters, but the list is useful for researching more extensively into Hopi history.

**Donaldson, Thomas**

1893 *Moqui Pueblo Indians of Arizona and Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. Extra Census Bulletin, 11th Census.* United States Census Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

This nineteenth-century report provides information about the history of Hopi-American relations. Donaldson's work is valuable because it describes some encounters between Hopis and non-Indians that are not documented elsewhere. Donaldson's work, however, does not offer any information about Hopi ties to the Grand Canyon.

**Dongoske, Kurt, T. J. Ferguson, and Leigh Jenkins**

1993 *Understanding the Past through Hopi Oral History. Native Peoples Magazine* 6(2):24-31.

This article prepared was written for a general audience. It explains how Hopi traditional history can be used to understand the past and why the Hopis want to be treated as peers in archaeological research. The *Sipapuni* and the Grand Canyon are referenced in a synopsis of the Hopi emergence and subsequent clan migrations (p. 27). Most of the article focuses on the archaeology of the Tonto Basin.

**Dongoske, Kurt**

1994 *Hopi Tribe. In Perspectives on the Glen Canyon Environmental Impact Draft Statement, p. 28.* Grand Canyon River Guides, Flagstaff, Arizona.

Dongoske briefly describes his involvement the Glen Canyon Dam Environmental Impact Statement in his capacity as Tribal Archaeologist for the Hopi Tribe. Prior to beginning work on the project, Dongoske only knew about the Grand Canyon from two visits as a tourist. With the assistance of Steven Carothers, Dongoske quickly learned about the GCES issues pertaining to natural and cultural resources, economic concerns, and politics. Dongoske reflects on the GCES EIS process by saying,

During the past three years, I have witnessed some remarkable changes in the form of precedents set and the development, albeit at times with much hair pulling, teeth gnashing, and tempers flaring, of a cooperative relationship between five federal agencies, one state agency, and five sovereign Indian governments. One of the most important precedent-setting outcomes of this process is the involvement of the Native American community. The Native American Tribes have been the main

vocal and driving force behind the direction that this EIS has taken. A new era is emerging in the management of federal lands in which Tribes will be active and vocal participants in the decision making process regarding the management of traditional resources. Truly, we have seen the demise of the federal myopic managerial paradigm.

**Dorsey, George A.**

**1903 *Indians of the Southwest*. Passenger Department, Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad.**

This book promotes the Southwest as a tourist destination. With respect to Hopi beliefs about death, Dorsey (p. 128) writes that "... on the fourth day after death, the soul departs from the body, mounts the soul of the long cotton string, or "road marker," and travels on it toward the west; for it indicates the way to Maski, the Skeleton House, at the bottom of the Grand Canyon."

**Drouin, Katherine**

**1994 Hopis Guard their Secrets. *Arizona Daily Sun*, July 3, 1994, pp. 1, 16.**

This newspaper account begins with the statement that "For centuries, members of the Hopi Tribe have made a pilgrimage along the salt trail, a route they follow to gather salt for practical and sacred purposes. The trail winds through the Navajo and Hopi reservations, leading ultimately to Grand Canyon. Rituals associated with following the trail are deeply imbedded in Hopi culture and religion. But the Hopis want to make sure that only proper members of their tribe know the secrets."

The article reports that the Hopi Tribe has recently refused permission for students to visit the reservation to study Hopi religious practices and has opposed Northern Arizona University's proposed master's program in Native American religion. NAU put the development of this program on hold. NAU President Clara Lovett is quoted as saying the university needs to be sensitive to tribal concerns. Willis Regier of the University of Nebraska Press says he put maintaining good relations with the Hopi Tribe above First Amendment rights when deciding not to publish Ekkehart Malotki's manuscript on Hopi ritual pilgrimages (p. 16). This manuscript is described as containing photos of shrines found along the pilgrimages and maps of the trails.

Leigh Jenkins of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office is quoted as saying (p. 16), "Part of the overall concern of the Hopi Tribe was that it put Hopi religious practices into a very visible environment." Jenkins is also quoted as saying (p. 16), "We value our religious privacy. It is not conserved for the sake of tourism or curiosity. People should respect that. They should not intrude on the religious privacy of Hopi people."

**Eggan, Fred**

**1967 From History to Myth: A Hopi Example. In *Studies in Southwestern Ethnolinguistics*, edited by Dell Hymes, pp. 33-53. Mouton, The Hague.**

Eggan investigates the relation between Hopi history and tradition by analyzing several accounts of a nineteenth-century Navajo attack on Hopis returning from Fort Defiance. By comparing the Hopi accounts of this event recorded in Stephen's *Hopi Journal* (1936) and Nequatewa's *Truth of a Hopi* (1936) with independent historical documentation, and considering the motivational factors of different types of Hopi oratory, Eggan is able to differentiate the historical elements of the accounts from mythological motifs added as the narratives became oral tradition. Eggan finds that Hopi oral accounts contain accurate history within certain parameters. As he states (p. 51-52),

Eggan's paper was written in response to the beliefs of an earlier generation of anthropologists, such as Robert H. Lowie who is quoted (p. 33) as stating, "I cannot attach to oral traditions any historical value under any conditions whatsoever." Eggan points out that we now have more data and better historical controls than were available to the earlier anthropologists, and posits that we should be able to undertake a more sophisticated handling of social and cultural data to develop a means to segregate history from myth.

Understanding the role and cultural function of myths and mythmaking is one step in developing the methodology that is needed. In contrast to oral accounts intended to convey religious and moral teachings, Eggan notes that Hopi accounts of observed events are "remarkably accurate and detailed," in part because Hopis returning from a journey are traditionally expected to give their kiva and village a minute account of everything they saw and did. Eggan (p. 52) notes that the Hopi have a different world view from ours and a different conception of human nature. He posits that we should try to understand history in Hopi terms as well as those of the "objective world" (i.e., the world view of non-Indian scholars).

**Eggan, Fred**

**1971 Foreword. In *Spider Woman Stories* by G. M. Mullet, pp. ix-xiv. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.**

This foreword was written to introduce a Hopi about Hopi traditions written for a general audience. Eggan provides the a synopsis of the account of Tiyo (pp. xi-xii). In writing about Hopi origins, Eggan says (p. x),

The Hopi Indians believe that they emerged from the Underworld through the *sipapu*, or opening, which is located in the bottom of the Grand Canyon, from whence different groups traveled around and had

various adventures before arriving at their present locations. Recent research indicates that the early Hopi homeland was in the western Mojave desert and that ancestral groups gradually moved eastward, some residing in the lower reaches of the Grand Canyon during the tenth to twelfth centuries, before joining their relatives in their present locations on the southern spurs of Black Mesa.

**Eggan, Fred**

**1994 The Hopi Indians, with Special Reference to Their Cosmology or World View. In *Kachinas in the Pueblo World*, edited by Polly Schaafsma. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.**

This brief article presents an elegant anthropological perspective on Hopi cosmology. Eggan makes a number of observations pertinent to the Grand Canyon. He notes that Hopi cosmology emphasizes the earth rather than the heavens and begins with the emergence of the Hopi people into the Grand Canyon by way of the *sipapu* (p. 7-8). Eggan (p. 9) agrees with Matthews (1902) that the Hopi origin account constitutes a "myth of gestation and birth." Eggan (p.8) describes a Hopi account of the creation of the physical world "... in which the Sky God created a beautiful virgin who caused so much rivalry among the other deities that he transformed her into the earth world, her hair becoming the vegetation, her eyes the springs, her secretions the salt, and so on, and he assigned separate regions and powers to the various deities." Masau was assigned to preside over the surface of the earth, the dead, and the underworld.

Eggan explains (p. 10),

The Hopi dead, whose "breath" bodies journey from the grave to the afterworld in the Grand Canyon, are met by sentinels from the Kwan society, who are associated with Masau, and either allowed to proceed or punished in the fire pits for non-Hopi behavior until they are purified. In the villages of the dead they continue Hopi life, existing on the odor of "steam" of food offerings and responding to the prayer offering of the living. Daily they ascend to the San Francisco peaks as Katsinas, and as clouds they provide rain to those Hopis with good hearts who are following the Hopi way of life.

He adds (p. 10), "The equation of the dead with clouds and rain, by means of the concept of katsinas, provides a system in which the dead maintain their interest in the living and continue to help their relatives by sending rain."

In discussing Hopi clan migrations, Eggan (p. 11) notes that Hopi ancestors settled in the Grand Canyon and among other locations. He suggests the Pueblo population in the Grand Canyon left that location in the early twelfth century due to

climatic change and moved towards the Hopi Mesas. Eggan briefly describes the Hopi clan traditions relating to priority of settlement and ritual on the Hopi Mesas, as well as the grouping of clans into phratries based on conceptual or historical similarities. Eggan specifically notes that after it was established, Oraibi received an influx of people from the Moenkopi area and the Grand Canyon.

Eggan provides a brief description of the Hopi ceremonial system and calendar (pp. 12-13). He suggests early Hopi ceremonial activities focused on hunting and gathering and the cure of illness through medicine men or shamans. After the Hopi ancestors became agriculturists, fertility rituals were added to the ceremonial system and ceremonies to bring rain became important. Eggan (pp. 13-14) notes that Hopis secure rain and good crops by prayer and offerings. Pahos and other ceremonial gifts are offered on altars, at shrines, in springs, and in fields to secure the aid of the katsinas. He adds (p. 11)

The Hopi make pilgrimages, usually annually, to clan shrines, eagle shrines, ancestral ruins, salt sources, places associated with the katsinas, and places still kept secret. 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 the various clans in their wanderings, some at earlier sites where they lived for a period, and others in and around their present villages, or in neighboring mountains and springs associated with katsinas.

Eggan says (p. 11),

The most important shrines or sacred areas are in the Grand Canyon where the Little Colorado River flows into the Colorado. Here the *sipapu*, or place of emergence, is physically present in a large raised pond. Here is their "source," the place of emergence from, and entrance to, the underworld. Here the deceased Hopi live and respond to the prayers of their descendants. In this area are the salt deposits that are periodically visited to gather salt, essential to their diet, with shrines to the Spider Woman, who created the salt, and the Twin War Gods, who are her grandchildren and the protectors of the Hopi and their domain. Here too, are many of their early villages in which their world view was shaped, and which are still shrines to their descendants. Only Hopis initiated into Wuwutsim, the Tribal Initiation, could journey to this area, since the trip was physically difficult and involved danger since the spirits of the dead lived in this region and Masau, the God of Death, had his major home in the cliffs.

Eggan (p. 14) observes that,

Archaeological sites, representing the former homes of particular clans, are sacred areas that are visited periodically to make offerings to ancestors, with requests for aid in growing crops. Nearby ruins are visited in connection with particular ceremonies to notify the deceased relatives buried there that the ceremony is in progress and the dead should do their part.

The Hopis have a complex belief system about life after death (p. 15). Eggan says (p. 15),

The Wuwutsim initiates go to the general underworld and to the homes of the katsinas in the San Francisco Peaks or the spring at Kisiwu. Deceased Kwan members have a special home at Kwanivi, a small mountain near the Grand Canyon, while Ahl members go to a lake in the San Francisco Peaks known as Alosaka, and the Singers have a home at Dowlanasavi, the center of the earth with a shrine south of Oraibi.

Eggan observes (p. 15) that "Hopi religion is central to their life and for centuries has involved their land." In discussing Hopi land, Eggan (p. 15) says,

The exterior boundaries of the Hopi domain are likewise marked by a series of shrines that the Hopi elders now revisit every year. There are eight major shrines, marked in part by spirals or concentric petroglyphs and buried prayer offerings at locations of importance to the Hopi. In general the eight shrines mark the last staging areas in the final migrations to the Hopi homeland.

**Eiseman, Fred B., Jr.**

**n.d. Notes on the Hopi Salt Trail. Manuscript # 127, Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff.**

This unpublished manuscript contains 27 pages of typed notes, maps, and photographs that describe the Hopi Salt Trail as documented by Fred B. Eiseman, Jr. Eiseman's institutional affiliation is listed as John Burroughs School, St. Louis, Missouri. The notes begin with the admonition that "These notes are to be released to qualified personnel only. They describe the exact route of to be taken to the Hopi Salt mine and the points of interest along the way." The notes are kept in the manuscript collection at MNA, and are not available to the general public. Eiseman's notes include a map of the route marked with the geographic points he describes, and 14 pages containing 33 captioned photographs. A two page addendum added to the manuscript by Chuck Minckley, provides a road mileage log from Highway 89 North to the Salt Trail Canyon as determined on 26 April 1987.

Eiseman, Fred B.

1959 The Hopi Salt Trail. *Plateau* 32(2):25-32.

This journal article describes Eiseman's exploration of the Hopi Salt Trail, and thus complements his unpublished notes on file at the Museum of Northern Arizona (Eiseman n.d.). Eiseman attempted to get Hopi guides for his exploration but says that "... no Hopis could be found who were physically able and willing to go (p. 26)."

An exact description of the route and the location of the salt mine is left out of the article to reduce the chance of vandalism at Hopi shrines by people on Grand Canyon river trips. Eiseman did not visit the shrines between the Hopi Mesas and the head of Salt Trail Canyon "because we had no guide" (p. 26). On the trail down Salt Trail Canyon, Eiseman (pp. 26-27) describes the "Chicken" shrine, the possible cave home of Masau-u, shrines of fist-sized agates, a medium-size cave containing deposits of hematite and yellow ochre, the Going Down Salt and Blue Salt deposits (located about a mile below the mouth of Salt Trail Canyon), and the sipapu. Eiseman (p. 27) describes the sipapu as,

... 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 describes the mushroom shaped rock at the top of the ledge above the salt mine, and states this "was obviously Pookonghoya, the elder War Twin, who had turned himself to stone in order to help the Hopi descend the cliff." Eiseman (p. 29) states, "The salt was evident below. It encrusted the 60-foot Tapeats cliff for a mile or more both above and below the point of descent. The ladder appeared just to the south, apparently hidden from the river by a thicket of mesquite growing on the bar." Eiseman (p. 30) describes the salt deposit as "impressive." He notes,

It coated the cliffs almost continuously up to a height of 50 feet, and extended as far as one could see upstream and down. Several caves downstream from the point of descent contained salt deposits as well.

The deposits appeared to occur in three shapes. There were active deposits in places where the water oozed out of the sandstone and left almost pure white stalactites. These were also found in the caves.

There were rosettes of salt, which were knoblike protrusions consisting of successive hemispherical concentric layers with spaces between layers. Some were mud colored, others white. Other deposits of salt were simply sheets, stained a dirty brown. About 50 pounds of these various types were collected.

A sample of the salt he collected was deposited at the Museum of Northern Arizona. Other samples were analyzed by the St. Louis Testing Laboratories (p. 30). The sample included 64.2% sodium chloride, 18.04% sodium sulfate, 8.66% silica, 3.14% magnesium sulfate, and small amounts of moisture & water of hydration, iron oxide, calcium oxide, and acid insoluble. Eiseman (p. 30) compares this analysis to that of Taylor (1954), and observes that the Hopi salt mine deposits are not as pure in sodium chloride as the salt from the Zuni Salt Lake, the Camp Verde mine, or Medicine Cave, which average about 84% sodium chloride. Eiseman notes that Taylor's salt sample was taken from the bottom of the Bright Angel shale in the side canyon far from the site that Eiseman reports as the Hopi salt mine. Taylor's sample site lacks all the geographical features mentioned in *Sun Chief*, and does not appear to be the Hopi salt mine.

Samples of salt were shown to Hopi from Second and Third Mesa. Eiseman states (p. 31),

Most of the Hopi interviewed had no strong desire to talk about the salt trip and the uses of the salt. Most told us that the salt was used on food, just like salt purchased from the store. They told us it tasted better than regular salt. Most of them asked for samples of the salt for their own use. They called it *si-eunga* rather than *eunga*, the usual term for regular salt.

It is true that the salt itself is used for culinary purposes. However, it is also used in certain secret ceremonies, the exact nature of which was not disclosed. Several informants stated this salt is regularly used in most of the ceremonies of the annual ceremonial cycle in the Hopi villages.

In further investigations it appeared that the Hopi do not regard the obtaining of salt as the really important feature of a salt-gathering expedition. The expedition is made into a very sacred place, full of dangers and fears. To come through the attendant trials, to visit the original sipapu, to make offerings at the many shrines, all these would bring the participant good luck and happiness. The salt itself appears to be a tangible piece of evidence that one had made the trip successfully and with a good heart. The village always welcomed the successful salt gatherers, feeling that the whole village would benefit from the offerings made to the gods, and from the good things accruing to those who made the trip, by a sort of diffusion process.

**Eiseman, Fred B.**

**1961 Discovery of the Hopi Salt Cave. *Spout* (November):2-7.**

This condensed version of Eiseman's 1959 *Plateau* article was published in the Morton Salt Company's corporate magazine. It includes an introduction that says,

Permission for use was obtained by Edwin Sequaptewa who works at Saltair plant, and who is a Hopi Indian. He is familiar with the trek across the Painted Desert to the Grand Canyon salt caves where men are lowered with ropes into the caves. The stalactites and stalagmites of salt found here are sometimes strung on cords and worn as necklaces in Hopi ceremonies, according to Mr. Sequaptewa.

**Ellis, Florence H.**

**1961 The Hopi, Their History and Lands. Defendant's Exhibit E-500, Docket 229, Indian Claims Commission.**

This testimony was prepared for submission to the Indian Claims Commission by an expert witness for the United States. The testimony, based entirely on a review of the published literature, does a credible job of reporting what was known about Hopi land use by anthropologists at the time it was prepared. A typescript of this testimony was published by the Garland Press in 1974 in a volume titled *Hopi Indians*.

Ellis (pp. 170-171) describes Hopi salt gathering at the Salt Mines in the Grand Canyon and at Zuni Salt Lake, citing publications by Titiev (1937), Stephens (1936:994), Beaglehole (1937), and Eiseman (1959). Ellis (pp. 179-181) describes the major shrines visited on the Salt Pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon, citing publications by Titiev (1937) and Colton (1946). A list of 84 Hopi shrines is presented on pp. 182 to 187, based on Appendix 5 of Stephen's Journal and Fewkes (1906). This list includes a spring to the east of Cataract Canyon where the Hopi obtain yellow pigment, clay, and reeds; and the Sipapu near the Colorado River (Pisisvaiyu), near the salt deposits and bubbling spring where yellow ochre is obtained.

**Elston, Catherine**

**1992 Hopis Contribute to Grand Canyon Water Study. *Hopi Tutu-veh-ni* Volume 11, Number 76, October 16, page 2.**

This brief article in the Hopi tribal newspaper reports that the Hopi Tribe is a cooperating agency in the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies. Chairman Vernon Masayesva told the Cooperating Agencies at a meeting in Phoenix that multicultural values need to be emphasized when assessing damage to the Colorado River and the Grand Canyon. Masayesva is quoted as saying,

Hopis have a belief that you can't keep taking away from the earth. In return for the benefits received, you must always give something back. If we all accept this philosophy, our world will be a much better place.

Grand Canyon is a good place to start. It is the place of Hopi origin; it is also our destiny.

Dave Wegner, the scientific coordinator for GCES in Flagstaff, was quoted as saying, "I have worked very hard to get many different groups and agencies involved in this project. I pushed hard to make sure the tribes were involved."

**Euler, Robert C.**

**1965 Foreword. In *The Nation of the Willows* by Frank H. Cushing. Northland Press, Flagstaff, Arizona.**

This foreword introduces the reprint of two articles published by Cushing in *Atlantic Monthly* in 1882 that report his journey to visit the Havasupai in Cataract Canyon. In his foreword, Euler describes the route Cushing took from Zuni through the Hopi Mesas to Havasupai. On p. 3, Euler states, "When Cushing rode out from Zuni on his Havasupai journey, accompanied by a Zuni Indian guide and an acculturated Cheyenne Indian assistant, he traveled a well-marked trail. For centuries there had been a lively trade between Zuni and Hopi and with the Havasupai. The buckskins and red paint of the canyon Indians were exchanged for pottery, turquoise, and other goods of the Pueblos. The Hopi also served as middlemen for European metal and woven objects that they traded to the Havasupai even before the first white man actually set foot in their village."

Euler (pp. 4-5) describes the trail from Zuni to Hopi as leading from the Zuni River into Arizona in a northwesterly direction. It then went down the Rio Puerco of the West, around the Hopi Buttes, past Awatovi, to the south of Walpi, and on to Oraibi. From Oraibi the trail went westerly down Blue Canyon to Moenkopi and then to Cameron on the Little Colorado River. From there the trail followed portions of the route that later became the state highway into the east entrance of the Grand Canyon National Park. The trail then headed across the Coconino Basin, which Cushing termed the "Kuhni desert." Euler notes that although Cushing claimed to be the first non-Indian to travel on this part of the trail, the route had been previously used by Garcés in 1776 and by John D. Lee in 1873. Euler (p. 5) continues the description by stating, "From the Coconino Basin, the trail led down Little Jim Canyon, past a cave which had long been occupied by Havasupai hunting parties, and then out onto the great grassy Cataract Plain, eventually reaching Havasupai, or Cataract Canyon at Topocoba Hilltop." From there, Cushing traveled down Cataract Creek to the village of the Havasupai. Euler (p. 6) notes that the stone cliff dwellings and storerooms Cushing observed along the trail into Cataract Canyon were built by prehistoric people unrelated to the Havasupai.

According to Euler, (p. 6), the Havasupai obtained salt from two sources: "mines on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado and near the mouth of the Virgin River ..."

**Euler, Robert C.**

**1969 The Archaeology of the Canyon Country. In *John Wesley Powell and the Anthropology of the Canyon Country* by Don D. Fowler, Robert C. Euler, and Catherine S. Fowler, pp. 8-20. Geological Survey Professional Paper 670, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.**

This paper discusses and locates the 8 archaeological sites described by Powell during his two river trips through the Grand Canyon in 1869 and 1872. Euler notes that it was not until 1953 that a trained archaeologist (Walter Taylor) retraced Powell's route down the river. By 1969, a total of 250 archaeological sites had been recorded below the rims of the Grand Canyon, 37 of them along Powell's route below Lees Ferry. Euler provides an overview of the archaeological culture history of the Grand Canyon. He notes most of the prehistoric Puebloan archaeological sites are dated to the period from AD 700-1150. He states (p. 8),

Most of the Grand Canyon was abandoned by the Pueblos towards the end of this period, again for reasons that remain obscure. Only occasionally, and after A.D. 1300, did Anasazi venture into the canyon, primarily the eastern section, in search of salt from the now well-known deposits below the mouth of the Little Colorado River.

Powell described one archaeological site at the confluence of the Green and San Rafael Rivers, two archaeological sites at the head of Glen Canyon (both now submerged under Lake Powell), ancient steps cut into rock in Glen Canyon, a site in the Little Colorado River (where Beamer subsequently built his cabin), a probable Southern Paiute hut 11 miles below the Little Colorado River, a masonry structure at Unkar Creek, a site at Red Canyon near Hance Rapid, a "Shinumu (Moqui) ruin at Bright Angel Creek, a site at Crystal Creek, "Shinumu" ruins at Shinumo Canyon, and ancient house ruins at Tepeats Creek (pp. 9-18). Powell also described a Paiute garden at Whitmore Wash (from which he and his expedition took produce).

Euler notes three or four different ethnic groups used the archaeological site at Beamers Cabin, including the 12th century Kayenta Anasazi, the Hopis, and the Southern Paiute or Pai (p. 12).

**Euler, Robert C.**

**1988 Aspects of Hopi Land Use and Occupancy. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, The Hopi Tribe, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

This report describes aspects of Hopi use outside the 1882 Hopi Reservation in the early twentieth century. It provides a "brief archaeological and ethnohistorical resume" of Hopi occupation of this area (p. 2). Euler (p. 5) notes that, "Archaeologists who have worked in the area occupied prehistorically by the pueblo peoples known as the Kayenta Anasazi, or 'Hisatsinom' as they are known by the Hopi, firmly believe that these Indians were directly ancestral to the Hopi of today. No Indians in this country have a longer authenticated history than the Hopis." By AD 1000 the ancestors of the Hopis had a territory that extended from the Grand Canyon on the west to Canyon DeChelly on the east, and from the San Juan River on the north to the Little Colorado and Puerco Rivers on the south. Euler (p. 6) concludes that archaeological evidence shows prehistoric Hopi use of the entire area called "Tusqua."

The Hopis had "friendly trading relations" with neighboring tribes, particularly with the Havasupai to the west and Zuni to the east (pp. 6-7). Garces and Escalante report the Havasupais had an encampment at Moenkopi in 1776, and Euler adds that the Havasupai they may have been farming with the Hopi's permission (p. 8).

Euler (p. 50) notes Hopi salt pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon "... were not merely routine hikes; important religious shrines along the route were visited." After discussing Hopi use of Zuni Salt Lake, Euler describes the salt pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon (pp. 50-51),

A more difficult journey was to the Grand Canyon salt deposits. From Moenkopi, the Hopi walked to Tutuveni, near Willow Springs, where they carved their clan symbols on the rocks. From here, past several shrines the exact locations of which are not known to outsiders, they reached the head of Salt Trail Canyon, a tributary of the Little Colorado River. Several shrines were visited along this stretch of the route. Reaching the Little Colorado, the party stopped at the Sipapu, a travertine spring from which Hopis believe they emerged from the mythological underworld. This very sacred place and other shrines on the route are all within the 1934 area. From the Sipapu the Hopi salt gatherers proceeded to the confluence and then down the mainstream of the Colorado in the depths of the Grand Canyon to the salt deposit ...

**Euler, Robert C. and Henry F. Dobyns**  
**1971 *The Hopi People*. Indian Tribal Series, Phoenix.**

This brief, well-researched book reviews Hopi history and ethnography for a general audience. It provides a good summary of the published literature. Euler and Dobyns suggest that Cardenas' trip of twenty days from Hopi to the Grand Canyon may have been an exaggeration of Castañeda (p. 28).

With respect to the Hopi's role in the regional trading network that existed in the eighteenth century, Euler and Dobyns say (p. 32),

Adept Hopi traders converted Spanish manufactured goods into profitable items of trade to other Indians not directly in contact with the Spaniards. Meeting the westernmost Northeastern Pai Indians for the first time in mid-1776, for example, Friar Francisco Garces noted that they wore leather belts of Spanish style with metal buckles obtained from the Hopis. By trading manufactured goods westward, the Hopis could insure the continued supply of the wild food products they relished, such as dried *agave* pulp, as well as Pacific coast seashells important in native religious ritual.

Other Jesuit records from the eighteenth century indicate Hopi blankets were a definite standard of value if not a precise medium of exchange in the trade Hopis conducted with tribes along the Colorado River to the west of Hopi (p. 52). The Hopis obtained red ochre and other ceremonial pigments in exchange for woven goods.

**Fairley, Helen C., Peter W. Bungart, Christopher M. Coder, Jim Huffman, Terry L. Samples, and Janet Balsom**  
**1994 *The Grand Canyon River Corridor Survey Project: Archaeological Survey along the Colorado River between Glen Canyon Dam and Separation Canyon*. National Park Service, Grand Canyon.**

This report summarizes an archaeological survey of a 225 mile long segment of the Colorado River undertaken in 1990 and 1991 as part of the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies. All areas subject to impact from a 300,000 cubic feet per second river flow were investigated. Out of deference to the Hopi and Zuni, the term "prehistoric Puebloan" is used in place of "Anasazi" in the report (p. 12). A total of 475 archaeological sites were documented.

The chapter on prehistoric archaeology documents that ancestral Hopi artifacts are found in Reaches 0, 1, 4, 5, 10, and 11 (p. 110). The chapter on historic archaeology, written by Christopher Coder, describes 82 historic sites (p. 113). This chapter includes a synopsis of the documentary history of the Spanish exploration of the Grand Canyon in 1540 using Hopi guides (pp. 113-114).

A brief chapter on "rock art" by Peter Bungart documents that 44 sites with petroglyphs or pictographs were documented during the archaeological survey (pp. 91-94). It is noted that a cache of corrugated vessels was found by river runners in the general vicinity of the "Supai Man" petroglyph in the mid-1980s. The suggestion is made that the spirals, bear track, and eagle track petroglyphs found at South Canyon may represent clan symbols. The pictographs at the Hopi Salt Mine are mentioned but are said to be too sensitive to discuss in the report. Bungart concludes with the observation that many design styles found in the rock art "do not conform well to other styles documented in the literature" and that diagnostic trails are hard to define (p. 93).

An evaluation of the archaeological sites indicates 336 of the 475 sites are being impacted from the operation of the Glen Canyon Dam (pp. 147-152). The determination of adverse impacts requires the National Park Service and the Bureau of Reclamation to develop appropriate programs to monitor and mitigate the adverse effects over the long term. Preservation of site context is considered to be the preferred alternative in future management of the cultural resources in river corridor.

Brief site descriptions (without any locational information) are provided in an appendix.

**Farmer, Malcolm**

**1955 The Identification of Ho-vi-itci-Tu-Qua Pueblo. *Plateau* 28(2):44-45.**

This is a companion article to Edmund Nequatewa's (1955) account of "The Destruction of Elden Pueblo." Farmer (p. 44) points out the identification of the pueblo Ho-vi-itci-tu-qua is "very difficult" since Nequatewa's story offers few details about the villages or their locations. He notes (p. 44), "Mr. Nequatewa decided upon Elden Pueblo, but it may have been one of the other villages which have been shown archaeologically to have been occupied in late prehistoric times." Farmer considers sites in the vicinity of Flagstaff, Anderson Mesa, and the Verde Valley. After reviewing archaeological data, Farmer concludes, "The evidence indicates that the Anderson Mesa area pueblos were inhabited at the same time that people were living in Chavez Pass Ho-vi-itci-tu-qua Pueblo might therefore be identified with Grape Vine Pueblo of the Anderson Mesa region."

**Ferguson, T. J., Kurt Dongoske, Leigh Jenkins, Mike Yeatts, and Eric Polingyouma**

**1993 Working Together, the Roles of Archeology and Ethnohistory in Hopi Cultural Preservation. *CRM* 16 (Special Issue):27-37.**

The organization and operation of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office are summarized in this article, including the role played by the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team. The article focuses on how to accomplish effective consultation

in the research and management of Hopi traditional cultural properties. A prologue to the article refers to the *Sipapuni*, Grand Canyon, and Hopi clan migrations.

**Ferguson, T. J., with a contribution by Gail Lotenberg**

**1995 *Öönga, Öngtupka, niqw Pisisvayu*, (Salt, Salt Canyon, and the Colorado River), The Hopi People and the Grand Canyon. Final Ethnohistoric Report for the Hopi Glen Canyon Environmental Studies Project. Prepared by the Institute of the North American West for the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

This report presents ethnohistoric information about Hopi use of the Grand Canyon. It summarizes the published literature describing Hopi ethnography and history related to the Grand Canyon and integrates this data with information from interviews of 70 tribal members, field work with Hopi cultural advisors in the Grand Canyon, and meetings with the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team. The report discusses Hopi values and beliefs related to natural and cultural resources of the Grand Canyon. This is a limited distribution report, which was only released to the National Park Service and the Bureau of Reclamation for administrative use. Because the report contains sensitive, proprietary information that the Hopi Tribe wants to keep confidential, the scholarly use, citation, or quotation of the report requires the written approval of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.

**Fewkes, Jesse Walter**

**1892 A Few Tusayan Pictographs. *American Anthropologist* 5:9-25.**

In this article, Fewkes reports on a study of petroglyphs in the vicinity of First Mesa. His primary interest was in using the symbolic information encoded in rock art to elucidate the "history of aboriginal religious observances" (p. 9). Fewkes applies a direct historical approach with analogical reasoning and infers that the similarity in petroglyphs that occur at both occupied pueblos and ruins means that similar religious observances as observed ethnographically were conducted at the prehistoric sites. Fewkes concentrated his study on depictions of Kachinas and other religious icons.

The article contains a number of interesting, incidental observations of interest to the Hopi GCES project, including the fact that Hopis were still producing petroglyphs in 1892 (p. 10). "The Hopi themselves are inclined to call all worn pictographs *he'-cä-to*, ancient, but it by no means follows that they are on that account very old" (p. 12).

Fewkes (p. 15) notes that *Mâ'-cau-a* [Masaw] is "the god of the surface who controls growth, but not germination. He controls growth pure and simple, and as such is a beneficent being. It is to him that the small piles of sticks, twigs, stones, and other offerings which are constantly found near the trails are erected. An old woman with a bundle of fuel on her back climbing the trail will throw to *Mâ'-cau-a* her

offering as she passes one of these rude shrines, and near by offerings of prayer sticks are made in several ceremonies. *Mâ'-cau-a* is also the god of death, the terrible one ... the malignant spirit ... who ... appears when hostilities first begin." Fewkes describes the appearance of Masaw during the hostilities with the U.S. Army at Oraibi in 1891.

Fewkes provides additional information about Hopi deities and provides clues on how to interpret symbols. *Ko'kyan'wuch-ti*, Spider Woman, is the "goddess of wisdom; she can change her form at will" (p. 15). Two parallel marks are "invariably symbolic of *Pi-o-kong*, one of the war gods" (p. 17). *Ba'li'li'kong*, "In Hopi mythology the great serpent play a most important part. He is almost the exact equivalent of the Zuñi *Ko'-lo'wis'si*. Stories of his deeds are numerous. He seems to be the dualistic principle of life with *Mu'ing'wûh*, the earth, and makes cañons and rivers with a stroke of his tail" (p. 17). The "friendship sign," is composed of two crescents ..." (p. 17). Other common design elements in Hopi rock art described by Fewkes include the sun (*Dâ'-wa*), rain-clouds, rainbows, shields, phallic symbols, coiled spirals, whirlwinds, corn, animals, and Kachina masks.

**Fewkes, J. Walter**

**1892 A Few Summer Ceremonials at the Tusayan Pueblos, vol. 2. A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology. Houghton, Mifflin, New York.**

This ethnographic monograph on Hopi ceremonies includes information about how Fewkes perceived his interaction with the Hopis. For instance, Fewkes says (p. 3),

I promised the priests that I would tell the Americans a true story of their religious ceremonials as far as I could understand them. Having given me their confidence, they told me much which might otherwise have escaped me. They wish Americans to know of their religious ceremonies, but they want the knowledge of them to be exact. The following pages are attempts to fulfill in part that promise . . . .

The most sacred ceremonies of the Hopi occur in the underground chambers, which Fewkes refers to as kib-vas (otherwise known as kivas). Because one must be initiated into the fraternity of a kib-va to enter that chamber, Fewkes reports that he and his assistant, J. G. Owens, went through the initiations so that they could observe the events below. Consequently, Fewkes was able to provide a detailed description of such a chamber. In part, Fewkes remarks that (p. 20):

A little to the north of the middle line of the floor . . . a plank a few feet long is let into the floor, extending north and south. In the middle of this plank is a round opening a little larger than a broom handle, which is called the *si-pa-pu*, or entrance to the centre of the earth. It represents the traditional opening through which, in ancient times, the

people came to the earth's surface, and is associated in the Indian mind with that opening through which individuals as well as races are born.

In a footnote, Fewkes continues his discussion of the *si-pa-pu*, writing, "In the old legends it is said that all people came upon the earth through the *si-pa-pu* " (note, p. 20). Throughout Fewkes' descriptions of the summer ceremonials, he mentions the *si-pa-pu* numerous times.

**Fewkes, Jesse Walter, assisted by A. M. Stephen and J. G. Owens**

**1894 The Snake Ceremonials at Walpi. *A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology* 4.**

This description of a Snake Dance at Walpi includes a long exposition on "Tí'yo, the Snake Hero" (pp. 106-119). Fewkes (p. 106) notes there are several variants of the account "the details of which differ widely, but throughout them, notwithstanding many inconsistencies, there is a remarkable similarity." These accounts were related to Fewkes when he asked what the meaning of the Snake Dance was.

The first account is a narrative collected by Stephen from Wiki (the original handwritten manuscript of which is found in National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institute). It is notable this narrative begins with a passage that indicates people from First Mesa collected salt in the Grand Canyon. Fewkes et al. (p. 106) write, "Far down in the lowest depth of *Pí-sis-bai-yu* (the Colorado River), at the place where we used to gather salt, is the *si-pa-pu*, the orifice where we emerged from the under-world. The Zuñis, the Ko-ho-ni-nos, the Pah-Utes, the white men, all people came up from the below at that place." The account continues with a description of Tí'yo's preparation for his journey at To-ko-ná-bi, his journey down the river, his experiences in the Snake-Antelope Kiva, his encounters with Spider Woman, and his return to his village with a bride, all of which led to the origin of the Snake Dance. Tí'yo's journey down the river is described (p. 109), "He floated over smooth waters and swift-rushing torrents, plunged down cataracts, and for many days spun through wild whirlpools, where black rocks protruded their heads like angry bears." Fewkes interprets the "myth" to reflect the history of clan migrations, suggesting that the Flute assembly of the Horn Clan and the Snake fraternity separated at Tokonabi and were reunited at Walpi.

**Fewkes, J. Walter**

**1896 A Contribution to Hopi Ethnobotany. *American Anthropologist* 9:14-21.**

Fewkes briefly describes sixty-seven plants used by the Hopis. Plant specimens were collected between 1891 and 1896, and identified by Dr. Sereno Watson. The specimens were deposited in the herbarium of Harvard University. Fewkes (p. 15)

observes that the Hopis, "... have more than once bridged over the failure of their staple crop, maize, by other plant foods not used by whites for food."

Fewkes documents a number of plants identified during the 1993 Hopi GCES river trip, including (but not necessarily limited to): "*Thelesperma gracile*. (Hoyoisi: from *hohovaktü*, sweet smells; *sihü*, flower.) — An infusion of the flowers is drunk as a beverage. A stronger infusion is used in the liquid in which the Hopi boil yucca fiber, for basketry, until they acquire a reddish-brown color" (p. 15). "*Stanleya* sp. (*Kwibi*) — In the spring its leaves are boiled and eaten" (p. 15). "*Cleome integrifolia*. (*Tümi*: from *tüwa*, land (sand); *hümita*, corn kernel.) — The boiled leaves and flowers are highly esteemed." (p. 16). "*Rhus trilobata*. (*Cübi*: from *cükü*, pungent, alluding to its acid berries, which are called *sivwipsi*; a syncopated form of *cübiyadi*, *cübi*, its seeds.) — They are eagerly eaten by young people. Its twigs are used for many ceremonial purposes; also for coarse basketry. The buds are regarded as medicinal. The dry shrub is one of the four prescribed fuels for the kivas" (p. 16). "*Opuntia*. (*Yüñü*.) — In the spring and early summer the succulent stem is boiled, divested of its spines, and eaten" (p. 17). "*Yucca angustifolia*. (*Mohü*.) — Its soapy root is called *mohü mobi*" (p. 17). "*Oryzopsis cuspidata*. (*Lehü*: possibly from *leñya*, flute, reed whistle; *cühü*, hay.) — It gives its name to one of the clans in the group with which the Flute clan is associated" (p. 17). "*Juniperus occidentalis*. (*Hoko*: from *hohü*, arrow; *kohü*, wood.) — So called because its wood splits into straight arrow-like fragments; it is frequently called *hotcki*, referring to the entire tree" (p. 17). "*Castilleja linariæfolia*. (*Mansi*: from *mana*, maid; *sihü*, flower)" (p. 19). "*Nicotiana attenuata*. (*Piba*: from *napi*, leaf; *pahü*, moisture.) — This tobacco is smoked in pipes on all ceremonial occasions and forms a part of nearly all prayer offerings" (p. 19). "*Atriplex confertifolia*. (*Hoyavako*: from *hovaktü*, sweet smells.) — The water in which the leaves of this plant have been boiled is used to mix the corn meal for making the pudding called *ho-ya-vak-pikinni* (*Piki amiyata*), piki or paper bread, covered in.). This meal pudding is poured into a large earthen jar and baked in the characteristic small cooking-pit common in Tusayan" (p. 20). "*Artemisia frigida*. (*Küñya*: from *küyi*, water; *ñaa*, root.) — A sprig of this plant is attached to the *paho* or prayer emblem and is regarded as efficacious in petitions for water" (p. 21).

Fewkes, J. Walter

1896 Pacific Coast Shells from Prehistoric Tusayan Pueblos. *American Anthropologist* 9(11):359-367.

Fewkes describes eleven species of shells from the Pacific Ocean or Gulf of California found as grave offerings in excavations at Homolovi, Cakwabayaki, and Tcübkwitcalobi. These species include *Pectunculus gigantus*; three species of *Conus*; *Turtitella tigrina*; *Cardium elatum*; *Melongena patula*; *Strombu galeatus*; *Haliotus fulgens*; *Oliva annulata*; and *Oliva hiatula*. Many of these shells were decorated and fashioned into jewelry or other ornamentation.

Other incidental information of interest includes comments on regional trails and Hopi cultural affiliation with the Gila-Salt region. In describing Tcübkwitcalobi, Fewkes (p. 360) says the name means "Antelope-notch-place-of," and that it consists of "... two ruined pueblos built of malpais on the hills in Chavez Pass between 30 and 40 miles southwest by south of Winslow, where there is a break in the Mogollon mountains through which runs an ancient Hopi trail from the plains south of the Little Colorado to the Verde Valley and Tonto Basin."

Fewkes (p. 367) states he thinks it is probable that the Hopi culture came from the south, noting,

... that the ancestors of certain component clans of their people came from that direction into Tusayan is claimed by Hopi traditionalists. So far as my archaeological researches bearing on this problem are concerned, they verify that claim. The remote ancestors of the Patki people of Tusayan formerly inhabited the Gila-Salado drainage area, and will later be shown to be closely allied to the Pimas, so some other tribes of that slope.

**Fewkes, Jesse Walter**

**1897 Tusayan Totemic Signatures. *American Anthropologist* 10(1):1-11.**

In the words of Fewkes (p. 1), "The aim of this article is to consider the totem signatures of the Hopi Indians as a key to the meaning of the pictographs in Arizona." As Fewkes uses the term, totemic signatures are clan symbols as depicted on rock art and other media. Fewkes procured information about totemic signatures from the clan marks made on pay vouchers by his Hopi workmen who could not write, and from petitions to the U. S. Government made by Hopi leaders. While the names of Hopi people are not necessarily related to their clan, Hopis use clan symbols to represent themselves in a pictorial fashion. Fewkes infers that petroglyphs with similar designs also represent clan symbols.

Three figures illustrate the symbols made by Hopis belonging to clans in nineteen Hopi phratries from Walpi, Sichomovi, and Oraibi, i.e., *Ala* (Horn), *Patki* (Waterhouse), *Teüa* (Snake), *Pakab* (Reed), *Kokop* (Firewood), *Tabo* (Rabbit), *Tüwa* (Sand, Earth), *Honauûh* (Bear), *Katcina* (Katchina), *Asa* (Tansy Mustard), *Pila* (Tobacco), *Honani* (Badger), *Atoko* (Crane), *Patuñici* (Squash Flower), *Kele* (Pigeon-hawk), *Kala* (Gopher), *Patcibkwaca* (Lizard), *Awata* (Bow), and *Teve* (Greasewood). Symbols of clans in five phratries from Hano are also illustrated, i.e., *Tañ* (Sun), *Ke* (Bear), *Sa* (Tobacco), *Kulon* (Corn), and *Okuwa* (Rain-cloud). Different clans within the phratries often use distinct symbols.

Fewkes article is useful in (1) documenting the use of clan symbols in the nineteenth century to signify individual clan members, and (2) providing baseline

documentation to identify and interpret specific clan symbols. Fewkes also makes a number of interesting observations. Fewkes (p. 2) states, "... the totemic signatures or pictographs of the ancient people are identical with those now made by the Pueblos ...". Fewkes notes these symbols are found in a variety of physical settings, including rocks, cliffs, and walls of ancient ruins. Fewkes believed the clan symbols found in the form of rock art provided evidence for the routes of Hopi migrations. For instance, he states (p. 3),

The trail of migration of the Patki people was from the far south, Palatki, and they have been traced at Homolobi and Chaves Pass, where their pictographs are still to be seen with those of other Hopi gentes from that region. Perhaps the most striking symbol which they brought from the far south was the semicircular rain-cloud figure so often depicted in the totem signatures.

Similarly, Fewkes says (p. 6), "The peculiar totem signature of the Patki, Tabo, Squash, Paroquet, Crane, Lizard, etc. may be expected in pictographs near the ruins of the Little Colorado south of Tusayan and along the Hopi Trail through Chaves Pass along the Verde valley."

**Fewkes, Jesse Walter**

**1897 The Sacrificial Element in Hopi Worship. *Journal of American Folklore* 10(38):187-201.**

Fewkes analyzes Hopi religion in this article to investigate the concept of ritual sacrifice. Although many of Fewkes's theoretical ideas are essentially non-Indian notions naively applied to Hopi behavior, he does make several interesting empirical observations or speculative reconstructions concerning Hopi religion. Fewkes (p. 188) notes that the oral traditions of Hopi migrations indicate that each cluster of families called a pueblo was formed "... from a drifting together of families or larger groups, each of which contributed certain rituals. In that way the ritual became composite; a mosaic of rites, one or more portions of which were added by incoming families."

Supernatural beings (gods) are represented by the Hopi in three ways: (1) by living people; (2) by graven images; and (3) by symbolic paintings (pp. 190-191). He adroitly observes (p. 191), "There are probably all shades of opinion among the Hopi in regard to the nature of their idols, and while the thinking men regard them as symbols, and reverence them for their antiquity, others believe that the supernatural being which the image personifies may temporarily inhabit the idol." Fewkes (p. 196) considers prayer meal and prayer sticks to be a "substitution form of sacrifice" that have been reduced to a symbols.

The exact performance of prescribed rituals at Hopi is more important than dogma pertaining to cosmogony or theogony (pp. 200-201). As Fewkes says, "The

ritual is the important, the myth the subordinate element." Fewkes (p. 201) concludes by saying,

Each pueblo, when discovered, was governed by a council of old men, and the office of governor of the village is probably a late evolution. Each chief of the council has his own sacerdotal rites bequeathed to him to perform. He recognizes the tutelary supernatural of his society, but a supreme deity exists no more in his religious than in his political system. There apparently never was a supreme chief over all the Tusayan villages, much less over all the pueblos. The different towns may have acted in union for a certain object, but they never gave up the control to one leader. Thus the cults of each phratry developed independently, and environment made the lines of their evolution parallel.

**Fewkes, Jesse Walter**

**1898 Preliminary Account of an Expedition to the Pueblo Ruins Near Winslow, Arizona, in 1896. *Smithsonian Institute, Annual Report 1896*, pp. 517-540. Washington, D.C.**

In this report, Fewkes reviews the findings from his fieldwork of 1896 in which he examined evidence of Hopi clan migrations from the South. His findings from the excavations of four Pueblo ruins scattered between the valley of the Little Colorado River and the Hopi Mesas strongly support the contention that some Hopis migrated to Hopi from the south. Evidence for this includes the presence of burial votive offerings, remnants of pottery with familiar designs, traditional pahos, and more. Fewkes points out that, "It was interesting . . . to note that in the large flat slabs on the floor of one of the larger chambers we found small round holes, carefully made, which suggested the sipapû, or symbolic opening, the orifice through which, it is held, races originally emerged from the underworld" (p. 523). Also worth noting is Fewkes' conclusion from an analysis of pottery designs that the Hopis "associated the dead with rain gods" (p. 535).

**Fewkes, Jesse Walter**

**1898 Archeological Expedition to Arizona in 1895, pp. 519-742. *17th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1895-1896, Part 2*. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.**

In this report on archaeological field work, Fewkes includes a description of the passage of Hopis into the Underworld after death (p. 647). The spirits of the dead are referred to as "breath-bodies." Fewkes relates these beliefs to the *Sipapuni* and *Maasaw*.

Fewkes, Jesse Walter

1898 The Feather Symbol in Ancient Hopi Designs. *American Anthropologist*  
11(1):1-14.

Fewkes discusses "paleography" (i.e., interpretation of ancient symbols) as it relates to the feather motif on Hopi ceramics. He notes (p. 5) that "Many ancient designs are incomprehensible to living Hopi priests, and their interpretations are in some cases simply conjectural. The decay in knowledge of the meanings of old symbols is due to the fact that most of the ancient symbolism has been replaced by the modern." Nonetheless, Fewkes (p. 4) uses the "testimony of living priests" to interpret feather symbols. Much of the discussion centers around the design layout of feathers in a generic sense but Fewkes (p. 10) does offer the following observation about eagle feathers. "The presence of eagle feathers on ancient Hopi disks, symbolic of the sun, is frequent, and feathers are still inserted in a corn-husk border on the margin of hoops covered with painted buckskin representing the sun in modern Tusayan ceremonies." This article thus documents the importance of eagles in both prehistoric and historic Hopi culture and religion.

Fewkes, Jesse Walter

1898 The Growth of Hopi Ritual. *The Journal of American Folklore*  
11(42):173-194.

Fewkes begins this article with a summary of the growth of the Hopi people and their ritual as recounted in oral tradition (p. 173). In the remainder of the article, Fewkes elaborates this basic historical reconstruction using ethnographic and archaeological data. Fewkes (p. 174) thinks the *Katcina* cult is "extra Tusayan in origin, and was not a part of the original Hopi ritual, but was added to in comparatively recent times by colonists from pueblos of other stocks."

In a footnote to the importance of "palæography or predocumentary evidences" Fewkes (p. 174) states, "Picture-writing in the past, as in the present, has served the Hopi as a means of expression of their ideas of religious symbolism, and is most important in its teachings." Fewkes (pp. 174-181) discusses Hopi iconography as found on archaeological and ethnographic ceramics to postulate that some styles of historic Hopi pottery were introduced or influenced by immigrants from the Rio Grande pueblos. As he says (p. 178), "The predominance of figures of *Katcinas* on modern ware, and their absence on ancient, indicates that the cult to which they belong is of late intrusion, or of equal age with their advent." In this regard, Fewkes (p. 180) notes that the dwellings of the *Katcinas* are said to lie in the four cardinal points—Kicuba in the north, Mt. Taylor in the east, Wenima, near Saint Johns, in the south, and the San Francisco Mountain in the west.

Having presented evidence that the *Katcina* cult was "intrusive rather than autochthonous" (p. 180) among the Hopi, Fewkes discusses in considerable detail what he considers to be the essential primary elements of the Hopi religion, i.e., totemism (clans), to better understand the relation of the *Katcina* cult to the preexisting religion (Fewkes pp. 181-193). He thinks that the meaning and content of rituals associated with totems changed as environmental and historical conditions changed, i.e., as people developed from hunters into agriculturists. Totemism originates as a psychic phenomena but it is modified by climatic and environmental conditions. Fewkes thinks the Hopi religion is a "composite totemism" (p. 180). He discusses a speculative reconstruction of the history of several major clans, including the Snake, Horn, and Water Clans.

**Fewkes, Jesse Walter**

**1900 Property-Right in Eagles Among the Hopi. *American Anthropologist* 2:690-707.**

Fewkes suggests the Hopis were in an "early stage" of the development of "zoöculture" because they had a property right in eagles but these birds were not domesticated and were used for religious purposes rather than food or clothing. In arguing this thesis, Fewkes makes a number of interesting observations about the Hopi use of eagles. Fewkes notes eagles and eagle feathers are highly valued at Hopi. Like turkey feathers, the plumage of eagles was used in the preparation of many ritual artifacts and ceremonies. In the late nineteenth century eagles were not kept in cages (as they were at Zuni Pueblo) but Fewkes notes all Hopis were aware of the ownership of birds.

The proprietary rights to collect feral birds from specific areas was vested in clan membership. Fewkes states (p. 692), "Anyone in Tusayan who kills an eagle, not his own, within about fifty miles of Walpi, trespasses on the property-right of others." He adds (p. 693), "Unfortunately, however, this right is often violated by white men or by the Navajo, who see no reason why wild birds should belong to a person living perhaps forty or fifty miles away."

Fewkes (p. 693) asserts that, "As a rule ... the nests of eagles near village ruins are owned by the descendants of clans which once lived in their neighborhood." He adds that there is a similar ownership of ancestral springs where water continues to be collected for ritual purposes. Fewkes analyzes the oral traditions of Hopi clan migrations to prove this point, noting that (p. 699),

The eagle-nests west and northwest of the East Mesa, along the lower part of the Little Colorado (*Pala-baiya*), and portions of the Great Colorado (*Pisis-baiya*), belong to clans of Oraibi and the Middle Mesa pueblos ... Probably many of their ancient clans came from numerous houses, now in ruins, within the drainage of the Rio Colorado.

Fewkes describes ancient and contemporary methods of catching eagles (pp. 700-702). The ancient *kwamakta*, or eagle hunt, was accompanied by ceremonial rites and entailed the use of small circular stone enclosures about four feet high. These structures, called *kwamaki* (eagle-hunt-house), served as hunting blinds. Hopis hiding in these structures used ritual songs and rabbit meat bait to draw eagles to the them. The eagles were then captured by grabbing them by a leg. In the late nineteenth century, eagles were collected by removing young eaglets from their nests. According to Fewkes, "It is regarded as wrong to take all of the young from the nest at any one time, and it is evidently due to this taboo that the perpetuation of the species in Tusayan is effected."

Fewkes notes that both the ancient and contemporary collection of eagles was accompanied by prayer offerings and other rituals. The ritual burial of eagles after the *Nimán* ceremony in cemeteries near the villages is described (p. 702). Fewkes also briefly describes Hopi prayers for the increase of eagles, including prayers during *Soyàluña*, the Winter Solstice ceremony.

Fewkes, Jesse Walter

**1900 Tusayan Migration Traditions. In *19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1897-1898, Pt. 2, pp. 573-634. GPO, Washington.***

Fewkes (p. 578) analyzes Hopi clan traditions collected at Walpi as a guide to archaeologists to help identify the ruins of northern Arizona, and to form a composite picture of Hopi ritual, language and secular customs. As he notes (p. 579), "This work ... can best be done under guidance of the Indians by an ethno-archaeologist, who can bring as a preparation for his work an intimate knowledge of the present life of the Hopi villagers." Fewkes (p. 578) observes that it is impossible to interpret Hopi ritual without a clear understanding of the relationship between the existing clans and their connection with religious societies. In collecting oral history, Fewkes (p. 579) noted that "An honest traditionalist immediately declares his ignorance of the history of a clan that is not his own, and in the presence of a man of that clan will refer to him when questioned."

Nine clans in two phratries are said to have come from Toconabi (p. 587). The Snake phratry included the Tcúa (Snake), Tohoû wiñwû (Puma), Hüwi wiñwû (Dove), Ucû wiñwû (Cactus), Yuñû wiñwû (Opuntia, cactus) and Navovû wiñwû. The Ala-Leñya phratry included the Ala wiñwû (Horn), Sowinû wiñwû (Deer), Tcübïo wiñwû (Antelope) and Tcaizra wiñwû. Fewkes locates Tokonabi "near the junction of the Little Colorado with the Great Colorado, in southern Utah."

Twenty-three clans in five phratries are said to have come from Palatkwabi and the Little Colorado (p. 583). These include the Patuñ group, with the Squash, Crane, Pigeon Hawk, and Sorrow-making Clans; the Ala-Leñya group, with the Blue (Green)

Flute, Drab-Flute, Mountain Sheep, and Flute Clans; the Patki group, with the Rain-cloud, Maize, Rainbow, Lightning, Agave, *Bigelovia graveolus*, Aquatic animal, Frog, and Tadpole Clans; the Tüwa-Küküte group, with the Sand, Lizard, and Flower or bush Clans; and the Tabo-Piba group, with the Rabbit, Hare, and Tobacco Clans. Other clans that lived along the Little Colorado River before arriving at Hopi include Squash, Crane, Pigeon-hawk, Lizard, Sand, Rabbit, and Rain-cloud (pp. 595-597).

Fewkes (p. 592) observes that "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 ruin." In this regard, Fewkes noted that during the Sio-calako (Zuni Shalako) ceremony celebrated at Sichumovi in July, the chiefs procure sacred water from Wenima, a spring near St. Johns, Arizona. The Zuni Shalako and the Hopi Calako are both said to have come from this place.

**Fewkes, Jesse Walter**

**1903 Hopi Katsinas Drawn by Native Artists. In *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, pp. 15-190. Government Printing Office, Washington.**

Hopi Katsina are described and illustrated in this compendium. One of the katsina described by Fewkes (pp. 163-164) is Pakiokwik (Fish Katsina). Fewkes says this Katsina "... was introduced into Hano by a man name Kanu. A design representing a fish is depicted on the face. This is an excellent example, of which there are many, serving to show how a man who in recent years has seen an object which he believed to be efficacious in bringing rain, has made a picture of it on his mask." Plate LXII illustrates this Katsina, depicting a green fish painted on the front of horned helmet mask. The fish is placed where the mouth is on the mask.

**Fewkes, Jesse Walter**

**1906 Hopi Shrines Near the East Mesa, Arizona. *American Anthropologist* 8:346-375.**

In this journal article, Fewkes summarizes his findings from years of research among the Hopi people. He has combined a wealth of information about Hopi shrines into an encyclopedic format, making this an exceptional reference. The Shrine of Salt Woman along the Hopi salt trail is mentioned by Fewkes. In describing the Hopi salt pilgrimage, Fewkes states (pp. 352-353)

It is said that before gathering the salt which hung from the cliffs in the form of "icicles," the Hopi deposited prayer sticks, one before the image of the Salt goddess and the other before that of the God of War. It was their custom to allow themselves to be suspended over the edge of the

cliff by ropes, in order that they might break off the salt "icicles" and transfer them to their sacks.

Fewkes (p. 360) adds, "Sipapû is, of course, a general name for the entrance of the underworld, and is applied likewise to a symbolic representation of the same, as a hole in the floor of a ceremonial room or a depression in the plaza." Fewkes also notes that (p. 360),

Almost every Hopi pueblo has in the middle of its plaza a shrine that is generally one of the best made of these structures in the neighborhood. These plaza shrines are to two kinds: (1) those whose cavities are sunk below the level of the ground and always provided with a stone covering; and (2) those with lateral walls above the surface of the ground, having lateral entrances. Both types are sometimes said to represent symbolically a mythological opening from the under-world through which the races of men emerged.

With regard to springs, Fewkes (p. 370) states, "In a general way every spring is supposed to be sacred and therefore a place for the deposit of prayer sticks and other offerings." Fewkes (p. 374) notes, "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."

In concluding the article, Fewkes (pp. 374-375) recommends that archaeologists pay attention to the shrines in the immediate neighborhood of ruins, and gather all the information they can regarding their contemporary use. As he says,

This knowledge, taken in connection with legends of migrations, will aid in identification of clan affiliations of former inhabitants of our Southwestern ruins. Although in most instances these shrines are little more than rings of stones, occasionally an offering is found in them that reveals the presence of reverence in some mind, and it is generally true that the one who made this offering is related in some way to former inhabitants of the neighboring pueblo.

**Fewkes, Jesse Walter**

**1907 Hopi. In *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Part 1*, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, pp. 560-567. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30. Government Printing Office, Washington.**

This brief encyclopedia entry provides a synopsis of Hopi ethnography documents a number of facts pertinent to Hopi ties to the Colorado River and the

Grand Canyon. On p. 563, Fewkes notes that "Ruins of villages which the traditions of the Hopi ascribe to their ancestors are found as far N. as the Rio Colorado ...". Fewkes (p. 565) observes that "The Hopi believe in a future life in an underworld." Fewkes (p. 566) notes, "In Hopi mythology the human race was not created, but generated from the earth, from which man emerged through an opening called the *sipapu*, now typified by the Grand canyon of the Colorado. The dead are supposed to return to the underworld." In a section on clan migration; Fewkes states the Bear Clan came from the Rio Grande; the Snake and Horn Clans from Navajo Mountain on the Colorado River; the Flute Clan from the Little Colorado River; the Water Clan from the south via the Little Colorado River; the Tobacco and Reed Clans from Awatovi; the Kokop from Jemez, New Mexico; the Badger, Butterfly, and Kachina phratries from New Mexico; and the Asa Clan from the Rio Grande (Tewa).

**Fewkes, Jesse Walter**

**1910 Shrines. In *Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico*, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, Part 2, pp. 558-559. Government Printing Office, Washington.**

This encyclopedia entry (p. 558) defines Indian shrines as "Places where sacred offerings are deposited or cult images or objects are set up They are fixed or portable ...". Fewkes describes Hopi shrines as a "typical" example of shrines in general. For the Hopis, Fewkes notes (p. 558) "Among those people any special spot consecrated to supernatural beings, where prayer offerings are made, is called a *pahoki*, or 'prayer house,' generally translated 'shrine.' ... A Hopi shrine differs from an altar in being a place in which the offerings remain permanently, or until they or their essence are supposed to be removed by the gods." He adds (p. 558),

Every great ceremony has its special shrine, but in some of them prayer offerings are made in all ceremonies. Many shrines have nothing to mark them except prayer sticks ... Common forms of shrines are circles of small stones or even a single stone, caves, or clefts, a natural depression in a boulder, or any object symbolically marked. The most elaborate shrines are sealed stone enclosures, sometimes painted with symbols, and containing symbolic representations of supernatural beings, idols, water-worn stones, or fossils. Shrines may be classified either on the basis of their form and contents or on that of the supernatural beings to which they are dedicated. Of the latter, among the Hopi, there are those of the Earth and Sky gods, Kachina shrines, and shrines of numerous lesser supernatural beings.

Fewkes briefly describes several of the more than 100 shrines in the vicinity of First Mesa. He notes (p. 559),

Human or animal images of wood and stone, concretionary or botryoidal stones, carved stone slabs, and fossil shells are among the permanent objects, not offerings, found in Hopi shrines. The temporary offerings on shrines are prayer meal and pollen, sticks, clay effigies of small animals, miniature bowls and vases of water, small bows and arrows, small dolls, turquoise, shells, and other objects.

Some shrines are known by the character of their offerings; thus, a warrior's shrine contains netted shields, bows, and arrows; an eagle shrine, painted wooden imitations of eagle's eggs. Places where ceremonial paraphernalia are kept partake of the sacred nature of a shrine, and caves resorted to for prayer are considered in the same light. All springs of water are places of prayer offerings, and each has a shrine either near by or remote.

**Fisher, A. K.**

**1896** *A Partial List of Moki Animal Names. American Anthropologist 9:23.*

This brief article publishes information about the scientific name, popular name, and Hopi name for 13 animals and 4 birds. The information was collected at Keams Canyon in 1894 by Fisher, an M.D.

**Fletcher, Colin**

**1967** *The Man Who Walked through Time. Vintage Books, New York.*

Fletcher (pp. 183-185) eloquently describes the motivations of a recreational hiker who visited the Hopi Sipapu. At the time he hiked up the Little Colorado River to the Sipapu the spring was still flowing out the top. He describes the awesome beauty of the spot and his musings about *homo sapiens*. He ultimately decided that his attempt to project himself into the mind of the Hopi who "discovered" the Sipapu was "an empty intellectual exercise" and that if he had visited the Sipapu on another day his own thoughts would "have held different and deeper meanings."

**Foreman, Grant (editor)**

**1941** *A Pathfinder in the Southwest: The Itinerary of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.*

In 1853-1854, Lieutenant A. W. Whipple led a survey of the 35th Parallel in search of a railroad route. Foreman edited Whipple's journal from that expedition. Whipple recorded in his notes that the Hopis "are . . . supposed to have knowledge of the region [west of the Little Colorado] and we intend to seek among them for a guide" (p. 149). As Whipple approached Hopi territory, he sent two of his Zuni guides to recruit Hopis for such purposes. None appeared. The Zuni guides returned from the

Hopi villages with a few gifts and the explanation that, "The smallpox had swept off nearly every male adult from three pueblos. In one remained only the cacique and a single man from a hundred warriors. They were dying by fifties per day; and the living, unable to bury the dead, had thrown them down the steep sides of the lofty mesas upon which the pueblos are built" (p. 149). Aside from this tragic report, Whipple's journal contains little useful information about the Hopi, and states nothing concerning Hopi ties to the Grand Canyon.

**Forrest, Earle R.**

1961 *The Snake Dance ... of the Hopi Indians*. Westernlore Press, Los Angeles.

In a section titled "Legend of the Snake Dance" Forrest (pp. 28-33) relates two versions of the Tiyo narrative as documented by Fewkes.

**Foster, Gene**

1954 *Petrographic Art in Glen Canyon*. *Plateau* 27(1):6-18.

This article describes 14 petroglyph panels recorded in the Glen Canyon stretch of the Colorado River. Foster (p. 15) suggests two petroglyphs at NA 5369 "are reminiscent of Hopi Red Ant and Reed clan symbols."

**Fowler, Don E. and Catherine S. Fowler**

1969 *John Wesley Powell's Anthropological Fieldwork*. In *John Wesley Powell and the Anthropology of the Canyon Country* by Don D. Fowler, Robert C. Euler, and Catherine S. Fowler, pp. 2-7. Geological Survey Professional Paper 670, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

The Fowlers note that Powell made his first trip to the Hopi Mesas in 1870, accompanied by Jacob Hamblin, a renown Mormon missionary (p. 2).

**Fred Harvey Company**

n.d. *The Watchtower Guide*. Published by Fred Harvey, An Amfac Resort, Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona.

The Watchtower at Desert View is a 70 foot tall structure designed by Mary Colter and constructed in 1932 by Fred Harvey and the Santa Fe Railroad. The Hopi artist Fred Kabotie painted spectacular murals inside the structure. This pamphlet explains some of the Hopi murals, including a large circular painting that tells the "Snake Legend," which is said to be the "story of the first man to navigate the Colorado." [This mural is illustrated on the cover of this annotated bibliography.] The Fred Harvey pamphlet says,

Again we find the four directional colors in the four quadrant panels. The story begins in the upper-left hand panel ("north") with a Hopi chief giving prayer sticks to his son before sending him on a hazardous exploration of the Grand Canyon. The purpose of the trip is discovery of the legendary Snake people, reportedly in possession of the power to make rain, which is badly needed by the desert clan of the Hopi. The upper-right hand quadrant ("west") shows the son's boat floating down the Colorado River between stylized Canyon Walls. The lower-right hand quadrant ("south") depicts the Snake priest presenting the bow, symbol of the snake clan, to the traveler who already has the secrets of rain making "in the bag." So well is he received that the Snake priest's daughter (to the right) is given him as his wife. On the fourth, lower-left hand panel ("east") the young couple is shown on their honeymoon trip back to the Hopi clan. The blessings of the Snake people are upon them, for the bow is dripping water and rain is falling from six different clouds.

The painting also symbolizes the Center of the Universe in the design in the center of the circle, and Light and Life (identical in Hopi thinking) in the four circular colored bands around the four quadrants ...

### **Fred Harvey Company**

**1933 "De-Ki-Veh." Fred Harvey Company, Grand Canyon National Park, Arizona.**

This is the printed program that accompanied the dedication of the Indian Watchtower at Desert View in the Grand Canyon National Park on May 13, 1933. The subtitle of the program states, "*Ali-Ksai!* The Hopi of the Second Mesa, with their Chief man, Nuvamsa, having accepted the invitation of their brothers, the Hopi of the Grand Canyon, to "bless the kiva" of the Indian Watchtower, in turn invite you to attend the ceremonial dances." The festivities included secret rituals conducted in the "kiva" by Hopis, followed by public dances at 2:00 p.m., an intermission with a Hopi feast and Anglo barbecue; followed by more dances lighted by bonfires at 8:00 p.m. On p. 7, the programs states,

De-Ki-Veh, "The Blessing of the Kiva," A Hopi ritualistic ceremony as performed before invited guests ... It is believed that this is the first time this ceremony has ever been celebrated away from the Mesas, and even there it has not been witnessed in many years by any white man. As the ritual is in the Hopi tongue and the dance is symbolic, an explanation is here given. This description is based on information furnished by Peter Nuvamsa.

In part, the described ritual entails calling the "Expected Ones" who approach out of the Grand Canyon. The ceremony that is described is said to be the last one of the three that accompany the blessing of a kiva. The other two, the "Laying of the Cornerstone" and the "Feeding of the House" are said not be dances and are held in secret.

**Frigout, Arlette**

**1979 Hopi Ceremonial Organization. In *Southwest*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 564-576. *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, William G. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.**

Frigout begins this brief description of Hopi ceremonial organization with the statement (p. 564), "In a sense, all Hopi life is based on the ceremonies, which assure vital equilibrium, both social and individual, and conciliate the supernatural powers in order to obtain rain, good harvests, good health, and peace." In describing the Hopi lunar calendar, Frigout notes that the first month, *kélmíyàw*, is the "Initiates' Moon," (p. 566), the time of the Wuwuchim ceremony which is briefly described as like "... a birth into adult life" (pp. 573-574). Frigout notes (p. 568) that Hopi kivas have a "*sipapu*," "... a hole dug in the ground symbolizing the place of emergence, which is supposed to communicate with the underworld." The *pahóki* (prayer-stick house) that is found in every Hopi plaza is briefly described (p. 568).

**Garcés, Francisco**

**1965 *A Record of Travels in Arizona and California, 1775-1776*, Fr. Francisco Garcés, translated and edited by John Galvin. John Howell Books, San Francisco.**

Garcés, a Spanish priest who traveled to Hopi in 1776, provides information about the relation of Hopis to their neighbors along the Colorado River and Colorado Plateau, including the Havasupais and Utes. Garcés records that the Hopis and their neighbors knew the trails and visited each other regularly. He reported that Hopis were present at a Yavipai rancheria east of Arroyo de San Bernabé when he visited there (pp. 62-63). At a rancheria on Jabesua River [Cataract Canyon; Havasupai], Garcés asked where they got horses and cattle. He reports, "... they answered from Moqui, where there are stolen livestock and many horses" (pp. 65-70). At another Yavipai rancheria of 30 people north of the Little Colorado River, Garcés encountered two Hopi Indians who were trading with the Yavipais. He reports (p. 68), "I found them dressed almost like Spaniards; they were wearing fine leather jackets. One of them kissed my hand. When I gave him a little tobacco and some shells he returned them to me. I called to the other, but he would not come near, nor kiss my crucifix, which the Yavipais offered to him." Six leagues from Oraibi, Garcés found Hopi horse corrals (pp. 68-69). Garcés arrived at Oraibi on July 2, accompanied by 8

Yavipais. Garcés reports the Hopi's reception was not friendly (p. 69). There was a Zuni visiting Oraibi while Garcés was there.

Garcés (p. 74) reports that several years previously he had asked some "old Subaipuris" who had built the archaeological ruins on the Gila, and he was told the Hopis had built them. "They added that these Apaches near by are not relatives [of the Hopis]; that there are many more [Hopis] further north where formerly they [the Subaipuris] used to go to fight though not climbing the mesas where those [Hopis] lived." Garcés (p. 75) concluded, "... I am persuaded that it was probably the Hopis who came to fight; and that they, harassed by the Pimas, who have always been many and brave, abandoned these communities on the Gila River as they had deserted the pueblo I saw in ruins before reaching Moqui. They retreated to where they now live, at a favourable site well defended and safeguarded against any invasion."

When Garcés (p. 77) left Hopi on July 4 but got lost while trying to travel along the trails to the Yutas, "who live to the north and are enemies of this pueblo of Oraibe and of the Muqui Cancabe, but not of the other Hopi Indians." Garcés notes, "I learned I was going the wrong way from two Hopis whom I came upon; they good-naturedly put me on the right course."

Garcés (p. 92) observed, "The Hopis of Oraibe are friendly with all the Yavipais between the Gila and the Colorado, except the Tejua; with the Yutas; and with the rest of the Hopi pueblos, the missions of New Mexico, and all the southern Yavipais, who are the Indians that overrun these provinces; their enemies are the Tejua Yavipais, the Yutas of the Colorado, the Chemequavas, the Yumas, the Jamajabs, the Gileño Pimas, and the Cocomaircopas." He also noted (p. 94), "At present the Hopi Indians, with their trade in awls, digging-sticks, grub hoes, knives, woven stuffs, and strips of red baize, are masters over all the nations ..."

**Geertz, Armin S.**

**1983 *Book of the Hopi: The Hopi's Book? Anthropos 78:547-556.***

Frank Waters' *Book of the Hopi* is reviewed in this article. Geertz thoroughly exposes the problematic subjectivity of this book (p. 554). Geertz demonstrates how Waters' decision to abandon scholarly guidelines for his study permits him to do what he does best — to write fiction — under the guise of credibility. Geertz also attacks Waters' claim to authority by discrediting the status of his co-author, Oswald White Bear Fredericks. Although White Bear is a Hopi, Geertz demonstrates that he holds an enigmatic perspective for a Hopi due to his training in Western, Christian thought. Geertz argues that, among other problems, White Bear's deficiency as a representative for the Hopi people lies in the fact that he is "a missionary for the Hopi religion, a religion that *a priori* is not interested in missionizing." Furthermore, he is "trying to reproduce for the first time a non-existent systematic philosophy of the Hopi religion"

(p. 551). Geertz observes that the source of this book's popularity lies within the hopes and fears of its readers (p. 554).

**Geertz, Amin**

**1984 A Reed Pierced the Sky: Hopi Indian Cosmography on Third Mesa, Arizona. *Numen* 31(2):216-241.**

This article analyzes Hopi cosmological space as revealed through "mythology" and the ritual space of ceremonials. Geertz's analysis is based on data from Third Mesa. The Hopis divide the world in quadripartite and sexpartite units (p. 217). Geertz calls the sexpartite division (i.e., a horizontal-vertical orientation) the "Atrosphere Orientation" and considers it to be "peculiar" to Puebloan culture. The six divisions include the cardinal directions along with the zenith and nadir.

In considering the work of earlier anthropologists, Geertz (pp. 217-218) points out, "... the early ethnographic data is of varying quality depending on the researcher's knowledge of the Hopi language, and the later syntheses merely repeat the often faulty or poorly understood data of earlier studies." Geertz is particularly critical of composite myths that attempt to synthesize what are really distinct accounts of different clans. Geertz has found twelve versions of the Hopi "Emergence Myth" or "Four Worlds Cycle" told from the perspective of Third Mesa (p. 219). In part, Geertz (p. 220) relates in these accounts that,

... the cane reed is the only plant strong enough to pierce the sky while still holding itself up. Upon the Emergence of Mankind from this hole, which is called the *sipaapuni* (the etymology of which is unsure, perhaps from *sipoq*, "in the womb" or *sipna*, "navel"), the cane reed is ripped up and knocked down to prevent the evil ones from following them.

Geertz (p.222) points out that as soon as people emerged, the *Sipaapuni* became a "true World Center." He notes, it "... is not only a spot on the cosmic topographic map. It is also a geographical place, which lies at the bottom of the Grand Canyon (Öngtupka, 'Salt Canyon')." A second "World Center" is inherent in the "Emergence Mythology" in that Oraibi (and Hopiland) is considered to be Tuuwanasavi ("Sand-Center-Place"). In Geertz's (p. 224) words, the "Emergence Mythology also establishes "... each clan's rights to political leadership, the best property and the most lucratively placed farmlands. Thus, this mythology constitutes a cosmography, an urbanography, a sociography and a agripolitical geography." The World Center at Oraibi is anchored in the home of Masaw, the tutelary deity of the Hopi. Geertz (p. 224) points out that the two World Centers are in horizontal opposition to each other. "In other words, each center is peripheral to the other. And since Maasaw apparently dwells at both of these Centers, then He must be the epistemological link between the two." Tuuwanasavi is contrasted by Tuuwaqalalni ("Sand Border"), i.e., "the Horizon" or "the Edge of the World" (p. 224).

In discussing the *Sipapuni*, Geertz (pp. 229-230) says,

What we find here is that the ideas concerning the Afterlife integrates and makes use of the cosmographical systems given by the Emergence Mythology, i.e., the World Axis, World Center and Opposing Worlds. Furthermore, the Ancestor ideology invests Sipaapuni with semantic dimensions other than those of cosmography. It is now the source of life-giving water and a place of eschatological importance. The eschatological importance is of another kind than that of the Emergence, i.e., that of the fate of each individual spirit.

With respect to shrine pilgrimages Geertz (pp. 230-231) says,

Pilgrimages are made to the various ruins which Hopi Clan Migration Mythology lays claim to, and which are guarded by the above-mentioned clan ancestors. In the past, it seems, individuals from the respective clans made journeys to the former homes of their ancestors in order to keep an eye on the ruins, to keep the spirits alive as boundary guardians *and* to notify them whenever major ceremonials were to be performed at home. This peregrinal activity was effectively hindered by Navajo and other hostile tribes. In 1974, however, a group of religious leaders from Second and Third Mesa instituted a pilgrimage along the route of the most sacred clans sites which they believe mark the aboriginal boundary of Hopiland.

Aside from the political motives involved, this form of ritual has once again integrated a system where the Center and Periphery are activated. Of interest here is the fact that Sipaapuni is one of the places visited as a boundary marker (at least symbolically visited, since the trail down to the Colorado River is useless now), thus emphasizing not only Hopiland as the Center but also Sipaapuni as a place on the periphery.

The spatial aspects of Hopi cosmology are manifested in architecture, most notably in the *pahoki* (prayer stick shrine house) and *sipapu* feature of kivas (p. 233).

**Geertz, Armin W.**

**1994 *The Invention of Prophecy, Continuity and Meaning in Hopi Indian Religion*. University of California Press, Berkeley.**

This book entails a detailed historical analysis that documents how the Hopi people have "invented" (i.e., articulated and modified) prophecy in response to the changing socio-political context of their lives. Geertz includes four appendices that provide a bilingual version of the emergence myth, selected versions of the emergence myth by "hostiles" and "traditionalists," a catalog and typology of Hopi prophecies from 1858 to 1961, and the text of a letter to President Harry Truman from

"Representatives of the Hopi Empire." According to Geertz, "Hopi emergence mythology" is (p. 70),

... 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—an eschatological escape on an *axis mundi* ... and being 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 catastrophes. Thus, the very framework of the narrative is apocalyptic, i.e., it begins and ends with collective destruction.

In this book, Geertz (p. 4) argues that (1) Hopi prophecy is indigenous and derives from the core narrative of the emergence myth which is both stable and changing, and (2) the rhetoric of traditionalism is not equivalent to the reality it portrays. Geertz views "tradition" as a strategic resource for all members of Hopi society.

Geertz (p. 81) notes the Siaapuni is "... the place of emergence which Hopis locate geographically in one of the side canyons on the Grand Canyon system." During the Wuwtsim ceremonial, Kwan members perform a song in which Hopi leaders are described as being gathered around the Sipaapuni (which Geertz notes has a symbolic counterpart in every kiva) engaged in beginning life anew.

Geertz describes what happens when oral traditions are written down. He says (pp. 96-97),

... the oral traditions have become frozen into texts that have carried them beyond the reach, understanding, and control of their producers. This circumstance has led to two main consequences: 1) What was once a body of knowledge restricted to more-or-less formalized and ritualized contexts has now, especially with the use of mass media, been made accessible to a broader public—not only to a Hopi public, but more importantly and especially to the Euro-American public. Contrary to stereotypical expectations about the stabilizing effects of the printed word, the enlarged audience has actively stimulated a formerly restricted dialogue. 2) the publication of Hopi prophecies has indeed invited contention since it has left indelible proof that the prophecies and their exegesis have constantly changed.

Geertz (p. 168) observes that "Ritual objects and ritual behavior are central to Hopi hegemony ..." He argues (p. 169) that "religious as well as secular power resides almost completely in the possession and use of important ritual objects." Geertz adds (p. 169),

Hopi ritual objects materialize the power of secret knowledge, providing it with an iconographic medium that expresses the ineffable in the world of objects, but which, even more importantly, gives actual physical substance to the "property" aspect of secret knowledge. Thus, the possession of these objects is, in actual fact, the possession of social, political, and religious power. The only ones who ideally possess the "meaning" of any particular ritual object are its legitimate owners.

Geertz's analysis of the Hopi explanations of "Prophecy Rock" demonstrate the mutability of interpretation of petroglyphs (pp. 257-287).

Even though is great diversity in Hopi clan migration legends, Geertz (p. 331) points out there are also many continuities, i.e., (1) all the clans spread out after emergence to find their final residence and to fulfill their destiny, (2) each clan established reciprocal relationships with specific geographical locations and with certain human and non-human beings, (3) there was a standard procedure for admittance into a village, and (4) there is agreement that the relationships to places and beings and the order of arrival determined contemporary social, political, and religious order.

**Geertz, Armin W. and Michael Lomatuway'ma**

**1987 *Children of Cottonwood, Piety and Ceremonialism in Hopi Indian Puppetry.*  
University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.**

The introduction to this book includes an insightful review of the published literature on Hopi (pp. 6-11). Geertz and Lomatuway'ma describe the difficulty in using narratives of traditional history that have been recorded or translated in English and are presented out of context. They state (p. 9),

It is difficult to use Hopi mythology *as it is* to try and understand Hopi religious mentality. There are many questions which have not, as of yet, been answered. We do not know why certain myths are told, when they are told, where they are told, to whom they are told, or how they are told. We know that there are specific categories of narratives all of which have their time, place, and function. Their life-setting is still unclear.

With respect *Sun Chief*, Geertz and Lomatuway'ma note that Talayesva was paid by the page (p. 10). They assert that Talayesva consequently plagiarized Voth and Dorsey and also produced a number of "doubtful" statements. Nonetheless, Geertz and

Lomatuway'ma think *Sun Chief* has "countless strengths" and is a very influential book in the literature on Hopi.

In the context of discussing Hopi marriage and wedding rituals (pp. 181-189), Geertz and Lomatuway'ma note that wedding garments are necessary for the woman's journey to the underworld after death. Some souls have to pay for their misdeeds on earth when they travel to the underworld. Some misdeeds are committed by people who misused religious responsibilities to hurt other people. Other misdeeds concern women who have not received their wedding garments or who received wedding garments that were made incorrectly. Geertz and Lomatuway'ma (p. 187) state,

It seems that, somewhere along the path which the dead travel, there is a large house which is occupied by the Kookopngyam, who are phratry brothers to the Maasaw Clan. Here is where all wedding garments end up. The house is filled with robes, gowns, shoes, and belts hanging all over the place. The unfortunate woman who does not own such garments is forced to grind corn all over again in this house ... Other sources stress that the robe carries the deceased swiftly to her destination and helps her float down to the bottom of the Grand Canyon where the entrance to the Underworld lies. It should be noted that the above mentioned wicker placque, which is made for the groom as repayment, has similar functions. This placque, which is called *hahawpi*, "instrument of descending," is specially designed and assures his swift and safe journey down to Sipaapuni and below. Thus the accouterments of the marriage ceremony have direct influence on the individual eschatology of the man as well as of the woman.

**Gilbert, Bil**

**1983 *Westering Man: The Life of Joseph Walker*. Antheneum, New York.**

Gilbert's biographical work on the western tradesman Joseph Walker, provides useful information about peoples and places in the nineteenth-century West. Regarding the Hopi, Gilbert makes the general statement: "From the days of the first Taos trappers the mountain men had had occasional dealings with the Moqui" (p. 237). More specifically, Gilbert recounts the story of one of Walker's visits to the Hopi in 1851. Gilbert's information comes from an article in the *San Francisco Herald* which an unnamed journalist wrote after interviewing Walker. According to the interview, Walker's stay among the Hopi occurred during a private exploration of a route "between Los Angeles and the Santa Fe-Albuquerque area." Previously, Walker had traveled portions of this route, "but had never made a single traverse between the Colorado and Rio Grande" (p. 237). Walker mentioned to the reporter that during his exploration he stayed with the Hopi for a week. Walker also told the journalist that he had visited the Hopi prior to this encounter. He claimed that during his previous

meetings he had, "thought them [the Hopi] exceptionally interesting and wanted to become better acquainted" (p. 237). In 1851, Walker took the opportunity to follow up on this ambition.

**Goldfrank, Esther S.**

**1948** *The Impact of Situation and Personality on Four Hopi Emergence Myths.*  
*Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 4:241-262.

This article analyzes the impact of personality and historical situation on the form of four Hopi emergence myths to address questions about the process of stability and change in culture. The thesis is that stories undergo an "historic route of occasions" as they are repeated at different times and by various people (p. 241). Reflected through a prism of "subjective forms and subjective aims," as well as social conditions, the myth, thereafter, reflects the conditions of its storyteller as much as the elements of tradition. Goldfrank examines four forms of the emergence myth as they were told by three prominent figures involved in the Oraibi split of 1906. One account is believed to have been told by Lomahongyoma (Cushing 1923:163-171), an early dissenter in the Oraibi conflict over American education; two variations of the myth are attributed to Yokioma (Voth 1905:16-26), leader of the "Hostiles" up through the split of 1906; and one is by Tawaqwaptiwa (Titiev 1944:73-74), leader of the "Friendlies" and long-time Village Chief of Oraibi. Each narrative is discussed in the context of Hopi cultural imperatives and the individual storyteller's particular views on the Oraibi situation, his clan membership, his personal feelings of responsibility for the dissension, and more. The summaries of the myths are largely concerned with the conditions of clan migrations and a clan's political situation within Oraibi as a result of its migration and arrival.

**Grattan, Virginia L.**

**1980** *Mary Colter, Builder Upon the Red Earth.* Northland Press, Flagstaff.

This book describes the architectural career of Mary Colter, who designed and decorated many notable buildings at the Grand Canyon and elsewhere in the Southwest, including the Hopi House and the Indian Watchtower. Colter undertook most of her work for the Fred Harvey Company.

The Hopi House, opened on January 1, 1905, was designed in the style of Oraibi Pueblo in recognition that the ancestors of the Hopi people had inhabited the Grand Canyon for many centuries (pp. 14-19). This building housed the Fred Harvey Indian Crafts store, and was also used for a time as a residence for Hopi employees, who lived in the upper stories of the multi-terrace building. The Hopi House was constructed largely by Hopi Indians. Indian artisans demonstrated their crafts in the Hopi House during the day, and Hopi dancers performed on the patio in the evening.

The Indian Watchtower was constructed in 1932 to provide the Fred Harvey Company with a rest stop and gift store 25 miles in the eastern end of the Grand Canyon National Park (pp. 69-78). The inspiration of the Indian Watchtower were the prehistoric Pueblo towers of the Colorado Plateau, although with a height of 70 ft and a diameter of 30 ft, it was much larger than any tower built in prehistory. Colter designed the ground floor of the Indian Watchtower as a "kiva." The first floor of the tower was the "Hopi Room," decorated with murals painted by Fred Kabotie to depict the Hopi emergence from the *Sipapuni* and the Hopis cultural connection with the Grand Canyon. Fred Kabotie was 30 years old when he painted the murals in the Indian Watchtower. Before undertaking this project, he was a guide and musician at the Grand Canyon. Kabotie included one mural panel that depicts the "Snake Legend," including Tiyo's journey through the Grand Canyon in a drum.

**Gregory, Herbert E.**

**1917 *Geology of the Navajo Country, A Reconnaissance of Parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah.* United States Geological Survey, Professional Paper 93. Washington: Government Printing Office.**

In a section on economic geology, Gregory makes the following observation:

No deposits of salt of commercial value are known within the limits of the Navajo Reservation. Small amounts of salt are commonly found in this region, however, particularly in strata of Permian (?) age, and the water from wells at Adamana and other points along the railway and also from certain springs in the Moenkopi formation is so highly charged with saline matter as to be unfit for use. Before the establishment of trading posts, the Hopis obtained salt from the 'salt spring' near Winslow (Sunset Crossing), on the Little Colorado, and from Zuni Salt Lake. A chemical analysis of the evaporation residue of the brine at Winslow gave the following result:

Chloride of sodium	78.79%
Chloride of calcium	5.48%
Chloride of magnesium	12.16%
Sulphate of lime	3.07%
Traces of alumina, oxide of iron, and loss	0.50%

Plate II, "Geologic Map of the Navajo Country, Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah," shows many trails and roads in the Hopi area. One route leads to a location immediately north of Salt Trail Canyon off the Little Colorado River. This route departs from Oraibi and runs westward, passing to the south of Solomi Spring and the

north of Howell Mesa, entering Moencopi Village from the south. This route then runs northwestward by Moa Ave and Willow Springs, and thence to Bodaway Mesa.

**Haeberlin, H. K.**

**1916** *The Idea of Fertilization in the Culture of the Pueblo Indians. Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 3:1-55. Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

The concept of fertility in Pueblo culture is used in this article as a heuristic device to analyze cultural variability. Haeberlin (p. 14) refers to Matthew's (1902) analysis of emergence narratives as "myths" of gestation and birth. He discusses the prominent role of Huring Wuhti in the narratives of the Snake ceremony, providing the a synopsis of accounts about Tiyo (p. 18-19).

Haeberlin observes that corresponding to the idea that people emerged from the underworld is a belief people return to the underworld through the *Sipapu* (p. 27). He states (p. 21), "The *sipapu* is thought of as the opening to the underworld, the place of fertility." He adds, "In the ceremonial life of the Pueblo various devices are looked upon as passages of communication with the deities of germination below. Thus in the Snake-Antelope ceremony the plank, upon which the dancers stamp in the public performances, is regarded as a *sipapu*. Haeberlin observes that the principal and constant ceremonial *sipapus*, are the orifices in the floor of the Hopi kivas. He perceptively adds (p. 22)

They have been called "symbolic" of the mythical sipapu, out of which the people emerged. I would like to call attention to the fact that, although the term "symbolic" may be used for the sake of convenience of expression, the *sipapu* of the kiva is conceived by the natives as a real opening to the underworld and in so far is not at all symbolic. The distinction between the symbolizing and the symbolized object often corresponds to our own ideas, but not always to the psychology of the natives ... As the underworld is the abode of the deities of germination and fertility, the Hopi evoke their help by calling down the *sipapu* of the kiva.

**Hague, Harlan**

**1978** *The Road to California: The Search for a Southern Overland Route, 1540-1848.* The Authur H. Clark Co., Glendale, CA.

In this book, Hague reconstructs the three-century long search for a southern overland route to California. He includes a information about explorers who intersected the Hopi Mesas along their journeys to the coast. One of the most important contributions Hague makes to the documenting of Hopi knowledge of the Grand Canyon concerns Silvestre Velez de Escalante. Hague comments that Escalante

had tried to open a route to California by following the Colorado River, which he called "the great river of the Cosninas," (p. 73). Escalante probably learned that the Colorado River flowed into California from either the Hopis or Zunis.

**Hamana, Walter**

**n.d. Comments on Rainbow Bridge Development. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

These comments, prepared in response to a National Park Service planning document, attest to the continuing cultural significance the Rainbow Bridge has for the Hopi people. Hamana documents that Hopis are concerned about important plants, cultural materials, and prehistoric archaeological sites near Rainbow Bridge. Hamana says,

Rainbow Bridge is culturally significant to the Hopi people. It is recognized as one of the respected places because it has a religious significance to the tribe... clan affiliation identified the area as part of the Hopi aboriginal land boundaries... Up through today Hopi ceremonial influence is maturely (sic) recognized and practiced.

**Hammond, George P. and Agapito Rey**

**1940 *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, vol. II. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.**

This volume contains an Introduction and an assortment of primary documents relating to the events of the Spanish expedition under Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. Included in the collection of primary sources are official records, numerous letters written by Coronado, testimonies from trials of misconduct after the expedition, and, most importantly, a translation of the chronicles of Castañeda (pp. 191-283).

Chapter XI of *Castañeda's History of the Expedition* (pp. 213-17) recounts the events of Pedro de Tovar and García López de Cárdenas among the Hopi. Castañeda describes how Tovar and a party of twenty one soldiers and priest left Hawikku and traveled to the Hopi Mesas where they learned of "a large river" (pp. 214-215).

According to Castañeda, Tovar's report upon his return to Cibola initiated Coronado's decision to send a party under the leadership of Cárdenas to investigate the existence of such a river. Castañeda's chronicle describes how the Hopis assisted Cárdenas' exploration of the territory west of Hopi (pp. 215-217). It states,

They provided him with guides to proceed on his journey. They set out from there laden with provisions, because they had to travel over some uninhabited land before coming to settlements, which the Indians said

were more than twenty days away. Accordingly when they had marched for twenty days they came to the gorges of the river, from the edge of which it looked as if the opposite side must have been more than three or four leagues away by air. This region was high and covered with low and twisted pine trees; it was extremely cold, being open to the north, so that although this was the warm season, no one could live in this canyon because of the cold.

The men spent three days looking for a way down to the river; from the top it looked as if the water were a fathom across. But, according to the information supplied by the Indians, it must have been half a league wide. The descent was almost impossible, but, after these three days, at a place which seemed less difficult, Captain Melgosa, a certain Juan Galeras, and another companion, being the most agile, began to go down. They continued descending within the view of those on top until they lost sight of them, as they could not be seen from the top. They returned about four o'clock in the afternoon, as they could not reach the bottom because of the many obstacles they met, for what from the top seemed easy, was not so; on the contrary, it was rough and difficult. They said that they had gone down one-third of the distance and that, from the point they had reached, the river seemed very large, and that, from what they saw the width given by the Indians was correct. From the top they could make out, apart from the canyon, some small boulders which seemed to be as high as a man. Those who went down and who reached them swore that they were taller than the great tower of Seville.

The party did not continue farther up the canyon of the river because of the lack of water. Up to that time they had gone one or two leagues inland in search of water every afternoon. When they had traveled four additional days the guides said that it was impossible to go on because no water would be found for three or four days, that when they themselves traveled through that land they took along women who brought water in gourds, that in those trips they buried gourds of water for the return trip, and that they traveled in one day a distance that took us two days.

This was the Tizón river, much closer to its source than where Mechior Díaz and his men had crossed it. These Indians were of the same type, as it appeared later. From there Cárdenas and his men turned back, as that trip brought no other results. On the way they saw a waterfall which came down a rock. They learned from the guides that some clusters which hung like fine crystals were salt. They went thither and gathered quantities of it which they brought and distributed when they returned to Cibola. Here they rendered their general a written report of what they had seen ... They left the pueblos of that province in peace

and never visited them again, nor did they seek or make attempts to locate other settlements in that region.

Another account of the Spaniard's journey to the Grand Canyon is provided in the "Relacion del Suceso," written in 1541. Here it is documented that upon hearing Tovar's report of the initial Spanish visit to the Hopi pueblos, Coronado immediately sent Don García López de Cárdenas, *maestre de campo*, to explore the country west of Tuzán (the Tusayan of Castañeda). Cárdenas was allotted eighty days for the round trip. He went of Tuzán with Hopi guides who said the settlements in that direction were located far away. The *Relacion* states (p. 287),

After going fifty leagues west from Tuzán, and eighty from Cíbola, he came to the canyon of a river where it was utterly impossible to find a way down, either for horses or on foot, except at a very difficult descent where it was almost two leagues down. The canyon was so lined with rock that one could hardly see the river, although it is said to be as large or much larger than the one at Seville. From the top it looked like an arroyo. Although the men sought diligently in many places for a crossing, none was found.

Here they spent a good number of days, suffering from lack of water which they could not obtain even though they had the river before their eyes. For this reason Don García López was compelled to go back until they found some. This river flows from the northeast and turns southwest, so it can not fail to be the one reached by Mechior Díaz.

In the introduction to this book, Hammond and Rey note that Cárdenas and his men "discovered" the Grand Canyon and were thus the first Europeans to "... gaze upon this tremendous gorge, appalling in its solitude and awful majesty."

**Hammond, George P. and Agapito Rey**

**1966 *The Rediscovery of New Mexico, 1580-1594: The Explorations of Chamuscado, Espejo, Castaño de Sosa, Morlete, and Leyuva de Bonilla and Humaña*. Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, vol. III. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.**

This volume focuses on the explorations of the New Mexican region in the late sixteenth century. Included in the collection of exploration accounts is the journal of Hernán Gallegos from the 1581 Chamuscado-Rodríguez expedition. Gallegos mentioned that his party learned from the Zunis that there were mines near the Hopi villages. He explained that his party, "did not visit that site because we had not brought the necessary provisions" (p. 108). The journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, who accompanied Antonio de Espejo on his 1582-1583 expedition, is also in the collection.. Luxán described in his account the interaction between Hopi and the

Espejo expedition at the Hopi villages in 1583. He reported that the Hopis at Awatovi, Walpi, Shongopovi, Mishongnovi, and Oraibi treated their visitors graciously. At Oraibi, the Spaniards learned from the Hopis of silver mines far away from the mesas. Hopi guides accompanied the explorers to investigate these mines — possibly in the Verde River Valley (pp. 193, 195).

**Hardeen, George**

**1990 Petroglyph Vandalized. *Arizona Daily Sun*, June 4, 1990, p. 1.**

This newspaper article reports recent vandalism at Tutuveni, a petroglyph site near Willow Springs. New graffiti two feet high and nine feet long was spray painted over some of the oldest Hopi clan symbols at the site. Hardeen reports that "News of the defacement saddened Hopi officials and rock art experts who know the site." Leigh Jenkins, the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, reported that the site has been previously vandalized. He notes "It's a very significant place to the Hopi."

**Harvey, Byron**

**1970 *Ritual in Pueblo Art, Hopi Life in Hopi Painting*. Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Vol. XXIV.**

Harvey commissioned a corpus of 270 paintings to illustrate various aspects of Hopi life. The Hopi artists included Marshall Lomakema, Arlo Nuvayouma, Narron Lomayaktewa, Leroy Kewanyama, and Melvin Nuvayouma. Two paintings by Marshall Lomakema (70-71) illustrate the "Salt Journey." The first painting is titled, "A Salt Expedition: Gift for an Aunt." Harvey's explanatory narrative says (p. 35-36),

Salt getting has been infrequent since 1940, but one man went to Zuni in the early 1950s. Although the Second Mesa villagers originally traveled either to Zuni or the Grand Canyon to get salt, traditions state the original mine was located eight miles south of the village (Shungopavi) at *Hukyatiwi* or just below the village where an alkali (*siönga*) deposit is now found. The people's greed was believed to cause the mine to "move" to the Zuni area.

In the illustration, a man (left) brings salt to his aunt. He carries a handwoven bag full of salt over his right shoulder and the short digging stick used at the mining site. The aunt, in red and white *manta*, prepares to offer cornmeal from a small bowl. The salt miner himself wears a black blanket and an eagle feather tied to his hair.

The artist Lomakema describes this painting by saying (p.35),

Early in the morning they come back from the south. They build a fire way over at the mountain. Then they build a second one and keep

coming closer. They have to stay about two miles away from the village. They stay there one night. In the early morning, they come over and their aunts meet them at the trail. They go after their aunts to their aunt's house.

The second painting is titled, "Smoking over the Gift of Salt." Harvey's narrative states, "At the aunt's home two men smoke over the salt or "on the salt." The first man smokes over a pile of salt while the second waits for the pipe. After smoking, the miner will recount his adventures in getting the salt in a speech comparable to other formal Pueblo ritual reports."

**Hermequaftewa, Andrew**

**1953 *The Hopi Way of Life is the Way of Peace*. Santa Fe, NM: Hopi Friendship Association.**

This seven page pamphlet is a transcription of a statement by Andrew Hermequaftewa that was recorded by Dr. Thomas Noble of Indianapolis; Mr. Merideth Guilet, Superintendent of Walnut Canyon National Monument; and Platt Cline, Secretary of the Arizona Commission of Indian Affairs, with Thomas Banyacya of Oraibi as interpreter. Hermequaftewa was the "Bluebird Chief" of the village of Shungopavi. In his statement, Hermequaftewa reviews Hopi traditional history and cultural values as an entreaty to Congressional leaders in Washington to have more respect for the Hopi way of life. Hermequaftewa (p. 5) described the tie between the Hopi religion and land by stating, "The Hopi land is the Hopi religion. The Hopi religion is bound up in the Hopi land ... The Hopi lives and protects his land by worshipping, by praying, by fasting, according to the plans and instructions of Maasau."

**Hieb, Louis A.**

**1977 "The Hopi Traditionalist Movement, A Documentary History, 1948-1971." Unpublished ms. in Special Collections, MS84.3, Manuscript Collection #245, Material documenting the history of the Hopi Traditionalist Movement. Northern Arizona University, Cline Library, Flagstaff, Arizona.**

This manuscript is a compilation of letters, statements, newspaper articles, and other documents pertaining to the "Hopi Traditionalist Movement." A total of 84 documents, encompassing 211 pages, are listed in a table of contents. These documents span a period from 1880 to 1971. Some documents are transcribed as typescripts (and contain typographical errors), others are actual copies of original documents. Most of the documents are by Hopis or government officials, but there are also a few testimonials from non-Hopis. Issues covered by the documents include establishment of the Hopi Reservation, Hopi-Navajo land disputes, services of the

tribal land claims attorney, authority of IRA government (Tribal Council), mineral development, and Hopi religion, prophesy, and philosophy.

**Hieb, Louis A.**

**1979 Hopi World View. In *Southwest*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 577-580.**

**Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, William G. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.**

In this article, Hieb describes the Hopi's world view as a "bipartite universe." He states (p. 577),

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.

Reciprocity is discussed as an essential spiritual concept. Hieb says (p. 580),

For the Hopi, all forms of prayer offering are understood to be prestations requiring reciprocity between the two realms. Prayer offerings in any form are operations of exchange. They are relational but, more important, they make obligatory and compensative requirements of the spirits of the other world ... The ritual cycle consists, then, in a series of elaborate prayer-prestations 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-prestations are made ... 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 to the well-being of this world by providing rain, which is essential to the crops and, hence, to the health of the Hopi (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 pervasive element in the Hopi world view.

Hieb, Louis A.

**1994 Hopi Thought and Archaeological Theory: The Sipapu Reconsidered.**  
*American Indian Religions* 1(1):17-36.

Hieb uses a structural paradigm to discuss the evolution of prehistoric Pueblo religion. He identifies four basic religious concepts using ethnographic information and then looks for the architectural correlates of these concepts in the archaeological record. Hieb (pp. 19-27) posits that the elementary structure of Pueblo religion includes four basic concepts: (1) a universe divided between an Upper World of the living and a Lower World of the spirits or dead; (2) the sipapu, a channel of communication and exchange between the Upper and Lower Worlds; (3) the concept of reciprocity wherein prayers and prayer offerings are made to the spirits of the Lower World who are obligated to respond with gifts, the most important of which is moisture; and (4) religious specialists or priests who mediate between the occupants of the Upper and Lower Worlds.

Hieb (p. 20) notes, "This world and the world of the spirits are transformations of each other and yet are of the same essential substance." Citing Stephen (1936:826), Hieb describes how the breath body of the dead travels to the sipapu in west, and how the spirits of the dead return to this world as katsinas. Katsinas take on cloud form and their substance is manifested as rainfall. Hieb (p.24) says, "As 'messengers of the gods,' the katsinas come to the Upper World to receive prayers and prayer offerings and to reciprocate with assurance and gifts of food."

The sipapu is a symbol of the place of emergence, and also serves as a fundamental channel of communication of exchange (pp. 21-22). It is represented architecturally by a hole in the floor of the kiva. Hieb (p. 25) notes there are two types of Hopi religious specialists: masked and unmasked, which represent this-worldly and other-worldly, or addressers and addressees. In Hieb's (p. 25-26) words, "Hopi religion—world view, ritual action, religious specialists and architectural form— involves communication (prayers) and exchange (prayer offerings [gifts]) for the mutual benefit of those living in this world and the spirits of the other world." Hieb (pp. 26-27) considers the sipapu to be the "most fundamental of all Hopi architectural expressions," with the kiva to be a further architectural elaboration of the concept.

Hieb concludes by suggesting that the diffusionist and social integrationist theories of contemporary archaeologists (e.g., Adams and Lekson) are less adequate than an explanatory model that addresses the degree of correspondence between the structure and logic of Hopi religion with the sequential appearance of the elements of this system (i.e., the architectural sipapu and masked katsinas). Hieb (pp. 32-33) says, "The sipapu—as channel of communication and exchange—is the ancient and central symbol and elementary structure of this religious system."

Hieb, Louis A.

1994 Hopi. In *Native America in the Twentieth Century, An Encyclopedia*, edited by Mary B. Davis, pp.-240-243. Garland Press, New York.

This encyclopedia entry provides a concise overview of Hopi history in the twentieth century. Hieb notes (p. 241),

In a document entitled *Hopi-Tunat'ya/Hopi Comprehensive Plan*, published in 1987, the Tribal Council spoke to the issue of cultural resources by noting that "The Hopi way is a living tradition that shapes every aspect of the lives of the Hopi people," and included among its goals the preservation of the Hopi way and the protection of sacred places and subsistence gathering areas.

Hieb also observes (p. 242),

Hopi cosmology includes the notion of the evolution of mankind through four worlds, with final emergence of the Hopi in the Grand Canyon, by way of the *sipapu*, or opening from the underworld below. In Hopi thought the architecture of the kiva—through the *sipapu*, an opening in the floor, and the levels of the floors—replicated this account. The ladders, which stood against the first floor exterior of the traditional *kihu*, or extended above the entrance into the kiva, reminded Hopis of the trees they climbed at the emergence. For Hopis, the *sipapu* is the first component of a village to be constructed, and around it the houses are built which form the plaza. The *sipapu* is a symbolic medium of exchange and communication between the upper world of the living and the lower world of the spirits—between life and life after this life.

According to Hieb (p. 243), there is no greater conflict between Hopis and non-Hopis than the issue of who should have access to *wiimi* (sacred knowledge). He advises that all plans for study or publication should therefore be cleared by the Hopi Tribal Council's Office of Cultural Preservation.

Hill, W. W.

1940 *Navajo Salt Gathering*. *The University of New Mexico Bulletin* 349, Anthropological Series 3(4):3-25.

The first part of this article describes the traditional practices of the Navajos in the collection of salt at Zuni Salt Lake. In the second part of the article (pp. 16-23), Hill compares Navajo salt gathering practices with those of other tribes in the Southwest. He finds a number of wide-spread similarities, including the occurrence of the Salt Woman or Salt Mother myth, certain ritual practices, a serious mien during salt pilgrimages, and other analogical behaviors and beliefs. Hill concludes (p. 22),

That the social and religious pattern of the specific tribe has affected the formalized elements of the gathering already has been pointed out. However, these influences seem to have been, in part, mitigated through the assembling of several tribes at a common site. For example, those who went to Zuñi Salt Lake have effected a more or less standardized pattern of behavior. Undoubtedly this is the result of a localized diffusion through meeting and observing various tribes occupied in the same pursuit. How important this factor has been can be seen readily in the tremendous difference in ritual performance between a Hopi expedition to Marble Canyon and one to Zuñi Salt Lake.

**Hodge, Carle**

**1980 The Hopi Prophecies. *Arizona Highways* 56(9):43-44.**

This article in a popular magazine describes contemporary Hopi views about prophecy. It is based primarily on conversations with Starlie Lomayaktewa, Abbott Sekaquaptewa, Thomas Banyaca, and Percy Limahquahu. The role of prophecy in Hopi culture is related back to the Hopi emergence and their subsequent vow to *Maasaw*, "the deity of life, death, and fire." As recounted by Hodge,

Before taking his leave, retreating into invisibility, Maasaw imparted the instructions by which the people themselves could determine what happens. His legacy was a vast and complex liturgy — the Pötskwani or commandments for the proper ritualistic measures for maintaining The Hopi Way.

**Hooper, Mildred and C. R. Hooper**

**1977 Shrine of the Clan Rocks. *Outdoor Arizona*, June:20-22.**

This brief popular article describes the "Shrine of the Clan Rocks" near Tuba City as "one of a number of hallowed places along the Hopi salt trail which terminates near the 'sipapu' -- the legendary site of Hopi emergence from the underworld." The general route of the salt trail pilgrimage from the Hopi mesas to the salt caves is described, and excerpts from *Sun Chief, Autobiography of a Hopi* are used to describe the ritual activities Don Talayesva's participated in at the Clan Rocks.

Nellie Douma of the Corn Clan and Hilda Nahee of the Tobacco Clan, both from Polacca Village, visited the site with the authors and discovered their clan symbols on the rocks. These Hopi women told a version of a story handed down from their fathers that prophesied the coming of the Bahana, or white man. This story begins with one of their ancestors returning home from the salt trail, at which time he saw a Bahana house. He took some white sugar, leaving a token for payment, but on arriving home the sugar had turned into white rocks. A medicine man advised him to go back and

find the house, but it could not be found. "The medicine man said this meant that Bahana was coming. We would build Bahana houses. We would wear Bahana shoes. And we would use Bahana money for our trade."

A very brief version of how Hopi clans developed during the migration is provided. The article contains 19 photographs that illustrate the repetitive petroglyph symbols on the clan rocks. The symbols for 15 clans are identified, including Parrot, Sun, Cloud, Corn, Bow, Rabbit, Water People, Spider, Strap, Red Ant, Crow, Bluebird, Coyote, Kachina, and Snake. In addition a petroglyph of Masauwu is also illustrated.

### **Hopi Tribe**

**n.d. Hopi: The Story of Our People. Office of Public Relations, The Hopi Tribe, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

This tabloid publication was prepared to provide public information for tourists visiting the Hopi Reservation. With respect to early Hopi history, it is said (p. 1),

We Hopi are an ancient people. Here in Arizona we trace our history back two millennium. We believe that we emerged here over 100 generations ago.

We follow divine instructions and prophecies received from the caretaker of this world, Massau.

About a thousand years ago, the direct ancestors of today's Hopi occupied a vast territory stretching from the Grand Canyon to what is now called -- Navajo Mountain (Toki'ovi), toward the Lukachukai Mountains near what is now the New Mexico/Arizona borderlands, south to the Mogollon Rim. Hopi clan markings and ruins of ancestral villages clearly mark the traditional boundaries of our homeland.

### **Hopi Tribe**

**n.d. A Brief History of the Hopi-Navajo Land Problem. Privately published by the Hopi Tribe.**

This four page brochure was prepared by the Hopi Tribe during the administration of Chairman Ivan Sidney to lobby the U.S. Congress on legislation pertaining the "Hopi-Navajo Land Problem." With respect to the early history of the Hopi people, the brochure states, "The Hopi people are the direct descendants of the "Ancient Ones" (referred to as the Anasazi) who inhabited the area as early as the first century A.D. Over hundreds of years Hopi clans concentrated their communities in areas now in dispute."

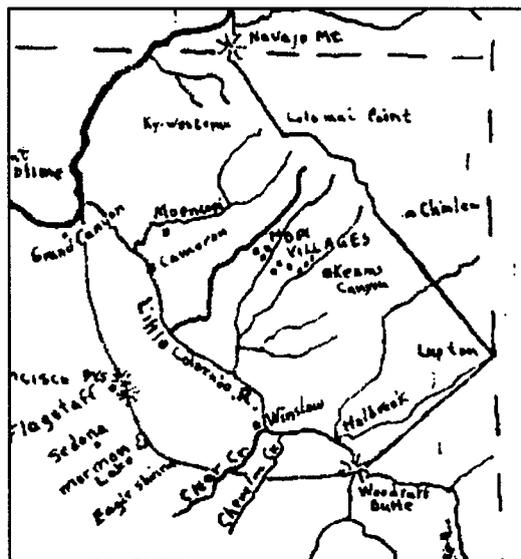
## Hopi Tribe

**1930 Petition from Hopi Tribe to Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Plaintiff's Exhibit 279, Vernon Masayesva, etc. Plaintiff, v. Leonard Haskie, etc., Defendant, v. Evelyn James, etc., Intervenor, Civil No. 74-842 PHX-EHC, United States District Court for the District of Arizona.**

Hopi leaders states that the land has "... been a most vital subject of our people or tribe at present and for generations past." The petition describes the boundaries of Hopi land.

After an extended discussion and consideration on the matter we feel that our old tribal land claim concerning our old boundary lines and the area of land within the said boundaries should and ought by right in the light of justice, liberty and the Supreme Being, be taken into consideration for us at Washington that we desire and want our land return to us, because we love our home-land and never want to be moved out of this place. For centuries the Hopi shrines at the distance points (it is better shown on the accompanying map), which borders the Hopi people from every direction, marked and designated the Hopis' tribal land boundary lines. Before the other peoples came the Hopis' essential needs at away places were all obtainable. For example: wild game and fowls was plentiful, timber for building purposes could be gotten from either Sunset Mts in the west and up north of here, salt and etc.

The Hopis conclude the letter with a petition for the return of "our land we love so well ... for the benefit of our future generations."



Portion of "Map to accompany the Hopi Petition of April 8, 1930, drafted by Fred Kabotie ..."

## **Hopi Tribe**

### **1939 Meetings at Hopi Villages Regarding Land Claims. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

The provenience of this material is uncertain but it appears to have been copied from one of the archives researched during one of the various Hopi land claims cases. This compilation contains typescripts of statements and other documents from a series of meetings held at Hopi villages in 1939. The following excerpts relate to the Grand Canyon.

From the Account of Poli Hungava (Naimkiwa), Moencopi:

It was during this time of farming at Moencopi, salt was found in the Grand Canyon -- where the Hopi people believe they originated. The trail to this salt led through Moenave just west of Moencopi. Threes miles below this place is a shrine where the Hopi salt parties stopped. In passing, every member always put a sign of his clan in the stone there. This is about twelve miles from Moencopi. There were other points along this salt trail to the canyon where ceremonies were performed and which had their names, but only here did the Hopi write their clan signs.

In the Account of Roger Hanahni, Moencopi Tribal Council Delegate, he states the Hopi moved across the land from the Grand Canyon.

## **Hopi Tribe**

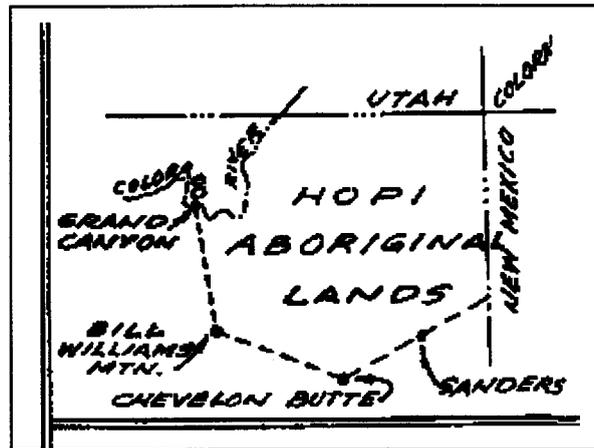
### **1979 *The Hopi Perspective, A Message to the 96th Congress Concerning the Hopi-Navajo Land Dispute Issue.* The Hopi Tribe, Oraibi, Arizona.**

This eight page pamphlet was prepared by the Hopi Tribe to lobby the 96th Congress for an equitable implementation of P. L. 93-531, The Hopi-Navajo Settlement Act of 1974. The pamphlet begins by describing (p. 3) the "Hopi Homeland" noting the Opinion of the Court in the Healing v. Jones litigation that "... no Indians in this country have a longer authenticated history than the Hopis. As far back as the Middle Ages the Hopis occupied the area between Navajo Mountain (Tokonavi) and the little Colorado River, between the San Francisco Mountains and the Luckachukas." Use of aboriginal lands is described, including the statement (p. 3),

... archaeological evidence of Hopi communities and religious shrines in the region predate even Oraibi by hundreds of years. Regular pilgrimages and gathering trips to these shrines and gathering areas are still made today. As a result, the Hopi have deep religious, cultural, and emotional ties to these lands as well as settled, long-standing legal

rights. These are the lands which the Hopi formerly used in peace for centuries before the Navajo came to the Southwest.

A map on page 5 (see figure below) depicts "Hopi aboriginal lands" as bounded by the Colorado River, Grand Canyon, Bill Williams Mnt, Chevelon Butte, Sanders, and the Arizona and Utah state lines.



Map from *The Hopi Perspective, A Message to the 96th Congress*.

#### **Hopi Tutu-veh-ni**

**1991 Hopi Tribe Participates in the Glen Canyon Environmental Impact Study.**  
*Hopi Tutu-veh-ni*, November 14, 11(54): 3.

This article in the Hopi tribal newspaper reports on the Cultural Preservation Office's official statement about Hopi attitudes toward the impact of Glen Canyon Dam on the downstream environment of the Grand Canyon. In addition to information about Hopi attitudes toward stewardship of the land and the significance of the Colorado and Little Colorado River canyons to Hopi history and spirituality, this first article also includes "Behavior Guidelines for Culturally Sensitive Areas." The guidelines are intended to inform those people who visit the Grand Canyon of appropriate behavior in an area so presently important to the Hopi people. "It also," according to the article, "provides a Hopi perspective of this sacred area."

#### **Hopi Tutu-veh-ni**

**1992 Hopi History in the Grand Canyon Documented.** *Hopi Tutu-veh-ni*,  
January 16, 11(58):10.

This article has the dual purpose of both informing the readers of this newspaper of Hopi's official involvement in the Glen Canyon Environmental Study as a

"Cooperating Agency" and to report the findings of the Cultural Preservation Office in relation to this important issue. The official text prepared by this office is included.

According to the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office,:

While the Hopis no longer live in Ongtupka, concern for its physical and spiritual well being is not diminished. In fact, Hopi concern for the Canyon has increased, since we are not there to take care of the sites. The Hopi believe the Glen Canyon Dam should be operated to protect all of Ongtupka and all plants and animals living there.

In addition to the Hopi concern for all living things in the Canyon, the article lists many significant places in Grand Canyon which demand protection from irresponsible water-release schedules because they "provide a vital spiritual and physical link between the past, present, and future for every Hopi person." Those places highlighted by the Cultural Preservation Office are the ancestral burial sites, the rock art, *Sipapuni*, and the sacred Hopi Salt Mine on the bank of the Colorado River.

***Hopi Tutu-veh-ni***

**1993 Hopis Concerned about Grand Canyon Study. *Hopi Tutu-veh-ni* 11(99):1-2.**

This article from the Hopi tribal newspaper reports that Vernon Masayesva, Chairman of the Hopi Tribe, presented Hopi concerns about planning for the Grand Canyon Visibility Transport study in a meeting held in Salt Lake City, Utah. Masayesva has worked hard for the Hopi Tribe to become a full partner and voting member in the Grand Canyon Visibility Transport Commission. The article concludes by stating that Masayesva thinks that Hopis and other Indian peoples in the western states need to take a more active role in developing partnerships with the non-Indian world.

***Hopi Tutu-veh-ni***

**1993 Babbitt assures Hopi Interest in Study. *Hopi Tutu-veh-ni* 11(99):2.**

During a press conference held in connection with the 3rd Annual Grand Canyon Futures Forum in Flagstaff on October 9, Babbitt assured the Hopis that they will be a partner in a federally sponsored study of the Grand Canyon. He is quoted as saying, "Hopis as well as Havasupais and Navajos have many reasons to be involved in planning for the Grand Canyon." Senator John McCain is reported to have said, "Indian peoples are tied to the Canyon, and we respect their connection with it ... Of course, they should be part of planning futures." Hopi Tribal Chairman Vernon Masayesva, a featured speaker at the forum, is quoted as stating,

Grand Canyon is more than a place to the Hopis. We have strong and ancient spiritual, cultural, and religious ties to the Canyon. We will continue our involvement with the Glen Canyon EIS, and we hope to get a voting seat in the Grand Canyon visibility study. We are involved as advisors now, but as an Indian tribe we should have the same level of involvement as western state governors.

**Hough, Walter**

**n.d. Salt Gathering from a New Mexico Sacred Lake. File 371, NMNH Manuscript and Pamphlet File, Box 25b, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.**

This unpublished manuscript describes Zuni Salt Lake. The manuscript concludes with the statement (p. 5) , "The Hopi also imagined salt to be in the care of Hurung Wughti, "woman of hard substances," and they offered to her with great ceremony and also the God of War at their shrines in the Grand Canyon, 110 miles distant from the Pueblos, known from ancient times as the place where salt could be gathered."

**Hough, Walter**

**n.d. Notes on Hopi Exchange. U.S.N.M. Manuscripts and Pamphlet File, Box 22, Hough, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.**

Hough documents Hopi trade with the "Co-co-ni-na" (Havasupai), as well as with other tribes. With the Havasupai, the Hopis traded blankets of all kinds, bridles, saddles, axes, hoes, foods (corn, beans, peaches), and knit leggings for buckskin, baskets, sweet agave, red paint for face, green paint for katsinas, and cactus bread.

**Hough, Walter**

**1897 The Hopi in Relation to their Plant Environment. *American Anthropologist* 10(2):33-44.**

In this short article, Hough discusses the physical environment of the Hopi region and lists the names and uses of 140 species of plants he collected at Hopi in the summer of 1896. The plants were identified by Dr. J. N. Rose of the National Museum. Hough adds several "spring plants" reported by Fewkes (1896) to his plant list to make it more complete. Hough notes (p. 35-36),

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 in the Grand canyon, wild tobacco from the Little Colorado, sacred water from Clear creek, or pine boughs from San Francisco mountain, the home of the snow, is

thought of little moment ... The knowledge of the resources of a vast territory possessed by the Hopi is remarkable, and the general familiarity with the names and uses of plants and animals is surprising. Even small children were able to supply the names, corroborated later by adults.

A number of plants identified during the 1993 Hopi river trip occur in Hough's listing of plant species, including (but not necessarily not limited to) the following. *Tümi*, *Cleome integrifolia* T. & G. Leaves boiled with green corn (p. 37). *Lakápa* (probably Spanish), *Phoradendron juniporium* Engelm. Used as substitute for coffee (pp. 37,41). *Léhü*, *Eriocoma membranacea* (Pursh) Bead., Seeds used in ancient times for food (p. 37). Also a name for a clan (p. 43). *Shemóna*, *Datura metaloides*. Rare use as a narcotic (p. 38). *Yün'yü*, *Opuntia*. Stem is boiled and eaten in the spring when food is scarce (p. 38). *Móhu*, *Yucca augustifolia* Pursh. Woven to make hoods for fireplaces (p. 38). Root is used for soap, "notably for washing the hair in religious ceremonies" (p. 39). Used in arts for basketry, paint brushes, tying material (p. 40). *Hóko*, *Juniperus occidentalis* Hook. The seeds are pierced and strung as beads. The ancient graves yield examples. Principle firewood; bark used as match (p. 39). *Sü'ovi*, *Atriplex canescens* James. Ashes used to give a gray color to piki (p. 39). One of the four kiva fuels (p. 42). *Cübi* (?) or *Sübi*, *Rhus trilobata* Nutt. Twigs used for coarse basketry (p. 40). Buds are medicinal (p. 42). Twigs used for ceremonial purposes; branches are one of four kiva fuels (p. 42). *Hovápi*, *Artemisia tridentata* Nutt. Used in flute paho (p. 42). *Pi'ba*, *Nicotina attenuata* Torr. Smoked on all ceremonial occasions (p. 42).

#### **Hough, Walter**

**1898 Environmental Interrelations in Arizona. *American Anthropologist* 11(5):133-155.**

This article comprises a brief description of the plant environment of Arizona, accompanied by several observations about Hopi ethnobotany. Hough lists Hopi plants and their uses at the end of the article, slightly expanding the information he provided in his 1897 article, "The Hopi in Relation to their Plant Environment (*American Anthropologist* 10(2):33-44). Hough (p. 137) states, "Curiously enough, every Moki is a botanist; not a botanist, of course, in the scientific way; one for practical purposes, rather, who had given descriptive names to his plants long before Lannæus had dressed them out in high-sounding Latin." Hough (p. 138) notes that Hopis travel long distances to collect specific plants, stating "... absurdly long journeys are taken for favored herbs or other useful vegetative substances." One plant collection trip Hough documents entailed a journey of over 400 miles to obtain birch bark. As Hough (p. 138) notes, the process of plant collecting took people back to ancestral archaeological sites, and gave them a wide knowledge of their regional environment. Their journeys included Cataract Canyon where they traded with the Havasupai. Hough says (p. 138),

These journeys are common, for the Moki is no stay-at-home, but roams far beyond the wildest view from the high vantage ground of his village, visiting the former seats of his people of by-gone centuries. Thus he knows the flora and fauna over a wide region, and is as much at home in the White mountains as on the Great Colorado. In former times he may have journeyed to the Gulf of California for precious sea-shells ... or made long quests for the much-prized turquoise, just as he now goes to the Coconino canyon for baskets or deerskins.

Hough (pp. 138-139) alludes to the association of Sálako and the Grand Canyon by noting, "Perhaps Sálako, mother of the Snake Priest and herself hereditary Snake Woman, is the chief medicine woman in Tusayan. She is indeed a remarkable character, and no one is better versed in spells and herbs than she ... From Sálako and her son Kopele much of the information in regard to plants used by the Moki was obtained."

**Hough, Walter**

**1900** *The Moki Snake Dance ; A Popular Account of that Unparalleled Dramatic Pagan Ceremony of the Pueblo Indians of Tusayan, Arizona, with Incidental Mention of their Life and Customs.* Passenger Dept., Santa Fe Route.

The Santa Fe Railroad Company published this brief pamphlet on the Hopi Snake Dance to attract tourists to the Southwest region serviced by its railroad. Hough characterizes his description of the Snake Dance as a "popular account of that unparalleled dramatic pagan ceremony." As historical background, Hough describes Hopi clan migrations. He asserts that upon departing the valley of the Little Colorado as a home site, the Hopi who lived at Homolovi retained their ties to and use of that river. In a brief discussion on the presence of Catholic priests among the tribe, the author reports that "they [the Hopis] received the priests and submitted to the enforced labor of building a church, carrying, with infinite toil, beams of cottonwood from the Little Colorado. Many of these carved beams now support the roofs of the pagan *kivas*" (p. 23).

**Hough, Walter**

**1902** *A Collection of Hopi Ceremonial Pigments.* In *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year Ending June 30, 1900*, pp. 465-471. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

A collection of twenty-five Hopi ceremonial pigments collected by A. M. Stephen, along with additional specimens collected by J. W. Powell and James Stevenson, are described in this catalogue. Stephen's notes on the collection were "brought together" by Dr. Washington Matthews and presented at the 1893 International Folk-Lore Congress of the World's Columbian Exposition. This

presentation was published under Stephen's name in the Archives International Folk-Lore Association, I, pp. 260-265, Chicago, 1898. Mineralogical determinations of the pigments were made by Wirt Tassin, assistant curator in the division of minerals. Hough observed that (p. 465),

The Hopi are assiduous collectors. A catalogue of the substances brought to their pueblos from long distances would awaken surprise, and the diverse materials gleaned from a region so unpromising in appearance would increase the wonder. Every house is a museum of the environment, with specimens from the mineral, animal, and vegetal kingdoms, and every Hopi is a repository of knowledge as to the places where minerals may be secured. Time and distance are of little thought when it comes to procuring the materials desired. For this reason the pigments and dyes, when compared with those employed by other American Indian tribes are remarkable for their number as well as the diversity of their origin. The colors range over the whole spectrum and furnish a number of shades and tints ...

Hough notes (p. 466) , "Frequently the name of a pigment refers to the place of its origin or to the use to which it is to be put, or, if a compound, to the principal constituent." He adds, (p. 466), "The use of pigments among the Hopi is confined to that large element in Hopi life, ceremony, and colors are displayed in profusion on the paraphernalia of their complex religion." Hough says, (p. 469), "... the Hopi exercise considerable skill in the preparation of a number of their colors, especially those of organic substances. In one case piñon gum is employed, as a medium like varnish, and in two cases lakes are produced by complicated processes involving the use of alum. The Hopi also know the value of alum as a mordant, this substance being derived from an impure alum-bearing clay."

In the catalogue, Hough lists the two minerals relevant to the GCES project. *Suta* is described as "Ko ho ni ni cū' ta. 175684. Probably hematite ground and worked up with water. The Hopi obtain this pigment from the Kohonini country in Cataract Canyon, 110 miles west of the reservation. The color is symbolic of the northwest region. Its use is most marked in the paraphernalia of the Snake Society. (p. 469)" *Saqwa* is described as "Ca' kwa, 'green.' Copper carbonate, composed of malachite and azurite. 175690. The Hopi collect this paint 110 miles west of the reservation in Cataract Canyon. It is used for painting Pahos, masks, figurines, etc. Frequently found in graves in the ancient ruins." Hough also notes (p. 469-470) that the berries of *Rhus trilobata* are used to make a red paint.

Hough, Walter

1906 Sacred Springs in the Southwest. *Records of the Past* 5(6):164-169.

Hough describes the economic and spiritual significance of water in terms of its scarcity as a resource the arid Southwest. He provides much anecdotal information, including some general comments pertinent to Hopi. Hough notes (p. 165),

The feathered stick set in the edge of the water by the Hopi are messages to the gods of the underworld and the snakes employed in the Snake Dance are set free at the springs to carry the petitions of the people to the gods." He concludes, "Sacred Springs may therefore be considered as altars, and the offerings as sacrifices, whose essence may be carried by the water in the same way as the fire offering is carried by the fire."

Hough states (p. 166), "The Hopi believe that the waters under the earth are controlled by a great plumed serpent, and that he has favorite springs for his appearances. Montezuma's Well, in northern Arizona, is said to be one of these." In Hough's opinion (p. 167), "Some springs are more sacred than others; for instance, the one at each group of Hopi pueblos developed with great labor by digging out the earth around it, forming a pool walled up around the sides, and having steps leading down to the water, where certain ceremonies are performed."

Hough describes the Hopi's custom of procuring water for ritual use from springs at great distance from their villages. He says (p. 168) ,

It is not necessary that springs held in great esteem should be located near the present villages, they may in fact be 100 miles away and the one delegated to bring "sacred water" from such a spring religiously makes the journey and returns to it with a tiny vase filled at the command of the priest who conducts the ceremonies. During a ceremony at a Hopi pueblo one may see toilworn men returning from quests to the sacred springs, bringing water, rushes, clay and other things required in the observances.

Hough (p. 168) adds that

On one occasion the writer saw a party, then 70 miles from home, going to fetch water from a spring some dozen miles farther along the trail. This custom is an important clew to the location of the former seats of the clans that inhabit the present villages; because the old though ever vital traditions prescribe for ceremonies which are perpetuations of clan observances, water from springs at which their ancestors drank. Where the inquiry is made one may learn that near the springs visited to obtain water as prescribed were the old pueblos of certain clans.

**Hough, Walter**

**1910 Salt.** In *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Part 2*, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, pp. 418-420. Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution.

Hough states in this encyclopedia entry that (pp. 419-420),

The Hopi have obtained their salt from time immemorial from the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, westward from their villages about 100 m. Here salt is gathered with ceremony by making sacrifice to the Goddess of Salt and the God of War (Fewkes). The Pueblos have important salt deities, that of the Hopi being Hurúng Wuhti, "The Woman of Hard Substances" ...

**Hough, Walter**

**1915 *The Hopi Indians.*** The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Hough's book provides an overview of Hopi ethnography for a general audience. He documents that the Havasupai traveled to the Hopi Mesas to trade "fine baskets and superior white-tanned deerskins" that were high demand by the Hopis (p. 25-26). Hough also notes that (p. 26), "The Hopi also traverse the sandy waste to visit the 'People of the Ladders,' as they call the Havasupai, and bring back sacred red ochre and green copper stone for pigments. The Havasupai and Hopi are likewise linked by traditions of an ancient time." Hough (p. 26) points out that although the Hopi and Paiutes were "remotely related" they did not always have friendly relations and sometimes the Paiutes raided Hopi villages.

Hough (pp. 169-170) describes the eagle gathering areas of the Hopi, noting that, "the eagle nests west of the pueblos along the Little Colorado and Great Colorado belong to the Oraibi and Middle Mesa villagers." Hough (p. 170) notes the eagle is a Hopi "sacred bird" whose feathers are used in religious ceremonies. The downy plumes are thought to be efficacious in carrying prayers to the gods.

Hopi oral traditions identifies Homolovi as an ancestral Hopi town (p. 204). Hough (p. 204) places great value on Hopi oral history, noting they have a number of traditions about the Spanish friars that been passed down "with complete preservation of all the details." One of these accounts (pp. 204-205) concerns the friar at Oraibi who did not "relish" the water from the springs near that pueblo and consequently compelled the Hopis to bring water from Moenkopi. One Hopi tried to fool the Catholic priest by filling his canteen at Oraibi but the priest could taste the difference in the water and compelled him to go to Moenkopi.

**Hough, Walter**

**1919 *The Hopi Indian Collection in the United States Museum.* U.S. National Museum, Proceedings 54:235-296.**

Hough mentions and illustrates a ceramic "salt vessel" in this catalog of the Hopi collection at the Smithsonian Institution (p. 239, Pl. 23). This is a small ceramic oblong jar with a restricted oblong neck. The vessel is painted but the black and white illustration does not indicate colors were used in producing the ceramic.

**Hughes, Donald J.**

**1967 *The Story of Man at Grand Canyon.* Grand Canyon Natural History Association Bulletin 14.**

In recounting the history of Cardenas's expedition to the Grand Canyon in 1540, Hughes notes that the Spaniards could not have visited the Hopi Salt Mine since this is next to the river that the Spaniards never reached. He adds (pp. 20-21), "... and the Hopis would not likely have taken the strangers to such a holy place. Indeed, the Hopis could have guided the Spaniards to the river had they wished to do so. That they did not probably shows the attitude of the Peaceful People toward the warlike invaders."

**Hunter, Helen Virginia**

**1940 *Ethnography of Salt in North America.* MA thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.**

This masters thesis in anthropology reviews information about the use of salt in native North American cultures, including Hopi. Hunter summarizes Hopi methods of obtaining salt in chart-form, using data from the work of Mischa Titiev and Ernest Beaglehole (p. 12). She posits that ceremonial use of salt in therapeutics reveals that there is a dialectical relationship between concrete and imagined reality. The physiological necessity of salt intersects with the prescriptions of ritual to offer a complex yet integrated belief system. Hunter concludes that the introduction of commercial salt in the Southwest caused the importance of salt in ceremonies to diminish (p. 49). According to Hunter's thesis, the significance of salt was related to its scarcity. Once salt became more available, its importance in Hopi culture (and that of the other Southwestern tribes) declined.

**Ives, Lieutenant Joseph C.**

**1861 *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West , Explored in 1857 and 1858.*  
36th Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. no. 90. Government Printing Office,  
Washington, DC.**

Lieutenant Ives was commissioned by the Secretary of War in the year 1857 to explore and survey the canyons of the Colorado River. During his expedition, Ives and his party encountered the Hopi people. In his journal, Ives makes frequent references to the Hopi's use of the Colorado River and its resources. Ives specifically mentions collection of salt from a spring in the Little Colorado River valley. He writes (p. 117),

At noon to-day we came to the object of our search — a well-beaten Indian trail running towards the north. Camp was pitched at the place where it strikes the river, and it is the intention to make the second attempt to-morrow to penetrate the unexplored region. Near by are several salt springs, and scattered over the adjacent surface are crystals of excellent salt. This accounts for the trail, for it is doubtless here that the Moquis obtain their supply of that article.

The party followed the trail to Second Mesa. After a day among the inhabitants of Mishongnovi, the party set out for Oraibi. While there, Ives communicated that he wanted to head further north in search of water. Upon such request, one of the Hopi guides "signified that four days' travel in that direction would bring us to a large river" (p. 121). An Oraibi Chief commented that at that point on the canyon rim it would be impossible for the mules to reach the river bank (p. 124). Many other notations of this sort throughout Ives' report (Chapters IX and X) demonstrate a Hopi familiarity with the terrain between their villages and the Grand Canyon.

**James, George Wharton**

**1900 *In and Around the Grand Canyon: The Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona*, rev. ed. Little, Brown, and Company, Boston.**

This tourist guide describes the history of the Grand Canyon, including a brief chapter that reviews the role the Hopis played in exploration of the region by non-Indians. James concludes that although a trail existed which linked the Hopi villages directly with the Grand Canyon, Hopi guides purposefully neglected to show it to the European and American explorers of the Canyon. Hence, the Hopis refused to offer the assistance they were capable of providing. James speculates that the Hopis did not show the white explorers their route into the canyon because they were (p. 240):

fearful that the strangers would use the knowledge thus gained against them, or that they might find in that region or river something that would lead them to desire to make frequent excursions into the country

and thus become too common visitors, or perhaps that the sight of their precious salt ledge would arouse their covetousness.

Any or all of these reasons "were sufficient," according to James, to cause the Hopis "to *misguide*" the Cárdenas party in 1540 and to do the same thing three centuries later to the Ives expedition (p. 241).

**James, George Wharton**

**1903 *The Indians of the Painted Desert Region*. Little, Brown, and Company, Boston.**

James notes in this tourist guide that according to the "legendary lore" of the Hopi Snake clan, all people made their ascent from the lower world to the earth's surface through a portion of Pis-is-bai-ya (the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River) near its confluence with the Little Colorado River (p. 107). He provides a synopsis of Tiyo's journey through the Grand Canyon (pp. 108-110). James also notes (pp. 71-72),

The Hopi is quite a traveller (sic). Though fond of home, I have met members of the tribe in varied quarters of the Painted Desert Region. They get a birch bark from the Verdi Valley with which they make the dye for their moccasins. A yellowish brown color, called *pavissa*, is obtained from a point near the junction of the Little Colorado and Marble Canyon. Here they obtain salt, and at the bottom of the salt springs, where the waters bubble up in pools, this *pavissa* settles. Bahos, or prayer sticks, are always deposited at the time of obtaining this ochre, as it is to be used in the painting of the face of the bahos used in most sacred ceremonies. The so-called Moki trail is evidence of the long association between the Hopis and the Havasupais in Havasu (Cataract) Canyon, and I have often met them there trading blankets, horses, etc., for buckskin and the finely woven wicker bowl-baskets — *kü-üs* — of the Havasupais, which are much prized by the Hopis.

Occasionally he reaches as far northeast as Lee's Ferry and even crosses into southern Utah, and at Zuni to the southeast he is ever a welcome visitor. The Apaches in the White Mountains tell that on occasions the Hopis will visit them, and when visiting the Yumans in 1902 they informed me that long ago the Snake Dancing Mokis were their friends, and sometimes came to see them.

**James, George Wharton**

**1910 *The Grand Canyon of Arizona, How to See It.* Little, Brown, and Company, Boston.**

This guide book prepared for a popular audience contains some information about Hopi and the Grand Canyon. James notes that the Hopi House in Grand Canyon Village is model of room block at Oraibi (p. 118) and he describes the Tao and Powamu altars installed there by H. R. Voth (p. 123).

With respect to the "Old Hopi Trail, James (pp. 145-146) states the road to the eastern end of the Grand Canyon "is practically the line of the old Hopi trail." This road passes Grand View Point and Hotel, Hance's Old Camp and Trail, and the Red Canyon Trail. After crossing the Little Colorado at Tanner's Crossing, James describes it as one day's ride (forty miles) to the corn fields of the Moki. James describes the trail through the Coconino Forest as a "horse trail" that was inaccessible to wagons. He mentions the Hopi trail to Havasupai passed "Hue-tha-wa-li," the White Rock Mountain opposite of Bass Camp, and says Hopis traveled over this trail several times a year (p. 198). James further describes the Hopi trail by noting (p. 153),

One of the most noted aboriginal trails in the western United States, is the old Hopi (generally called Moki) trail, leading from the seven villages of the Hopi and their agricultural offshoot, Moenkopi, to the Canyon of the Havasupais. This was the trail followed by Lieut. Frank Hamilton Cushing — the noted ethnologist — when he visited these Khune kiwes while he was living at the interesting pueblo of Zuni in new Mexico. I have made the whole trip from Hopiland to the Havasupais and back twice, and have ridden for many years over small portions of the trail. It is intimately connected with the history of two of the people seen most at the Canyon. According to Havasupai legends, the Hopis and the Havasupais are descended from twin brothers. Hence they have always been friendly and have traded continuously the products of their own manufacture. The Hopis exchange their horses, sheep, and burros, laden with blankets, pottery and silverware, for buckskin, Havasupai baskets (which they prize very highly), dried peaches, etc.

Originally this was a foot trail; then horses, burros and mules were used; and now, in some portions of its distance, notably from Moenkopi to Oraibi, it is used for wagons.

James (p. 153) says it took five or six days to travel the trail from Havasupai to Hopi. He describes the Moki Trail as it leaves Cataract Canyon (pp. 156-157),

... in several places, it passes through narrow clefts, with ponderous, overhanging rocks, the whole course barely wide enough to permit a laden mule to get through with its pack. It is an almost vertical ascent of about twelve hundred feet which winds around and up the clefts, up steps hacked out of the solid rock with flint axes and hammers, by the patient hands of long-dead Indians.

James (p. 154) says that this is the spot where the Hopis and Zunis believe that

... Ahaiuta, one of the twin gods of war, after the waters of the world had arisen and overwhelmed the nations of their ancestry, and flooded the whole earth from the far west to the Rio Grande, dug a little outlet for the waters. the flood, finding this hole, had rushed down into the interior of the earth, and had thus worn this terrific cleft, and the gorge below, leaving the marks of its strife upon the banded rocks which surrounded and hovered over us.

In recounting the history of the Hopi guiding Cardenas to the Grand Canyon, James (p. 198) speculates,

I hazard the conjecture that the Hopis gave Cardenas as much wandering about as they could, took him to this terribly bleak and barren spot where even to-day one can scarcely prevail upon a Hopi or Navajo to guide him, in order that he might be discouraged from making further explorations in the neighborhood."

**James, Harry Clebourne**

**1940 *Haliksai! A Book of Hopi Legends of the Grand Canyon Country as told to Harry C. James.* The Desert Magazine, El Centro, CA.**

James recorded this collection of Hopi "legends" during camping trips in the Grand Canyon country. He states (p. 5), "Around the campfires at old Oraibi, along the rim of the great Canyon itself, and down in the bottom of the gorge, I have listened to Tewaquaptewa, the old chief of Oraibi, to Poli and Anthony Neumkewa, to Jim Kewanuwatewa and other Hopi tell these stories of the olden days." The stories document the Hopi's connection to the Grand Canyon since time immemorial, describing the emergence, creation, migration, discovery, and life after death. In the first account, James describes the journey up from the underworld through the Sipapu. James paraphrases Hopis to describe the significance of the place of emergence, saying, "In all our kivas, the underground ceremonial rooms, and in all the dance plazas of our villages you will find small shrines fashioned of flat rocks representing Sipapu but which remind us constantly of the day our ancestors came up from the underworld" (p. 9). Other accounts in the collection which refer to the Grand Canyon include "How the Great Chiefs Made the Moon," "How the Great Chiefs Made the Sun," "The Evil

One that Came up from the Underworld," "A Journey to Skeleton House," and "Canyon Journey."

**James, Harry C.**

1956 *The Hopi Indians*. Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho.

This book, written for a popular audience, provides a well-written but secondary source for historical and ethnographic information derived from other publications. James (p. 74) notes that Old Bill Williams is believed to have spent several months with the Hopis in 1827.

**James, Harry C.**

1974 *Pages from Hopi History*. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, AZ.

James begins this history of the Hopi people by noting that his work is a synthesis of many different versions of Hopi oral traditions (p. xiii). In discussing the emergence from the Underworld, James comments that "[w]hen one stops to realize that the dominant features of the vast region of the Hopi world are the magnificent and mysterious landscapes of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River it is not surprising that the Hopi concept of heaven should be an ideal nether world (p. 1)." In recounting the "clan migration myths," James summarizes the journey of Tiyo through the Grand Canyon, and the subsequent introduction of the Snake Ceremony to Hopi.

Using the accounts of Castañeda, James recounts the documentary history of how the Hopis guided the Cárdenas party to the Grand Canyon (pp. 37-38). James believes that Hopi, "In all probability . . . led Cárdenas' party along the well-known trail from Oraibi to their sacred shrines and salt deposit located near where the Little Colorado joins the main stream of the Colorado River as it enters Grand Canyon proper" (p. 37). At some point along this trail on which the Hopi guides took the exploring party, "the Spaniards got their first view of the Grand Canyon." The visits of many other explorers and missionaries are also discussed, including Bill Williams' (pp. 75-76), and J. W. Powell's (pp. 98-99).

James reprints a Hopi claim in 1951 that describes the extent and significance of *Tusqua* (pp. 102-105). James summarizes this official statement on the Hopi ancestral land, writing (p. 101),

The Hopi themselves have always considered as theirs the land occupied by their ancestors where they have shrines, such as the one near the summit of Mt. Thomas in the White Mountains of Arizona; and lands with natural features of a sacred nature, like the salt deposit in the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, and various eagle-nesting sites. This area can be bounded, roughly, by the junction of the San Juan River with the Colorado in the north, the Arizona-New Mexico state line on the east,

the Mogollon and Zuñi rim on the south, and the San Francisco Peaks on the west.

**Jenkins, Leigh,**

**1991 Testimony of Leigh Jenkins, Cultural Preservation Officer of the Hopi Tribe on October 24, 1991, before the Senate Subcommittee on Water and Power, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, on S. 144, the Grand Canyon Protection Act, and Title XVIII of H.R. 429, the Reclamation Projects Authorization and Adjustment Act of 1991. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

In this official statement, the Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office explains that Hopi cultural advisors think it is important for Hopis to be involved in the management of the Grand Canyon because of the canyon's cultural and historical importance to the Hopi people. Among other things, the ancestors of the Hopi obtained water from sacred springs in the Grand Canyon for religious use. In regards to dam operation, Jenkins summarized the position of the Hopi Tribe, which is (p. 3),

Operations of the Glen Canyon Dam must reflect the United States government's commitment to the preservation of the country's natural resources and cultural heritage. It is the responsibility of the Bureau of Reclamation, as an agency of the Federal Government, to operate the Glen Canyon Dam in a balanced manner with regard to environmental and economic concerns.

**Jenkins, Leigh and T. J. Ferguson**

**1994 *Öngtupka*, Hopi Sacred Geography of the Grand Canyon. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western History Association, Albuquerque, New Mexico.**

This brief, 3 page paper was disseminated at an annual meeting of the Western History Association. It describes the cultural importance of the Grand Canyon to the Hopi people. This cultural importance stems from the fact the Grand Canyon is a place of emergence, a location of clan migrations, the residence of Salt Woman and *Ma'saw*, a location of shrines, and a location of resources used in the Hopi religion. The paper ends with a statement about why Hopis need to participate in long-term monitoring and management of the Grand Canyon.

Jenkins, Leigh, T. J. Ferguson, and Kurt Dongoske

1994 A Reexamination of the Concept of *Hopitutsqwa*. Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory Tempe, Arizona, November 11, 1994.

This professional paper reexamines the concept of *Hopitutsqwa*, arguing that from the contemporary perspective of the cultural advisors to the Hopi Tribe's Cultural Preservation Office, 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.

Jennings, Jesse D.

1966 *Glen Canyon: A Summary*. Anthropological Papers 81, University of Utah.

This volume reviews the archaeological findings of the Glen Canyon Archaeological Project run by the University of Utah. Employing a cultural ecological approach, Jennings describes how the prehistoric and historic occupants of the project area made use of the environment. Jennings describes the more than 30 trails that were discovered in the Glen Canyon project area (p. 45). These trails created a "... network of easy communication between canyon and highland all along the Glen." Some of these trails occur in pairs, with older trails consisting of hand and toe holds pecked into cliff walls, and newer trails (attributed to Navajo and Paiute) consisting of steps hewn with metal tools. Jennings states (p. 45),

The trails argue that there was habitual travel from one center to another, to say nothing of wide-ranging hunting and collecting trips, and we can postulate a vast network of now forgotten trails (some routes were metamorphosed into modern stock or pack trails or primitive roads) over the whole of Kayenta land and the rest of the Pueblo domain ... The ease and frequency of inter-village contact observed ethnologically has apparently never been fully appreciated or sufficiently stressed as being equally true in prehistoric times, but the highlighting of the Glen Canyon region trail system puts emphasis on an important ecological and sociological point -- the canyon dwellers were not confined to the canyons. In addition to well-defined trails, there is clear evidence that some canyons -- Smith's Fork ... and Blocked Draw ... were well known and heavily used avenues in and out of the canyon complex.

From Jennings perspective (p. 62), "The genius of the Anasazi culture ... lay not in ceramics or other handicrafts nor architecture nor religion but in the ancient foraging skills, to which was added horticulture."

**Jett, Stephen C.**

**1973 Testimony of the Sacredness of Rainbow Bridge to Puebloans, Navajos, and Paiutes. *Plateau* 45(4):133-142.**

Jett (p. 134) notes that prehistoric Puebloans ancestral to the Hopi occupied the Navajo Mountain area prior to AD 1270. Several early accounts of Rainbow Bridge describe a "small slab-sided altar" at the base of the natural bridge. Jett concludes (p. 135),

The putative shrine certainly does not prove that the Hopi consider Rainbow Bridge to be sacred. Nevertheless, prehistoric inhabitants of the Bridge region contributed to the historic Hopi population, and Hopi migration legends place certain clan ancestors near Navajo Mountain ... Pre-19th-century Hopi potsherds are found sparingly in sites of this area ... and some years ago a Hopi informed Dr. E. B. Danson ... that Hopis still place prayer-sticks on Navajo Mountain. Twentieth-century slab-sided Hopi village shrines have been described by Fewkes (1906:352, 360, 366).

**Jones, Volney H.**

**1950 The Establishment of the Hopi Reservation, and Some Later Developments Concerning Hopi Lands. *Plateau* 23(2):17-25.**

The 1882 Executive Order that established the Hopi Reservation is described in this article, which also reviews the subsequent creation of District 6. Jones succinctly describes many of the problems the Hopis experienced with Navajo encroachment prior to 1950.

**Joshevama, ValJean**

**1993 Testimony of ValJean Joshevama, Sr., Shungopavy Village, The Hopi Tribe, Monday, February 8, 1993, American Indian Religious Freedom Act Amendments. Ms. on file, Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

This testimony was presented at a field hearing for a proposed Congressional act. In describing the cultural importance of eagles for the Hopi people, Joshevama says (pp. 1-2),

Before anyone ever shared this country with us, we depended on nature and took care of our environment and all its products through our annual cycle of ceremonies. For each ceremonial event, we offered prayers from our hearts to our father the sun, through the preparation and offerings of prayer feathers and corn meal.

We prayed for rain, we prayed for abundant plant, animal and human life. We prayed for serenity of life among all people. With our prayers we looked hopefully again to that tomorrow where our lives will be better. We would pray in our hearts that we would experience forgiveness.

And each time that we offered our prayers, there was the ever present feathers from my other father, the eagle.

This eagle, who comes nearer to the sun, is the medium through which our prayers are carried. This eagle allows us to bring home to our villages, her children so that we can look forward to the continued success of having a way to have our prayer delivered.

When we receive these young eagles at their places of birth, we bring them home and honor them as a Hopi child is honored. The hair is washed, a name is given, and a home is prepared where the eagle is cared for daily. Fresh meat is fed to the eagle every day. His water source is always plenty.

Then when we hear the voices of these eagles in our villages, we understand that they are helping to bring rains to our fields. They are calling out to the clouds to come and shade us. They are calling out to the clouds to come and shade us and sprinkle their cooling waters on all of us. And we have faith that those eagles, our fathers too, will help bring rains to us.

**Joshevama, Wilmer**

**1993 Hopi Delegation Takes River Trip. *Hopi Tutu-veh-ni* 11(100):6.**

This article, published in the Hopi tribal newspaper, reports on the research trip the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office undertook from September 30 to October 8, 1993, as part of the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies. The Hopi delegation accompanied National Park Service employees during this nine day trip. Joshevama describes that the delegation,

... returned to the Hopi mesas on October 8, tired and relieved but also feeling good that they had made a small but significant impact on the Park Service with their contribution. The purpose of the trip was to get an introduction to various archaeological sites in the canyon and to document as well as identify plants and current cultural use areas.

The Hopi delegation consisted of Leigh Jenkins, Director of the HCPO; Wilmer Joshevama, HCPO Research Assistant; Mike Yeatts, HCPO Archaeologist; T. J. Ferguson, HCPO Ethnologist, Institute of the NorthAmerican West; Harlan Williams

and Walter Hamana, Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team members; Bradley Balenquah, Orville Hongeva, and Fred Koruh.

Joshevama further reports that,

The most significant moments of the journey included a monitoring visit to Sipapuni and the Salt Mine. Areas which were of immediate concern to the park service were the erosion of soil caused by the fluctuation of water being released by the Glen Canyon Dam. This erosion presents a danger to ancestral Hopi sites located within the vicinity of the river, in some areas causing large arroyos to form and further damaging these valuable archaeological sites.

On one day the group was introduced to a pair of digging sticks located within a crack in the wall. They had initially been identified and recorded as bow and arrows by the discoverer. However, upon examination by the Hopi team, everyone agreed that they were digging sticks along with a small bundle of bamboo reeds. This was an excellent example of how collaboration with park service archaeologists can benefit both parties.

Other research taking place concurrently with Hopi field work on the trip included water quality testing, trails maintenance, and archaeological site monitoring. Joshevama concludes by noting that the Environmental Impact Studies is winding down and the next phase of involvement the tribe is seeking is long-term monitoring in the canyon working closely with the Grand Canyon National Park and the Bureau of Reclamation.

**Kaiser, Rudolf**

**1990 Prophecies and Eschatological (Millennial) Traditions of the Hopi-Indians in Arizona. *Anthropos* 85:65-71.**

At the title indicates, this article describes Hopi prophecy, concentrating on the period following World War II. Kaiser describes and illustrates a petroglyph at "Prophecy Rock," which he says was completed between 1890 and 1905. Kaiser observes that even relatively recent petroglyphs such as this one are difficult to interpret. He says (p. 69), "But the rock drawing is not understood and interpreted in the same way by all Hopi. Some Hopi do not share some of the items in the foregoing interpretation. And many of them point out that each interpretation of the drawing is subjective, nobody knowing for certain what was in the mind of the person who made the drawing."

**Kaiser, Rudolf**

**1991 *The Voice of the Great Spirit, Prophecies of the Hopi Indians*. Translated by Werner Wünsche. Shambala, Boston.**

This book, written by a German philosopher, examines the historical and cultural contexts of Hopi prophecy. Kaiser draws heavily on the "Traditionalist" writings of Katchongva and Banyaca. While the book makes some interesting points, it occasionally borders on naiveté. With respect to the *Sipapuni*, Kaiser writes (p. 3),

In one of the branches of the Grand Canyon there is an elevation whose highest point is marked by an opening. For a long time pious Hopi believed this opening to be the *sipapu*, the point at which their existence in this Fourth World began. However, other Hopi point out that this story of the emergence from a subterranean world should not be taken literally but understood symbolically, as the emergence of humankind from a less conscious existence into one marked by a greater consciousness. Nevertheless to this day the floor of every sacred ceremonial chamber (*kiva*) of the Hopi has a slab embedded in it, the *sipapuni*, as a symbolic representation of the spot at which humans, led by the Hopi, entered this world.

Kaiser notes (p. 3) that the spiral is a recurrent feature in Hopi art that symbolically represents clan migrations.

Kaiser describes the use of shrines on the Hopi Reservation by non-Indian "New Age" religious adherents (p. 119). For instance, a group of 30 to 50 people gathered at the Prophecy Rock on August 17, 1987, to make sacrificial offerings, draw astrological signs, and celebrate the transition to the Age of Aquarius. In a postscript (pp. 133-140), Kaiser discusses how some Hopis object to the dissemination of their prophecies, and their appropriation by non-Indians.

**Katchongva, Dan**

**n.d. *Hopi, A Message for All People*. White Roots of Peace and Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation, New York.**

Dan Katchongva is described as the son and successor to Yukiuma. In this publication he provides accounts of Hopi origin and migration, the history of Oraibi and Hotevilla, and Hopi prophecy. In the course of recounting the emergence and migrations, Katchongva (p. 9) says that Masaw gave the Hopis "... instructions according to the way they were to migrate for a certain purpose to the four corners of the new land, leaving many *footprints*, *rock writings*, and *ruins*, for in time, many would forget that they were all one, united by a single purpose in coming up through the reed." He (p. 10) adds, "We migrated for many years to every corner of this

continent, marking our claim as we travelled, as these markings clearly testify up to the present day. On our way we stopped for a rest near the great river now known as the Colorado." The Bow Clan leader left in search of the Earth Center, which he found and where he succumbed to temptation. He soon died and his two sons continued, the older one leaving for the east.

The younger brother and his people continued to search for Masaw (p. 11), "On their way they came to a land that looked fertile and warm. Here they marked their clan symbols on the rock to claim the land. This was done by the Fire Clan, the Spider Clan, and the Snake Clan. This place is now called Moencopi." Katchongva continues the narrative up to Hopi prophecy as understood in the 1970s.

**Katchongva, Dan**

**1972 *From the Beginning of Life to the Day of Purification*. Translated by Danaqyumtewa. Traditional Indian Land and Life, Los Angeles.**

The text of this pamphlet is virtually identical to that of *Hopi, A Message for All People* published by White Roots of Peace and Akwesasne Notes. The subtitle accurately states, "Teachings, History, and Prophecies of the Hopi People as told by the late Dan Katchongva, Sun Clan, (Ca. 1865-1972)." The introduction to the pamphlet notes that the text is based on a tape recorded talk Katchongva gave on January 29, 1970, with some additional statements concerning the Coyote and Grey Eagle clans added at Katchongva's direction.

**Kelsey, Michael R.**

**1991 *Canyon Hiking Guide to the Colorado Plateau*. Kelsey Publishing, Provo, Utah.**

In describing the trail down Salt Trail Canyon, Kelsey states (p. 272), "This latter route is the way the Hopi people reach the canyon to gather salt and to visit ceremonial sites such as their Sipapu and old burial grounds. Hopi and Navajo alike told the author that no one would mind if whites visited the area, as long as they didn't disturb the sites."

**Kennard, E. A.**

**1937 Hopi Reactions to Death. *American Anthropologist* 39(3):491-496.**

This short article combines insights into Hopi culture with descriptions of how Hopi people variously react to death. Kennard (p. 491) begins with the observation that "The Hopi regard life as predetermined in all important respects." He observes (p. 491) that "In every ceremony, the spirits of the dead are involved, whether as katchina, clouds, or those living in the underworld." Even wedding garments are made for a bride to give her clothing for the future life. Kennard (p. 492) adds, "Despite

this preoccupation, there is the greatest reluctance to speak of the dead, the underworld, or even to identify the kadcina with the dead. A man is buried with a 'cloud mask' of cotton batting, but discussion of the subject is avoided."

Kennard (p. 492) explains that "The psychological reason for this reaction is related to ideas concerning the role of will in human life." Hopis believe they should concentrate on keeping happy, healthy and arriving at old age and live their lives without mental conflict, worry, or trouble. He points out (p. 492-493),

A man who thinks of the dead or of the future life instead of being concerned with worldly activities is thereby bringing about his own death. In folklore are tales of people who wonder about what happens to the dead and are given the opportunity to visit the underworld by magical means, and return to life to tell the people about it. In such tales the living are urged not be lonesome and not to long for the deceased.

Hopi reactions to death range from acceptance and resignation to anger. Kennard (p. 496) explains that all of these attitudes "... are intelligible and consistent with the great emphasis that Hopi culture places upon the role of individual will in what is otherwise a deterministic view of the course of human life."

**Kennard, Edward A.**

**1972 Metaphor and Magic: Key Concepts in Hopi Culture and their Linguistic Forms. In *Studies in Linguistics in Honor of George L. Trager*, edited by M. Estellie Smith, pp. 465-473. Mouton, the Hague.**

Kennard reviews what he considers to be the key concepts in Hopi language and culture by illustrating those elements of the lexicon that refer to them in various contexts. He (p. 469) notes that the Hopis share with other Pueblo peoples an origin account of emergence from the underworld, but points out the Hopi version is distinct in the emphasis it places on the Hopi's separation into groups that by various events acquired a clan name and identity during migrations before settling on the Hopi Mesas. He observes that the order and direction of the arrival of clans depends on the village where the account is related. Kennard (p. 469) thinks, "In comparative perspective it is apparent that the myths rationalize the current social organization of Hopi ceremonial life, and are not concerned with the local definition of exogamy."

Kennard (p. 469) thinks that the concept of predetermination is 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 ..." He says, "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." Hopi rituals, especially at the

Soyalangwu in December, "magically" enact in advance the important events of the coming year (e.g., ceremonies, dances, and the time of planting) "... in the hope these performances will determine their success and prosperity throughout the coming year."

Kennard (p. 469) notes the Hopi word for "magically predetermining" future events is *pasiwna*. He (pp. 469-470) observes, "In the same sense *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."

*?a?ne himu* is the Hopi word for supernatural (p. 470). This combines the free morpheme *?a?ne*, which signifies something done with maximum effort, with *himu*, which signifies "something." Kennard says, the semantic range of the term *?a?ne himu* thus refers to "that which is powerful but unknown." He observes, "It is by adhering to the dictates of tradition and controlling that which is powerful but unknown that life is fulfilled."

The soul or non-mortal part of Hopi people is identified with the breath (*hikwsi*). Kennard (p. 470) observes, "Hence one breathes his prayers on *homngymni* 'sacred cornmeal' before he sprinkles it, upon prayer feathers (*nakwakowosi*), 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 untouched."

**Kennard, Edward A.**

1979 **Hopi Economy and Subsistence.** In *Southwest*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 554-563. *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9, William G. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Kennard briefly describes the Hopi land use system and economy, which included elements of agriculture, hunting, livestock, trade, and crafts. With respect to trade, Kennard notes the Hopis traded with the Havasupai for buckskins (p. 559).

**King, William R.**

1987 **Dionysos Among the Mesas: The Water Serpent Puppet Play of the Hopi Indians.** *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 11(3):17-49.

In this discussion of drama as a means of exploring Hopi culture, King refers to Hopi as an "authentic culture" in the sense that (p. 18), "The Hopi have never separated the arts and the life of the spirit from the other aspects of daily life. Such a holistic outlook gives great strength to a culture, since it provides a unified belief system into which all experience can be integrated." In describing the location of the Hopi puppet plays, King offers a brief discussion of the role of the kiva in Hopi life

and spirituality, mentioning role of the sipapu as a point of entry into the underworld (p. 26).

**Kip, William Ingraham**

**1869** *The Last of the Leatherstockings. Overland Monthly* 2:401-412.

This is a romantic eulogy for what Kip saw as the vanishing world of the Wild West. He states that this world — full of Cooper's *Leatherstockings*, missionaries, grizzly bears, Indians, beavers and more — is hopelessly receding against the onslaught of civilization. He lists the Hopis (referred to here as Moquos) as “among 'the things that were'” (p. 410). According to the author, the Hopi's doom arrived in the form of smallpox. Kip bases his impression of the Hopi's world on an interview with a Mr. Blount who apparently visited the Hopi in 1828. Although Blount provided information about the Hopi, he did not address Hopi ties to the Grand Canyon (pp. 408-410).

**Kolb, Emery L.**

**1989** *Through the Grand Canyon from Wyoming to Mexico. University of Arizona Press, Tucson. [Originally published in 1914 by Macmillan, New York.]*

The Kolb brothers were long-time residents at the Grand Canyon National Park, where they were commercial photographers. This book describes a river trip through the Grand Canyon that Emery and Ellsworth Kolb took in 1911-1912. The purpose of their trip was to take photographs and movie film footage of river running. In several places, Kolb describes prehistoric Indian ruins (pp. 125, 159-160, 205). Above the mouth of the San Juan River, Kolb described hundreds of petroglyphs, including (p. 160) “... masked figures engaged in a dance, not unlike some of the Hopi dances of today, as they picture them.” Kolb also describes the Tanner Trail as an outlet of the Little Colorado Trail to the rim above. Kolb (p. 205) states, “The trail, without doubt, was used by Indians before the white man invaded this region.”

**Kooyahoema, Merwin**

**1978** *Pilgrimage to Shrines Returns. Qua' Toqti, October 19, 1978:1.*

This newspaper article reports on a five day long pilgrimage made by a delegation of seven Hopi religious leaders, medicine men, and BIA employees to sacred shrines and ruins of the Hopi people. The delegation was comprised of George Nasafotie, Sr. (Shunogopavi), Valgean Joshveama (Oraibi), Alfred Joshongva (Shunogopavi), Percy Lomaquahu (Hotevilla), Dalton Taylor (Shunogopavi); Alph Secakuku (BIA Hopi Agency Superintendent), Nathan Begay (BIA Tribal Operations), and Merwin Kooyahoema (*Qua' Toqti*).

The delegation began at *Nah-me-tuy-ka* (two mesas facing each other), located near Lupton, Arizona, where there are pictographs telling the story of the Hopi migration. They proceeded to *Pah-lung-wuye* and Loloma's Point, and to the ruin of *Wu-pah-ki* (Long House). On October 15, the delegation visited the village of *Ka-wes-tima*, the mountain named *To-ko-navi*, rising 10,000 feet above sea level, and then to the Grand Canyon. On October 16, the delegation parked at the Grand Canyon Watch Tower, and descended down to the *Sipapuni* "where legend says people emerged when they first came," and to *Ong-wuit* (Salt Woman). These two sacred places lie "way down in the canyon. "... one has to know how to get down to the very bottom of the canyon to actually see them." The delegation completed the prayers to these shrines from the top of the canyon.

The delegation then proceeded to *Ko-nin-ha-how-pi* (the place where the Konina people descend) in Supai Canyon, where there are pictographs and a ruin. They then left for Williams Lookout Point, known in Hopi as *Ku-sak-tso-mo* (grassy hill). The delegation climbed to the summit and made prayers to the mountain. On October 17, the delegation ascended to the top of *Nuva-tuka-ovi* (snow mountain), also known as the San Francisco Peaks, which rise to 12,633 feet. This place is "believed to be the center of Hopiland." After descending the mountain, the delegation proceeded to Heber, where the shrine of *Yo-tse-how-pi* (the place where Apache people descend) is located. They camped near the shrine. On October 18, the delegation searched for the shrine of *Yo-tse-how-pi*, and located it. They then proceeded toward Woodruff Butte, where the shrine of *Tsi-mon-tuh-kwi* (Loco Weed Point) is located. Prayers and offerings were made at the shrine, and the delegation returned home. "'This is where it ends,' one leader said. We have made a long and tiring journey around the Hopiland,' which is the boundary of the Hopiland."

The caption to a photograph accompanying the article states, "Pilgrims deposit prayer sticks and cornmeal on the rim of the Grand Canyon directly above the shrine "Sipapuni" located in the bottom of the canyon near the junction of the Colorado and Little Colorado rivers. The Sipapuni is the spot from which the Hopis emerged into the new world, according to legend."

#### **Kotchungva, Dan**

**1938 The Tradition of the Hopi Lands, Presented by Dan Kotchungva, Chief of Fire Clan, Hotevilla, and Spokesman of Meeting of Hopi Chiefs. Typescript of ms. on file at Wilmington Federal Records Center, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Field Records, Navajo Service, Window Rock, Arizona. FRC No. 72920, File 080. [Introduced as Defendant Exhibit 491, *Healing v. Jones*, USDC, Civil 579, Prescott.]**

This information in this archival document was collected by Gordon MacGregor, an anthropologist with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, who met with Hopi leaders several days after those Hopis met with John Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The

meeting with Collier took place on July 14, 1938. The document was created by five Hopi leaders to record the tradition of Hopi lands. Dan Kotchungva acted as the spokesman, but the document was authorized with the signatures or thumbprints of Poonayowma (Kikmongwi of Hotevilla); Charles Homihongva (Kikmongwi of Shipaulovi), Andrew Hermaquaptewa (Chief of Bluebird Clan, Shungopavi); Skayumptewa (Chief of Shungopavi); John Talashoma (Vice Chairman of Moencopi Village Council); and Archie Quamala (Shungopavi); and Frank Tewanimptewa.

The Hopi leaders expressed their sadness over John Collier's explanation of the division of Hopi lands. They stated their intention to rely upon their own traditions to have Hopi lands set aside for the interest and satisfaction of the Hopi people. The Hopi leaders (p. 1) noted that "This is a vital and solemn thing to us, not to be achieved in a short time." The Hopi leaders refer to the stone tablets that comprise a physical proof of their traditions, and discuss their responsibility for presenting the traditional knowledge concerning Hopi land rights. The Hopi leaders state (p. 1-2), "According to this map, the land of the Hopi people is in the center of a great body of water. All the land surrounded by water in the world of the Hopi. We Hopis are not originally of this land, we came here to a being who is Masawa. It was arranged by Masawa, that the Hopi should lay claim to their land by this stone, maintain their land and benefit by it in future years."

**Koyiumptewa, Bruce K.**

**1993 Spiritual Values of the Piñon-Juniper Woodland: A Hopi Perspective.**  
**In *Managing Piñon-Juniper Ecosystems for Sustainability and Social Needs*,**  
**edited by Earl F. Aldon and Douglas W. Shaw, pp. 19-20. General**  
**Technical Report RM-236, USDA Forest Service.**

The author is the District Siviculturalist for the Coconino National Forests. He presents a "from the heart" talk about what cultural values the Hopis place piñon-juniper woodland. As Koyiumptewa states, "The piñon-juniper woodland plays an essential role in Hopi Indian Ceremonialism" (p. 19). After discussing the values imparted by his grandfather in general terms, Koyiumptewa concludes the article by noting that he is reluctant to disclose information about Hopi ethnobotany to the general public because of potential misappropriation by "New Age" adherents and the commercialization of herbal medicine. He ends by stating, "It is my perception that the piñon-juniper woodlands will soon be depleted of these key plants that are so vital to Hopi Spiritual Ceremonies" (p. 20).

**Laidlaw, Robert M.**

**1975 *Functional Aspects of Secular Origin Myths*. MA Thesis, California State University, Fullerton.**

This thesis analyzes five versions of the "secular" Hopi origin myth. Three historical versions of the origin myth recorded by Cushing, Voth, and Titiev are compared to two contemporary versions by Banyacya and Talahabtewa. The two basic hypotheses investigated are: (1) characterization in the origin myths is not random but correlated with the subjective interest of the orator, and (2) popular versions of the origin myth operate as a warrant for factional group ideologies on topics involving political and religious polarization (pp. 5-6). Laidlaw (p. 3) observes that there are four integral elements to the Hopi origin myth: (1) specification of the evil that brought about emergence from the underworld, (2) an outline of authority, (3) specification of clans, clan powers, and ceremonial distribution, and (4) prophesy.

Laidlaw relates the recent versions of the origin myth to factional Hopi politics dealing with a strip mine at Black Mesa and Tribal Council politics. Laidlaw quotes from a document prepared by Hopi religious leaders as part of litigation to stop the strip mine at Black Mesa. In part, this document says (p. 49),

The area we call "Tukunavi" (which includes Black Mesa) is part of the heart of our Mother Earth. Within this heart, the Hopi has left his seal by leaving religious items and clan markings and plantings and ancient burial grounds as his landmarks and shrines and as his directions to others that the land is his ...

Hopi clans have traveled all over the Black Mesa area leaving our sacred shrines, ruins, burial grounds, and prayer feathers behind.

**Laird, David**

**1977 *Hopi Bibliography*. University of Arizona Press.**

This is a comprehensive source of bibliographical information about publications pertinent to Hopi before 1977. As such, it was extensively used in Hopi GCES research.

**Lavender, David**

**1982 *Colorado River Country*. E. P. Dutton, New York.**

This popular history reviews the history of exploration pertaining to the Colorado River region, including the Spanish Entradas of Coronado, Espejo, Oñate, Escalante and Garcés. The American exploration up to and including J. W. Powell's trip through the Canyon is also discussed in eight chapters. In a short summary of the anthropology

and archaeology of the river canyon, Lavender refers to the symbolic *sipapu* which is often found in the floor plan of a kiva. He explains that the *sipapu* is "a small hole symbolic of the passage through which the first people were believed to have emerged from the underworld" (p. 9).

**Lesley, Lewis Burt**

**1970 *Uncle Sam's Camels: The Journal of May Humphreys Stacey Supplemented by the Report of Edward Fitzgerald Beale.* The Rio Grande Press, Inc., Glorieta, New Mexico. [Originally published in 1927.]**

During his railroad survey of the 35th parallel, Edward Fitzgerald Beale came to Hopiland, but never actually approached the Hopi Mesas or met the inhabitants. During his travels through the region he mentioned passing a trail which, it seems possible, linked the Hopi villages to the Little Colorado River (p. 198). This trail was approximately 17 miles west of Leroux Wash. Beale said, "We passed this evening a large Indian trail going to the north. It seemed about a week old, and we supposed it to be of the Ganoterros, with whom we have been and are at war."

**Livingston, Dewey**

**1992 *History of the Painted Desert Inn, Petrified Forest National Park, Arizona.* Part of Package 199, Historic Structure Report, National Park Service, Denver Service Center. Unpublished ms. dated April 1992 on file at Petrified Forest National Park, Arizona.**

This history of the Painted Desert Inn in the Petrified Forest National Park describes a mural by the Hopi artist Fred Kabotie that depicts Hopi salt gathering expeditions to Zuni Salt Lake. These expeditions were similar in many ways to Hopi salt pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon. Mary Elizabeth Colter, architect and designer for Fred Harvey Company, and designer of the Hopi House at the Grand Canyon, began work on the Painted Desert Inn in 1947 (p. 56). Colter hired Fred Kabotie, a well-known Hopi artist from Shungopavi, in 1948 to paint murals. The largest mural is an interpretation of "the Hopi legend about the ceremony of young men traveling to gather salt" (p. 58). At the dedication of the Kabotie Room at the Painted Desert Inn on June 23, 1976, Fred Kabotie's interpretation of the mural was recorded. Kabotie (pp. 59-61) explained, "... that's the way the Hopis have been getting their salt from these salt mines for centuries. But now they don't do that anymore, because they can get all their salt from the supermarket."

**Lockett, Hattie Greene**

**1933 *The Unwritten Literature of the Hopi*. University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ.**

The thesis of this work is "that the present-day social organization of the Hopi is the outgrowth of their unwritten literature" (p. 5). In analyzing the oral traditions of Hopi, Lockett relies on the works of J. W. Fewkes, P. E. Goddard, Walter Hough, H. R. Voth, and Clark Wissler. Lockett reviews the use of eagle feathers in Hopi rites and cultural practices (p. 26). She emphasizes the pervasiveness of rituals and ceremonies in Hopi life, quoting E. L. Hewett on this point, who said, "There can be no understanding of their lives apart from their religious beliefs and practices" (p. 37).

After offering a brief account of the Hopi origin myth based on the emergence of the human being through the sipapu from the underworld, Lockett describes the corresponding Wuwtsim ceremony (p. 40). Lockett also describes the details of the Hopi origin myth through the sipapu. She follows this with a discussion of the ensuing clan migrations from the emergence, through their journeys to the Mesas in Arizona where Hopis have now lived for hundreds of years (43-45). Lockett observes that the sipapu is also the place through which people return to the underworld upon their death (p. 41). Citing P. E. Goddard's account of Hopi burial practices Lockett (p. 76) says,

When an adult dies, the nearest relatives by blood wash the head, tie a feather offering to the hair so that it will hang over the forehead, wrap the body in a good robe and carry it to one of the graveyards which are in the valleys near the mesas. The body is buried in a sitting position so that it faces east. This is done within a few hours after death has occurred. The third night, a bowl containing some food, a prayer-stick offering, and a feather and string, are carried to the grave. The string is placed so that it points from the grave to the west. The next morning, the fourth, the soul is supposed to rise from the grave and proceed in the direction indicated by the string, where it enters the 'skeleton house.' This is believed to be situated somewhere near the Canyon of the Colorado.

Lockett also discusses in some detail the Snake Dance Ceremony and its basis in the story of Tiyo (p. 55).

**Loftin, Johh D.**

**1982 *Emergence and Ecology: A Religio-Ecological Interpretation of the Hopi Way*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Religion, Duke University.**

Loftin interest in this dissertation is to demonstrate the "religio-ecological" character of the Hopi mode of being as a hermeneutic. He reveals that for the Hopi people, ecology embodies a religious dimension and religion embodies an ecological

dimension. Hopi modes of subsistence, rites of passage, social structure and ceremonies are examined to investigate these relationships. Loftin finds that the Hopi are still undergoing changes due to contact with the dominant Western culture, but they have "nonetheless continued to embody the religio-ecological essence of the aboriginal orientation to the world" (p. iii).

Loftin's study is primarily devoted to data devoted from Third Mesa (p. 31). Loftin describes the Hopi pilgrimage for salt using published sources (pp. 114-124). He also states that "the last journey there was made in 1912, and since then some salt has been obtained from the salt lake forty-two miles south of Zuni." Loftin notes that later journeys to the Zuni Salt Lake embodied some of the same religio-ecological features, "such as the depositing of prayer offerings at the shrines of Spider Woman and the Twin War Gods."

Beliefs about death and burial practices are described (pp. 189-204). Loftin says the Hopi "place the corpse in a sitting position facing the east" since that is the direction the sun rises (pp. 194-195).

On p. 450, Loftin cites the 1951 statement that Shungopvai leaders submitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to outline the boundaries of Hopi traditional land. This statement includes the point that "It is upon this land that we made trails to our salt supply."

Loftin concludes his dissertation with Emory Sekaquatewa's observation (in Hopi Indian Ceremonies, p. 42) that Native Americans cannot explain their sense of harmony with nature in analytic or scientific terms. With regard to this, Loftin (p. 459) points out "Our Hopi friend was pointing to an important fact: Western civilization created its own religio-ecological problems and thus cannot gain insight by projecting those problems onto 'an-other' who does not share them ... to do so is to continue to embody the 'primitive/civilized' structure which led to the problems in the first place."

#### **Loftin, John D.**

##### **1986 Supplication and Participation: The Distance and Relation of the Sacred in Hopi Prayer Rites. *Anthropos* 81:177-201.**

In this article, Loftin cogently argues that Hopi prayer rites are characterized not by a passive, supplicatory relationship to an omnipotent, supernatural agent but by an active, participatory relationship between the practitioners of the rites and the spirits who provide the life-sustaining elements of the natural world. Loftin thinks that both supplication and participation exist simultaneously in Hopi prayer rites. Loftin explains that "prayer for the Hopi is not so much a matter of thinking by analogy as it is a mode of reciprocity between Hopi deities and Hopi" (p. 180). Fulfilling the terms of this reciprocal relationship depends on Hopi being able to achieve a "harmonious

union of physical and psychical dimensions” (p. 185) in their acting out of prayer rites. In fact, when the Hopi perform the prescribed physical act associated with a distinct ritual they must do so with a good heart if they hope to be successful in creating the object of their religious act. This is not a passive, wishful experience but one in which Hopi behavior and thoughts are pivotal in procuring results. An actual union between the Hopi and the spirits must ensue to fulfill the prayer rite.

Loftin sums up this aspect of Hopi supplication and participation with this statement: “the Hopi do not perceive the material dimension of the cosmos apart from the spiritual. The material and spiritual aspects of the world form an irreducible, paradoxical totality” (p. 189). In other words, Loftin explains: “To will an event is to participate in its manifestation, while to wish for an event is to hope that it will take place. In prayer, the Hopi wish and will simultaneously” (p. 194).

Loftin’s provides examples of prayer rites that have their origin in the Grand Canyon. It was there that the ancestors “revealed to the Hopi in the Beginning, when all life and forms emerged from the *sipaapuni*” (p. 191), the proper preparation of prayer offerings. Loftin, at another point, explains, “The Hopi cosmology tells how the Hopi, after gestating in the womb of Mother Earth, emerged through the womb of the earth (*sipaapuni*) in the ‘long ago’” (p. 183). According to Hopi, this place of emergence, the *sipaapuni*, is found at the confluence of the Little Colorado and the Colorado rivers in the Grand Canyon of present-day Arizona. Loftin’s discussion documents the *sipaapuni* has a fundamental role in Hopis’ worldview and survival.

In reference to Hopi initiation rites, Loftin remarks that, “one of the primary purposes of the early Hopi initiations is to introduce young Hopi to the understanding that a spiritual essence undergirds the material world” (p. 184). The Hopi address their world with prayers precisely because they do not take for granted cosmic events such as the movement of the sun, rain, crop growth, fertility, and long life” (p. 197).

#### **Loftin, John**

**1991 *Religion and Hopi Life in the Twentieth Century*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.**

This scholarly treatise addresses the dynamic religious orientation the Hopis have to their world. With respect to how the Hopis regard the earth, Loftin writes, “... the Hopi perceive the earth as their mother, the one from whom they were born and receive their sustenance, and to whom they will return after death” (p. 9). “Hopis were taught by Maasaw how to revere the earth as a relative, and such reverence is necessary to reactualize the time of the emergence” (pp. 9-10). Masaaw gave the Hopis “conditional stewardship” of the land (p. 11). This results in a world view in which, “The Hopi do not consciously conserve natural resources; they perceive no nature apart from themselves. The earth is their origin, nature, and destiny, and they

do not perceive themselves apart from the world in which they live" (p. 12). Loftin writes, (pp. 11-12),

The spiritual source of all life and forms issues from the land of the dead, the underworld, where it appears as life-giving water. Indeed, the Hopi petition their own departed ancestors to visit their villages in the form of clouds to bless them with the sacred gift of rain. Thus death is understood by the Hopi as a return to the spiritual realm from which comes more life.

Hopi kinship patterns relate the Hopi to what is sacred in their world (pp. 15-16). Through their clan ancestors, the Hopis are related to the phenomena of their *wuya* (clan symbol). Loftin adds, "... Hopi social structure 'naturalizes' or 'cosmicizes' humans ..." (p. 17). "Phratries are groups of clans linked together by a practical logic" (p. 18).

The Wuwstim ceremony recalls the emergence. "The initiation of Hopi youth into adulthood involves the experience of their origin as people. In other words, to be a Hopi is to reexperience the sacred history of their world. The Hopi ... complete their initiation into adulthood by understanding that a spiritual dimension pervades their world ..." (p. 30). Tribal initiations introduce Hopi children to beliefs about death, including the return of ancestors as Cloud People in the form of kachinas (p. 51).

Prayer has utility in the Hopi religion (pp. 33-61). Impure thoughts can bring retribution of the sacred power invoked in ceremonies (p. 35). "Ritual smoking is perhaps the most common mode of prayer for Hopi men" (p. 38). As described by Loftin (p. 38),

It involves smoking of Hopi wild tobacco mixed with rain tobacco (*yoyviva*) spruce, pine, and aspen in a variety of clay pipes with reed stems. The participants sit in a semicircle, and each one "drinks" four puffs of smoke from the pipe, which is then passed to the next person. As the pipe changes hands, the two men involved change kinship terms—for example, "my father-my son," "uncle-my nephew"—thus demonstrating the unity of their hearts in requesting material blessings from the sacred.

Prayer sticks and breath feathers are simultaneously offerings and spiritual instruments (p. 40). The Hopis concentrate their prayers through this medium. Loftin observes "... the Hopi experience of the sacred is intrinsically linked with practical life-giving matters" (p.58). The afterlife and the present world are inseparable in the Hopi world view since the deceased return as cloud people to bless the living with spiritual substance and rain (pp. 58-59). As Loftin describes (p. 58), "The Hopi pray for rain, crops, and health for the kachinas, who are, in one sense departed Hopi ancestors. The Hopi offer their ancestors gifts (smoke, prayer sticks, breath feathers,

sacred cornmeal) in exchange for the gift of life, which the ancestors imparted to their descendants."

Loftin notes that some Hopis have implied that the "emergence myth" is symbolic, not historical, and that the underworld points to an origin in South America (p. 66).

Hopi "compartmentalization" is a process of (1) dealing with the dominant society while at the same time preserving Hopi traditions (pp. 84-86). It is a means to an end. The Hopis become involved with nontraditional activities such as education and litigation to preserve something traditional, such as sacred shrines. A chief issue is land (p. 89). Loftin observes (p. 91), "To be a Hopi today requires certain actions that were not necessary even a century ago. The purpose of many of those activities, however, is to come to terms with a dominant society so that the Hopi can continue to live many of their religious values."

With regard to the Grand Canyon, Loftin states (p. 94),

It is known that when the Hopi undertook pilgrimages to gather salt in the Grand Canyon, they also dug for a special yellowish clay that is found under the ground near the original sacred center. To dig this clay is to enter the underworld realm of the spiritual and must be done properly according to the teaching of the ancestors. Furthermore, the War chief must accompany the expedition, for entering the land of the dead is dangerous and requires the presence of one who is related to the god of death, Maasaw.

Talayesva noted in his autobiography that before the salt and clay pilgrimage, breath feathers were constructed "for the Kachinas, Clouds, and the dead who live in the underworld" and who "own" its contents. As the youngest member of the expedition, Talayesva was required to dig for the sacred clay and was instructed to keep his "mind and heart full of good wishes" to ward off death. The entire operation was perceived passively or receptively, the Hopi acquiring that which the sacred wished to give. Therefore, after a couple of attempts, Talayesva dug no more, for his father "remarked that the spirits had decided we had enough for this time."

Eagles are important in Hopi religion since they are spiritual beings used to construct breath feathers and prayer sticks (p. 95). The status of eagle populations thus has religious consequences.

In a footnote, Loftin writes (pp. 125-126),

*Sipaapuni* refers to the Hopi place of origin and emergence to this world. A highly symbolic term, it seems not to break down into any

component parts. "Navel" (*sipna*) seems to be the basic etymon. Some Hopis have suggested that *sipaapu* is a distortion of *sipna*, since both are, related to birth. Apparently the term is so significant that it is highly symbolic and numinous, hiding the ordinary word *sipna*. As some Hopis say, "by means of it, it will be concealed, that's why" (*put akw pam pail tupkiwtaniqw oovi'o*). Emory Sekaquaptewa, to whom I am indebted for this explication, further transliterates: "The concealment makes it obscure or unexplainable." Here is shown an example of a religious term whose sacredness is manifested by its ineffable character. Religiously, this makes sense in that religious symbols point to universal and timeless meanings, meanings not bound by place or duration.

#### **Lomahaftewa, Viets**

**1933 Letter from Viets Lomahaftewa to Senate Subcommittee on Indian Affairs, February 27, 1933. Plaintiff's Exhibit 337, Vernon Masayesva, etc. Plaintiff, v. Leonard Haskie, etc., Defendant, v. Evelyn James, etc., Intervenor, Civil No. 74-842 PHX-EHC, United States District Court for the District of Arizona.**

In this letter, signed by twenty-five men, Lomahaftewa explains that Chimopavy (Shungopavi) is the "first village" with the "tradition of the land reposition." He describes Hopi land, stating,

I will now point out where the Hopi Indians claim as their said boundary line supposed to be. Starting from the north called Do-go-na-vie by Hopis in the cliff of Colorado River follow the river down to Salt Canyon, from there along west side of Flagstaff through Blue Ridge to Mt. called Pe-heg-ha form there to Woodruff there turning eastward covering Petrified Forest to Mission Spring from there back to Do-go-na-vie. This is the original boundary line for the Hopi Indians which has been told from generation to generation, so therefore we can never forget what our ancestor have told us and this is the very thing that has been put before the Senators at Washington Office sometime ago by Mr. M. W. Billingsley and his tribesmen who is the interpreter for the Hopi Indians.

#### **Lomatewama, Ramson**

**1983 *Silent Winds, Poetry of One Hopi*. Badger Claw Press, Flagstaff, Arizona.**

This collection of poems includes one titled, "Contemplating Death (written at the Grand Canyon)." This poem describes looking into the Grand Canyon and wondering when the poet will make his journey, who will be the first to greet him, how long he will have to travel, where he will begin, and what he will say when he

arrives. After wondering these things, the poet says to himself to "Be patient. The time will come for you to make the journey."

**Lomawaima, Hartman**

**1989 Hopification, a Strategy for Cultural Preservation. In *Columbian Consequences*, Vol 1., edited by David Hurst Thomas, pp. 93-99.**

Lomawaima describes several of the strategies the Hopis have used to preserve their culture as they have been confronted with external influences. These strategies range from assimilating of ideas into a Pueblo cultural pattern to the drastic measure of destroying Awatovi. Lomawaima discusses the Hopi concept of *Maski* on p. 97. He says,

It is difficult to know precisely what foreign concepts entered Hopi life as a result of contact with other native populations or missionization. The Hopi concept of *Maski*, or Land of the Dead, has been misinterpreted as a kind of purgatory or hell (Courlander 1982:xxi), but *Maski* has no punitive connotation for Hopis: It refers to the destination of souls when they leave the present world. If *Maski* was derived from an introduced concept it has certainly been imbued with Hopi values so that its origin is difficult to ascertain. Making the correct interpretation is all the more difficult for the outsider because of the secretive nature of Hopi religious institutions, which to this day are treated as the private property of individuals and collectives.

**Lotenberg, Gail**

**1993 *Documentary Evidence of Hopi Use of the Grand Canyon and Surrounding Region, 1540-1882*. Institute of the NorthAmerican West. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

This report was prepared as an "in-house" work product for use by Hopi researchers working on the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies project. It reviews the documentary history of Hopi use of the Grand Canyon region from 1540 to the time the first anthropologists arrived on the Hopi Mesas in the 1880s. The documentary record indicates the Hopis knew how to reach the Grand Canyon from the Hopi Mesas and that there was a well-established trail network that the Hopis used to reach a number of locations on the Colorado River. Early accounts document Hopi traditions about the role of the Grand Canyon in Hopi religion, history, and prophecy. Historic accounts also attest to Hopi use of the Grand Canyon for economic purposes. A slightly rewritten and expanded version of Lotenberg's manuscript was incorporated as a chapter in the final ethnohistoric report for the Hopi GCES project.

**Lowie, Robert H.**

**1929 Notes on Hopi Clans. *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History* 30:303-346.**

This article analyzes Hopi clans on First and Second Mesa based on data collected in 1915 and 1916. Lowie notes (pp. 331-332) that some clans at Hopi are linked into larger units termed phratries and that the components of these phratries vary from village to village. Lowie documents a total of twenty-four clan groups that primarily comprise matrilineal lineages. Twelve clans or phratries were documented at Walpi and Sichomovi on First Mesa: Snake; Sand-Lizard; Cloud-Corn; Horn-Flute; Charcoal-Coyote; Rabbit; Butterfly; Badger; Reed; Eagle; *tepnamö*; and *asnömö*. Fourteen clans or phratries were documented at Mishongnovi: Parrot; Kacina, Bear, Carrying-Strap, *Tcöu*, Cedarwood-Fire; Badger; Butterfly; Squash, Chicken-Hawk; Eagle; Corn; Cloud; Lizard. Two clans were documented at Shipaulovi: Bear; and *Qälö*.

**MacGregor, Gordon**

**1938 Letter from Gordon MacGregor to John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Indian Claims Commission, Docket 196, Plaintiff's Exhibit 55 [Also *Sekaquaptewa v. MacDonald*, Civil No. 74-842, Prescott, Plaintiff's Exhibit 205].**

This letter report was written by an anthropologist for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. It reviews and evaluates Hopi "traditional claims" to land, especially as related to Navajo encroachment. MacGregor writes (p.1),

In 1930 and 1933, the Second Mesa villages have presented maps outlining their conception of the Hopi country and asking for recognition of it. This boundary running along actual geographic points is not traditional, but I think, is the known geography of the Hopi. It includes the distant mountain peaks they can see from their villages and the farthest shrines, except those in the Grand Canyon to the west. The line also includes all but one or two ruins in central Arizona from which the Hopi clans believe they have migrated. This claim is the true Hopi country, and one which Second Mesa would like to have the Government formally recognize as the Hopi, rather than Navajo country. It is undoubtedly far more extensive territory than ever used by the Hopi. True, they went to the San Francisco Mountains for logs, to the Grand Canyon and Salt Lake, now in the Zuni country, for salt and beyond Navajo Mountain and far to the east and south to visit shrines or hunt eagles, but their old farm lands and most extensive range lands are far within these boundaries.

MacGregor notes that different villages and clans make traditional claims to different tracts of lands. Several testimonies of Hopi people are summarized concerning Hopi claims to Moencopi. The account of Poli Naimkiwa (pp. 5-6) includes a statement that,

It was during this time of farming at Moencopi, salt was found in the Grand Canyon -- where the Hopi believe they originated. The trail to this salt led through Moenave just west of Moencopi. Three miles below this place is a shrine where the Hopi salt parties stopped. In passing every member always put a sign of his clan in the stone there. This is about twelve miles from Moencopi. There were other points along this salt trail to the canyon where ceremonies were performed and which had their names, but only here did the Hopi write their clan signs.

As to the eagle hunting territories it is hard to know how far they traveled. Each clan claimed the ground and eagle places back to the place from where they originated. These places are Navajo Mountain, the Grand Canyon, Flagstaff, Lukachukai Mountains and so on. These are traditional claims, but the distances were too far to retrace, so the Hopi have used eagle grounds nearer. These places are not those that mark the boundary of the land claimed, but show places of origin which are in traditional Hopi country.

**Mallery, Garrick**

**1886 On the Pictographs of the North American Indians. *Fourth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.* Government Printing Office, Washington.**

Mallery's report incorporates information from G. K. Gilbert's topographical survey of the Colorado River region. Mallery describes how the Hopis traveled into the Grand Canyon on salt-gathering expeditions, and that the petroglyphs at the "Hopi clan rocks" were part of those pilgrimages. Mallery states (p. 28):

Mr. G. K. Gilbert discovered etchings at Oakley Spring, eastern Arizona, in 1878, relative to which he remarks that an Oraibi chief explained them to him and said that the "Mokis make excursions to a locality in the cañon of the Colorado Chiquito to get salt. On their return they stop at Oakley Spring and each Indian makes a picture on the rock. Each Indian draws his crest or totem, the symbols of his gens [(?)]. He draws it once, and once only, at each visit." Mr. Gilbert adds, further, that "there are probably some exceptions to this, but the etchings show its general truth. There are a great many repetitions of the same sign, and from two to ten will often appear in a row. In several instances I saw the end drawings of a row quite fresh while the

others were not so. Much of the work seems to have been performed by pounding with a hard point, but a few pictures were scratched on. Many drawings are weather-worn beyond recognition, and others are so fresh that the dust left by the tool has not been washed away by rain. Oakley Spring is at the base of the Vermilion Cliff, and the etchings are on fallen blocks of sandstone, a homogenous, massive, soft sandstone. Tubi, the Oraibi chief above referred to, says his totem is the rain cloud but it will be made no more as he is the last survivor of his gens.

Gilbert's comment that the petroglyphs were sometimes so fresh that the dust of carved sandstone still remained near a clan symbol suggests that Hopis continued to use the Grand Canyon for spiritual reasons through the late 1870s.

**Malotki, Ekkehart**

**1983 *Hopitutuwwutsi / Hopi Tales: A Bilingual Collection of Hopi Indian Stories.* An American Indian Literary Series, vol. 9. Sun Tracks and The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, AZ.**

This collection of Hopi stories, printed in both Hopi and English evinces many Hopi cultural values related to the personification of the environment. The oral traditions related by Herschel Talashoma and translated by Malotki show involve goats, spiders, eagles, snakes, mountains, lakes, rivers and other elements of the environment that are represented with facilities for language, thought, emotion, and revenge. Non-human species are recognized as individuals capable of both good and evil, like the human inhabitants who listen to the stories. While the *Sipapuni* is never mentioned in this work, a related symbol appears in one of the stories. In the tale, "Tsorwukiqlo and his Eagles," a young boy flies on the back of his pet eagle into an upper world where "There was . . . an earth just as we know it here. But no living soul was anywhere in sight (p. 161)." To reach this upper world, the boy and his eagle flew to "a place where there was a small opening in the sky and they passed through it." This image recalls the Hopi emergence narratives, in which people climbed from the Underworld to this world through a small hole in the sky.

**Malotki, Ekkehart**

**1983 *Hopi Time, A Linguistic Analysis of the Temporal Concepts in the Hopi Language.* Mouton Publishers, Berlin.**

This book comprises a linguistic analysis of how Third Mesa Hopis conceptualize time. Malotki (p. 629) concludes that his monograph "... conclusively disproves Whorf's widely publicized contention that 'the Hopi language contains no reference to "time," either explicit or implicit.'" Malotki (p. 631) demonstrates that the Hopis have many temporal terms and concepts, including "... the spatio-temporal metaphor, units

of time (day, month, season, etc.), the ceremonial calendar, temporal particles, and a range of miscellaneous time words."

Malotki (pp. 452-453) identifies the Wuwtsim ceremony conducted in November as one of the "primary ceremonial orientation points" the Hopis use to reckon time. Malotki states that November is "commonly considered the starting period of the yearly ceremonial round." Of Wuwtsim, Malotki (p. 453) says,

Its name Wuwtsim is commonly rendered 'Tribal Initiation,' but the term 'Manhood Initiation' might be more appropriate. The designation of the ceremony offers no real clue as to its meaning. It is apparently so ancient that its etymology is no longer transparent. Dorsey and Voth, too, had to concede failure in their attempt to secure plausible interpretation of the form *wuwtsmit*, the official label for the initiated members of the society in charge of Wuwtsim. On the basis of such evidence as *wuuwuyom* 'the old ones/elders' and *wuyóoti* 'he got old' they argue that there might exist a connection with the morpheme *wuu* 'old.'

Malotki points out, "From a temporal point of view it constituted an absolute time marker and served to accurately initiate the Hopi ceremonial year." A number of text samples are offered to illustrate this point.

**Malotki, Ekkehart and Michael Lomatuway'ma**

**1984 *Hopi Coyote Tales, Istutuwutsi*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.**

This collection of *tutuwutsi* or folk tales contains an narrative titled "Iisaw Öngmokto" or "Coyote on a Salt Expedition." Malotki and Lomatuway'ma present both Hopi and English versions of this narrative (pp. 126-139). In this tale, Coyote youngsters playing with children learned about the salt crystals that the children wore around their neck. These salt crystals tasted delicious and the Coyote asked where they came from, learning that they come from a salt deposit in the Grand Canyon. The young Coyotes went home and asked their father Coyote to go to the Grand Canyon to get them some salt since it made food taste so good. The father Coyote makes several attempts to go the Grand Canyon to get salt but is foiled each time by the brothers Pöqangwhoya and Palöngwawhoya who trick the Coyote. Twice when the Coyote went to sleep while enroute to the Grand Canyon, the brothers carried him back to his house and put him in his bed. On the third try the Coyote descends into the canyon but after he climbs out and goes to sleep the brothers fill his basket with rocks. The Coyote returns to the canyon and descends a second time to collect salt, only to have the brothers fill his basket with rocks again when he sleeps. The Coyote makes a third descent into the canyon to collect salt and returns all the way home without resting along the trail. This time the Pöqangwhoya and Palöngwawhoya brothers playing shinny near Songoopavi village see him and sneak into his house that night before the

salt is unpacked. The brothers once again replace the salt with rocks. The next morning the Coyote goes hunting and returns to unpack the salt so his family can have a feast. When the Coyote finds the salt was switched with rocks he seethes with anger and dumps the rocks outside. The story concludes by noting (p. 139) that "The brothers Pöqangwhoya and Palöngwawhoya were responsible for doing this to Coyote; therefore coyotes do not like salt. And here the story ends."

The account makes it clear that there is more than one set of Pöqangwhoya and Palöngwawhoya brothers. The account states (p. 137), "Responsible this time were the Pöqangwhoya and Palöngwawhoya brothers who lived in the canyon, not the brothers who carried him back home."

**Malotki, Ekkehart and Michael Lomatuway'ma**

**1987 *Maasaw: Profile of a Hopi God*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.**

The authors begin this monograph with the statement (p. 1), "In the entire pantheon of Hopi mythological figures none is more important than the god Maasaw. His complexity and wealth of associations within the Hopi scheme of the world is immense" Maasaw is the god of death, the ruler of the underworld, the proprietor of the earth, owner of fire and crops, and maker of all animals and vegetation. As Malotki and Lomatuway'ma state (p. 2), "He is venerated as the giver and caretaker of life, the defender of Hopi ways, and as a powerful war deity."

Malotki and Lomatuway'ma assert that historically the Hopi conceptualization of Maasaw has changed from that a "low level" trickster and prankster to a near - monotheistic divinity who has gained apocalyptic stature by being revered as either a savior or destroyer of humankind on the day of purification (pp. 1-2).

The authors point out that (p. 17), "Maasaw's undisputed connection with death can also be seen in the fact that he is believed to have an abode in the vicinity of Sipaapuni, the former emergence hole through which now the spirit of the a dead person enters the afterworld." At the time of emergence, Maasaw lent a helping hand at the Sipaapuni. Malotki and Lomatuway'ma quote Stephen (1936:137), who says (p. 38), "Maasaw stood astride of the orifice, and, as each Hopi made his appearance, Maasaw linked his arm in that of the Hopi, helping him to the surface and greeting him with welcome." In a footnote (p. 38), Malotki and Lomatuway'ma speculate on the etymology of the term Sipaapuni, noting it may be related to the words for navel (*sipna*) and *siihu* (navel cord).

Malotki and Lomatuway'ma state (p. 67), "In the Hopi view of things Maasaw is the autochthonous proprietor of *tuuwaqatsi* "life and land" in its solid form, and *paatuwaqatsi* "water and life" in its liquid form." They add (p. 68), "As god of the surface of the earth, Maasaw is in particular the *genius loci* of the land claimed by the Hopi as their own."

As Malotki and Lomatuway'ma (p. 73) observe, Maasaw urged the Hopi to adopt his way of life, "which is distinguished by poverty and hardship." After quoting a Hopi narrative which foretells of the Hopis falling once again to evil ways, they add, "The Hopi can thus consider them themselves only as the temporary tenants on Maasaw's land ... The concept of temporary tenantry is expressed by the plural verb *haakyese* "to live/to stay for the time being." Malotki and Lomatuway'ma state (p. 76), "Prior to the Hopi embarking on their migrations Maasaw, in a farewell speech, emphasized that the land belongs to all people, not just to the Hopi. Furthermore, they were told never to part with it."

One of the stone tablets possessed by the Bear Clan to demonstrate their ownership of the land is said to have two snakes along its edge which symbolize the two rivers that mark the boundaries of Hopi land (pp. 74-75). These two rivers are supposedly the Colorado River and the Rio Grande.

Maasaw's role as owner and guardian spirit of the earth is related to his serving as a protector of those who travel over his land. Hopis leaving on a journey leave offerings at one of Maasaw's shrines.

Malotki and Lomatuway'ma (p. 124) describe a "custom that was once practiced in conjunction with entering Maasaw's cave shrine, an important station along the ancient Hopi salt trail to the Grand Canyon." This entailed a prophecy based on the condition of the food remains found in the cave. Malotki and Lomatuway'ma provide a Hopi text that discusses this custom. In translation, this text reads (pp. 125-136),

In the days past, the Hopi men used to go on salt journeys to Öntupqa, that is, the Grand Canyon. In their narratives they relate, that after they started out from Orayvi and reached the canyon rim, they usually spent the night at the top and did not start their descent until the next morning. On their way down they came to a cavern known by the name of Nukpana ("The Evil One"). Upon reaching this site, those men who were making this expedition for the first time, were informed that on entering the cave they would find food strewn about.

And, indeed, this was true. At one place in the cave they came across a metate with some cornmeal on it. If upon inspection the flour turned out to be freshly ground, this was an unfavorable sign. But if by chance the cornmeal was old, then this was supposed to be a good omen. It foretold how our crops and our food would be provided for us in the near future. Those who have undertaken this journey agree that new things found in the cavern portend adverse food and crop conditions. Consequently they used to say that the man who discovered something good there should not be desirous of it. On the other hand, the salt expedition members were elated whenever they came across some old

corn cobs. These, according to tradition, indicated that all of the various crops would be produced in abundance.

Malotki and Lomatuway'ma include a photograph of "Nukpana, the home of Maasaw, at the bottom of Salt Trail Canyon" (p. 126). Malotki describes the cave as he found it on May 19, 1986, to be twenty feet wide at the entrance. Malotki asserts that the cave, "... allegedly, has not been visited by any Hopi for over two generations." On p. 127, Malotki includes a photograph of the remains of a prayer stick which provides "positive identification of Maasaw's home." He notes this was found by archaeologist Peter Pilles, who accompanied Malotki into the cave.

Malotki and Lomatuway'ma (p. 211-212) note that the *kwaakwant* (Kwan, Agave, or One Horn Society) "... enjoy some most intimate relationships with Maasaw, the god of death." Like Maasaw, the Kwan men are also charged with escorting the dead souls on their journey to Maski, the Home of the Dead. The *kwaakwant* derive their name from *kwaani*, i.e., agave. The head of the *kwaakwant* is traditionally a member of the Maasaw Clan. As Malotki and Lomatuway'ma (p. 217) note, "Kwan men play a crucial role during a *wuwtsimnatnga* or 'Wuwtsim initiation.' Reserved only for Hopi males, this most sacred of all Hopi rituals is referred to, by way of English circumlocution, as 'Tribal Initiation' or 'Manhood Initiation.'"

**Marcy, Colonel R. B.**

**1866** *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*. Harper and Brothers, New York.

In his book about life in the frontier West, Marcy includes a long description of the Hopi Mesas (pp. 104-111). His information, however, does not come from his own observation of the Hopi. Rather, it is quoted in its entirety from P. S. G. Ten Broeck's report on the Hopi (published in Henry Schoolcraft's (1854), *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*).

**Marston, Otis**

**1951** Letter from Otis Marston to Louis Schellbach, Park Naturalist, Grand Canyon, dated April 25, 1951. Ms. in "Hopi Salt Trail Paraphernalia" file at Museum of Northern Arizona Library.

Marston states "It is my belief that the salt we found last year is the location used by the Hopis at the junction of the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers." Analysis of the mineral he collected indicated it was sodium chloride and sodium sulfate. He says, "This combination of salts would produce results on the human body that would meet the description given as 'salt medicine.'" However, since the site visited by Marston was upstream of the Little Colorado River and downstream of Kwagunt Rapid, this

location is not the Hopi Salt Mine. Marston may have collected salt from the salt deposits shown between River Miles 60 and 61 in *The Colorado River in Grand Canyon, A Guide* by Larry Stevens (1983). This letter is only signed "O" but a response from Shellbach to Martston establishes who wrote the letter.

**Martin, Robert Sidney and James C. Martin**

**1982 *Contours of Discovery, Printed Maps Delineating the Texas and Southwestern Chapters in the Cartographic History of North America, 1513-1930.* The Texas State Historical Society in cooperation with the Center for Studies in Texas History, University of Texas at Austin.**

Humboldt's 1810 map entitled "A Map of New Spain from 16° to 38° North Latitude" is discussed and illustrated (pp. 42-44). Humboldt was a renowned scientist and natural philosopher who had a seminal impact on the development of geography as an academic discipline. Humboldt perfected his map of New Spain in 1809 after touring Spanish colonies and conducting archival research in North and South America from 1799 to 1804. The map was originally published in 1811 in Humboldt's four volume *Political Essays on the Kingdom of New Spain*. While Humboldt's map is a "magnificent cartographic achievement" given its historical context, it contains a number of inaccuracies and distortions with respect to the depiction of rivers and other geographical features. Nonetheless, Martin and Martin describe Humboldt's map as the "... best depiction based largely on Spanish sources at the end of the Spanish Period ..."



Portion of Humboldt's 1810 "A Map of New Spain ..."

The Puerto de Bucarelli/R. Nabajoa, depicted as flowing into the Rio Colorado, appears to be the Little Colorado River. The Puerto de Bucarelli appears to be the Little Colorado River Gorge, while the R. Nabajoa appears to be the middle and upper stretches of the Little Colorado River. A second river labeled "Rio Nabajoa" to the north appears to be the San Juan River. The settlements of Oraybe, Mosanais, Jongopavi, and Gualpi, however, are located to the south of the Puerto de Bucarelli/R. Nabajoa. The area of the Hopi Mesas bears the legend "El Moqui. An additional legend in this area states, "Moqui Ind. independent since the year 1680." The Cosninas Indians are depicted to the west of El Moqui near the confluence of the Puerto de Bucarelli and the Rio Colorado. The "Ind. of Nabajoa" and "Country of Nabajoa" are located to the east of El Moqui along a mountain range which appears to be the Lukachukais. Zuni is located to the southeast of El Moqui at the base of mountains that appear to be the Zuni Mountains.

**Masayesva, Vernon**

**1993 Western Conference Testimony. *Hopi Tutu-veh-ni* 11(91):3,4.**

This is a transcript of a speech delivered by Vernon Masayesva, Chairman of the Hopi Tribe, at the Western Governor's Conference held in Tucson, Arizona, on June 16. Masayesva makes a number of comments about the Hopi world view pertaining to land and water. He says, "Throughout the West, land and water have been the two things people value most highly. Water sustains the land that provides for people, animals, livestock and plants" (p. 3), adding that (p. 3),

The Hopi people are beginning to understand that the first step to achieving governance is to exercise some measure of control over the regional and even global forces that exert pressure on us from the outside. We can't achieve our goals through isolation. We need to be active players in the regional development and management policy decisions to preserve and maintain our respective local environments and to take advantage of development opportunities."

Masayesva (p. 4), pointed out that, "For some, 50-90 years [is a] lifetime. But for a culture, which has, and continues to thrive on the Colorado Plateau for over a thousand years, 50 years is only a moment of time ..."

With respect to water, Masayesva noted (p. 4), "To Hopis, water is life. Our very survival ... materially, physically, and spiritually, is linked to water and land sustained by water," adding,

The Colorado River water which runs through our ancestral land is denied to us, at the present, by complicated water laws that govern water compacts of Western States ... We are currently involved in a lengthy and costly adjudication to secure water from the Little Colorado River, a

small tributary to the Colorado River which is overused, its capacity to meet the long-term water requirements of the Navajos, Hopis, and Paiutes is doubtful.

Masayesva (p. 4) observes that, "In recent years, our Hopi elders have seen the washers and springs of their youth reduced to baked earth and shallow ponds of stagnant water."

He ended his speech with a Hopi prayer (p. 4),

LET THERE BE LIFE ...  
LET IT BE A GOOD LIFE ...  
LET IT BE FOREVER.

**Masayesva, Vernon**

**1993 Stewardship and Survival in an Age of Limits. A talk by Vernon Masayesva, Chairman of the Hopi Tribe for the Third Inter-American Indigenous Congress on the Environment and Economic Development. *Hopi Tutu-veh-ni* 11(97):3,5.**

This speech by the Hopi Tribal Chairman addressed issues concerning the finite resources of the planet and the need for sustainable development. Masayesva made several statements pertinent to the Grand Canyon and the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies. He stated,

At the time of the Hopi ancestral emergence millennia ago near the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers, in the region of the Grand Canyon, we entered into a covenant with the Keeper of this World to be stewards of the land and caretakers of earth. We must keep the earth alive in order to ensure our own existence. Hopi is more than a culture or a collection of villages -- it is a philosophy, a life-way. We offer solutions to survival in an age of limits, and we extend this knowledge to others who are willing to serve as Earth stewards.

Masayevsa offered his opinion that,

Responsible management models for the Grand Canyon region ... may provide an answer for the rest of the world. Our region, the original Hopi tutsqua, reflects what is happening elsewhere in miniature. The ancestral Hopi were the first people to walk on the Colorado plateau. After our ancestors came the ancestral Paiute, Hualapais, and Havasupais. Then came invading Athabascans, Spanish, and Americans. The most severe impacts came first from introduction of livestock to the tribes by the Europeans, then resulting erosion.

But the most severe impacts occurred in this century -- from the mid-1930s to the present. The Colorado was dammed; extensive coals and uranium mining developed and more and more aliens moved into the House Made of Dawn.

Over three million tourists come to the Grand Canyon and Indian Country every year, and that number is projected to double by the year 2000. Their water needs, the pollution from their cars and their physical impacts create serious problems. Indians and non-Indians alike are dependent on the cash economy -- like it or not. But a balance must be developed between responsible management and economic development.

After discussing ecological problems with slurry transport of coal from Black Mesa, Masayesva concluded that,

Hopi prophecy maintains that someday the land around our central mesas will be filled with people. It seems that day has come. But we need not despair that the old days are gone. Nothing ever remains the same. Life and nature is not static. Using the symbols of the digging stick as a sign of technology, the gourd full of water as a sign for protection of the essential resource and remembering our obligations as stewards and caretakers, we can proceed into the 21st century. It will take responsibility, diplomacy and cross-cultural skills, but at least today we are sitting down together and talking about collective futures. This is a major improvement over the last five centuries.

We face difficult challenges. But these need not be insurmountable. Let us reach out together and help prepare the future for the coming generations. In the words of an old Hopi prayer, "Let there be life. Let it be a good life. Let it last forever."

**Masayesva, Vernon**

**1994 The Problem of American Indian Religious Freedom: A Hopi Perspective. *American Indian Religions* 1:93-96.**

In this journal article, Masayesva points out that the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) is a law that only requires procedural steps and affords no actual protection. AIRFA only commands *process*, not *results*. Masayesva opines that in considering First Amendment rights to religious freedom, Federal agencies and courts apply a test that requires Indians to demonstrate (1) that a religious practice is central to their religion, (2) a religious belief or practice is indispensable to their religion, and (3) the religious practice or belief cannot be done elsewhere. Masayesva thinks this three-part test is culturally biased. He observes (p. 94) that unlike Christian and Jewish religions in which places on earth are largely symbolic of a universal being,

"For Indians ... places and things here on earth often are more than symbols. God may actually be present in places or things here on earth." He suggests that the three-part test needs to be put aside and that the First Amendment should be applied in a more equitable manner. Masayesva concludes by stating (p. 96), "The time has come when protection of Indian religious rights must also become a reality under the First Amendment."

**Mason, Otis M.**

1910 Travel. In *Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico, Part 2*, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, p. 802. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30. Government Printing Office, Washington.

Mason observes that Indians traveled with "phenomenal speed and endurance." He provides as one example the fact that "A Hopi messenger has been known to run 120 m. in 15 hours."

**Matthews, Washington**

1902 Myths of Gestation and Parturition. *American Anthropologist* 4:737-742.

Matthews (p. 737) discusses a large class of myths in which the human race "is represented as having originated within the earth and as having emerged to its surface through a hole in the ground. The ascent from the lower world is represented as accomplished by means of a tree, vine, or reed, and a deluge is often associated with the emergence." Matthews considers these accounts to be a "myth of gestation and birth." He says (p. 738),

Among all our Indian tribes, so far as studied, the earth is at least personified as a woman and a mother, and perhaps the ideas of some Indians, in this respect, are more than mere personification. The idea of the maternity of the earth may have been derived from its fruitfulness and the idea of the masculinity of the sun or the sky, from the obvious effect of sunlight or rain upon that fruitfulness; but with some Indian tribes the conception seems to be more precise and material than this ...

Matthews does not explicitly discuss the Hopi origin account but he does briefly describe the closely related creation myth of the Zunis as an example of a myth of gestation and parturition.

**McCreery, Patricia and Ekkehart Malotki**

**1994 *Tapamveni, The Rock Art Galleries of the Petrified Forest and Beyond.*  
Petrified Forest Museum Association, Petrified Forest, Arizona.**

This richly illustrated book about the petroglyphs of the Petrified Forest region has a text written by McCreery and photographs and captions contributed by Malotki. *Tapamveni* is a Hopi word that literally means "hammered mark" or "pounded sign." It thus alludes to the technique of pecking petroglyphs into rock. McCreery and Malotki define a "Palavayu rock art style" that occurs in the Little Colorado River and Puerco River valleys in the area extending from Chevelon Creek to the Petrified Forest National Park (p. 3). "Palavayu" is a Hopi word meaning "Red River" (p. 184). This is an old reference to the Little Colorado River (e.g. Curtis 1922:185). The book abundantly illustrates many petroglyphs in and around the Petrified Forest that have symbolic elements related to the Hopi and Zuni cultures. These symbolic elements include depictions of kachinas and animals that may represent clan symbols. McCreery discusses the Hopi clan symbols that have been authenticated at Willow Springs, Wupatki, and Homol'ovi, and suggests many of the animals pictured in the petroglyphs of the Petrified Forest may also record clan affiliation.

**McGuire, Joseph D.**

**1910 Trails and Trade Routes. In *Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico, Part 2*, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, pp. 799-801. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30. Government Printing Office, Washington.**

In this synopsis on Indian trails, McGuire (p. 800) notes, "In the S. W. there were long trails by which the Hopi and other Pueblo Indians traveled to and from the sources of supply of salt from the Colorado r. and elsewhere."

**McNitt, Frank**

**1962 *The Indian Traders.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK.**

In this book about early trading activity in the West, McNitt mentions Willow Springs as a popular trading and resting point for Mormons and other American traders in the nineteenth century. In a footnote, McNitt remarks that nearby were the Hopi clan rocks. He (p. 267) also states that,

Van Valkenburgh notes that . . . "One mile south of Willow Springs on the rough and rocky road that runs to Moenave and Tuba City, are located one of the finest and largest series of inscriptions in the Southwest. These petroglyphs completely cover a number of large, smooth boulders for some 75 feet. It is said that these date from the

12th century until modern times and are still used as clan symbols for Hopis traveling to the Hopi Salt Mine in the gorge of the Little Colorado River. This is, according to Navajos who have descended the dangerous and long trail, not a mine, but a large cave in which salt crystals hang from the ceiling like stalactites."

In the bibliography, McNitt identifies the source of this quote as Richard Van Valkenburgh's *Diné Bikéyah*, a mimeographed paper issued by the Office of Indian Affairs in Window Rock in 1941.

**McNitt, Frank (editor)**

**1964 *Navaho Expedition: A Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Navaho Country Made in 1849, by Lieutenant James H. Simpson.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.**

In 1849, Lieutenant Simpson traveled to Navajo country under Lieutenant Colonel John Macrae Washington to negotiate a treaty with the Navajos. This book presents his travel journal. Simpson reported that one Hopi was present when the treaty between the Navajos and the U.S. agent was signed at Canyon DeChelly (pp. 98-101). Immediately after this event on September 9, 1839, the Americans returned to Santa Fe, having no further contact with Hopis. In the conclusion to his report, Simpson made a point of calling to the attention of his superiors in the War Department, the necessity of exploring the region to the west further. He advised them of "the expediency of having the country examined west of the Pueblo of Zuñi, for the ascertainment of a wagon route from the former point to the Pueblo de los Angeles, or, failing in this, to San Diego" (p. 160). Simpson suggested that a road running "as direct as possible. . . passing by the pueblos of Laguna and Zuñi, and possibly of the Moquis," would save as much as three hundred miles on the other routes to California which ran to the north and south of this latitude (p. 162).

Old trappers of the region had counseled Simpson on possible routes for such a road, including Richard Campbell who told Simpson of one route which ran directly from Zuni to Hopi, and on to the Colorado River. Campbell informed Simpson that "a route leads from Zuñi by way of the pueblos of the Moquis," to the Crossing of the Fathers on the Colorado River (p. 161). The other route which Campbell mentioned and suggested as a possible road through the Southwest ran along the Rio de Zuni to the Little Colorado River and then either west onto the Colorado Plateau or across the Grand Canyon to the north rim, and onward to California (p. 161).

**Mearns, Edgar A.**

**1896 Ornithological Vocabulary of the Moki Indians. *American Anthropologist* 9(12):391-403.**

This article includes a brief, general introduction to the Hopi people and their environment and then presents a long list of Hopi words relating to birds. A Hopi man named Ongwischey (Raven) assisted Mearns with the linguistic research. Mearns notes that the Hopis are not ornithologists and can not be expected to have names for every bird or always discriminate between closely related species. Some names Mearns obtained for birds were descriptive and coined on the spot (i.e., *chê'-ê*, "little bird"). Ornithological terms were rendered phonetically, and variant spellings resulted from dependent upon the pronunciation of different individuals (p. 393).

Ongwischey's brother, Näh'hûh (Duck) was a renown hunter, having killed mountain sheep, deer, antelope, and even an elk in the White Mountains of Arizona (pp. 392-393). Mearns briefly discusses the importance of eagles in Hopi culture, noting their feathers are carefully curated in feather boxes, and that two species of eagles are kept caged in the Hopi villages (pp. 394-395).

A number of birds identified in the Grand Canyon during the 1993 Hopi river trip are included in Mearns's list. *Palaqwayo* (Red Tail Hawk) "Buteo borealis calurus (Cass.), western red-tail, *päh-lä'-qui-hua*. They understand the various ageal and irregular phases of plumage and apply the same term — *päh-lä* (red) — to all specimens of this species" (p. 398). *Kwaahu*, Golden Eagle (p. 398), "Aquila chrysaetos (Linn.), golden eagle, *tîll-whôôsh'hêap-qua-hûr*." *Qötsakwahu*, Bald Eagle. aka *Nuvakwahu* (i.e., "Snow eagle"), "Haliaeetus leucocephalus (Linn.), bald eagle, *nê-huach'-qua-hûr*" (p. 398). *Mongwu*, owl (p. 398), "Bubo virginianus occidentalis Stone, western horned owl, *môông'hua or môông'wâ*." Kingfisher (p. 398), "Ceryle alcyon (Linn.), belted kingfisher, *chê-kum'n'äh*, a name applied in common to several water loving birds." Pinyon jay/Stellars jay/Scrub jay (p. 400), "Aphelocoma sieberii arizonæ Ridgw. Arizona jay, *äh-äh*" (p. 400), "Cyanocephalus cyanocephalus (Wied), piñon jay, *äh-äh*." *Angwusi*, Raven (p. 400), "Corvus corax sinuatus (Wagl.), American raven, *ông-wisçh'êy*."

**Mercer, Jean Ann**

**1992 Native American Perspectives on the Grand Canyon: The Ethnohistorical Component of the GCES. *Colorado River Studies Office Newsletter* 5:1-2.**

This article in a newsletter published by the Bureau of Reclamation reports on the involvement of six tribes in the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies, including the Havasupai, Hopi, Hualapai, Navajo, Southern Paiute, and Zuni Tribes. Mercer observes that the Glen Canyon Dam Environmental Impact Statement is paying remarkable attention to Native American traditional cultural properties. Mercer (p. 1)

notes "To some Pueblo groups, the Grand Canyon is the place of ancestral emergence into this world. The Hopi people have long had an association with the Grand Canyon as the place where pilgrimages are made on a sacred trail to collect objects for ceremonial use."

**Michaelis, Helen**

**1981 Willowsprings: A Hopi Petroglyph Site. *Journal of New World Archaeology* 4: 1-23.**

This journal article provides a detailed published site report of the Hopi petroglyphs at Willowsprings. Michaelis (p. 3) cites early work by Fewkes (1895), Mallory (1888), Colton (1931) and Titiev (1937) as indicating that "Willowsprings is an early Hopi ceremonial shrine and that it was used by the various clans of this group of peoples on their yearly pilgrimage to obtain salt from the Grand Canyon."

Field work was conducted at the site in 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, and 1980. These repeated visits revealed severe deterioration of the petroglyphs from weather and human activity. "The worst vandalism occurred in 1978 when the very old glyphs on Rock No. 17 were spray-painted with Navajo names and very offensive writings (p. 4)." The archaeological recording of the site was undertaken to preserve information of prehistoric and historic significance. The Willowsprings site has been assigned No. NA 994 by the Museum of Northern Arizona. Forty rocks at the site contain a total of 2,178 recorded petroglyphs. Some petroglyphs could not be recorded because of their placement on top of boulders.

Chart I presents a numerical analysis of the petroglyphs, subdivided into various clan symbols. The following Hopi clans were represented at the site (with the number of petroglyphs of each symbol provided in parentheses): Arrow (24), Badger (16), Bear (304), Bird (43), Bow (32), Butterfly (6), Cedar (4), Cloud (91), Corn (316), Coyote (113), Crow (148), Horn (28), Kachina (37), Lizard (136), Masau-u (48), Moon (14), Oak (18), Parrot (22), Porcupine (8), Rabbit (19), Rabbitbrush (1), Red Ant (41), Sand (53), Snake (57), Snow (33), Spider (26), Star (13), Strap (54), Sun (126), Sun Forehead (14), Tobacco (6), Water (7), and Yucca-Agave (7).

Chart II presents summary information pertaining to Hopi clan migrations as documented in the anthropological literature. Michaelis thinks that, "The identity of the Hopi at historic contact was obviously derived from diverse ancestry, but the list of clans (94) seems excessive for a comparatively small group such as the Hopi." She suggests multiple appellations for a clan, the merging of clans for ritual activity, or Hopi disunity may explain the multiplicity of clans. As an example of Hopi disunity, Michaelis notes (p. 5), "... it was discovered that the clan symbols of a Kachina clan had been systematically erased and we subsequently learned of a disagreement within the clans, which possibly occasioned this vandalism."

Michaelis found that 40 of the 94 Hopi clans participated at some time in ceremonial visits to Willowsprings, indicating "a high percentage of involvement (p. 6)." Chart IV analyzes the number of salt pilgrimage trips made by individual participants. Michaelis (p. 6) notes that "some men were involved for many years in this particular ceremonial endeavor." Her analysis indicates one Corn Clan man made 16 trips, and one Strap Clan and one Lizard Clan man each made 12 trips.

Eleven photographs provide illustrations of the site and examples of petroglyphs. Chart III presents sketches of clan symbols as identified from anthropological literature and by discussions with Hopi informants. The petroglyphs were produced by pecking which penetrated the bluish or reddish oxidized patination on rock surfaces. Most of the petroglyphs are pecked only in outline; only 1% few petroglyphs are fully pecked. Ten percent of the petroglyphs remained unidentified. There are also 94 dots and lines that were not interpreted (p. 7).

Michaelis (p. 8) notes, "A remarkable feature of the site is the minimum of superimposition that has taken place even on the oldest and busiest areas. Observation seems to indicate that the people, when placing a new glyph, carefully avoided the destruction of earlier writings." She also observes that, "... when a clan signature appears on a specific rock, other members of the clan continue to crowd their symbols on several sides of the same rock and sometimes on no other location on the site."

Most designs are small, ranging from 7.5 to 37.5 cm in height, and 3 to 10 cm in width. Michaelis (p. 8) notes that the southern end of the site "seems to be the oldest and longest used" because the petroglyphs there are ancient and faded. She states, "It is reasonable to assume that they have been made by an earlier people than the Hopi and date possibly to Basketmaker-Anasazi days. Many glyphs are repatinated, and the old images are not recognizable as clan symbols by the present-day Hopi."

Michaelis thinks that a few petroglyphs that were scratched rather than pecked may be Navajo designs. There are also a number of Mormon signatures, and Michaelis notes Willowsprings was a site on the "Mormon Honeymoon Trail" from Saint Johns, Arizona to Saint George, Utah.

Michaelis notes (p. 8) that "Chronology presents a difficult problem to resolve on all rock art sites, and this one is no exception." Using ethnographic data from Titiev, she suggests the clan symbols at Willowsprings postdate AD 1150. The fact that some non-clan symbol petroglyphs are repatinated and others are covered with lichen suggests that "these glyphs are obviously very ancient and much older than all of the clan designs (p. 9)."

The ethnographic record is used to interpret the petroglyphs as clan symbols ritually pecked into the rocks during the Hopi Salt Trail pilgrimages. Michaelis concludes,

The evidence points to the conclusion that Willowsprings has had a major ceremonial significance for the Hopi Clans over an extended period of time. The continued importance of the site became apparent when the present-day Hopi contacted at once expressed great interest in the research.

At their request a copy of this report was presented at a meeting of the Board of the Hopi Cultural Center on Second Mesa and a lively and stimulating discussion ensued. It is now becoming increasingly clear that while the ceremonial quest for salt is an ongoing Hopi endeavor the journey with all its attendant ceremonial is undertaken at irregular intervals.

**Mindeleff, Victor**

**1891 *A Study of Pueblo Architecture in Tusayan and Cibola*. Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology for the Years 1886-1887, pp. 3-228. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.**

Chapter 1 of this class work in anthropology covers the "Traditional History of Tusayan." It was compiled by Cosmos Mindeleff using material collected by A. M. Stephen in his work at First Mesa. The chapter begins with the observation (p. 16),

A tradition varies much with the tribe and the individual; an authoritative statement of the current tradition on any point could be made only with a complete knowledge of all traditions extant. Such knowledge is not possessed by any one man, and the material included in this chapter is presented simply as a summary of the traditions secured.

Mindeleff (p. 16) notes that while the creation myths of Tusayan differ widely, "... none of them designate the region now occupied as the place of their genesis." The place of emergence is set in widely separated localities. Mindeleff recounts the major elements common to Hopi accounts of the emergence and migrations. The role of the Pekónehoya and Spider Woman is described (p. 17),

All the people that were permitted to come to the surface were collected and the different families of men were arranged together. This was done under the direction of twins, who are called Pekónehoya, the younger one being distinguished by the term Balíngahoya, the Echo. They were assisted by their grandmother, Kóhkyang wúhti, the Spider woman, and these appear in varying guises in many of the myths and legends. They instructed the people in divers modes of life to dwell on mountain or on plain, to build lodges, or huts, or windbreaks. They distributed appropriate gifts among and assigned each a pathway, and so the various families of mankind were dispersed over the earth's surface.

Paranthetical reference is made to the "mythic Snake youth who brought back a strange woman who gave birth to rattlesnakes" but the story of Tiyo is not recounted. Másauwu is said to have helped people on their journeys.

Mindeleff provides a detailed synthesis of Hopi migration accounts tied to the contemporary landscape. Only the highlights of this synthesis are summarized here. The Snake people came from Navajo Mountain (pp. 17-18). The Horn people migrated to Hopi from the Rio Grande via Canyon de Chelly (pp. 18-19). The Bear clan came from the mountains in the east via Canyon de Chelly and Antelope Canyon (pp. 19-21). The Navajos are first mentioned in relation to flocks of sheep and cattle, indicating they arrived in the Hopi region after the Spaniards (p. 22). The Coyote people came from the north (p. 24). The Water people came from Palátkawbi in the south (pp. 24, 31). On Second Mesa, the Squash people came from Palát Kawbi in the south to via the Little Colorado River (pp. 25-26). The Bear, Bear-skin-rope Blue Jay, and Paroquet Clans came from the vicinity of the San Francisco Peaks (pp. 26-27). The Burrowing Owl and Coyote came from Navajo Mountain in the north. On Third Mesa, the Bear Clan came from Shungopavi (pp. 27-28). The Eagle Clan on all mesas came from the northwest, traveling for a time with the Snake people. The Sun Clan on Second Mesa came from Palátkawibi in the south, joining with the Water people at Homol'ovi (p. 29). The Asa Clan came from Chama, New Mexico, via Zuni and Awatovi (p. 30). The Badger Clan also came from New Mexico (p. 30). The Snake, Coyote, and Eagle Clans occupied villages in the vicinity of Moencopi during their migrations (p. 33). The Hano people came to First Mesa from the village of Tceewáge (Peña Blanca) on the Rio Grande (p. 35).

Mindeleff lists 57 clans in 10 phratries (pp. 38-39). In addition, 8 Tewa clans are listed. It should be noted that Mindeleff uses the term "gente" rather than "clan." Victor Mindeleff summarizes clan migrations by stating (p. 225),

The migrations of the Tusayan clans, as described in the legends collected by Mr. Stephen, were slow and tedious. While they pursued their wanderings and awaited the favorable omens of the gods they halted many times and planted. They speak traditionally of stopping at certain places on their routes during a certain number of "11 plantings," always building the characteristic stone pueblos and then again taking up the march.

When these Indians are questioned as to where they came, their replies are various and conflicting; but this is due to the fact that the members of one clan came, after a long series of wanderings, from the north, for instance, while those of other gentes may have come last from the east. The tribe to-day seems to be made up of a collection or a confederacy of many enfeebled remnants of independent phratries and groups once more numerous and powerful. Some clans traditionally referred to as having been important are now represented by few survivors, and bid fair soon

to become extinct. So the members of each phratry have their own store of traditions, relating to the wanderings of their own ancestors, which differ from those of other clans, and refer to villages successively built and occupied by them. In the case of others of the pueblos, the occupation of cliff dwellings and cave lodges is known to have occurred within historic times.

**Mindeleff, Cosmos**

**1900 Localization of Tusayan Clans. In *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1897-98, Part 2, pp. 635-653. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.***

In this anthropological study, Mindeleff analyzes the spatial clustering of clans within pueblo settlements. He lists a total of 34 clans at six of the Hopi villages. There were 20 clans at Walpi, 9 clans at Sichomovi, 10 clans at Hano, 14 clans at Mishongnovi, 3 clans at Shipaulovi, and 21 clans at Oraibi.

**Monongye, David**

**n.d. *Holding Fast to the Path of Peace (A Traditional View)*. Privately published by John Kimmey, Arroyo Hondo, New Mexico.**

This account of Hopi prophecy, rendered in the "traditionalist" rhetorical style, was published sometime after 1973. The account is paraphrased by John Kimmey but "validated" by Monongye for publication. The tract is unpaginated. Monongye provides an abridged account of the Hopi origin into this world, and interprets the "prophecy rock" found near Oraibi. Integral to Monongye's account is the idea that Hopi people return to a lower world after death.

**Montgomery, Ross Gordon, Watson Smith, and John Otis Brew**

**1949 *Franciscan Awatovi*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University 36. Cambridge, Massachusetts.**

There is some evidence to suggest the Hopis procured salt from Zuni Salt Lake for use by Spanish missionaries at Hopi in the seventeenth century. Montgomery et al. (1949:212) describe a diminutive "soap works," or soap manufacturing area, in the vicinity of the Franciscan mission at the historic Hopi village of Awatovi. Soap was produced by boiling hog or goat tallow with causticised wood ashes, with the resultant soft potash being converted into firm homogeneous soda soap through successive manipulations with salt. This process would require a substantial amount of salt, and

Montgomery and his colleagues suggest that one source for this salt was the Zuni Salt Lake, where, as they note, the Hopis had a "considerable traffic in salt."

**Moorhead, Max L. (editor)**

**1954 *Commerce of the Prairies by Josiah Gregg.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.**

In 1844, Josiah Gregg published a book about life on the western plains. Moorhead republished it in 1954 with editorial additions. Gregg mentioned the Hopis in his work, discussing their cotton production and relative independence from white society. Also, he claimed that from their banded hair style it was clear that they were related to other peoples of the Colorado Valley who wore their hair in a similar style (p. 228). Otherwise, Gregg offers little information about the Hopi. Gregg did not visit Hopis personally, and gleaned knowledge about them from the observations of others.

**Morehouse, Barbara Jo**

**1993 *Power Relationships in the Spatial Partitioning and Natural Resource Management of the Grand Canyon.* Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Geography and Regional Development, University of Arizona.**

Drawing upon the work of Foucault, Morehouse applies a post-modern model to describe how bounded space relates to power relationships structuring the management of the Grand Canyon. She examines boundaries in terms of how they function as shells, facilitators, tollgates, panopticon, fulcrums, nets, and filters (pp. 24-36). In addition to considering power relations between ranchers, miners, loggers, and bureaucrats, Morehouse reviews the historical relationship between the Federal government and Indian Tribes regarding traditional Native American use of the Grand Canyon.

Her analysis begins with how the entry of the Athabaskans into the Southwest affected the use of the Grand Canyon region by indigenous tribes (i.e., the Hualapai, Havasupai, and Hopi) and continues to consider the effects of the way that the Spanish and American governments partitioned space. Morehouse cites Leigh Jenkins (p. 76) to the effect that, "As more people moved into the area, the Indians found themselves not only encircled by new culture, but also encircled by geographical lines that were used to dictate where they could live, and what they could do."

Morehouse reviews the history of the Grand Canyon National Park, describing how it came into being as a National Monument in 1908 and the subsequent changes that have occurred its spatial configuration (pp. 80-269). She observes that until recently the Hopi Tribe remained "invisible and voiceless in the proceedings and negotiations over the size, configuration, and function" of the Grand Canyon National

Park (p. 193). The Hualapai, Havasupai, and Navajo Nations were more directly involved, largely due to disputes about political boundaries.

The passage of P.L. 93-620 in 1975 enabled the Grand Canyon National Park to enlarge its boundaries and to enter into cooperative agreements with Indian Tribes and other governmental entities to protect and interpret the canyon in its entirety (pp. 267-277). Morehouse observes that unlike other tribes, the Hopis and Paiutes did not participate in negotiations over enlargement of the park, but "... they had at least gained recognition with the Grand Canyon National Park Master Plan" (p. 274).

Morehouse reviews the history of attempts to incorporate the Little Colorado River Gorge into the Grand Canyon National Park (pp. 284-291). The contested area extends from the confluence of the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers upstream 13 miles to Blue Springs. This area is valued because it is a spawning ground for the endangered humpback chub and it contains the primary source of permanent water flowing in the lower Little Colorado River. A number of ways to incorporate this area into the park were considered by the National Park Service employees, including the idea of a conservation easement purchase of the land from the Navajo Tribe. Morehouse suggests that due to a perennial lack of funds, as well as tribal resistance, nothing has been accomplished to attain this management goal.

Although recent Grand Canyon National Park Superintendents have had a "proactive" approach to interaction with Indian Tribes, meeting regularly with the tribes for consultation (pp. 316-317), communication between Native Americans and the National Park Service remains problematical in part due to different modes and structuring of knowledge. Morehouse explains (pp. 321-322),

To understand Hopi relationships with other land management entities in the area ... it is necessary to understand their perceptions of geographical space. The Hopi have no word in their language for boundary in the English sense. Rather, they have a word, qalnani, which, though it technically is equivalent to the English work boundary, is more subtle in its interpretation. The concept entails joint stewardship (i.e., acceptance of responsibility) for protecting a valued place, with neither entity abrogating the affinity of the other to that place (Jenkins, April 9, 1992). In this sense, the Hopi concept accords more closely to a type of relative space, in which space is defined based on the particular criteria, rather than to any concept of absolute space, which entails the bounding of an area to maintain individual power over all aspects of that area.

The concept of qalnani arises, for example, with regard to the very important Hopi religious sites within the park. Thanks to the cordial relations between the park and the tribe, these sites are being managed in the spirit of "joint stewardship," with no objections being voiced by

either party. The arrangement will undoubtedly continue to operate in an amicable fashion as long as the park continues to help protect tribal shrines, while also continuing to allow tribal members free access to the park for religious and other traditional purposes, and as long as tribal members do not abuse these privileges. Most recently, the tribe and the park have been involved in working out a cooperative agreement whereby cooperation on planning and cultural interpretation of the park will be formalized ... The tribe, however, would like to achieve full partnership with the park, wherein they could be involved in the administration, implementation and enforcement of policy, especially with regard to the area around the Hopi salt mine, and would like written policies to developed detailing tribal rights. The tribe would also like to expand its relationship to the Park Service regional office and to the head office in Washington, D.C.

**Morris, Earl H.**

**1928 An Aboriginal Salt Mine at Camp Verde, Arizona. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 30 (3):77-97.**

This monograph describes Native American use of a salt mine located about one and half miles west of Camp Verde, Arizona. Evidence of this use was documented during commercial mining of the salt by non-Indians in 1926. The salt occurs two strata (p. 81). One is a loose stratum ten feet thick composed of crystals of Glaubers salt and loose clay. Under this is the "mother rock" of the deposit composed of sodium sulphate ( $\text{Na}_2\text{SO}_4 \cdot 10\text{H}_2\text{O}$ ), much of it in the form of Natronite. Gypsum ( $\text{Ca}_2\text{SO}_4 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$ ) and common salt ( $\text{NaCl}$ ) occur as impurities in the sodium sulphate. The salt occurs in crystals of Halite, some weighing as much as twenty pounds. Morris describes the aboriginal techniques of salt mining by stating (p. 81),

The aborigines mined their salt by tunneling. They chose a stratum where the salt was relatively plentiful and followed it inward, beating to pieces the breast ahead of them, casting the predominance of waste behind, and garnering the precious bits of salt. There is no evidence that they worked with any degree of system, but instead, burrowed about as chance, or a particularly fine lump of salt, directed them. Certainly they did no timbering, nor did they leave pillars to support the always dangerous roof.

Pick hafts, cedarbark torches, yucca leaves, yucca sandals, matting, rolls of twigs, wooden club, stone picks in the process of manufacture, unhafted stone hand picks, grooved hafted stone picks, and ashes from fires were found in the aboriginal mine (pp. 82-83). In addition, the mummified remains of one person killed by a cave-in were also documented. The Native Americans tunneled into the hill at four or more levels. Morris infers that the mine was in use for a long time since there were

thousands of cubic yards of rock worked by Native Americans using only blunt stone tools (p. 83). No potsherds were found inside the salt mine. Morris estimates the date of the site by examination of the archaeological sites in the general vicinity. Based on this admittedly limited evidence, Morris (p. 97) thinks the salt mine was "worked when the Pueblo culture had reached its full development; when the Gila, the Mimbres, and the Little Colorado variants had attained their diagnostic features; thus rather late than early in the cycle of aboriginal occupation of the Southwest."

**Mullet, G. M.**

**1979 *Spider Woman Stories*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.**

Mullet was a scientific illustrator who worked with Jesse Walter Fewkes at the Smithsonian Institution. This book, based on primary source material collected by Stephens and Fewkes, was written to provide a popular version of Hopi oral narratives that non-Indians would find easier to read than the technical reports of anthropologists. It presents accounts of creation, the adventures of Tiyo, and the activities of the Twin War Gods on behalf of the Hopi. All the elements of Tiyo's journey are recounted, including his river trip through the Grand Canyon, meeting Spider Woman, traveling through the Underworld, appearing before the Snake Mana, returning home, and rejoining his clan. The book contains a quote from Fewkes, who stated (p. v), "There is in this legend something higher than an Indian tale, for there pervades in it the yearning common to all people, the desire for an intimate knowledge of the meaning of life, especially the future of the human soul and its life after death of the body."

**Murdock, George Peter**

**1934 *Our Primitive Contemporaries*. Macmillan Company, New York.**

Chapter 12 of this book (pp. 324-358) provides an ethnographic overview of the Hopi. The bibliography indicates that Murdock relied heavily on the publications of Fewkes and Voth in preparing this overview. Murdock (p. 343) describes how abstinence from salt is part of the ritual that accompanies a girl's puberty rites. With respect to death, Murdock observes (p. 345), "The Hopi regard death with fear and abhorrence, and refer to it only by circumlocution." Murdock describes the Hopi belief that all things, including the inanimate, have "breath bodies" or souls. Murdock describes the rituals that accompany burials (p. 345-346). Murdock states (p. 346),

The "breath body" of an adult ... lingers with the corpse for four days and then journeys to the "Skeleton House" in the underworld. Here the dead live much as do the living, except that the seasons of the year are reversed; they plant and reap, adhere to their clan organization, and conduct their religious ceremonies. The ghosts of the dead become metamorphosed into *kachinas*, or ancestral spirits of their respective clans, who form the basis of the Hopi hierarchy.

**Murphy, Matthew M.**

**1911 Map showing "Territory Claimed by the Older Moquis." National Archives, CCF 45096-10-313.**

This document was prepared by the Special Allotting Agent assigned to allot the Hopi Indian Reservation. This document includes a map showing the territory claimed by older Hopis. The map includes a plethora of arrows depicting the direction of Hopi clan migrations, as well as an arrow pointing from the Grand Canyon towards Zuni with the caption "Zuni from Cataract Canon ruins to present location." In a note accompanying the map, Murphy writes,

The arrows ... show the routes followed by the clans that inhabit the Moqui Villages at the present time. Each clan claimed all the land on both sides of the route. As the routes converge the claims overlapped each other; some of the First Mesa people came from Taos, N. Mx; some from Clear Creek canon below Winslow; some from Grand Canon; some from ruins to the north; some from Chinle. The other villages are peopled in much the same way. Each clan claims to have been first on the scene and so claims prior rights to the country.

Territory claimed by the older Moquis: mouth of the Little Colorado to Holbrook; Holbrook to Chinle; Chinle to San Juan River; San Juan River to Colorado River; Colorado R to mouth of Little Colorado.

The young Moquis claim the present Moqui reservation was given them in lieu of the territory described above.

**Murphy, Matthew M.**

**1928 *The Snake Dance People and Their Country: Hopi Ceremonies.* Lincoln Press, Oakland, California.**

Murphy identifies himself as the "Late U. S. Allotting Agent for the Hopi Reservation." Murphy's recounting of Hopi migrations describes travels through North and South America from the Arctic to the Antarctic. The people traveling from the north met the people traveling from the south in Mexico before settling the Hopi Mesas (pp. 1-4). Murphy describes Hopi use of the Grand Canyon, stating (pp. 12-13),

There is a holy place in the canon of The Little Colorado River, a few miles above its junction with The Colorado, where for ages, the Hopi priests have retired for meditation and to communicate with the Gods and get visions of future events.

A hidden trail, guarded by the spirit of a priest whose grave is a short distance to one side, leads down through a crevice in the canon wall.

Lower down, by the side of the trail, a huge cistern is, eroded from the solid rock. This cistern or holy well as the Hopis call it, has no visible inlet or outlet, yet it is always full of pale green water. This water has great curative properties, especially in the treatment of skin diseases.

The well was created by the gods, and its virtues revealed by them to the priests. Farther down, is a salt spring whose waters are used in Hopi ceremonies. At the foot of the trail is the mine from which the priest obtain the pigments used to decorate their bodies.

Among the other curiosities to be seen, is a fountain that was once a geyser, and an orifice far up on the canon wall from which, at times, spouts a stream of green water.

The priests have a shrine here where offerings are made to the spirits that preside over this sacred retreat. The Hopis say that none of these things are visible to profane eyes, unless revealed by a priest. They have been seen by at least two white men who were attended by a priest. Four hours are required for the descent; the return trip twice as long.

#### **Museum of Northern Arizona**

**1968 Site Cards for NA 10531 (A-F), 10533, 10534, 10535, 10536, 10537. Ms. on file at Museum of Northern Arizona Site File.**

These archaeological site cards were prepared by Peter Pilles in 1968. The Hopi Salt Trail from Oraibi to the Grand Canyon is divided into nine segments for convenience in record keeping. A map included with the site cards illustrates the route and site number designations for this trail in relation to USGS 1:62500 map outlines. The site cards attribute the Salt Trail the "Hopi and pre-Hopi" culture, with a temporal designation from "? to PV (modern times)."

NA 10531 (A through F) comprises the first six segments of the trail extending approximately 74 miles from Oraibi to the Salt Trail Canyon. NA 10532 comprises the section of the Salt Trail from the head of Salt Trail Canyon to the Little Colorado River. The distance is estimated at about 13 to 15 miles. Resources are listed as salt, and yellow and red ochre. The site file includes a map prepared by Vernon Taylor in March of 1960 depicting and describing a route down Salt Trail Canyon. NA 10533 comprises the section of the Salt Trail from the confluence of Salt Trail Canyon and the Little Colorado River to the confluence of the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers. The distance is estimated to be about seven miles. NA 10534 comprises the portion of the Salt Trail from the confluence of the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers to the Salt deposits. The distance is estimated at "2+" miles. In addition to these trail

segments, three other places associated with Salt Trail are given site numbers. NA 10535 is a cave of yellow and brown ochre. Pilles notes, "Cave is partly weathered out and probably partly dug out. Pahos deposited in back of cave. Possibly cave of Masau'u." An addendum by E. Malotki on October 15, 1988 reads, "This location is the kooyemsi shrine, not the Maasaw cave." NA 10536 is the Sipapu, described as the "legendary place of origin. Mineral spring." The opening in Sipapu is estimated as having a diameter of 10 feet. A hematite source is listed. NA 10537 is described as the "Salt deposit. Encrustations on side of cliff." A terrain reference point is listed as a "Mushroom-like rock at ledge."

### **Nagata, Shuichi**

**1970 *Modern Transformations of Moenkopi Pueblo*. Illinois Studies in Anthropology 6. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.**

This ethnographic monograph describes the social and cultural changes that have occurred at Moenkopi Village since it was founded. In describing land use, Nagata states (p. 8), "Beyond the realm of the village territory, there exist a number of places of pan-Hopi significance, including the Grand Canyon and San Francisco Peaks.

### **National Park Service**

**n.d. *Art and Architecture of the Painted Desert Inn*. Petrified Forest National Park, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior.**

This brochure describes the art and architecture of the Painted Desert Inn, including the murals in the "Kabotie Room." These murals, painted by Fred Kabotie, include a depiction of a journey to Zuni Salt Lake by two men from Shungopavi. The brochure states, "Salt used in Hopi ceremonies must originate either from this lake or from a source near the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers."

### **Navajo Times**

**1995 *Navajo, Hopi Discussing Gathering of Eaglets*. *Navajo Times*, April 27, 1995.**

This article reports on meetings between the Navajo and Hopi Tribes and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service over the question of Hopi gathering of eaglets on the Navajo Reservation. The article states the in 1994 President Peterson Zah "agreed reluctantly to allow the gathering of 16 eaglets on Navajoland even though the Hopis, during the course of the ceremony, would kill them." Navajo Nation Vice President Thomas Atcitty reports the Navajo Tribe has asked the Hopis to look elsewhere for their eagles.

Nelson, John Louw

1937 *Rhythm for Rain*. Houghton Mifflin, Cambridge.

Chapter 5 in this novel, entitled "Eagles that Climb to the Sun," describes the collection and use of eagles (pp. 48-58). Although this is a fictional account, the description of collecting eaglets from their nests is based on Hopi ethnography.

Nequatewa, Edmund

1931 Hopi Hopiwimi: The Hopi Ceremonial Calendar. *Plateau* 3(9):1-4.

This article briefly describes the cycle of Hopi ceremonies from a Hopi perspective. Nequatewa begins with a discussion of Wu-wu-che-ma, the first of the winter ceremonies held in November (pp. 1-2). He describes the four groups that take part, i.e., the One Horn (Gwa-gwan-da; Agave); the Two Horn (A-al-ta), the Da-dow-kiam, and the Wu-wu-chim-da. Nequatewa explains, "This ceremony portrays what happened in the Underworld before the Hopi people emerged, and what they did to get out. Tradition says the Gwa-gwan-da play the most important part then, and that is why they still do most of the ceremony." Nequatewa next describes the Sol-ya-lang-eu, which he refers to as Prayer-Offering Ceremony or the Winter Solstice Ceremony. He says (p. 2), "This is one of the most sacred ceremonies of the Hopi." He also describes the Pa-ya-mu, the Po-a-my-ya, Kachina dances, the Niman Kachina, Che-chuk-ta and La-Lent, the Mam-zrau-tu, and other dances.

Nequatewa, Edmund

1943 Some Hopi Recipes for the Preparation of Wild Plant Foods. *Plateau* 16(1):18-20.

Nequatewa, with the help of his wife Jean, presents sixteen short recipes for preparing wild plant foods. Nequatewa classifies the wild plants in terms of the categories used by Bartlett in her article "Edible Wild Plants of Northern Arizona (1943, *Plateau* 16(1):11-17). Five recipes include plants with Hopi names found in the Grand Canyon, as identified by the Hopi Cultural advisors during field work. These plants include: *Le-po-si* (Juniper berries, *Juniperus utahensis*); *Yo-ngo* (Prickly Pear, *Opuntia hystricina* and *polycantha*); *Po-na* (Cholla cactus, *Opuntia whipplei*); *Le-hu* (Indian Millet, *Oryzopsis hymenoides*); and *Su-vif-si* (Squawbush, *Rhus trilobata*).

Nequatewa, Edmund

1946 The Place of Corn and Feathers in Hopi Ceremonies. *Plateau* 19(1):15-16.

In this brief article, Nequatewa explains some of the cultural and religious importance of corn and feathers in Hopi ceremonies. He observes that "The feathers

of the eagle are used in all prayer offerings, the soft downy ones playing the most important part" (pp. 15-16). Nequatewa also notes (p. 16),

The Hopis believe that the moon in the month of December is a very dangerous one, which they call *kyamuya*, and not only that, but that the ground or land gets very thin. No one would dare dig or quarry rock at that time for fear of making a hole into the underworld, to the ancestral home or Sipapuni and if one ever did that he would not live very long.

**Nequatewa, Edmund**

**1954 How the Hopi Respect the Game Animals. In *Hopi Customs, Folklore, and Ceremonies*. Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, Flagstaff, AZ.**

Nequatewa begins a discussion about Hopi attitudes toward game animals by stating, "To a Hopi all the game animals are people, the offspring of Ti-kuoi Wuti, a goddess . . . and Masao, the earth god" (p. 32). Like Hopis, the animals also have homes and when they return to them for rest, Nequatewa says, they "convert themselves into human beings and live in these places." This sense of similarity and relatedness between hunter and animals has shaped Hopi hunting ritual and game preparation. Nequatewa comments that it is important for a Hopi to gain the confidence of the game animal he intends to catch. He must start early and go through the customary rites of asking the animal for mercy and the privilege of being able to catch him at the time of the hunt. Animals that are harder to convince, like the jackrabbits and cottontails, require more attention, like a sacrifice of food during mealtime. Believing that game animals have the capacity to will harm on human beings, Hopi rituals have incorporated elements of supplication to ward against such events. For instance, because deer, antelope, and mountain sheep have the power to cause people to have kidney trouble, "when these animals are caught in a hunt they are skinned and dressed with special care around the external genital areas" (p. 32). Respect for the life of a game animal caught in the hunt is revealed in the Hopi's practice of "sending home" animals, back to their ancestors. There are different rituals pertaining to different animals (p. 33), but all deserve the respect of such a ceremony.

**Nequatewa, Edmund**

**1955 The Destruction of Elden Pueblo, A Hopi Story. *Plateau* 28(2):37-44.**

Nequatewa recounts a Hopi folktale about the destruction of Ho-vi-itci-tu-qua, which he identifies as Elden Pueblo. In this story, a beautiful young woman living at the pueblo of Topachovi at Chaves Pass will only marry a man who brings her a live red fox for a pet. Many men try but all fail. Finally a young man named Pi-tci-si-vos-tiyo (Cotton Seed Boy) captures a red fox by following the instructions of his grandmother, an old "Spider Woman." Since the young man is a commoner everyone

in the village is surprised when the young woman marries him. Before long, however, a young man from Elden Pueblo begins to visit the young woman and they commit adultery. The fox observes this and tells the young woman's husband. Pi-tci-si-vos-tiyo and his Spider Woman grandmother decide to seek revenge by declaring war on the people of Elden Pueblo. Pi-tci-si-vos-tiyo obtains allies from the Kisipaiyam (Yavapais) and together they attack Elden Pueblo. The young husband kills his rival, and the Yavapais kill all of the other inhabitants except for the young women and girls who were taken captive. "This is how Elden Pueblo was destroyed, not by Pi-tci-si-vos-tiyo himself, but by his invited war parry of Yavapais from the Verde Valley" (p. 44). Pi-tci-si-vos-tiyo and his grandmother realize they had done wrong by taking revenge on the whole village and not simply his rival. They leave and went south. Nequatewa (p. 44) ends the story by recounting how, "After they left there was always a cotton crop failure and cotton would not grow high any more and soon no more cotton was cultivated."

In a companion article, Malcolm Farmer (1955) suggests Ho-vi-itci-tu-quaa was not Elden Pueblo but was one of the sites on Anderson Mesa, e.g., Grape Vine Pueblo.

#### Nequatewa, Edmund

**1967 *Truth of a Hopi*. Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff. [Originally published in 1936].**

As the subtitle to the book notes, this is a collection of "Stories relating to the origin, myths, and clan histories of the Hopi." Nequatewa was from Shungopavi Village. He was a member of the Sun Forehead Clan and the One Horned Fraternity. In four chapters, Nequatewa provides an extensive account of how the Hopi people came out from the underworld after life became inharmonious. He also provides several accounts of how certain clans received their names and settled in certain villages, e.g., Shungopavi and Oraibi. More recent Hopi history is also recounted, including the coming of the Spaniards, the marking of a boundary line with the Navajos, and the split of Oraibi that led to the founding of Hotevilla and Bacavi. In recounting the coming of the Spaniards, Nequatewa describes how the Catholic priests (Tota-achi) sent Hopi men to different springs to get water do drink and how the priests always sent away men with pretty wives. In this account, the priests sent Hopi men to the Little Colorado River or to Moencopi.

In one of many footnotes, Mary-Russell F. Colton, the editor of the book, notes that (p. 126), "The Grand Canyon is 'Muski,' the place of the dead. It is thought of a long passageway through which a painful progress must be made by the 'spirit,' like the entrance through which the people came up from the underworld; in other words, a part of the Sipapu, which was covered by the ocean."

**Numkena, William**

**1967 Interview of William Numkena conducted by Charles Peterson. Doris Duke Oral History Project, Number 150b. Ms. on file at Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah.**

Numkena, a resident of Moencopi, was born in 1917. He remembers the Hopis traded with the "Go-in-ne-nas," saying, "they were from the Grand Canyon area called the Supais and Hualapais and they used to come and trade for the same things as the Paiutes" (pp. 2-3). The Hopis traded agricultural products for baskets.

**O'Connell, Maureen**

**1990 Hopis Against Book's Printing. *Arizona Daily Sun* 45(42):1,4.**

This article printed in the Flagstaff newspaper describes a controversy over the proposed publication of a book about the Hopi Salt Trail by Ekkehart Malotki. Loris Minkler, a staff assistant to Tribal Chairman Vernon Masayesva, is quoted as saying, "Publication of this book cuts at the very fabric of the Hopi religion. It is an exposition against everything that we are." In defense of Malotki's work, NAU official Henry Hooper says it is "important to the preservation of Hopi culture." Hopi leaders condemn the text as a violation of religious privacy. Alfred McDonnell, a Denver lawyer for the Hopi Tribe, says the tribe may pursue legal action if plans to publish the book proceed. Hooper says that Native American historians are worried that the Hopi culture, which is traditionally passed on orally, will disappear unless it is recorded in texts. "There will come a time when Hopi knowledge of many of these traditions will die out." Hooper states that according to Malotki, religious treks along the Salt Trail ended in 1909. McDonnell describes academic intentions as well-intentioned but "blasphemous." The article notes that deterioration and decay are integral part of Hopi theology. Minkler states, "We have a living tradition which does not include reliance on inanimate concepts."

**O'Kane, Walter Collins**

**1953 *The Hopis, Portrait of a Desert People*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.**

One chapter in this book, entitled "Man and Mystic," describes the Hopi world view (pp. 156-177). With respect to the collection of wild plants, O'Kane observes (p. 161), "... when a wild plant is cut off or dug up, as it is, for example, in securing a planting stick, tradition requires that it first be sprinkled with a bit of sacred corn meal, symbolizing a silent prayer to its spirit. It is a living thing, the work of the creator of all life, and is not be wantonly destroyed." O'Kane also observes that the Hopis believe their thoughts have an effect on their own well-being and the well-being of others (p. 167). O'Kane notes that a belief in immortality is "firmly and universally

accepted" (p. 169). He says, "... there is no real dividing line between life now and life later. They are one and the same thing. That which exists here and which can be experienced through our physical senses is only one aspect of existence. If the body ceases to function, the spirit is not changes thereby. As some one has said, the Hopi view may be likened to the thought that, when a man dies, he merely wakes up."

#### **Office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs**

**1939 "Minutes of Conference on Hopi Extension Area held April 24, 1939.**

**Office of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C." In Louis A. Hieb Collection, Special Collections, MS84.3, Manuscript Collection #245, Material documenting the history of the Hopi Traditionalist Movement. Northern Arizona University, Cline Library, Flagstaff, Arizona.**

The following people were present at the meeting: Peter Nuvemsa, Bryon P. Adams, Fred Lomayesva, Samuel Shingoitwa, Hopi Delegates; Seth Wilson, Superintendent, Hopi Agency; John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs; and Oliver LaFarge, ex officio. The purpose of the meeting was to present a map of the area the Hopi people desire, along with statements of the reasons why the Hopi claim this area. The minutes contain much information pertinent to Hopi land claims, as well as salt collection and ceremonial ties to the Colorado River.

Nuvemsa said, "And now this area, which we originally believed is our area, through our ceremonies, and now that we have come to a new day in which we put in our deepest thought as to the reason why this area has been taken away from the Hopi people through the reasons that are still puzzling to us." Adding, "Every year we hold an annual ceremonial which takes in our claim which is outlined by the outside circle."

Collier asked, "You mean the area bounded by the Rainbow Bridge and Colorado River on the south and east, below Winslow and almost to Gallup on the west and north?" Nuvemsa replied, "That is the sacred area. We have taken into consideration how we might live after the settlement of this area, and how we may obtain our timber, salt, and game in this area. Inside this area is a shrine to be of main purpose to the Hopi people." Nuvemsa added, "... the Hopis feel they have a right to this area as shown on the map because they still have in their hearts that they have controlled this area and as stated, it involves their ceremonies."

#### **Page, Gordon B.**

**1940 Hopi Land Patterns. *Plateau* 13(2):29-36.**

This brief article resulted from an economic survey of the Hopi Reservation conducted for the Soil Conservation Program. The article concentrates on settlement, agriculture, livestock and relations with the Navajo within "District 6," an area Page

considers to be the Hopi's basic "homeland." With respect to Hopi land claims, Page noted (p. 29),

There are various conflicting claims made by the Hopi relative to the land 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 discussion. 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 natural resources.

**Page, Jake**

**1982 Inside the Sacred Hopi Homeland. *National Geographic* 162(5):606-629.**

This article describes a four day, 1100 mile journey made by eight Hopi priests, two Hopi drivers, Jake Page and his wife to "visit the eight principal shrines that mark the boundaries of the Hopis' ancestral land" (p. 607). One photograph shows the Hopi priests making a prayer offering on a ledge overlooking the Grand Canyon. The caption for this photograph reads (p. 609), "Prayers of thanks for a salt deposit nearby are offered ..." One of the pilgrimage shrines is "*Co Nin Ha-hao-pi*" at the Supai Descent Trail" on the southern rim of the Grand Canyon. The other shrines include *Toko Navi* (Navajo Mountain), *Tusak Chomo* (Bill Williams Mountain), *Honoapa* (Bear Springs), *Yoche Ha-hao-pi* (Apache Descent Trail), *Tsi Mon Tu Qui* (Woodruff Butte), *Nah Mee Tuikah* (Lupton), and *Kywestima* (Betatakin Ruin).

Page (p. 607) observes that "... sacred sites themselves are unnoticeable, merely locations near rocks or bushes where generations of Hopis have made offerings." He offers his opinion that "The eight shrines, in a sense, mark the last staging area in the final migration inward to this place where they became Hopis and built their homes" (p. 612). He adds (p. 612), "The pilgrimages have been made for centuries and will continue - expressions, the Hopis explain, of their continuing sense of responsibility for this area." Former Chairman Abbott Sekaquaptewa (p. 626) is quoted as saying "But the most important thing is the shrines. The elders say that the shrines are our standards—the way white people raise flags over their territory. Without our shrines, our inheritance, we simply cannot continue as Hopis."

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**Page, Jake**

**1990 The Unwritten Book of Good Manners. *Mother Earth News* March-April, No. 122:44, 46, 132.**

In this article, author, Jake Page, begins with the observation that Southwestern Indians see their environment as central to their world. He uses a literary twist to pinpoint the center of these Natives' worlds to Earth navels--"places where 'the people' emerged into this one [world]" (p. 44). Page writes:

Far to the west, near the confluence of the Colorado and the Little Colorado rivers, is another one, called *sipapu* by the Hopi. It's the point from which these "oldest of the people" emerged long ago and began the long treks that resulted finally in their settlement of some remote mesas above the Painted Desert in northeastern Arizona about a thousand years ago.

Page discusses the mix of spirituality and pragmatism with which Southwestern Indians view their surroundings (p. 46). He debunks the myth of Indians as "natural ecologists who raise their fists in rage at every insult (real or imagined) to their mother" (p. 44). But he points out that, still, there is a deep sense of respect for the earth held by these Native Americans. He expresses his appreciation that (p. 132):

... here in the Southwest at least, there is a small fraction of the population that still holds the notion that the earth is, in utter reality, a mother--a truly living being (which is why the earth is sacred), a being who needs to be dealt with by means of a fine sense of reciprocity, by means of rules of etiquette that are not that hard to understand.

**Page, Susanne and Jake Page**

**1982 *Hopi*. Harry N. Abrams, New York.**

This book of photographs and text is a collaborative work by a photographer, Susanne Page, and a writer, Jake Page. *Hopi* is thus a photojournalistic look at Hopi life and customs in the 1970s and early 1980s. The authors state that, "Our perceptions are ... our own, informed by no academic specialty and no personal ideology" (p. 20). Their goal is to record what the Hopi people have shared with them rather than what they have set out to discover about their hosts. The legal domain of the Hopi nation is confined by the boundaries of its reservation. Spiritually, however, the Hopi world extends much further. The Pages delineates the extent of that domain as the Hopi *tusqua*, i.e., "the land." Page writes (p. 205):

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.

Many places on the Hopi ancestral lands, including salt mines, eagle shrines, clan shrines, ruins, special markings, and San Francisco Peaks, are visited by Hopis each year in order "to pray for the continuance of Hopi life." But the Pages suggest that, "Perhaps the most important pilgrimage is one made not every year but periodically, when selected priests travel to the shrines that denote the boundaries of the Hopi ancestral land" (p. 217). During the 1980 pilgrimage to these sacred shrines marking the "boundaries" of *tusqua*, the Pages were permitted to record the events. Specifically related to the group's visit to the Grand Canyon, Page writes (p. 220):

The next stop was . . . a ledge a few hundred feet down in Grand Canyon, below Grand Canyon Village; this was not one of the territorial shrines but a place the priests traditionally stopped at to pray for the sacred salt that is located in a deposit on the canyon floor near the confluence of the Colorado River and the Little Colorado, the location also, the priests told us, of Sipapuni.

The party's activities in the Grand Canyon continued further downstream. Page reports (p. 220):

From there, we went to Po ta ve taka (Point Sublime), a drive of several hours west through a state park and then through seemingly endless meadowland, to the narrow and rocky beginnings of a canyon that leads down circuitously to the reservation of the Havasupai Indians, the beginning of the Havasupai Trail. . . . The priests went off on foot, down into the canyon, arriving eventually at a great overhang in the gray cliff wall. . . . Nearby, on a rock upon which the priests placed their pipes and cornmeal pouches, were what seemed to be fresh rock carvings of clan symbols. "That is where," they said, "we made our marks last time." There was an eagle boldly carved in the boulder.

To Page's disbelief one of the priests walking on two aluminum crutches descended this steep, treacherous trail down to the Havasupai shrine. The author marvels (p. 220):

He [the Hopi priest] had nothing but the determination, I thought, to be certain that he had seen with his own eyes those things that were crucial to Hopi survival, so that he could say to any Congressmen and Senators and anyone else who saw fit to intervene, "I've been there."

Other significant references to Hopi use of the Grand Canyon are found in the captions of Susanne's photographs. Describing the picture of six priests sitting in a

circle smoking their ritual pipe on the rim of the majestic Grand Canyon, the authors write (p. 231):

Several hundred feet below Grand Canyon Village, a rocky promontory juts out into the great yawning space of the canyon itself. On the way down, the priests point out an ancient ruin high in the canyon wall across the way. The Hopi visit this place not for the purpose of marking ancestral land but to commune with the spirits of a sacred shrine where salt is gathered in the canyon.

Likewise, the caption for a photograph of a rock covered by clan markings also refers directly to Hopi use of the Grand Canyon for salt gathering. The caption reads (p. 144):

Beside the trail that leads from the Hopi mesas to an ancient shrine where salt was gathered in the Grand Canyon, a large boulder bears the markings of clans which carved their emblems into the rock each time they passed on a pilgrimage.

Furthermore, Page discusses the importance of the Grand Canyon as a place where one returns at death. In an account of one family struggling to meet the prescribed burial practices upon the death of a family member, the importance of achieving this re-entry into the Underworld becomes apparent. Page records the event as follows (p. 188), "When people die, they return to the Underworld through Sipapuni and with the aid of Masauwu, the god of death. But certain things must be done properly in their behalf, and there are what might be regarded as side trips to be made before--and even after--reaching the Underworld."

In another story Page tells, this time about women and the many rites surrounding their wedding robe, the Grand Canyon once again manifests as the homing place of the deceased spirits. The author explains that when a married woman dies (p. 111),

... she will be wrapped in the robe that she kept throughout her life . . . , and she will be as pure again and as young as when she was married. She will stand on the edge of the Grand Canyon. She will spread her robe and step onto it and descend like a white cloud to the home of Hopi souls.

**Parnell, Rod**

**1986 Letter to Bob Dawson. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

Parnell is associated with the Geology Department of Northern Arizona University. This letter reports on the results of a chemical analysis of salt from the

Hopi Salt Mine collected by Bob Dawson, an hiker who has made several trips to the Hopi Salt Mine. Parnell reports, that "The Hopi Salt appears to be mostly that - Salt (NaCl, or Halite). The other major constituent is thenardite, which is a sodium sulfate salt (Na<sub>2</sub>SO<sub>4</sub>)."

**Parsons, Elsie Clews**

**1921 The Pueblo Indian Clan in Folk-lore. *Journal of American Folklore* 34(132):209-216.**

This essay examines the Puebloan clan system (p. 209), "... which is native theory is unchanging and unified, and in actuality a flux of many currents." Parsons observes (p. 209) that,

Clan migration traditions, as far as our records go, are 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. The chief distinction between the esoteric version and the exoteric appears to be in the greater abundance in the esoteric tradition, of localization of details.

In this regard, Parsons contrasts the esoteric versions of clan traditions collected by Fewkes at First Mesa with the exoteric versions she collected at First Mesa and that Voht collected at Third Mesa. Parsons notes that (p. 211),

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.

**Parsons, Elsie Clews**

**1923 The Hopi *Wöwöchim* Ceremony in 1920. *American Anthropologist* 25:156-187.**

This is a descriptive account of what Parsons saw when she observed the *Wöwöchim* ceremony at Walpi on November 18-28, 1920. Parsons was not admitted into the kiva so her description is incomplete. At the conclusion of the article, comparisons are drawn between the initiation ceremonies at First Mesa and Mishongnovi, between the initiation ceremony at First Mesa in 1920 and those performed in 1892, 1893, and 1898, and between the initiation ceremonies of Hopi and the New Mexican Pueblos.

**Parsons, Elsie Clews**

**1926 *Tewa Tales*. American Folklore Society, New York.**

In this monograph, Parsons presents compilations of a number of "tales" or Tewa narratives on a wide variety of subjects, including their emergence and migration. The "tales," written in English, were created from the synthesizing the narratives of multiple informants. While concentrating on the Tewa of New Mexico, Parsons also includes information about the Hopi-Tewa. A narrative entitled "The Emergence" (pp. 9-14), describes the emergence of the Tewa of New Mexico from a big lake named *Ohange okwinge*, located somewhere to the north of Taos Pueblo.

Parsons presents two accounts of the emergence recounted by Hopi Tewa that describe the origin of the Hopi and the preeminence of the Bear Clan at Walpi (pp. 169-175). Both of these accounts have very different thematic elements than the Tewa accounts from New Mexico. Two accounts describe the migration of the Tewa from the east to Hopi (pp. 175-179). One of these accounts is a relatively straight-forward history of how the chiefs of Walpi recruited the Tewa from New Mexico to assist them in the defense of First Mesa from Utes. The other account is phrased in terms of religious symbolism. One account describes the migration of the Hopi from *Palatkwabi* (181-187). One account describes the migration of the Mustard Clan (*Asa wungwe*) through Zuni to Hopi (p. 187).

In a description of the migration of the Snake Clan, written by a person from First Mesa, a variant of the Tiyo narrative is provided (pp. 187-191). This account continues to describe how the boy married a Snake girl and brought her back to his village, and how this led to the initiation of the Snake Dance.

**Parsons, Elsie Clews**

**1939 *Pueblo Indian Religion*, two volumes. University of Chicago Press.**

This book provides a comprehensive, descriptive study that compares and contrasts Pueblo Indian religions. With respect to salt, Parsons (p. 196) notes "One of the War Brothers turns himself into salt and thus gives himself to Hopi travelers to Grand Canyon."

In regard to beliefs about death, Parsons notes that for all of the Pueblos (p. 216),

With few exceptions life after death is envisaged as the same as before death; the deceased journeys to a town where he joins a group such as he was associated with in life—racers, hunters, curers, dancers, or rain-makers who may be thought of as clouds or lightning. The major exceptions are Hopi, and they express the idea of punishment after death, in itself exceptional in Pueblo ideology. On the road to the

*sipapu* in the west, the place of Emergence where the Hopi dead return, or some of them, an actual spot in the wall of the Grand Canyon (Oraibi), the breath body is met by Tokonaka, an Agave spirit sentinel. If Tokonaka finds the traveler good, he allows him to pass on; otherwise he makes him go up to a forking trail to the four fire pits. From the first pit the breath body may come out purified and be allowed by the Tokonaka in charge to return to the main trail. Otherwise the breath body has to go on to the second fire pit. If good on emerging, it is changed into a beetle; otherwise it goes on to the tired pit. If it emerge good, it changes into an ant; otherwise Tokonaka takes it to the fourth pit to be consumed and remain soot (Walpi). Second and Third Mesa tales of the youth who takes a narcotic, "dies," and journeys to the Skeleton house express the idea of punishment still more plainly. The youth passes by a very wicked one "who does not want rain in summer" and so offends the Clouds that they run away, a murderer who puts something bad into somebody, and a woman carrying stones in a burden basket, the bowstring which is the tumpline cutting into her forehead. These witches and sexual offenders are all detained on the trail which after all leads them only to the Agave man and his destructive fire where they become smoke, unhappy, unfed—mere smoke. In another Hopi tale witches are said to become snakes, bull snakes, after burial. Killing the snake liberates the spirit, allowing it to proceed to Skeleton house.

In a chapter on "cosmic notions," Parsons recounts a version of the Hopi origin account (pp. 236-242). This version concludes with the discovery that when people die they return to underworld through the hole where the Hopis emerged where they live forever.

With respect to prayer-sticks (pp. 270-285), Parsons (p. 270) says,

There is no ceremonial ... in which, in some connection, prayer-sticks are not offered or used. Indeed, it can be said that Pueblo ceremonial consists of prayer-stick making and offering together with prayer and other ritual. Buried in field or riverbank or riverbed; cast under shrub or tree or into pits, sunk in water, in springs, pools, lakes, river, or irrigation ditch; carried long distances to mountaintops; immured in house or kiva wall or closed-up niche; set under the floor or in the rafters, in cave or boulder or rock-built shrine; placed on altar or around image or corn fetish ... held in hand during ceremonial or cherished at home for a stated period or for life, prayer-sticks are used by members of all ceremonial groups, and in the West by "poor persons," even by children.

Parsons (pp. 285-299) also describes prayer-feathers, which are feathers loose or tied together but unattached to a stick. She notes (p. 289),

A long feathered string is used by the Hopi as a prayerful expression, in particular for propitious journeying. It is laid by travelers on the trails to the salt deposits. It is laid on trails over which the Spirits are expected to travel into town or out, as, for example, on the trail to a spring from which water has been fetched for ritual purpose.

Citing Dorsey and Voth, Parsons notes that one type of Hopi prayer-feather is named *pühtabi*, "road placed," i.e., road marker. There is also a short feathered string, *pühu*, road, with one twisted string, and one single string. The *nakwakwosi* only has the twisted string. Prayer sticks and prayer feathers are either "pay" or convey a request to the spirits (p. 291). Cornmeal is also associated with prayers and is offered in a variety of contexts. The Hopi name for prayer-meal is *Homñumni*.

**Pattie, James O.**

**1988 *Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie*, edited by Richard Batman. Copper Mountain Books, Missoula, MT.**

Pattie kept a journal throughout his trapping escapades in the early years of the nineteenth century in the Southwest. He recorded in his journal that while trapping the Black River (probably the Salt River) members of his party ascended a northern fork of the river and met up with Hopis somewhere near the Little Colorado River (p. 65, n. 7). He wrote that (p. 61):

... our company divided, a part ascending one fork, and a part the other. The left fork heads due north, and the right fork northeast. It was my lot to ascend the latter. It heads in mountains covered with snow, near the head of the left and fork of the San Francisco. On the 16th, we all met again at the junction of the forks. The other division found that their fork headed in snow covered mountains, as they supposed near the waters of Red river [Little Colorado]. They had also met a tribe of Indians, who call themselves Mokee. They found them in no ways disposed to hostility. From their deportment it would seem as if they had never seen white people before. At the report of a gun they fell prostrate on the ground. They knew no other weapon of war than a sling, and with this they had so much dexterity and power, that they were able to bring down a deer at the distance of 100 yards.

**Pattison, N. B. and L. D. Potter**

**1977 *Prehistoric and Historic Steps and Trails of the Glen Canyon-Lake Powell*.  
Lake Powell Research Project Bulletin 45.**

This brief publication summarizes research undertaken to document trails in the Glen Canyon region prior to the flooding of Lake Powell. Trails were identified by the

presence of steps and handholds that had been carved or chipped in the slickrock canyon scarps, and by the remains of wagon roads and livestock trails. The bulk of the publication consists of an inventory that briefly describes the trail features and their provenience. A number of photographs provide useful illustrations of the various types of features. There is little explicit discussion of field methodology or recognition criteria used in the study. Pattison and Potter identify a trail system used by the prehistoric Puebloan population, and trails used by the Paiutes, Navajos, miners, and non-Indian cattlemen. Little interpretation of the significance of the trails is offered, other than they represent use of the area by these groups.

**Pendergast, David M. and Clement W. Meighan**

**1959 Folk Traditions as Historical Fact: A Paiute Example. *Journal of American Folklore* 72(284):128-133.**

The thesis of this article is that the oral traditions of Indians often have a basis in historical fact. Pendergast and Meighan analyze Paiute historical traditions in relation to prehistoric Puebloan archaeological sites in southern Utah using four Paiute informants. The Paiutes call the prehistoric occupants of Puebloan archaeological sites "*Mukwitch*" (p. 128). Pendergast and Meighan (p. 129) note, "Two informants stated that the *Mukwitch* had lived all over the Southwest; one specifically stated that the so-called 'Moki houses' (adobe granaries known archaeologically in eastern Utah) had belonged to the *Mukwitch*." According to Pendergast and Meighan (p. 129), "All informants said that the *Mukwitch* abandoned their towns and went south to the Hopi country." Pendergast and Meighan add, "The word *Mukwitch* is also used by all Paiutes to refer to the modern Hopi, a fact which indicates that the Paiute view the Hopi as somehow related to the Puebloid groups formerly occupying southern Utah."

Pendergast and Meighan (pp. 128-131) think that aspects of Paiute accounts of *Mukwitch* migration, economy, physical appearance, and Paiute-*Mukwitch* relationships are all supported by conventional interpretations of the archaeological record. They note the Paiutes consider information about the *Mukwitch* to be historical fact rather than a myth. Pendergast and Meighan state,

We conclude from our investigation that traditional histories may preserve historical information for several hundred years with a relatively high degree of accuracy. While traditions of the type reported here are probably limited to contact situations, the investigation of such folk histories is well worth the attention of anthropologists. The archaeologist in particular should explore the possibilities of correlating historical traditions with archaeological data, since the historical information may substantiate, and in some cases broaden, inferences based solely on archaeological materials.

**Peterson, Charles**

**1971 *The Hopis and the Mormons, 1858-1873. Utah Historical Quarterly* 39(2):179-194.**

This article reviews the history of Mormon interaction with the Hopis in the mid-nineteenth century, much of which took place at Moencopi and Oraibi. The Mormons documented the occurrence of Hopi salt expeditions in the mid-nineteenth century. Marion J. Shelton observed in 1869 (p. 187), "The inhabitants travel very little, save it be those who go for salt, which they are constrained to carry on their backs from ninety to one hundred and fifty miles." Peterson notes that passing reference was made in the *Deseret News* in Salt Lake City of the existence of Hopi trails to the Colorado River, the Little Colorado River and to a source of salt beyond the New Mexico border. Jacob Hamblin found that three Hopis from Oraibi that accompanied him to Utah in 1863 had a good knowledge of trails along the south side of the Grand Canyon.

**Philips, Barbara G., Robert A. Johnson, Arthur M. Phillips, III, and Nancy J. Brian**

**1986 *Monitoring the Effects of Recreational Use on Colorado River Beaches in Grand Canyon National Park. Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin 55, Flagstaff, Arizona.***

This scientific study investigated the human impacts of recreational use of beaches in the Grand Canyon National Park, and suggested methods for long term monitoring of these impacts. Adverse human impacts on beaches are documented for aesthetic indices (i.e., presence of human feces, trash, charcoal, and anthills), and for plant communities. Twelve beach campgrounds were chosen as study sites, and were investigated through sampling of aesthetic indices using a point-center quarter method, documentation of vegetation on 100 m. long line and belt transects, preparation of vegetation maps, and comparison of 1973 and 1982 aerial photographs. Predictably, the heaviest used beaches have the most impacts.

The number of people traveling through the Grand Canyon has increased dramatically (p. 3). Only 284 people traveled through canyon between the years 1869 and 1955. In 1967, 2,009 people journeyed through the canyon. This number increased 700% in the next six years, and in 1972 and 1973 over 15,000 people traveled through the canyon. Today, the National Park Service only permits travel by 15,000 people per year. Camping and lunch spots are concentrated on approximately 100 beaches, with 75% of the camping occurring on 50 popular beaches. Philips et al. (p. 3) summarize human impacts by stating that,

Human impact on beaches and terraces above the present high water line is long-lasting and visible (Dolan 1981). Dolan estimated that most foot traffic and trampling on beaches is concentrated within 90 m of the

shore, with impact generally decreasing away from the main camping site. Impact is channeled by topography and vegetation and is highest where pathways cross or bypass these obstacles. Terraces above camping areas are seldom visited because of obstacles posed by western honey mesquite (*Prosopis glandulosa* var. *torreyana*) and catclaw (*Acacia greggii*) trees and high temperatures away from the water during summer months. Other visitor-caused impacts to the beach and terrace zones include habitat modification by fire, littering of beaches with trash and charcoal, vegetation damage or removal, trails and pathways to attraction sites, and burial or depositing of kitchen and human wastes.

The concluding chapter in the report makes numerous recommendations concerning the needs and preferred methods for long monitoring and management of human impacts on beaches in the Grand Canyon. A strong case is made for additional studies to differentiate human impacts from other ongoing environmental changes in the plan ecology of beaches.

**Pooler, R. C. W.**

**1910 Excerpts from Report made Jan 25, 1910, to Forest Supervisor F. C. W. Pooler, Forest Supervisor, on Roads and Trails in Grand Canyon Division. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

This document provides a brief description of thirty-five roads and trails in the Grand Canyon Division of the National Forest in 1910. The Moki Trail is described as "Between Supai Village in Cataract Canyon the Navajo Reservation. Old Indian Trail, in poor condition and most of it abandoned." The Moki Springs Trail is described as "Between Cataract [sic] Canyon and Moki Springs. Old Indian Trail in bad condition."

**Potter, Loren D. and Charles L. Drake**

**1989 *Lake Powell, Virgin Flow to Dynamo*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.**

Chapter 5 of this general audience book reviews "Prehistoric and Historic Use by Man." The chapter focuses on prehistoric use of Glen Canyon by the prehistoric Pueblo people and historic use by Navajos, ranchers, miners, and river runners. Potter and Drake note that a well-known trail at Wilson Canyon was used as a trade route by Hopi, Paiute, Navajo, and whites (p. 88). They describe the distinctive "Moqui steps" that were constructed to facilitate access up and down the steep Navajo sandstone cliffs that border the Colorado River. These are hand and toe holds pecked into the sandstone cliffs using stone implements. Potter and Drake observe that many trails constructed by the Anasazi were later used and improved by the Navajo stockmen using metal tools (p. 90). They note that the Trail Canyon trail and other Anasazi Trails

connecting the San Juan River to sites on Cummings Mesa and around Navajo Mountain were used by Hopi, Paiutes, Navajos, and whites.

**Powell, John Wesley**

**1872 *Survey of the Colorado River of the West.* 42 Cong., 2 Sess., House Misc. Doc. 173, Serial Set #1526, pp. 1-12.**

In this report, Powell briefs the Congress on the progress of his work in the Colorado River region. One statement is pertinent to Hopi use of the Grand Canyon. Powell explains that after crossing the Colorado River in a ferry constructed by members of his party, the group set off toward the Hopi Mesas. He writes (p. 4), "Our route lay along the base of a line of cliffs, and we were rejoiced to find a good trail in the direction in which we wished to travel. We had anticipated much trouble in finding water, but from time to time the trail led to springs or water-pockets, and these at such short intervals that no serious want was experienced." Powell (p. 4) also notes that on October 19th, 1870, "... we started in a southeasterly direction towards the seven Shinomo villages, in Northeastern Arizona, also called the "Moqui villages and the "Province of Tusayan." Nine days later they arrived at Oraibi. Powell (p. 11) compared the ancient ruins observed along the Colorado River to buildings constructed by both the Aztecs and the Hopis in the "Province of Tusayan."

**Powell, J. W.**

**1961 *The Exploration of the Colorado River and its Canyons.* Dover Publications, New York. (Originally published under the title *Canyons of the Colorado* by Flood & Vincent in 1895.)**

This account of Powell's explorations in the Colorado River region includes the notes from his descent of the Colorado river system from Green River City on the Green river to the mouth of the Rio Virgin on the Colorado. Also included are descriptions of Powell's journeys through the Grand Canyon region two years earlier and one year after the major expedition was completed. These explorations span a period from 1867 to 1870.

On August 11, 1869, Powell stopped at the mouth of the Little Colorado River (pp. 241-242). He recorded in his notebook,

I walk down the gorge to the left at the foot of the cliff, climb to a bench, and discover a trail, deeply worn in the rock. Where it crosses the side gulches in some places steps have been cut. I can see no evidence of its having been traveled for a long time. It was doubtless a path used by the people who inhabited this country anterior to the present Indian races—the people how built the communal houses of which mention has been made.

When Powell returned to camp later on August 11, he found his men had discovered ruins and fragments of pottery, as well as petroglyphs. At another ruin, Powell wrote "From what we know of the people in the Province of Tusayan, who are, doubtless, of the same race as the former inhabitants of these ruins, we conclude that this was a kiva, or underground chamber in which their religious ceremonies were performed" (p. 228). Many other ruins were seen in the exploration and these were often tied to Pueblo origins. For instance, in the valley of the Little Colorado River, Powell encountered many ruins which he accredits to "pueblo-building peoples" (p. 49).

During his 1870 expedition to the Grand Canyon region, Powell had the occasion to spend two weeks among the Hopis. During that stay Powell accumulated many notes, photographs, and sketchings of the tribe's living arrangements, organizational structures, language, dietary habits, ceremonial practices, and more (pp. 49, 335-59, 360-64). Powell summarizes his only discussion about the Grand Canyon with Hopi during his stay. He writes: "Of my journey down the canyon in boats they have already heard, and they listen with great interest to what I say" (p. 338).

**Powell, J. W.**

**1972 *The Hopi Villages: The Ancient Province of Tusayan*. Filter Press, Palmer Lake, Colorado [orig. 1875].**

This pamphlet reprints an article Powell published in *Scribner's Monthly* in 1875 that describes a visit to the Hopi Mesas that lasted nearly two months. Powell was accompanied to Hopi by the Mormon missionary Jacob Hamblin. On his journey, Powell traveled from Salt Lake City to the Grand Canyon to Kanab and then to Hopi via Moencopi. His map (p. 6) shows that he traveled from Moencopi to Oraibi following a trail that ran over the top of Howell Mesa. Powell provides a brief synopsis of the Hopi account of emergence (pp. 24-25), told from the perspective of Oraibi. Powell describes the "vast" distribution of earlier "Shi-nu-mos" settlements, which he says extended from the Colorado Plateau to Salt Lake City. He recognizes the linguistic connection between the "Shi-nu-mos" and the Shoshones, Utes, Pai Utes, and Comanches.

**Powell, W. C.**

**1948 W. C. Powell's Account of the Hopi Towns. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 16/17:479-490. [Originally published in the *Chicago Tribune* in 1873.]**

W. C. Powell was the brother of John Wesley Powell and a member of the Colorado River Expeditions. He visited the Hopi Mesas in October of 1872, following the completion of the second Colorado River Expedition. It was originally published in the *Chicago Tribune* newspaper on February 25, 1873. Powell introduces his account

with observations about archaeology in the Grand Canyon, making it explicit that he thought this archaeology was ancestral to the Hopis (p.479).

From the beginning of our voyage, evidences of earlier discoveries were abundant. If we climbed some towering cliff to make an observation, stone steps would often aid us. If we made a detour through the desert, and, overcome by dust and heat, sought with success some hidden spring, there would be seen the "pitcher broken at the fountain." If a mountain was scaled, remote, formidable, and the explorer indulged in any of those inspiring and sublime ideas that are suggested by standing where man never trod before, those high-born fancies would be shaken by a stumble over crumbling ruins. If we penetrated the shadowy labyrinths of some dangerous and intricate water-way, ever and anon our wandering eyes would trace a strange handwriting on the walls. When, moving slowly, in single file, the men entered a cave in the cañons, we noted ceilings blackened by fires that burned ages since. As we journeyed down the Colorado further details of this "tragedy in stone" appeared. Perched upon the walls that frown above the river, are ruins of Kivas—temple of worship—and, at intervals, implements of stone, flint, and agate arrowheads. Some of the Indians whom we meet speak of a strange tribe that held these natural fortresses "many, many snows ago." These fragmentary suggestions excite our curiosity to know more of the persecuted people. Let us turn to the journal, and make their acquaintance.

Powell notes the Hopis called themselves the "Shinemos," which he says meant "the Wise" (p. 486). He encountered one Hopi who said he had traveled widely to trade, and spoke 5 or 6 languages (p. 488). Powell's account provides a brief but good description of Hopi architecture, agriculture, and social organization in the 1870s.

**Prudden, T. Mitchell**

1906 *On the Great American Plateau: Wanderings among Canyons and Buttes, in the Land of the Cliff-Dweller, and the Indian of Today.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

T. Mitchell Prudden was an early and noted Southwestern archaeologist. This book comprises a travelogue presentation of information about the Southwest. The only aspect of interest to the Hopi GCES is a "Sketch Map" that shows the locations of major trails or routes of travel in 1906. A portion of this map, reproduced below, shows a route from the Hopi Mesas to Moencopi and Lee's Ferry, following the Echo Cliffs. A route from Moencopi to the Little Colorado River is also depicted. After crossing the Little Colorado River, this route continues on to Grand View at the edge of the Grand Canyon.



“Sketch Map from Prudden (1906).

Pyne, Stephen J.

1982 *Dutton's Point, An Intellectual History of the Grand Canyon*. Monograph No. 5, Grand Canyon Natural History Association, Grand Canyon, Arizona.

This book reviews various conceptions of the Grand Canyon from a Euro-American historical perspective. Pyne covers what non-Indians thought about the Grand Canyon during the periods of Spanish military exploration, American scientific exploration, and, most recently, American popular-political culture. Native American perspectives are beyond the scope of the book and Hopi receives only cursory mention. For instance, in discussing Spanish exploration Pyne (p. 3) remarks “With Indian guides to lead them, the Cárdenas party advanced to the Canyon rim ...” He does not specifically mention that these guides were Hopi. Pyne’s comments on cartography of the Grand Canyon region are interesting. He notes (pp. 4-5),

Geographic exploration and cartographic synthesis evolved as much by throwing out bad data as by recording good. Moreover, that data did not appear as discrete units of a single, generally-accepted geographic vision as represented by a commonly-held base map, but as competing cartographic systems, each more or less exclusive. Early maps often differed as much in their whole as in their details.

With respect to Miera's 1777 map based on the Dominguez-Escalante expedition that passed to the north of the Grand Canyon near Lee's Ferry, Pyne observes that (p. 6),

Miera obscures the main region of the Canyon, though he refers to the Marble Canyon segment as *mui escarpada* and shows the Little Colorado. Complementing the Garcés map, which fails to show the western bend of the Colorado, the Miera map fails to show the eastern bend. Like most maps of the period, its basic information is hydrographic and ethnographic.

Pyne (p. 10) notes that by 1862 Jacob Hamblin had explored the Grand Canyon region and, "like nearly everyone in the region, had found visits to the Hopi pueblos irresistible." With respect to G. K. Warren's cartographically sophisticated 1857 map that consolidated the railroad surveys with previous information, Pyne observes that the Colorado River is sketched very lightly and the Grand Canyon is not identified by name. He notes (p. 11), "Compared to Spanish sources, less was known about the region than 80 years before." Pyne (p. 17) notes that Egloffstein's 1861 map produced during Ives's expedition confused the relationship of the main stem and tributaries of the Colorado River, depicting the Little Colorado River as the main branch.

### *Qua' Töqti*

1975 Hopis Will Not Give up "Eagles" States True Hopi Elder. *Qua' Töqti* 2(38):1).

This article summarizes an interview with Viets Lomahaftewa from Shungopavi who spoke out to defend Hopi eagle gathering from the attempts of non-Indians to prevent the practice. Recently passed Federal legislation protecting eagles and migratory birds was of concern to Hopi religious practitioners. Lomahaftewa points out that,

We still live for these things ... the eagles help us to grow its feathers we use to petition the clouds for rain. These feathers are like (your) written petitions (prayers) which we deliver to them (clouds) to ask them to come and give our crops a drink so that my (our) children may eat, which will make me happy. This is how we elders work these things.

Lomahaftewa also states,

These eagles live in the surrounding area - Flagstaff, Grand Canyon, Chevelon (East of Winslow), Black Mesa, Canyon De Chelly [sic], all these (eagle gathering areas I claim for the Hopi - we are not to give these places up according to instructions from our elders.

Alfred Joshevama from Shungopavi said that all the eaglets in a nest are picked up when eagles are collected. He adds, "We take them home and make them part of the family, They are given names like regular children, and are well taken care of until the (going) home dance in late July ... The Kachinas bring them also presents and the day after the dance, they are sent back home (ritually killed) so that next year they will be back in the nest."

*Qua Töqti*

1980 Hopi priesthood leaders make shrine pilgrimage. *Qua Töqti*, Thursday, October 23, 1980, p. 1.

This article from a Hopi newspaper describes a recently completed "pilgrimage to ancient Hopi shrines which have traditionally marked the aboriginal boundary of Hopi land..." Dalton Taylor of Shungopavi led the group of religious leaders and "designated persons" on the journey to the shrines that is "made each year where prayer feathers (pahos) are deposited along with sacred corn meal for the general well-being of all people." As described in the article,

The shrines visited by the Hopi priests stretch from Toko'navi, what is now called Navajo Mountain in Southern Utah, to Ky-westima (Batatakin Ruins) and to the southern point of the Grand Canyon, to Bill Williams Mountain west of Flagstaff and on south to Honapa (Bear Springs). The route continues to Hopi Point on the Mogollon Rim (Chevelon Cliffs), to Woodruff Butte south of Holbrook and on to Lupton near the New Mexico Border.

The present-day Hopi villages are located almost in the center of the boundary outlined by the ancient shrines. But, the entire four-state area of Arizona, Utah, Colorado, and new Mexico is full of ruins and hieroglyphics which Hopis believe are shrines left by their ancestors.

According to Hopi teachings, about a millennium ago, a great migration began which was undertaken in accordance with ancient prophecies, in some cases forced by drought and other climatic conditions. This period is known as the "Gathering of the Clans."

More recently, over a period of hundreds of years, ancestral groups -- as many as 30 different clans -- concentrated their communities in the area now occupied by the Hopi, forming Hopi society as it is known today.

It is these abandoned residences left behind by ancestors of the Hopi that became part of a system of shrines marking the territories in which, to this day, Hopi elders still make pilgrimages each year.

It is these lands that give the Hopi their special place in the universe, the confidence in their identity which they require to retain their unique and longlasting culture, while, at the same time, adapting elements of modern western society.

The pilgrimage included Percy Lomahquahu of Hotevilla, Alfred Joshonva of Shungopavi, Bert Puhuyestewa of Mishongnovi, Alph Secakuku of Shipaulovi and Alonso Joshonnva of Shungopavi. Nathan Begay and Fred Kootswatewa of Hotevilla assisted as drivers. The article describes how "Camp was set up at selected spots each night of the trip, the pilgrimage continuing to the next shrine early the following day." The trip "was successful and completed without any problems." A photograph taken in front of a rock art panel accompanies the article, showing Dalton Taylor leading the Hopi spiritual leaders on the shrine pilgrimage.

**Quartaroli, Richard**

**1990 Controversial Book Review: The Hopi Salt Trail. Ms. No. 25887 on file at Library of Museum of Northern Arizona.**

This term paper prepared for a Library Science class at Northern Arizona University reviews the controversial issues surrounding the proposed publication of *The Hopi Salt Trail* by Ekkehart Malotki. The paper draws upon Raymond (1990) for basic facts and for statements by Hopi officials. Quartaroli notes that the proposed publication will be useful to scholars and appealing to hikers who want to follow the salt trail but who have not researched it for themselves. He opines (p. 5), "Unfortunately, even with restrictions on its use to qualified scholars, it appears that vandals will make their marks known in increasing numbers, for even without this book they are able to find and desecrate sites and shrines." Quartaroli (p. 5) concludes it would appropriate to add the proposed book to scholarly libraries, adding a caveat that "... I would want to place restrictions on its use and availability, and limit it to 'qualified' researchers, whatever that means." The endnotes and bibliography provide useful citations to supporting reference material.

**Quinn, William W.**

**1983 Something Old, Something True: A Hopi Example of the Need for Cosmology. *South Dakota Review* 21(2):20-55.**

This essay uses Hopi as an example to examine a universal human need for cosmology. In order to do this, Hopi cosmology is analyzed in its historical and mythological context. Writing from a non-Indian perspective, Quinn treats Hopi beliefs and oral traditions as myths. Quinn (p. 21) points out that Hopi mythology is "alive." Following Mircea Eliade, he notes that a living mythology is always connected with a cult that inspires and justifies religious behavior. Living, oral mythologies have a dynamic character that assimilates individuals and objects as

archetypes and events as categories. As new elements are added to the existing corpus of oral traditions, there is an increasing discrepancy between myths recorded in the nineteenth century and those recorded today.

Quinn (p. 30) describes "... consistent effort of the Hopis to preserve the secret elements of their rites and myths and maintain their inviolability." Given this, "... we can never be sure how much a myth is whole, how much has been deleted, or which of the many variants is closest to the original or pristine myth." Quinn (p. 31) adds, "Further, the dynamic quality of the living mythology, while it allows the Hopis to retain their traditional religion, is problematic on another level: that of accretions to the corpus of mythology." Given the nature of Hopi oral traditions, Quinn develops a method of deriving a "single yet representative composite formulation" using myths collected by three generations of anthropologists and other writers.

According to Quinn, the three basic genres of myths that comprise the foundation of Hopi cosmology are (1) cosmogonic myths (and origin myths), (2) emergence myths, and (3) migration myths. Hopi creation myths are distinct from emergence myths. Kachinas occupy a significant place in Hopi cosmology. Quinn (p. 4) says, "...they are both indispensable for the well being of the Hopis and indivisible from the souls of the dead ...". Quinn (p. 41) quotes Titiev to make the point that, "The most fundamental concept in Hopi religion is a belief in the continuity of life after death."

Quinn (pp. 42-43) notes that the *sipapu* is a salient feature with much symbolism in Hopi culture. He points out the *sipapu* has a multivalent character that is extended into a triadic womb-underworld-kiva correspondence. Quinn (p. 46-51) concludes by pointing out that archaic cosmologies, like Hopi's, function to explain and justify the existence of the world, people, and society; and to orient people with in a topological sense through cardinal directions and sacred geographical landmarks. He also notes that archaic cosmologies constitute a sacrality in which the creation and the universe essentially sacred. Quinn (p. 48) says, "... the specific cosmologies are contained within a sacred scenario—the greater framework within which the cosmologies rest is both spatially and temporally sacred."

#### **Raymond, Chris**

**1990 Dispute Between Scholar, Tribe Leaders Over Book on Hopi Ritual Raises Concerns about Censorship of Studies of American Indians. *The Chronicle of Higher Education* 17, October, 37(7):A6,7-8.**

This news article reports the positions of two opposing parties in a conflict over appropriateness of scholarly pursuits. The difficulty of the issue about who has rights to meaningful and private information is demonstrated in all its complexity in this controversy between a non-Indian scholar, Ekkehart A. Malotki, and Hopi elders who objected to the publication of his manuscript on the Hopi Salt Trail.

Malotki, the author of a number of previous works on Hopi culture and language, completed an intensive study of the Hopi's salt pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon, which is a very significant act in Hopi religious. It is, Raymond states, "one of the last rites of a young man's passage into adulthood," in which a boy must complete "the arduous trek along the trail, which reaches more than 100 miles across the desert from one of the Hopi mesas in Arizona to the Colorado River" (p. A6). The elders of the tribe feel that the amount of information revealed in Malotki's book would threaten the sanctity of this rite by "widely revealing what should remain closely guarded knowledge transmitted only to a few privileged religious initiates" (p. A6). Malotki and his proposed publisher (the University of Nebraska Press) feel that the Hopi's position is arbitrary. They believe that guidelines should have been put in writing previously to make clear which areas of research they deemed off-limits to non-Hopi scholars.

When Malotki refused to stop publication of his book, the Hopi Tribe declared him *persona non grata* on the Hopi Reservation. Ms. Minkler of the Hopi Tribe said, "Basically, we no longer recognize him as an expert. If he was an expert on our culture, he would know where to draw the line" and not publish sacred information.

The article attempts to present both sides of the issue. Raymond implies that Malotki acted in good faith and in many ways is the victim of a painful situation. Malotki's publishers see the author "as a scholar caught in the shifting currents of tribal politics" (p. A7). But, Raymond also clearly states the Hopis' position that they should have rights to those aspects of their lives and culture which are so significant and basic to the perpetuation of their own cultural distinctness. Although guidelines might seem like a fair solution to the problem, as Raymond points out, this controversy is really about "the growing movement among American Indians to wrest control of their cultural identity and history from non-Indians" (p. A6).

**Reagan, Albert B.**

**1920 Who Made the Kayenta-National Monument Ruins. *American Anthropologist* 2:387-388.**

In the Kayenta region of Arizona and in the Navajo National Monuments there is extensive evidence of early habitation of the area in the form of ruins. Reagan thinks "that at least part of the more ancient ruins were made by Hopi clans" (p. 388). Reagan points to a variety of features included in these remains to substantiate this claim. In part, he cites evidence provided by Hopis to demonstrate that petroglyphs on the walls of these ruins correlate to Hopi ceremonies. Ultimately, Reagan's conclusions are as follow: (1) "Pictographs on the canyon walls undoubtedly often show Hopi maidens with their whorled hair representing the pumpkin blossom of fertility" (p. 387); (2) "glyphs on the rock walls near the ruin of Man's Head point northwest of the Marsh Pass Indian school [prove] to be the signs of the Snake, Spider, and Rabbit clans" of the Hopi (p. 387); and (3) "Hopi myths and traditions also indicate that the Horn, Flute, and other clans of their people once lived in the Kayenta-

National Monument country and the region westward from there to the Navajo Mountains and the Grand canyon" (p. 388).

**Reed, Erik**

**1952 The Tewa Indians of the Hopi Country. *Plateau* 25(2):11-18.**

This article briefly traces the prehistoric and historic migrations of a group of Tewa people from Mesa Verde to the Galisteo Basin to the Santa Cruz valley to First Mesa. Tewa people moved to First Mesa during and after the Pueblo Revolt in the late seventeenth century. The Tewa-Hopis still speak their Tewa language as well as speak Hopi.

**Reilly, P. T.**

**1973 The Refuge Cave. *The Masterkey* 47(2):46-54).**

This is an attempt to correlate the archaeological record of a cave on the south side of the Colorado River near Marble Canyon with Indian traditions about its use as a refuge. Reilly notes (p.46),

Various Indians had different identities for the people involved in the legend but the general theme was the same: one group pursued another which sought refuge in the cave; the first group then waited at the cave entrance and waited for those within to emerge. Later in the vigil the quarry group was seen near the opposite rim of the gorge and it was deduced that the cave led under the river, allowing the intended victims to escape. Some versions of the story had Navajos chasing Paiutes, while others had Navajos pursuing Hopis. One told of Hopis fleeing from Paiutes.

Exploration of a cave near Marble Canyon by a number of different speleologists and archaeologists revealed the presence of cane arrows, two pahos, juniper bark torches, three Kana-a Gray ceramic vessels containing bundles of twine, and human feces. Two live owls were observed in the cave and there was evidence owls had roosted there for a long time. Reilly discounts the tradition of the underground passage, suggesting that a third group appeared on the north side of the river, leading the aggressors to think the group they had pursued crossed under the river. After the aggressors left, the pursued group was able to escape. Reilly notes that the Hopi eagle shrine map exhibit introduced in the Healing vs. Jones litigation depicts a Hopi eagle shrine near the cave. Based on this coincidence, Reilly draws a number of conclusions. He suggests the cave (p.54),

... is a Hopi shrine, that the cordage and wands were part of owl snares, and that from early Pueblo times the cave had been visited to procure

feathers for the making of *pahos*. Use of the cave would pre-date the probable entry of both Paiute and Navajo into the region.

**Rice, Glen E. and Charles L. Redman**

**1992 Power in the Past. *Native Peoples* 5(2):18-25.**

This article summarizes archaeological investigations by Arizona State University at the Cline Terrace Platform Mound in the Tonto Basin. It is a popular account prepared for the general public. Rice and Redman remark that some of the excitement of their research stems from their "growing realization that these structures are part of the history of native peoples who still live in the Southwest, especially the Hopi, Tohono O'odam, Pima, and Zuni." To exemplify this, they note,

A number of Hopi tribal elders visited the Cline Terrace mound in December of 1991. Although their command of English was excellent, they elected to speak to us in Hopi when discussing their traditions and relied on Leigh Jenkins of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office to translate for us. Their oral traditions tell of Hopi clans building villages and living for an extended period of time in the Tonto Basin before being compelled by their own prophecies to continue migrations northward. A pottery bowl fragment made about AD 1300, found during excavations, possibly shows a representation of a kachina. Kachinas are important spiritual beings in the religions of the Hopi and other Pueblo peoples. Conch shell trumpets resembling those found at Hopi and Zuni villages have also been found in the Tonto Basin.

**Richardson, Gladwell**

**1965 *Two Guns, Arizona*. Press of the Territorian, Santa Fe, New Mexico.**

As is common with much of Gladwell Richardson's popular writing, it is sometimes difficult to separate fact from fiction in this pamphlet reviewing the history of the Diablo Canyon region of Arizona. Richardson combines well-researched and well-known history with details about alleged events that are difficult to attribute to reliable sources. Richardson begins with hyperbole, asserting that Two Guns, on the east side of Diablo Canyon, "... occupies one of the most important historical sites in the State" (p. 1). Of interest is Richardson's suggestion that the route the Hopis took to lead Cardenas to the Grand Canyon in 1540 ran south from the Hopi Mesas to the Little Colorado, which they crossed at the "... ancient Hopi Ford, somewhere between Winslow and Leupp" (p. 2). He suggests the party then turned to the northwest to pass to the north of San Francisco Peaks. Following the Little Colorado River downstream, the party would have crossed Diablo Canyon near where it enters the river. This is a longer route than that suggested by historians.

**Riley, Carroll**

**1987 *The Frontier People, The Greater Southwest in the Protohistoric Period.*  
University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.**

Chapter 7 of this book provides summarizes what is known about the "Little Colorado Province" (i.e., Hopi and Zuni) in the sixteenth century based on documents from the Spanish entrada. Riley considers the etymology of the term "Tusayan" to be somewhat of a mystery (pp. 181-182). This term, and its variants Tuçan, Tuçano, Tucano, Tuzan, were introduced by Coronado's expedition in 1540. Riley suggests Tusayan may be a Zuni word or a corruption of a Hopi word. He notes that Hodge rejected an alternative etymology, i.e., that Tusayan is derived from the Navajo work Tasaun ("country of isolated buttes), since he did not think Navajos were in the region in 1540. Riley, however, suggests there were Querechos near Hopi and Acoma in 1580 and he thinks these people were Navajos. After Coronado the Spanish expeditions arrived from the east rather than the south and the name of Hopi changes to Mohose or Mojose. Riley suggests this term may be Keresan, i.e., the Mosicha of Laguna, The Mo-ts of Acoma, or the Motsi of Zia, Cochiti, and San Felipe.

In a section on trade, Riley describes a large regional trading network that entailed the shipment of many goods, including bison, deer skins, turquoise, fibrolite, cotton and cotton products, pottery, shell, coral, mineral pigments, semiprecious jewels, parrot feathers and birds, metal objects, and salt (pp. 190-208). Hopi had an important role in this system. As Riley describes (p. 195),

The Tusayan towns dominated the trade route from the upper Southwest to the Verde are and to the lower Colorado River area. Tusayan supplied Cibola, and through Cibola the rest of the upper Southwest and the Gila-Salt and Sonoran regions, with Verde Valley area pigments, and, at least the upper Southwest, with Gulf of California and California Pacific Coast shell.

**Samples, Terry**

**1994 *As the River Flows, Terry Samples Calls the Grand Canyon Home.*  
*SouthwestArt* (September):66-70.**

This article describes Terry Sample's personal experiences as an archaeologist working on the National Park Service survey of the Grand Canyon during the GCES. Included are photographs of several pieces of Sample's artwork inspired by his time in the Grand Canyon.

**Schellbach, Louis**

**1951 Letter from Louis Schellbach to Otis Martson, dated May 2, 1951. Ms. in "Hopi Salt Trail Paraphernalia" file at Museum of Northern Arizona Library.**

This letter discusses Marston's correspondence regarding the Hopi salt pool. The letter establishes that Otis Marston was the author of letter to Schellback dated April 25 signed "O."

**Schill, Karin**

**1993 Hopis Honor Vast Land. *Arizona Daily Sun* 48(56):1,13.**

This news article published in the Flagstaff newspaper describes the extent of the traditional Hopi land use area and the attachment the Hopis feel towards their land. It contains a number of quotes from Hopi people. Ferrell Secakuku states (p. 1), "The land is so sacred because we emerged from it ... But when we came here we arrived at a place where somebody already had jurisdiction — it wasn't ours. It belonged to Masau-u, the Keeper of the Earth." Secakuku (p. 13) also described how the ruins that archaeologists and tourists characterize as remnants from the distant past remain inhabited by the spirits of dead Hopi ancestors. Secakuku says, "My recommendation to the (Hopi) Cultural Preservation Office is that we not call them ruins, since they're a part of a living culture ... I'd like to call them ancestral villages."

Dalton Taylor (p. 13) adds that burial sites and ruins are to the Hopis what the Star Spangled Banner is to Americans. He notes, "I was told not to forget these ancestors ... Even though (the ancestors) are dead, they're still holding onto the land." Kim Secakuku (p. 1) describes her anger over the fact that that Hopis have had to challenge Navajos when they go to sacred shrines that have ended up on the Navajo Reservation through land partitioning. The article ends by describing what Chairman Vernon Masayesva and the Hopi Tribe are doing to try to recover their ancestral lands.

**Schoolcraft, Henry R. (editor)**

**1854 *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co.**

When P. S. G. Ten Broeck, an assistant surgeon in the United States Army, arrived at Sichomovi village on First Mesa in 1852, he came with the express purpose of recording information about the Hopi Indians. Henry Schoolcraft included Ten Broeck's observations of the Hopi in his compilation of works on Indian peoples of the United States, published two years later. Although Ten Broeck reported no information which directly relates to the Grand Canyon, his observations provide some interesting anecdotes which suggest Hopi ties to the canyon and its tributary stream, the

Little Colorado River. On Ten Broeck's first day at the Hopi Mesas he learned that near the Little Colorado River, in a southwesterly direction from First Mesa, was a sacred spring to which Hopis would pilgrimage to pray for rain. Ten Broeck explained that: "When there is great drought in the valley, the Moquis go in procession to a large spring in the mountain for water, and they affirm that after doing so, they always have plenty of rain" (p. 82).

**Schroeder, Albert H.**

**1953 A Brief History of the Havasupai. *Plateau* 25(3):45-52.**

Schroeder notes that though much of the Havasupai's long history, they have been known variously as Coninas, Coconinos, Cominas, etc. "all of which are variations of the Hopi term, Kohnina or Kohonino, applied to Indians west of their mesas" (p. 45). In 1692 Vargas documents seeing Coninas at Walpi. In 1752 Fray Menchero stated the Coninas sent fruit to Spaniards visiting in the region through an Indian visiting relatives in the Hopi country. In 1776, Padres Garces visited the Havasupai in Cataract Canyon, noting that they had horses, cattle, and red cloth obtained from the Hopis. Two Hopi arrived at the Havasupai village to trade at the time Garces visited. In 1780, Anza reported Hopis were taking refuge among the Coninas. In 1744, Fray Delgado located the Navajos east of the Hopi villages, four days travel from Jemez Pueblo in New Mexico. Escalante stated in 1775 that the Hopi country was bounded by the Cosninas on the west and northwest, the Mescalero (Yavapai) on the southwest, and the Navajo and Zuni on the east.

**Schwartz, Douglas W.**

**n.d. *On the Edge of Splendor, Exploring Grand Canyon's Human Past*. Annual Bulletin of School of American Research, Santa Fe, New Mexico [Issued in 1989 with no publication date indicated].**

This publication, prepared for a general audience, includes a diagram showing the chronological relationships between Grand Canyon cultures (p. 14). Schwartz depicts the Hopi as being present from AD 1200 to the present. Prior to AD 1200, the diagram suggests the Hopi were part of a more generalized Anasazi culture that begins prior to AD 700 and which has earlier roots in the Archaic dating back to 2000 BC.

A photograph of the Hopi *Sipapuni* taken by Schwartz in 1961 (p. 64) shows water flowing out of the spring at the top of the travertine cone. In a brief personal description of his hike to the *Sipapuni* in 1961 Schwartz says (p. 65), "It seemed completely out of place, this yellowish-brown dome of rock on the bank of the Little Colorado River, rimmed by sheer red cliffs. Yet there it was in front of me, the sacred sipapuni of the Hopis, the formation out of which their ancestors had ascended into this world." He adds (p. 66), "... there in front of us, was the origin place of a people — as sacred to the Hopis as Bethlehem to the Christians, Mecca to the Moslems, and

Benares to Hindus." He concludes "Climbing to the top over its slightly loose, grainy surface, we found in the center of the dome the pool of bubbling yellowish water through which the ancestors of the Hopis had emerged into this world. The sanctity of the spot affected us all, and for much of the time we were there we spoke very little."

In a section entitled "The Canyon Anasazi and Hopi Religion" (pp. 67-73), Schwartz (p. 67) suggests that the Anasazi people who left the Grand Canyon "... moved east and became part of the ancestral line of the Hopi Indians, profoundly influencing the development of Hopi cosmology." He thinks that the variety seen in Hopi "myths" reflects the many different groups that migrated to the Hopi mesas. Schwartz writes (p. 69),

Like many groups, the Canyon Anasazi probably mixed into early Hopi society and culture, contributing their share of rites and deities to Hopi religion. For historically, references to the Grand Canyon as a sacred place are woven throughout Hopi cosmology and ceremonial practices. The reconstruction of the religion of any prehistoric culture is difficult, at best, but suggestions of what impact the Grand Canyon Anasazi may have made on the Hopis can be found in four separate but related areas: the Hopi myth of emergence, their deity Maasaw, their journey to the earth's navel, and some of their customs associated with death.

With respect to the *Sipapuni*, Schwartz says (p. 70),

The sipapuni out of which the Hopi emerged is a well-known, revered, and until recently, regularly visited place, a flat-topped, dome-shaped geological formation, twenty feet high and thirty feet in diameter. Deep within the Grand Canyon, it lies a few miles up the canyon of the Little Colorado River from its confluence with the Colorado River. In the center of the dome is a pool of yellow bubbling water, through which the Hopi emerged.

Schwartz (p. 70) describes Maasaw as "the sole inhabitant and owner of this world, and the 'head chief' of the Grand Canyon. Long before the Hopis arrived, he lived near the sipapuni within the canyon." In describing Hopi beliefs about death, Schwartz (p. 72) points out how Hopi people who die are welcomed by Maasaw in the Grand Canyon and taken to the *Sipapuni* to go into the underworld for another life. He notes,

Just as Maasaw takes part in the death of individuals, so he will attend the future death and renewal of Hopi society. Present at the beginning of this world, the fourth, he said, "I'm the first." And from his home in the Grand Canyon, on the last day of existence, it will be Maasaw who oversees the travels of the Hopis to the next world: "I'm also going to be the last."

While Schwartz (pp. 72-73) thinks that the Grand Canyon clearly plays an important role in Hopi cosmology and mythology, he admits that from the present evidence it is not possible for anthropologists to determine whether the "Anasazi-Hopis" already had their ideas before they moved into the Grand Canyon, or if parts of the myths (e.g., emergence) were early elements in the Puebloan religion and the "Canyon Anasazi" only added location to the story.

Schwartz (p. 73) thinks the early religion of the prehistoric Pueblo peoples included neither Maasaw nor kachinas. In the late AD 1100s, he thinks the prehistoric Pueblo peoples from many regions left their drought parched homes and joined their Hopi relatives, bringing with them ideas and ceremonies relating directly to the Grand Canyon. These ceremonies were accepted and performed during the winter. In the 1300s and 1400s, a new group of ceremonies and spiritual figures came to Hopi from the south (i.e., the kachinas), and their ceremonies were practiced during the spring and summer. Schwartz (p. 73) suggests that scholars may discover that Hopi references to the Grand Canyon are metaphors of the earlier life and experiences of the "Canyon Anasazi."

**Schwartz, Douglas W.**

**1965 Nankoweap to Unkar: An Archaeological Survey of the Upper Grand Canyon. *American Antiquity* 30(3):278-296.**

This is one of a series of papers outlining the archaeology of the Grand Canyon. In this contribution, Schwartz reviews the historical documentation for reporting of archaeological sites in the Grand Canyon and summarizes the results of a new archaeological survey. One of his conclusions is (p. 278) "While prehistoric occupation may once have occurred to a minor degree near the mouth of the Little Colorado, its major function has been as a passageway between the Hopi pueblos and the Hopi salt mine, with an intermediate stop at the sipapu (a geological formation)."

There is an illustration of "Salt stalactites in the Hopi salt mine area" (p. 282). The area investigated by Schwartz was on the north side of the river. There is a brief description of Beamer's Cabin in the Little Colorado River (pp. 286-287). A photograph of the *Sipapuni* appears on p. 288.

Schwartz (p. 293) observes that while the pottery found at the mouth of the Little Colorado River dates to the beginning of the 12th century, historical accounts demonstrate Hopi use in the early 20th century. He suggests two alternatives. First there was a hiatus in use between the 12th century and historic Hopi use. Second there is continuous use by the Hopi and their ancestors. Schwartz concludes "Although the second alternative seems more reasonable, it must be realized that there is only a slight possibility of validation because this type of stopover activity would not lead to the accumulation of material remains."

Schwartz, D. W.

1966 A Historical Analysis and Synthesis of Grand Canyon Archaeology.  
*American Antiquity* 31:469-484.

Schwartz reviews the sequence of ideas that led to the conceptual framework of culture history in the Grand Canyon as understood in 1966. He identifies three research periods: (1) discovery and exploration, 1540 to 1900; (2) general investigation, 1900-1950; and (3) concentrated analysis, 1951-1964. Schwartz (p. 469) notes the presence of four distinct historic cultures (Paiute, Hopi, Navajo, and Havasupai) in an environment characterized by spectacular relief, topographic ruggedness, and major environmental contrasts provides the setting for "an intriguing series of cultural interrelationships."

In reviewing the first period, Schwartz notes (p. 471) that Albert Schroeder suggested that Escalante's reference to the "Ancamuchis" on the south bank of the river who sowed much corn refers to the Hopis rather than the Havasupai as suggested by Auerbach. In reviewing the second period, Schwartz notes (p. 472) that Powell was the first observer to describe archaeological sites in the Grand Canyon. Schwartz points out these "... first speculations concerning archaeological remains in the Canyon related them to the Hopi and, consistent with the short chronology of the time, suggested that they were probably historic in age." Following Powell, the Stanton Survey and popular writers (e.g., G. W. James) also described archaeological sites in and around the Grand Canyon. By 1900, however, Schwartz opines that over 350 years of knowledge about the Grand Canyon "had led to only superficial awareness of its culture history."

Knowledge about archaeology and ethnography associated with the Grand Canyon greatly increased after 1900 (pp. 474-476). A second prehistoric culture in addition to the Anasazi, i.e., the Cohonina, was identified. Navajo use of the Grand Canyon as a place of refuge beginning in the 1860s was identified.

Schwartz (pp. 476-477) notes that there was a "growing awareness" of Hopi use of the Grand Canyon due to the work of the Coltons (1931), Titiev (1937), and Simmons (1942). He says, "From these accounts it became apparent that the Grand Canyon near the junction of the Colorado and Little Colorado rivers was an area sacred to the Hopi. In the Hopi belief system it was here, at death, that man would return to the underworld. Periodically, young Hopi men, accompanied by older members of the tribe, made the journey past the original entry into the underworld — the *sipapu* — and then traveled on to the salt deposits where they collected salt for ceremonial use and for increasing their fitness for the afterlife.

In his conclusion, Schwartz (p. 481) notes "Periodic pilgrimages of the Hopi to the canyon of the Little Colorado river and the Grand Canyon itself may represent symbolic recognition of the protection that their ancestors found, even it was for only a

short period.” In Schwartz’s model of the temporal and spatial relations of cultures in the Grand Canyon region, the Hopis stem directly from the Anasazi (p. 481).

**Schwartz, Douglas W.**

**1969 Grand Canyon Prehistory. In *Four Corners Geological Society Guidebook*, pp. 35-40.**

In this brief synthesis of archaeological culture history relating to the Grand Canyon, Schwartz says the following about the Hopis (p. 39):

There are several indications that historically the Hopi used the Grand Canyon area. In 1931 the Coltons described a ceremonial Hopi salt-gathering expedition into Grand Canyon. Later the details and function of this pilgrimage were elaborated by Titiev (1937) and Simmons (1942). From these accounts it became apparent that the Grand Canyon near the junction of the Colorado and Little Colorado rivers was an area sacred to the Hopi. In the Hopi belief system it was here, at death, that man would return to the underworld. Periodically, young Hopi men, accompanied by older members of the tribe, made the journey post the original entry into the underworld—the sipapu—and then traveled on to the salt deposits where they collected salt for ceremonial use and for increasing their fitness for the afterlife.

This area has been described both by Eiseman (1959) and Schwartz (1965, p. 287) and there is the real possibility that the sacred importance of this Canyon area to the Hopi implies a symbolic recognition on their part of the historical tie their Anasazi ancestors had to it.

***Scientific American Supplement***

**1878 The Cañons of the Colorado, No. V. *Scientific American Supplement* 6(135):2139-2141.**

This is one part of a series of newspaper articles compiled “... from the report of Prof. J. W. Powell, Geologist, in charge U. S. Geological and Geographical survey of the Territories” (p. 2139). It indicates the information disseminated to the public about the Grand Canyon in the late nineteenth century. The article includes a statement that, “The country has some archæological interest” and goes on to describe the ruins found by Powell’s expedition, including cliff dwellings and room blocks (p. 2139). In describing one archaeological feature, the article notes, “From what we know of the people in the province of Tusayan, in northern Arizona, who doubtless are of the same race as the former inhabitants of these ruins, we conclude that this underground chamber was a “kiva,” where their religious ceremonies were performed” (p. 2140). The article also describes the ruins found at the confluence of Bright Angel River with

the Colorado River. The suggestion is made that the Grand Canyon was occupied by Puebloan people who sought refuge from the Spaniards (p. 2140).

**Seaman, P. David**

**1985 *Hopi Dictionary*. Northern Arizona University Anthropological Paper 2. Flagstaff, Arizona.**

This is a useful reference for Hopi orthography. It contains both Hopi to English and English to Hopi dictionaries, as well as appendices with technical linguistic information and a bibliography. The definitions that are provided are brief. Seaman documents one Hopi word for the Grand Canyon is *Suukotupqa* (p. 292). Another word for the Grand Canyon is *Sakwatupqa* (i.e., "Blue Canyon"). The Hopi word for salt is given as *ønga* (p. 414).

**Seaman, P. David (editor)**

**1993 *Born a Chief, The Nineteenth Century Hopi Boyhood of Edmund Nequatewa; As Told to Alfred F. Whiting*. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.**

This autobiographical account of Edmund Nequatewa's childhood in Mishongnovi and Shipaulovi contains several references to the Grand Canyon or salt. Nequatewa (p. 9) describes how his mother had a stew bowl that "she got from the Walapai people who live near the Grand Canyon, and salt from the salt lake forty miles south of Zuni. Father had gone for it." Nequatewa also describes how abstinence from salt in food for four days is part of the *wuwutcim* ceremonies (pp. 32, 77).

**Secakuku, Ferrell**

**1993 *The Hopi View of Wilderness*. *Federal Archaeology Report* 6(3):9.**

This brief statement is excerpted from Secakuku's remarks at the National Interagency Wilderness Conference held in Tucson, May 17-21, 1993. With regard to wilderness and land management, Secakuku states that, "Hopis do not have a word for wilderness ... All land should be respected ... Our religion does not teach us to subdue the earth. Our religion teaches us to take care of the earth in a spiritual way as stewards of the land." Secakuku describes the Hopi view of cultural resources by explaining,

Hopis do not view cultural resources, such as ruins, as abandoned or as artifacts of the past. To a Hopi, these villages were left as is when the people were given a sign to move on. These homes, kives [sic], storehouses, and everything else that makes a community, were left exactly as they were because it is our belief the Hopi will someday return. Our people are still there. Today the Hopi designate these ruins

as a symbol or their sovereign flag. Potsherds are left in abundance, usually broken into small pieces with the trademarks showing. These are the footprints of the occupants. Hopis believe that ruins should remain untouched because when anything is taken it breaks down the value of holding the village in place.

Hopi prophecy recognizes these cultural resources as part of today's living culture. They indeed should be protected for the future of our people ...

The Hopi way of measuring the value of cultural resources and other so-called artifacts is not in terms of money. Rather it is their importance for life today and their future destiny. The future of the Hopi is a great burden to them because we must live a life of spiritual meditation and humbleness in order to take this corrupt world, which will get worse, into the better world. Yes, we believe in the fifth world and our spiritual integrity must be strong to keep our ruined villages alive. Our houses, kives [sic], and our shrines at the ruined village perimeters must be kept warm and active. We rely on our spiritual ancestors who passed this way and are still there to receive the messages.

**Sekaquaptewa, Emory**

**1972 Preserving the Good Things of Hopi Life. In *Plural Society in the Southwest*, edited by Edward H. Spicer and Raymond H. Thompson, pp. 239-260. Intebok, New York.**

This article reviews traditional Hopi social organization and culture in the context of historical events, factionalism, land disputes with the Navajos, and Federal Indian policy. Sekaquaptewa notes the importance of clan migrations in the autonomy of Hopi villages, observing that (p. 240), "Each village has determined the organization and functions of its social, political, and religious systems, according to its own interpretation of clan migration legends." In discussing land use, Sekaquaptewa notes that some lands used by the Hopis lie outside their reservation. He says (pp. 242-243),

Many ceremonial shrines, ruins, and other monuments that historic significance to one or more of the clans lie out of village-controlled lands, and some even lie outside of the Hopi Reservation. These places are considered as "belonging" to the group which has a historic claim to them, and these claims are renewed through rituals which commemorate the historic events which gave basis to the claim. Prayer feathers used in the rituals are deposited at these places as evidence of the claim. In some instances, the place names of these monuments or ruins are given to places nearer the village for a more convenient performance of commemorative events.

In a section entitled "Origins of Misunderstanding," Sekaquaptewa sketches the origins of the Hopi's mistrust and misunderstanding of Federal governance (pp. 245-247). In the 1880s the kikmongwis of First Mesa, Second Mesa, and Third Mesa, each in his own name, made formal pleas to Federal officials in Washington for assistance to stop Navajo depredations. Sekaquaptewa describes the difficulty of communicating using a combination of Spanish and English, even with the help of local non-Indian traders who could speak a little Hopi. As he observes (p. 246), "Because of the communication problem resulting from lack of fluency in a common language on both sides, there could not have been a true meeting of the minds."

From Sekaquaptewa's perspective (p. 246), "While the Hopi chiefs apparently submitted to the formal education in return for protection from Navajo encroachment, they did not agree to give up any claim to lands." The Federal government, however, implemented its commitment to protecting Hopi lands by establishing an Indian Reservation in 1882 by an Executive Order of President Chester Arthur. This did not solve the problem of Navajo encroachment from the Hopi's perspective (pp. 246-247),

Sekaquaptewa interprets the 1906 split at Oraibi as resulting from a design in deliberation (*diingavi*) that was symbolized and dramatized in part by Loloma's agreement with Federal officials regarding education of Hopi youth.

#### **Sekaquaptewa, Emory**

**1976 Hopi Indian Ceremonies.** In *Seeing with a Native Eye: Essays on Native American Religion*, edited by Walter Holden Capps. Harper & Row, New York.

In this short essay Emory Sekaquaptewa discusses the process of acculturation of Indians into modern American society. In doing this, Sekaquaptewa draws his experiences as a Hopi man. This is significant to note because Sekaquaptewa thinks that acculturation is a personal journey. One must take meaning and identity from his own culture and then "strengthen it from within (p. 35)." From this foundation, the Indian can adjust to the "dominant society" (p. 35), keeping his own culture firmly intact. The individual and society can both benefit from this approach because each remains active and growing; a dialectical relationship is formed. Sekaquaptewa rejects the stereotypical mold fostered by both outsiders and Indians. A stagnation in identity happens when non-Indians put scattered qualities together into a package and call it "Indian." It also happens when Indians "attempting to straighten out facts about Indians ... [become] more concerned about that than about strengthening the cultural values that come from within the Indian culture (p. 41)." Allowing the journey to remain active, promises a more successful mediation between cultures.

**Sekaquaptewa, Helen**

**1969 *Me and Mine, the Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa as told to Louise Udall.* University of Arizona Press, Tucson.**

This autobiography of Helen Sekaquaptewa describes Hopi life on Third Mesa during the period from 1898 to 1969. In a section on trade, Sekaquaptewa notes (p. 56), "During the spring there was always traffic in commodities between tribes within a reasonable radius." She specifically mentions traders from Hualapai, as well as Utah, Zuni, Taos and other New Mexico pueblos, trading for Hopi textiles and produce (p. 57). She notes Hualapais traded buckskins to the Hopis (p. 59). Sekaquaptewa describes Hopi burial customs (pp. 148-149), including placing a layer of cotton on the face of deceased. In a section entitled "My Church, Sekaquaptewa provides an account of the Hopi origin and migration (pp. 224-228).

**Shaffer, Mark**

**1990 Hopis Want to Block Historian's Book. *The Arizona Republic*, Sunday, August 19, 1990, p. 38.**

This article reports on the controversy surrounding proposed publication a book by Ekkehart Malotki. Malotki is described as having a mission to salvage what is left of Hopi Indian traditions. He is quoted as saying, "Their culture is disappearing into history. The ceremonies are becoming extinct." Tribal Vice-Chairman Patrick Dallas states the Hopi Tribe pursue legal action if the plans to publish the book proceed. Dallas noted that the Hopi Tribal Council passed a resolution declaring Malotki unwelcome on the Hopi Reservation. The article notes that the Salt Mine in the Grand Canyon has been closed to the public by the National Park Service.

Malotki pieced together the location of the Salt Trail through interviews with Hopis "who remembered their grandparent's stories" and from books and articles written in the 1930s. Malotki is quoted as saying, "I went on the trail and found these (sacred) places," adding that he photographed many of them but will not publish those images. Malotki also says, "The Hopis haven't cared about this trail. All those journeys to the mines came to an end in 1909." Malotki also questioned how secret the trail is since he says many Navajos use it to descend to the Colorado River. Alf MacDonald, a lawyer for the Hopi Tribe, said Malotki's manuscript is "blasphemous." MacDonald said, "From the Hopi perspective, he had no business being there, looking at and handling the things he did on the Salt Trail."

**Sigüenza y Góngora, Don Carlos de**

**1932 *An Account of the First Expedition of Don Diego De Vargas into New Mexico in 1692.* Irving Albert Leonard, translator. The Quivira Society, Los Angeles.**

In this historical study of Diego De Vargas' reconquest of New Mexico in 1692, Sigüenza y Góngora discusses the motivations for the Captain-General's visit to the Hopi and the events of contact. He states one of Vargas' letters written to the king suggests that the Hopis had entered into a military alliance of sorts with their neighbors the Utes, Havasupais, and Navajos (p. 84).

**Simmons, Leo W. (editor)**

**1942 *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian.* Published for the Institute of Human Relations by Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.**

This extraordinary autobiography of Don Talayesva, edited by Leo Simmons, is a classic work in anthropology. Talayesva wrote about 8,000 pages longhand, which Simmons edited into a "selected and condensed narration, interwoven with additional information obtained by repeated interviewing" (p. 7). *Sun Chief* is therefore a "greatly abbreviated and often reorganized" autobiography, containing only about one-fifth of the data that were collected. Simmons describes the data left out of the book as "monotonous repetition of the daily details of life, legends, and additional dreams."

In prefatory remarks, Simmons notes the pervasiveness of travel in the Hopi economy (p. 11). He identifies salt as an example of a resource which the Hopi traditionally traveled to obtain (p. 12), observing, "Long and arduous journeys, with elaborate ritual and ceremony, were formerly made to procure salt."

Talayesva provides an in-depth and first person description of his participation in a salt expedition to the Hopi Salt Mine in the Grand Canyon undertaken in 1912 (pp. 232-246). He was twenty-two years old at this time. Talayesva's narrative amply demonstrates the spiritual significance of the Grand Canyon region in Hopi religion. He describes the shrines used for religious activities during the pilgrimage, including the *Sipapuni*, and his thoughts and feelings about being in the Grand Canyon.

Talayesva also described a subsequent journey to Zuni Salt Lake for salt (252-255). Talayesva said this pilgrimage was not as ritually-imbued as the one to the Grand Canyon. He explains that, "We could eat modern food on the journey to Zuni Lake, for this is not as dangerous territory as Salt Canyon near the House of the Dead" (p. 253). However, of the pilgrimage rituals were the same, such as going through the motions of copulation with the Salt Woman in order to demonstrate respect (p. 254).

In Appendix B, Simmons observes (p. 416), "The legends and myths are to the Hopi what Scripture, science, history, and literature are to us; and they are frequently

related for both instruction and entertainment. Those which don heard as a boy help to explain much of his behavior as an adult." In the appendix (pp. 418-20), Simmons includes a much abbreviated summary of the Hopi origin account in which the role of the *sipapu* is described. Simmons notes the Hopis commemorate their emergence from the underworld every year in the Wowochim ceremony, which Simmons states, "is performed by the Wowochim, Ahl, Tao, and Kwani fraternities and is believed to portray what happened in the underworld and how the Hopi managed to escape" (pp. 19-20). Appendix B also contains an account that describes the establishment of the "Salt Journey" by the War Twins (pp. 433-435). Visits made to the to the House of the Dead by living people are described on pp. 435-436.

**Simpson, Ruth DeEtte**

1953 *The Hopi Indians*. Southwest Museum Leaflets. Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California.

This concise (91 pp.) ethnographic overview of the Hopis was written for a general audience. Simpson does a good job synthesizing the published literature on Hopi but the monograph offers little information pertinent to the Hopi GCES.

**Sitgreaves, Captain Lorenzo**

1962 *Report of an Expedition down the Zuni and the Colorado Rivers in 1851*. Rio Grand Press, Chicago. (Originally published: 1853, U. S. Serial Set, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., Sen. Ex Doc. no 59.)

Sitgreaves explored the Zuni, Little Colorado, and Colorado Rivers for the Corps of Topographical Engineers in 1851. In his journal he mentioned some interesting information about the landscape. He wrote (p. 6): "The well marked trail we had hither-to followed brought us at length to the Little Colorado, which it crosses, continuing on south to the Salt River, a tributary of the Gila." He also commented that (p. 8): "Near our camp, on the bank of the [Little Colorado] river, were the ruins of several stone houses, which the guide, Mr. Leroux, said resembled those of the Moqui Indians" (p. 8). Near the gorge of the Little Colorado, Sitgreaves explained that (pp. 8-9):

About a mile below the last camp the river falls over a succession of horizontal ledges of sandstone, forming a beautiful cascade of one hundred to one hundred and twenty feet in vertical height, and continues on its course through a canon of that depth, the general level of the banks remaining the same.

Having been informed by my guide and other experienced trappers that this canon extends down the river to its junction with the Colorado, and the great canon through which the latter flows, I regarded the attempt to follow the river to its mouth as too hazardous, considering the conditions of the animals and the state of the

supplies, and therefore, by the advice of the guide, turned off towards the mountains, with the purpose of striking the Colorado below the great canon, and then exploring it upward as far as might be found practicable.

**Smith, Melvin T.**

**1972 *The Colorado River: Its History in the Lower Canyons Area.* Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.**

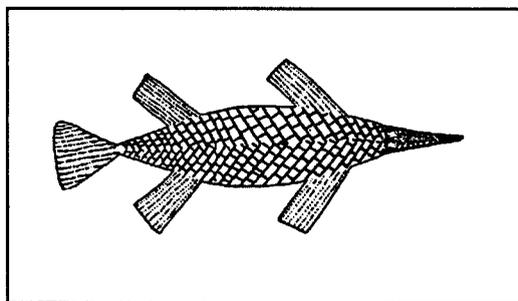
Chapter 2, "Naming the Colorado River," reviews the various names applied to the Colorado River and some of its tributaries by Indian Tribes, Spanish explorers and priests, and American trappers and military expeditions. Coverage of Hopi history is superficial.

**Smith, Watson**

**1952 *Kiva Mural Decorations at Awatovi and Kawaika-a, With a Survey of Other Wall Paintings in the Pueblo Southwest,* Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 37. Harvard University, Cambridge.**

This work is part of an extensive study of archaeological sites in the vicinity of the Hopi Mesas. This monograph focuses on the history and interpretation of murals at the archaeological sites of Awatovi and Kawaika-a. In a summary of kiva attributes, Smith (p. 6) notes, "About half way between the firepit and the front wall was usually, but not always, a small aperture in the floor, sometimes covered with a wooden slab, and probably intended to symbolize the *sipapu* or the entrance to the Underworld."

At Kawaika-a three fish appear as design elements on the murals painted on the right wall of Room 4. They are depicted with white bodies with and scales indicated by black cross-hatching (see figure below). One fish the fins and tail are painted in red. One of the fish has what appears to be a dragon fly in its mouth.



Fish depicted in mural at Kawaika-a (from Smith 1952, Figure 16).

Smith adds (p. 222),

These fish are all drawn with extreme nicety, the scales, fins, tails, and long snouts being carefully and realistically shown. Their general character makes them look like pike or gar or some similar fish that might have lived in the Little Colorado River and so have been familiar to the inhabitants of Kaiwaika-a. It is said by local inhabitants that pike or gar have been taken from that river in modern times near Cameron, in that they do not have elongated snouts, and are without scales.

Smith (pp. 218, 222) notes that, "Fish are said by the Hopi to be one of the pets of the Cloud kachina, Omauwû, but almost never are they depicted in ceremonial paraphernalia, either by the Hopi or by other Pueblo groups." He notes there are some instances of fish in Pueblo pictography from the Gila river and a cliff near Sikyatki, and that they occur occasionally on ancient pottery such as Classic Mimbres Black-on-White. Three or four natural fish occur in the murals at the late prehistoric site of Kuaua on the Rio Grande in New Mexico. One instance of a fish on a Hopi kachina was reported by Fewkes.

#### **Spangler, Sharon**

**1986 *On Foot in the Grand Canyon, Hiking the Trails of the South Rim.* Pruett Publishing Company, Boulder, Colorado.**

This hiking guide contains a description of the Tanner Trail (pp. 122-139). Spangler notes (p. 123) "The trail was originally an Anasazi route, used in more recent centuries by the Hopi and the Havasupai Indians." The trail is named after Seth Tanner, a trader who lived near what is now Cameron. He improved access to a mining claim in Palisades Creek known as the McCormick Mine, named for George McCormick who operated the mine for Tanner. Ben Beamer, another prospector, improved an "Anasazi track" from Palisades to the Little Colorado River. Beamer built a cabin on the south bank of the Little Colorado on top of a prehistoric ruin (p. 124).

Spangler (pp. 124-125) thinks its interesting "... to consider who did *not* use the Tanner Trail, for history might have been different if they had: the first white men to set eyes on the Grand Canyon." She opines that in 1540 the Hopi guides that led Cadenas to the South Rim somewhere between Moran Point and Desert View could have led the Spaniards to the river using the Tanner route. Spangler notes the Hopis also knew other routes, e.g., the ceremonial Salt Trail that led to the sacred salt leaching from the Tapeats Sandstone along the Colorado River. She suggests (p. 125),

Most likely, the Indians wanted to keep the inner Canyon unvisited by outsiders, for the Grand Canyon is central to their religion. Their most sacred place was and is the Sipapu, a spring issuing from the center of a large travertine mound in the Little Colorado River, 4.7 miles up from

its junction with the Colorado. The Sipapu symbolizes the entrance to the underworld, from which human beings and animals emerged and to which the dead return.

The Hopis occasionally still make the ceremonial 100-mile trek from the reservation to the Salt Mines, and out of respect to them the park service has closed the Hopi Salt Mines to all visitation from the mouth of the Little Colorado down the Colorado to mile 62.5.

Spangler (p. 138) notes the Tanner Trail was used first by Indians who farmed the creek bottoms at Unkar and Nankoweap, "... then by their descendants who used it in pilgrimage to their religious shrines," and more recently by Anglos accessing mines.

Spangler quotes two Grand Canyon hikers about how difficult it is to always pay attention to features along the trails when you have to concentrate on watching your footing (p. 139). Harvey Butchart is quoted as saying, "There have been times when I was watching my footing so constantly that I walked right by prime items. I once walked from the mouth of the Little Colorado to the Hopi's Salt Trail Canyon, mostly on the south side, without noticing the Sipapu across the river." Similarly, Jim Ohlman said, "I have pulled this very same stunt twice in one trip, but I have seen the Sipapu twice since then, and it is sort of like missing a red Cadillac parked in your living room!"

**Spier, Leslie**

**1928 *Havasupai Ethnography*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 29(3):91-392.**

Spier discusses trails and trade with the Hopis in this ethnography of the Havasupai Indians. He notes that egress to the Havasupai village in Cataract Canyon is by a number of "tortuous ramified" canyons, including Moqui Trail Canyon (p. 91).

There was a northern Arizona trade route from Hopi to the Mohave via the Havasupai, independent of trade routes with more southerly tribes and distinct from any trade to the north of the Grand Canyon (p. 244). The Havasupai were noted for their trade in buckskin. They traded with the Hopi to obtain loom products such as blankets and sashes, silverwork, Hopi pottery for storage vessels, stone and shell beads, and buffalo skins. In addition to buckskin, the Havasupais traded antelope and mountain sheep skins, shirts and leggings made from tanned hides, mescal, pinyon nuts, some baskets, and horn ladles which the Hopis used to manufacture spindle whorls. The Hopis also traded for Havasupai seed corn, the ears of which were as long as a forearm from elbow to fingertips.

Spier (p. 244-245) notes that Garcés found Hopi shirts and Spanish articles at Hualapai, where there was a Hopi couple returning to Hopi via a direct route across Cataract Canyon. Garcés found the Havasupai well supplied with red cloth, iron tools,

cows, and horses from the Spanish settlements in New Mexico, obtained through trade with the Hopis. The Havasupai camps on Moencopi Wash provided an accessible trading station.

Spier provides data about the rate of exchange in the period from 1840-1865 (p. 245). At this time large buckskins were worth large blankets, seven or eight buckskins were worth a horse, and ten buckskins were worth a race horse. The Havasupai traded many of the items obtained from Hopi with the Hualapai and other tribes in the region. The Hualapai also traded directly with the Hopi of Oraibi (p. 246).

In discussion warfare, Spier notes that the Havasupai were politically aligned with the Hopi of Oraibi and the Hualapai (p. 248). Oraibi figures in oral history as a "sort of neutralized trading station." The Havasupai were subject to attack by Navajos when traveling back from trading at Oraibi. Spier relates Havasupai oral history about the coming of the Navajo to the area around the Grand Canyon, which occurred in the 1860s when the Navajos were taking refuge from the attempt to incarcerate them at Bosque Redondo (pp. 362-368). Spier (pp. 375-380) ends the monograph with an account of how the Havasupais attained peaceful relations with other tribes in the region with the involvement of the Hopis of Oraibi.

*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*

1911 A Missourian After Whom a Town, a Mountain, and a River are Named.  
*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*. Dec. 24, 1991 Magazine Section, pp. 5-6.

In 1911, a journalist for the *St. Louis Globe* interviewed Old Bill Williams' traveling companion, Jesus Ruperto Valdez Archeleuta. In the interview, Archeleuta recalled the time when he and Williams traveled from Zuni Salt Lake into the Little Colorado River Valley. Archeleuta stated that while following the Little Colorado northward, the two men met up with a Hopi hunting party. Archeleuta remembered that on the sixteenth day of following the river he and Williams, "fell in with a band of Indians out hunting. Beel [Bill] could talk with them a little, and used the sign language to fairly good advantage, for he learned that they were the Moqui tribe and had a pueblo sixty miles northeast" (p. 5). Archeleuta continued his description of the encounter: "They had arrow heads made of a beautiful polished agate, and told Beel about an immense tract of land covered with this agate [today's Petrified Forest]."

The two men followed the Hopis' lead and after visiting the region where they could find agate, they continued on to Oraibi. While there (p. 5):

The old chief told Beel that he must see the road the great rain god made, which was ten days' journey through pretty rough country, but from what Beel could understand he concluded it was the Grand Canyon, which he had learned of, and so it turned out to be. We bore off west,

but had to go in and back out, so much that some days we could make no headway at all. Finally we came out on the rim, and Beel was the first American to see this awful chasm.

**Stanislawski, Michael B.**

**1979 Hopi-Tewa. In *Southwest*, edited by Alfonso Ortiz, pp. 587-602.**

**Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 9, William G. Sturtevant, general editor. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.**

This article provides a succinct overview of Hopi-Tewa ethnography and history. Stanislawski reviews the history of the Tewa incorporation into Hopi society at First Mesa in the early 18th century (p. 600).

**Stephen, Alexander McGregor**

**1889 A Genesis Myth of the Tusayan (Moki). Ms. 1310, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.**

Although this manuscript is undated, a cover letter by Cosmos Mindeleff transmitting this to the Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology is dated May 2, 1889. The account was told by Kotí-ve (Kótç-ve) the oldest member of the Tcu-in-nýn-mu, the Snake people. This manuscript is sixteen pages long and therefore represents a very abridged version of the origin account translated into English.

The account begins with a description of the quarreling and problems that led to the emergence of the people from the underworld. Two sisters were sent ahead and they passed up to the second house. There was water everywhere. "Then the twins Pe-koñ-ho-ya, and Ba-liñ-a ho-ya (the Echo-Youth), sons of Ko-kyañ wuh-ti (Spider Woman), came to the sisters and led them towards San Francisco Mountains. They cut gashes in the earth with their great knives, and the water flowed away through these channels" (p. 3). This world was still not satisfactory and the sisters continued to pass to upper houses until they reached the fourth level. The people in the underworld eventually followed the sisters to the fourth level using the Bá-ka-bi (phragmites communis) to pass to the higher levels (pp. 3-8). After the emergence, rude people (Navajos, Apaches, Paiutes) snatched gifts from the Hopituh and the white men went to the east (pp. 8-9).

When the Snake people were living at Navajo Mountain, Tí-yo (the Youth) sat by the river and wondered where it went (pp. 10-14). His people consented to a journey for him to find out its destination. They got him a hollowed out cottonwood log and lined it with bark and grass, pitched in with gum, leaving an opening in one end. Pahos were made and Tí-yo pushed on and floated down the river. During a long journey Tí-yo has many experiences and marries a Snake woman. He returns to his village with his bride and ritual paraphernalia. The Snake people eventually leave

Navajo Mountain and migrate towards the Hopi Mesas—"all of the ruins between here and Navajo Mountain mark the places where our people lived." They settle at Wip-ho before Masau-wû instructs them to move further down the valley. The account ends with the statement, "All the snake people did not come to Walpi, some went to Micoñinovi, and some to Oraibi.

**Stephen, A. M.**

**1891 "Wiki tells his Tradition, owing to his deafness, Wikyatiwa and Masiumtüwa assist him. Ms. in folder "n.d. Stephen, A. M. (and others?)," Fewkes Collection No. 4408, 2-5, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.**

This nineteen page handwritten manuscript is dated Nov. 25, 1891. It provides an account of the Hopi origin and migration from the perspective of First Mesa. The manuscript begins with the statement (p. 1),

Far down in the lowest deep of Pí-sis-bai-yu (the far below river, the Colorado) at the place where we used to gather salt, is the Sí-pa-püh, the orifice where we emerged from the Underworld. The Zuni, the Kohonino, the Pah-Ute, the Whiteman, all people came up from the below at that place. Some of our people traveled to the north but the cold drove them back and after many days they returned to this land.

In a footnote, Stephen adds that salt referred to was gathered from "... a saline deposit in the Grand Cañon, a short distance West from where the Colorado Chiquito debouches into the its greater namesake."

A long version of Tí-yo's travel from Tokonavi down the Colorado River is recited (pp. 2-15). The recounting of his ride down the river accurately describes a river trip. As Stephen writes (p. 4),

His father then closed the end and gave the box a push with his foot, and it floated away bobbing up and down.

In one of its ends was a small circular aperture through which he thrust his wand and pushed away from the rocks encountered; the spray also splashed through it and this he caught in his basin when he wished to drink or to mix his kwip-dosi, and he was also provided with a plug to close the hole when he neared the roaring waters. He floated over smooth courses and swift rushing torrents, plunged down many cataracts, and spun through many wild whirlpools where black rocks protrude their heads like angry bears, and this for many days, who knows how long?

Stephen, A. M.

1891 Letter to Jesse Walter Fewkes dated March 12, 1894. Ms. No. 4408, 2-5, in the Fewkes Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

This letter containing field notes also contains some material dated March 13. With respect to the place of emergence Stephen says (p. 3),

From sundry authorities: the Hopi, Kawáika, Pahána, etc. etc. came up together near the great water far in the Southwest — the Patki left the Hopi soon afterward + went to Palatkwabi.

The Tówa, Komántci, and Kái-o-wa came up together at the Sipapü near the great water far in the north-east - and upon the same day as the Hopi + others emerged from the Sipapü in the South-west.

The Kóhonina and the Siá-tü came up together at the Sepapü in the Salt Place in Grand Cañon.

With respect to Zuni, Stephen states (p. 4),

Tó-tci came over the other day from Zuni on a visit - and was in last night for a short talk - he is wonderfully full of affairs of state when he comes over, and it is difficult to get him to sit still and talk. However, I asked him about the Zuni Sipapü. He disclaims having any exact knowledge of Zuni ceremonial or religious lore - but he says - he has always considered that the Zuni regarded the Salt Place in Grand Cañon as being the locality of their Sipapü where they emerged (nyüña) to this world surface. He never heard that the Zuni hold that the dead changed into turtles - but, he says, the Zuni, like the Hopi, regard the turtle as very sacred. As I understand it, he says, the breath body of the dead Zuni goes to Kóc-la-wa-lai-ye (a sacred place near St. Johns, also a sacred place of the Hopi + called by them Wé-ni-ma) where it changes into a Kachina, any Kachina, for the All-Kacina(s) (Co-yó-him) live there. After this change the body goes on to Sipapü -same as the Hopi. There are lagoons near Wé-ni-ma in which turtle are plentiful.

Stephen notes that the Hopi and Zuni both refer to Kolthuwala:wa/Wenima as the place of the Shalako/Cálako (p. 4).

**Stephen, A. M.**

**1891 Memo dated December 6, 1891. Ms. No. 4408, 2-5, Folder 1891, Fewkes Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.**

This memo includes the following passage pertinent to the Siapupu and emergence (p. 1),

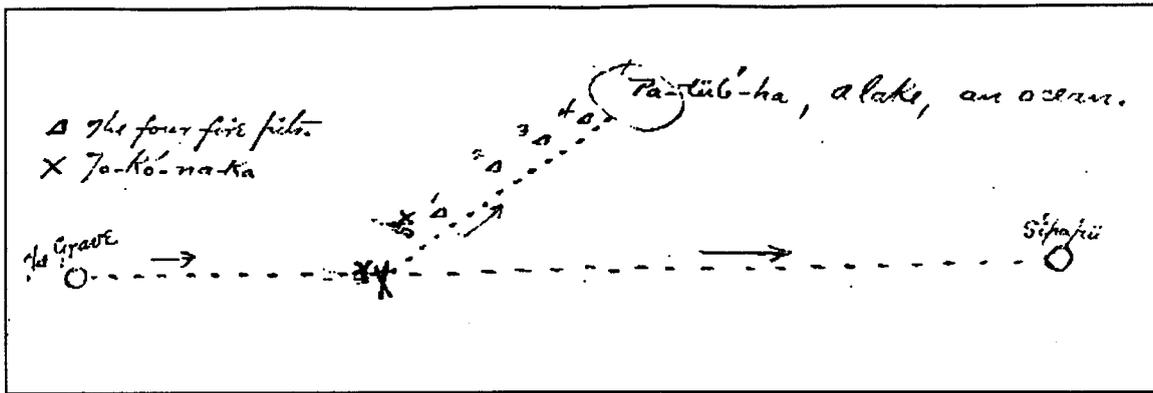
I intended to have added an exegetic note to Wiki's incidental mention of a Sipahpüh far in the N. E. although he begins his tradition by stating that in the Grand Cañon is the Sipapuh through which all mankind ascended. Aside from this being a typical example of the discrepancies inherent in all primitive tradition it also agrees with the current conception of the Hopituh that certain gentes - or clan groups - emerged from the below at different localities. To them it is also consistent enough with their theory of the continuity of Müiyiñwuh's labours, and with their scheme of existing channels of communicating within through the Sipapuh in the different kivas, and at other sacred places.

**Stephen, A. M.**

**1894 Letter to Jesse Walter Fewkes dated January 11, 1894. Ms. No. 4408, 2-5, Folder 1894, Fewkes Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.**

This letter discusses a number of different items, including the troubles that arose from a government official using Navajo policemen used to force children at Oraibi to go to school. Stephen writes (pp. 1-2), "What a foolish thing for this Goodman to send Navajo to demand children —."

Stephen describes Hopi customs about death (pp. 5-8), "At last I have got the dead Hopi! and the mask connection is very apparent! This memo you will see agrees in the main with the mortuary scheme as told me by Wiki many years ago ... " Stephen then describes in detail the mortuary customs, including placing raw cotton over the face of the corpse to signify white clouds. Stephen writes, "Why the cloud signs, I asked — They said, 'So that when he comes up, in the below, he will tell the cloud deities to send rain to the Hopi!'" Stephen describes and diagrams the journey to the underworld people make after they die (pp. 7-9).



Journey to the Underworld diagrammed in Stephen's letter of January 11, 1894 (p. 7).

With respect to turtles, Stephen (p. 9) writes, "You ask why the Hopi bring no live turtles to the Mesa — because — they find them at the Little Colorado and other distant streams." Stephen notes when the Hopis collect turtles they only bring back the shell. The flesh of the turtle is "cast back gently in the river praying that another 'hard skin' may speedily grow in the place of the one he has taken — + also prays for rain."

**Stephen, A. M.**

**1894 Letter to Jesse Walter Fewkes dated March 29, 1894. Ms. No. 4408, 2-5, Folder 1894, Fewkes Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.**

This letter discusses a land petition and Stephen's role in obtaining signatures. Stephen thinks the totemic signatures on the petition are of great value and he asks Fewkes to arrange to have them photographed in Washington. Stephen also mentions his lobbying effort on behalf of the petition, stating, "We got all the military people and a good number of Washington worthies - including Powell + all of the Geologic and Ethnol. Survey — to sign endorsing petitions." Stephen adds, "Of course it would be just to give these people their land in fee simple forever — but after all my chief interest is in the curious totem signatures. The letter ends with descriptions of Stephen's field work and what he thinks about some of the some of the Hopis he was working with on First Mesa.

**Stephen, A. M.**

**1898 Pigments in Ceremonials of the Hopi. In *International Folk-lore Congress of the World's Columbian Exposition*, pp. 260-265.**

This brief article describes the preparation and use of some of "the curious pigments with which the Hopi ceremonial artist makes up his palette" (p. 265). These

pigments are used to paint *pahos*, kachina masks, and other ceremonial objects. Stephen (pp. 261-262) names the major directions and their emblematic colors, noting that the directions are oriented more to points of sunrise and sunset during the summer and winter solstice horizon than cardinal points.

In describing the pigments used to create the colors associated with directions, Stephen makes several observations about pigments obtained from the Grand Canyon. He notes, "... there is a red ochre, called *cü'-ta*, in constant use, and to obtain this ochre they go about 120 miles west, to the Kohonini country, close to the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, and in that same region they also gather the fragments of copper ore for preparing their blue" (p. 264). Stephen states, "The *pa'-ho* of the Warrior Society are painted with *cü'-ta* ochre, because that is the warrior's color; he rubs *cü'-ta* over his body, blackens his face with charcoal, and sprinkles it with powdered specular iron, because this is the aspect of the twin war-gods" (p. 265). The blue pigment is called "*Ca-kwa-pi-ki*" (p. 263). It is prepared by processing Pinyon gum with boiling water to make a white pliable mass which is then tinted with a concoction of blue and green copper carbonate fragments mixed with water. The tinted gum is further processed with boiling water to darken the color. The water is eventually poured off, leaving a cake of pigment that weighs about eight ounces. *Ca-kwa-pi-ki* is used to paint sacred kachina masks (p. 265).

**Stephen, Alexander M.**

1929 Hopi Tales. *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 42:1-72.

This collection of twenty-eight "folk tales" contains five accounts of the Hopi emergence (pp. 3-10). The accounts were narrated by different people, at different times, and they are discussed in response to different questions in the context of traditional ceremonial practice. In a preface to the collection, the editor, Elsie Clews Parsons, notes that these are the original, unexpurgated accounts collected by Stephen. Parsons (p. 2) states earlier publication of these accounts by Mindeleff and Fewkes "attempted to give them historical verisimilitude by omitting features that could not but be taken as legend and by emphasizing topographical and archaeological description." Parsons (p. 2) asserts that "Like all Pueblo peoples the Hopi have no historic sense in our meaning." She thinks her presentation of these accounts as folk tales provides a "corrective to the misinterpretative theory of migration by clan that has persisted in Pueblo ethnography for many years" (p. 3).

One account in the collection recounts who emerged from the *Sipapuni* (p. 7).

At the *sipapü* came up Pahano (White people), Hopi, Yota, Yochemu, Tashabu, (Navajo, their old name, Yotahuni) and Payutsi. A'takyûka, the west, direction of the below, was where people first came up, far in the west. There are four great waters (*patüpha*) separated by sand, and

on the land, on this side of the fourth great water, and close beside it, is the place of the sipapü; there the water is always in commotion.

The collection of tales also includes four versions of the story of Tiyo who traveled through the Grand Canyon and encountered the Snake People from whom the Snake Clan evolved (pp. 35-50). The creation of a "large cañon" by the Twins is also described (pp. 50-51).

**Stephen, Alexander M.**

**1936 *Hopi Journal of Alexander M. Stephen*, edited by Elsie Clews Parsons.**

**New York: Columbia University Press.**

The journals of Alexander Stephen document Hopi lifeways from 1891-1894. The ritual importance of fasting from salt is described as a feature of several ceremonies (pp. 36, 272, 290, 140-141, 198, 202, 776, 804, 811, 850). Salt was exchanged in a "mart" in the dance court in February (p. 245-246). In one exchange Stephen noticed a woman leaving "... a basin of beans and a handful of salt in a rag in the middle of the dance court," and then proceeding to a friend's house after telling someone what she wanted to in exchange. Jerked mutton and baking powder were laid on her tray in her absence.

In June, an offering of food, prayer feathers, and tobacco were offered in a crevice in the cliff west of a village. Stephen (p. 473) states, "This is the food offering to the long ago and the far away, to the si'papü in the Colorado Grand Cañon, near the salt deposits."

Stephen (p. 497) describes the creation of prayer sticks at First Mesa in July using a yellow pigment. A Hopi man named In'tiwa told Stephen this pigment was collected at a spring that bubbles perpetually in "a cavernous recess, which he calls kiva, in the bottom of the Grand Cañon near the salt deposit and Zuni si'papü." In discussing the painting of prayer feathers at Walpi, Stephen (p. 558) describes *bavisa*, stating,

The yellow pigment he now uses, In'tiwa says, comes from a deep cañon on Ko'honino plateau near the Grand Cañon, but this side, that is east from Cataract creek. There is a cavern in this deep chasm, just like a kiva; in it is a bubbling spring. The Hopi who gathers this ochre thrusts his arm in the spring and rakes it up from the bottom.

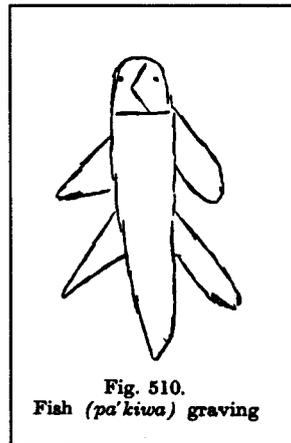
Stephen (p. 638) describes grass, wood, and clay brought from Cataract Cañon for use at First Mesa. He also describes the use of clay nodules brought from Cataract Cañon to First Mesa by the Havasupai in the preparation of altar sand paintings (p. 668). Stephen (p. 996) also describes a trading visit four Hopis made to the Ko'honino (Havasupai).

With regard to the Emergence, Stephen (p. 849) notes,

Hopi, Pahano, Kawai'ka, etc. came up together at the si'papü in the far west near the great water ... To'wa (Tewa), Koma'nchi and Kai'owa, came up together at the si'papü in the far east, near the great water, and upon the same day as the Hopi and others came up in the si'papü in the far west. Siotü (Zuni) and Ko'honino (Havasupai) came up together at Üüñtupkabi near the salt deposit in the Grand Cañon.

Several places pertinent to Hopi use of the Grand Canyon are referenced in a list of "Place Names and References." For the Colorado Grand Canyon, Pi'sisvaiyu, it is noted that the place of the Emergence is located here near the salt deposits (p. 1155). Offerings for this place are made in the cliffs of First Mesa. Pigment is collected from a bubbling spring. Under the entry for Cataract Canyon (p. 1154), it is noted that a yellow pigment is collected from the cañon east of here. Grass, wood, and clay are also collected here. Üüñtupkabi, near the salt deposit in the Grand Canyon is the place of emergence for the Zuni and Havasupai (p. 1167).

Stephen illustrated a fish petroglyph found near First Mesa (p. 1029).



**Stephen, Alexander MacGregor**

**1940 Hopi Indians of Arizona. *Southwest Museum Leaflets* 14. Southwest Museum, Los Angeles.**

This article was in the possession of Dr. George Bird Grinnell at the time of his death. It is estimated to have been written in 1890. The article originally appeared as a series of excerpts in *Masterkey*. The editor adds a footnote (p. 1) explaining that Stephen "... employs the term "Moki," which is a corruption of the Zuni name *A'mukwe*, which as reference to death, for which reason the Hopi object to its use. On this account the term *Hopi* (contracted from *Hópituh Shinumu*) is now invariably

applied ...” In discussing the historical background to the Snake Dance, Stephen notes (p. 2), “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 place.” Stephen provides a version of the account of *Ti-yo’s* journey through the Grand Canyon (pp. 2-8).

**Stoffle, Richard W. and Michael J. Evans**

**1990 Holistic Conservation and Cultural Triage: American Indian Perspectives on Cultural Resources. *Human Organization* 49(2):91-99.**

The thesis of this article is that “... the process of cultural resource assessment, conceived in Western epistemology and law, forces American Indian people to shift from a traditional resource position, termed here ‘holistic conservation’ to one of resource prioritization, termed here ‘cultural triage’” (p. 99). American Indian concepts of holistic conservation entail perceiving cultural resources as elements of a single whole. As a result of supernatural causes, Indian people think of themselves as a functional and essential part of the natural elements in their traditionally occupied lands (p. 92). Some scholars (e.g., Vecsey) use the term “environmental religions” to characterize this relationship. Stoffle and Evans suggest that the formal rhetoric of statements articulating holistic conservation have the simple message, i.e., “this land is ours, leave it alone.”

Stoffle and Evans identify a “holistic conservation-triage dilemma” facing Indians who become involved in resource assessments (pp. 94-95). At the same time that the land is sacred, recommendations about specific tracts of land that will be impacted have to be developed. Stoffle and Evans (p. 95) suggest this dilemma can be resolved by involving the legitimate representatives of Indian tribes who understand how to relate to cultural resources to “they can achieve maximum protection in the face of a proposed development project.” Cultural triage is defined as (p. 95)

... a forced choice situation in which an ethnic group is faced with the decision to rank in importance cultural resources that could be impacted by a proposed development project. Through this ranking the probability of certain cultural resources being protected is increased. On the other hand, it is understood that by selecting some cultural resources for special status, it relegates other to less-than-special status. Those defined as less-than-special, then, are placed at greater risk from the proposed project.

Stoffle and Evans note that there is a longstanding adversarial relationship between Indians and non-Indians regarding resources on traditional lands. Indians need to decide when to litigate these issues and when to mitigate them. For scholars, they advise (p. 98),

Given a milieu that is apparently becoming less willing to halt projects because of impacts to American Indian religious practices, it is the professional responsibility of the applied social scientist to design a study methodology that permits the expression of cultural triage as well as holistic conservation responses. When Indian people ask how to affect project decisions, the social scientist should advise them as to the probabilities that holistic conservation or cultural triage will serve their cultural resource goals. Holistic conservation is strengthened, no compromised, by cultural triage.

**Sugrue, Thomas**

**1935 Book of Magic. *The American* 60 (July):60-62, 130-132.**

This popular article by a "roving reporter" describes a visit to the Grand Canyon and surrounding region. Included is a brief description of the author's interaction with Timeche, a Hopi Indian, who in recounting the story of his tribe refused to divulge esoteric details. This both frustrated and tantalized the author. Timeche (p. 63) "... related the legend of the first man to navigate the Colorado, a young Hopi who went in search of the gods, and returned with the gift of rain. It was he who started the Snake Dance, and taught its magic." Sugrue adds (p. 63), "But there my knowledge ends. Timeche merely smiles and bows when I try to lead him farther ..." Timeche told the story (p. 131), "... the emergence of the Hopis into this world, through an opening at the bottom of the Grand Canyon ... The opening, called the Sipapu, still exists, and the souls of all Hopis go through it after death. In the Kiva of each tribe is a symbolic Sipapu, filled with magical things.

**Sullivan, John H.**

**1881 *Moquis Pueblo Indian Agency, Arizona*. 47 Cong., 1 Sess., House Exec. Doc. 1, part 5, v. 2, Serial Set #2018, pp. 61-63.**

In 1881, Indian agent John H. Sullivan arrived at the Moquis Indian Agency and took his position as the new agent in charge of Hopi affairs. In this annual report to the Secretary of Indian Affairs, Sullivan wrote that when he arrived at the agency, he found only an "acting agent," probably denoting that leadership at the agency was slack (p. 61). Sullivan suggested that the agency be moved closer to the Hopi Mesas to increase its effectiveness (p. 62). Sullivan reported that a trail linked Hopis to the Little Colorado River near Winslow. He stated that to obtain items for constructing a shelter, people traveled to "Sunset, 70 miles distant by Indian trail" (p. 62).

**Swanton, John R.**

**1910 Salt.** In *Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico, Part 2*, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, pp. 418-421. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30. Government Printing Office, Washington.

In this encyclopedia entry of the use of salt by Indian Tribes, Swanton notes (pp. 419-420),

The Hopi have obtained their salt from time immemorial from the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, westward from their villages about 100 m. Here salt is gathered with ceremony by making sacrifice to the Goddess of Salt and the God of War, whose shrines are there (Fewkes). The Pueblos have important salt deities, that of the Hopi being Hurúng Wuhti, "The Woman of Hard Substances," who was a sea deity, like the Mexican salt goddess Huitocimatl.

**Tarbet, Thomas V.**

**n. d. *The Essence of Hopi Prophecy.*** Privately published, distributed by the Planting Stick, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

A subheading at the beginning of this unpaginated tract notes, "The entire Hopi prophecy usually takes many days to tell, and many lifetimes to fully understand. This is a short summary of essential points." It was written by Tarbet "and reviewed by a traditional messenger." The tract exemplifies the co-opting of Hopi prophecy by non-Indians interested in environmental/spiritual issues. One of the essential points is the corruption of the earlier world which led to the emergence into this world. Another essential point is the migration of ancient Hopis associated with Maasauu, the caretaker of this land.

**Taylor, Vernon (Collection)**

**1968 Xerox copy of a mining claim found on Hopi Sipapu Spring in Little Colorado Canyon, 1968. Claim dated July 4, 1929. Manuscript #134, Museum of Northern Arizona.**

This is a Xerox copy of a "Notice of Mining Location, Placer Claim" found by Vernon Taylor on the Sipapu in 1968. The claim was filed by Alf Dickinson, Ace Walker, Frank Wyatt, and Walter Dickinson, and is dated July 4, 1929. A claim encompassing twenty acres was made. The claim was made under the Provisions of Chapter Six of Title XXXII of the revised Statutes of the United States, and An Act of the General Assembly of Arizona, entitled "An Act to Revise and Codify the Laws of the Territory of Arizona, approved March 1, 1901." The standard form used to make

the claim notes that the placer claim is for "a form of valuable mineral deposit other than in veins or lodes of quartz or other rock in place." The claim was located for the purpose of exploration and purchase by the claimants. A note enclosed in the manuscript folder states the original claim was to be given to the Grand Canyon National Park.

**Taylor, Walter W.**

**1954 An Analysis of Some Salt Samples from the Southwest. *Plateau* 27(2):1-7.**

This journal article analyzes a salt sample collected near the Hopi salt mine in the Grand Canyon, and compares it other salt samples from the Southwest. The samples are subdivided into two groups. The first group includes five "natural samples" collected from deposits known or assumed to be the locations of Indian salt gathering activities, including Zuni Salt Lake in New Mexico and Camp Verde and the Hopi salt mine in Arizona. The second group includes three "cultural samples" collected during archaeological excavations, including samples from Medicine Cave and Walapai Cave in Arizona, and a cave in Mesa Verde, Colorado. As Taylor notes, the archaeological samples are "the actual products of aboriginal salt-gathering activities."

In the introduction to the article, Taylor (p. 1) cautions that "Although there are some doubts as to whether or not we found the exact spot at which the Hopi take their salt, there is good reason to believe that we did locate the deposits which within a range of no more than a few hundred yards, include the Hopi 'mine.'"

Table 1 provides data for all of the salt samples, including the percentages of water insoluble, acid insoluble, ions present in acid soluble fraction, oxides, calcium sulfate, magnesium sulfate, potassium sulfate, sodium sulfate, magnesium chloride, potassium chloride, and sodium chloride. Taylor describes the sample from the Hopi salt mine as (p. 5),

... a very poor table salt. There is a high proportion of water-insoluble impurities, the acid soluble part of which contains ions only of calcium and sulfate, i.e., plaster of paris. This quality, plus the 5% which was water-soluble, makes this compound between 50 and 60 percent plaster. There is also considerable magnesium and sodium sulfate, both of which are purgative. The amount of common salt minerals, sodium and potassium chloride, is relatively small.

Taylor (p. 6) recognizes that "in recent times, and presumably in the past as well, southwestern Indians traveled long distances for salt and general trade ..."

Teague, Lynn S.

1993 Prehistory and the Traditions of the O'Odham and Hopi. *Kiva* 58:435-454.

Teague analyzes the oral traditions of the O'Odham and Hopi to gain insight into the events and cultural processes of the late prehistoric era. Her article is indicative of a renewed respect archaeologists are beginning to afford Native accounts of traditional history. As she says (p.436), "... oral histories can be shown to conform to ... archaeological evidence to an extent not easily attributed to the construction of an after-the-fact explanation for the presence of numerous ruins throughout the region. These histories reflect direct knowledge of events in prehistoric Arizona."

Based on her analysis of oral history, Teague suggests that prehistoric people chose to abandon the social and economic hierarchy that had developed with large-scale irrigated agriculture in Southern Arizona. During a period of floods following a drought in late prehistory, Teague argues that social conflict between priests abusing their power became unacceptable and that a war was waged to overthrow these priests. The recounting of the specific priests and sites attacked in this war, as recorded in O'Odham oral history, fits well with the archaeological record of late sites in Southern Arizona. As a result of the social upheaval, some people moved to the Hopi and Zuni regions, where they were absorbed into the Pueblo tribes which developed a horizontal rather than vertical complexity based on the kachina cult. The remaining people in Southern Arizona developed a dispersed settlement system that was not based on a complex, hierarchical social organization associated with large scale canal irrigation. Teague thinks that Hopi and O'Odham oral history both support this scenario.

For the Hopi, Teague relies heavily upon the account of Palatkwapi, "a homeland to the south," from whence the *Patki ngum* (Water Clan) and other related clans (Badger, Sand, Tobacco, Corn, and Sun) derived (pp. 444-447). She says that Montezuma's Castle has been identified with Palatkwapi by the Hopi but she thinks there may have been a number of places associated with the name Palatkwapi, representing the different Southern homes of the various clans. The Hopi account of the end of Palatkwapi is said to have resulted from dissension and social breakdown that led to a disastrous flood. After leaving Palatkwapi, the Hopi clans migrated to the Hopi Mesas, some of them stopping at other places such as Homolovi.

**Templeton, Sardis W.**

**1965 *The Lame Captain: The Life and Adventures of Pegleg Smith.*  
Westernlore Press, Los Angeles.**

Templeton's research reveals that in the winter of 1824-1825, Tom "Pegleg" Smith and his traveling companion, Maurice LeDuc, stayed with the Hopi for three days (p. 47). This is one of the earliest contacts between an American and the Hopi.

**Tessman, Norm**

**1986 National Register of Historic Places Inventory -- Nomination Form for Tutuveni. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, The Hopi Tribe, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

This National Park Service form nominating Tutuveni to the National Register of Historic Places was prepared in 1986 by Norm Tessman, Curator of Collections at the Sharlot Hall Museum. Alternate names for Tutuveni include: Apa'to (Navajo), Oakley Springs, and Hopi Clan Rocks near Willow Springs. The site is located on land under the administration of the Navajo Nation. Tutuveni is listed as N.A. 994 in the site files of the Museum of Northern Arizona. The summary states, "Tutuveni is a Hopi petroglyph site comprised of over 2100 clan signs on 40 Wingate Sandstone boulders. These extend for 200 meters parallel to the base of Echo Cliffs." The site size is given as 200 x 100 meters. Tessman notes the site is a popular local drinking place as evidenced by scattered broken beer and wine bottles. In a section on "Vandalism/Intrusions" Tessman writes,

Comparison with photographs taken by Harold Colton about 1928 (N.A. 4492, 1-45, Museum of Northern Arizona) show that an estimated 80% of the Hopi clan inscriptions are intact. The remainder have been damaged or removed entirely ... Names, dates, bogus clan signs, and a variety of graffiti have been added in recent years. Several of these later inscriptions were scratched or painted across Hopi panels, esthetically damaging but not obliterating them. The continuing vandalism of the site is the primary reason for the urgency of this nomination, as a first step towards other actions to protect this valuable resource.

Tessman considers Tutuveni as "... among the most visually impressive of Southwestern petroglyph sites." He concludes the form by stating, "Modern Hopis contacted by Michalis ((1981), and myself, all expressed great interest in the site and its preservation.

**Thompson, Laura**

**1945 Logico-Aesthetic Integration in Hopi Culture. *American Anthropologist* 47:540-553.**

In an analysis of the Hopi world view, Thompson describes how the Hopi "psycho-socio-cultural totality" manifests an integration based on a functional interdependency where change in one part elicits change in other parts. She explains that (p. 541),

In this system each individual—human and non-human—has its proper place in relation to all the other phenomena and each has a definite role in the cosmic order. The scheme does not operate mechanically, however, on account of the special role played by man. Whereas, according to Hopi theory, the non-human universe is controlled automatically by the reciprocity Principle, man is a responsible agent who may or may not completely fulfill his function in it. While the world of nature is compelled to respond in certain fixed ways to certain stimuli, man has a margin of choice and also man has the power to elicit response. Thus, in contrast to the non-human world, man can exercise a certain limited but positive measure of control over the universe. Indeed the Hopi believe not only that man can positively affect the functioning of the external world of nature to a limited extent, but that in the measure that fails to do so, the harmonious functioning of the universe will be impaired. To the Hopi the movements of the sun, the coming of rain, the growth of crops, the reproduction of animals and of human beings depend (to a certain extent at least) on man's correct, complete, and active participation in the fulfillment of the cosmic Law.

Hopis do this by following the "Hopi Way," a "unified code of practical rules covering every role which a Hopi person, male or female, is expected to assume during his journey from birth to death."

**Thompson, Laura and Alice Joseph**

**1947 *The Hopi Way*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. [Originally published in 1944 by Haskell Institute for the United States Indian Service.]**

This ethnography was prepared as part of an ambitious series intended to assist the Indian Service in the administration of Federal Indian policy by increasing understanding of Indian cultures and world views. In a discussion of the traditional Hopi economy the authors observe that (p. 22), "In the past the Hopi depended on natural products much more than they do today. The young men went on long collecting journeys, during which they were exposed to thirst, enemies and supernatural dangers. The most arduous of these was to the vicinity of the Grand

Canyon to get salt and pigments." In a diagram of "Hopi Trade," the authors depict the Havasupai trading paint and buckskins to the Hopi in exchange for corn (p. 23).

The Hopi world view is articulated in a section called "A Stone Age Theory of the Universe." Thompson and Joseph note that the Hopis have an "original and basically integrated theory of the universe" which they use to organize their world, cope with life problems, and obtain security in a hazardous environment (p. 36). They describe this theory by observing (p. 37),

Theoretically all phenomena, natural and supernatural, living and dead—including man, animals, plants, the earth, sun, moon and clouds, the ancestors and the spirits—are interrelated and mutually dependent through the underlying dynamic principle of the universe—which we shall call the law of universal reciprocity. This law implies the concept of immanent or cosmic justice. The emphasis is ... on the mutual exchange of essentially equivalent but not identical values according to fixed traditional patterns, in the interests of the common weal.

Humans have an active role in the reciprocity principle. The world of nature is compelled to respond in prescribed ways but humans both respond and elicit responses. Humans thus exercise a limited control over the universe (p. 37). Hopi philosophy therefore ascribes to humans an element of choice dependent on their will. The Hopi sense of space and time is ordered in three dimensions with six sides corresponding to the cardinal directions with the upper world of the living and the lower world of the dead (p. 39). The responsibilities of humans form an ethical code called the "Hopi Way" (p. 41). The Hopi Way expresses the Hopi world view at an emotional and behavioral level. It is a code for rules of proper acting, feeling, and thinking for every role a Hopi is required to assume in his life cycle.

The Wuwutchim ceremony in November is referred to as the "Grown Man" ceremony. This initiation (p. 43) "emphasizes spectacularly the Hopi concept of the male principle in the creation of life, the Hopi concept of death and rebirth of the individual in the Underworld where he continues to live in a manner similar to that in the Upper-world, and the Emergence of the tribe."

Thompson and Joseph conclude their description of Hopi world view by stating (p. 44), "Duality in the Hopi world view exists only insofar as it represents two correlates in a reciprocally balanced universal scheme, and each correlate is conceived as an indispensable part of the whole, neither one being essentially subordinate to the other."

**Thompson, Laura**

**1950 *Culture in Crisis, A Study of the Hopi Indians.* Harper and Brothers, New York.**

This book is based on research Thompson conducted for the Indian Service. In a brief section on diet, Thompson states (p. 51),

Salt was obtained in the vicinity of the Grand Canyon, a twenty-day journey from Hopiland. Salt expeditions were long and arduous undertakings by young men during which they were exposed to thirst, enemy Indians, and various supernatural dangers. More recently salt was obtained at a salt lake forty-two miles south of Zuni Pueblo, two hundred miles away. Now is it purchased at the trade store.

**Thure, Erika**

**1991 Tribe Battles University in Cultural Conflict. *The Lumberjack* 86(3):1.**

This article appeared in Northern Arizona University's college newspaper. It reports a forum held on January 16, 1991, to discuss the Hopi Tribe's concerns about academic research and publication of information that violates their "religious privacy." Dr. Eugene Hughes of NAU, Hopi Tribal Chairman Vernon Masayesva, and Hopi Cultural Preservation Office Director Leigh Jenkins spoke at the forum. The catalyst for the forum was the proposed publication of *The Hopi Salt Journey* by Ekkehart Malotki. Dr. Eugene Hughes announced the formation of a committee to investigate guidelines on the limits and freedoms in Indian research. Leigh Jenkins is quoted as saying, "There are various domains we consider off-limits because they are sacred to the Hopis." The article concludes by stating that Jenkins used the example of an Indian priest who chose to have his teachings die with him, saying "He would rather take it with him than have it corrupted, diluted, misused ... who knows? Maybe there is in fact a fifth world waiting for us."

**Titiev, Mischa**

**1937 A Hopi Salt Expedition. *American Anthropologist* 39(2):244-258.**

This journal article, based on information provided by Don Talayesva, describes "an actual journey for salt that was made in 1912 in prescribed, orthodox fashion." It provides substantially the same information as that found in *Sun Chief* (Simmons 1942). After pointing out that only Wuwtsim initiates were qualified to go on a salt pilgrimage, Titiev observes that, "The main reason for a ceremonial qualification is that the deposit visited by Oraibi men is located in the vicinity of the home of the dead (Maski) near the Grand Canyon, and therefore lies in dangerous territory. (p. 244)" Titiev (p. 244) thinks one of the principal aims of the Wuwutcim is to fit men for their

proper places in the after-life. Hence, he says, only those who have passed through Wuwutcim rites are eligible to visit the home of the dead.

The patron deities in charge of salt are the Little War Twins, Pukonghöya and Palungahöya. They established all the shrines on the route of the Salt Canyon, and inaugurated the ceremonies to be performed at each sacred spot. Men expecting to go for salt must make special prayer-feathers during Soyal and deposit them at the shrine of the Twins east of the village. An abstinence from sexual relationships for four days before the pilgrimage is also required (p. 244).

Large expeditions were common in the past, when the danger of encountering enemies was greater. Each household or clan may have sent a representative. Usually expeditions were made in the fall.

After describing the shrines used during the pilgrimage, Titiev provides a mythic explanation of the shrines and rites connected with salt (pp. 255-258).

**Titiev, Mischa**

**1941 A Hopi Visit to the Afterworld. *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters* 26:495-504.**

Titiev reports that there are frequent accounts of Hopi visits to the underworld. These are sometimes told as if the events occurred in the remote past and sometimes told in the first person. Titiev describes an account of the latter type recounted by Don Talayesva of Oraibi in 1932. This visit to the dead occurred in the winter of 1907 when Talayesva was seventeen years old and attending the Sherman Indian School in Riverside, California. Titiev compared this account of Talayesva's visit to the Afterworld with a second rendition Talayesva related to Leo Simmons six years later. While there was some variation in the details (e.g., seeing faces along the trail rather than people sitting on houses on the way to Mount Beautiful), the basic elements of the two accounts had remained virtually unchanged. Titiev (p. 503) observes, "This may be the result of frequent repetition, for Don tells his story to Hopi groups on numerous occasions. In this way he refreshes his own memory at the same time that he helps his auditors formulate the Hopi concept of the Afterworld." Talayesva believed that his "experience" was granted to him to teach him to value the Hopi manner of life (p. 504).

**Titiev, Mischa**

**1944 *Old Oraibi, A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 22(1), Cambridge.**

Chapter 10 (pp. 130-141) of this classic ethnography describes and interprets the Tribal Initiation. Young men traditionally went through the Tribal Initiation between

adolescence and marriage, usually between the ages of 15 and 20. Prior to the 1940s the rite was practically universal for the entire male population (p. 130). The ceremony was collectively known as the Wuwutcim but it was divided into four distinct branches called Singers (Tao), Horns (Al), Agaves (Kwan), and Wuwutcim. Titiev refers to the entire ceremony as the "Tribal Initiation" to distinguish the ceremony in its entirety from the Wuwutcim branch of the rituals. Adult status was gained by joining any one of the four divisions. At Oraibi membership in the Wuwutcim division was most common. The Tribal Initiation did not take place annually but only when there was a sufficient number of candidates on hand. At Oraibi, the Wuwutcim was controlled by the Kele (Chicken Hawk) Clan, and novices were called *kele* or *kelehöyam* (little chicken hawks). The Kwan division, however, had the most esoteric and least communal rites. Unless there was at least one candidate to join the Kwan the Tribal Initiation was not held (p. 135).

Titiev states (p. 130), "The Tribal Initiations are the most complicated, and among the most vital of all Hopi ceremonies, and their significance must be understood before one can hope to grasp the essential meaning of the Hopi religion." Anthropological understanding of the ritual is somewhat limited by the fact that the Hopis have never allowed any non-Indian ethnologists to view the entire ceremony. Even the well-known anthropologists Stephen and Fewkes were barred from the kiva during key parts of the ceremony in 1891 (p. 133).

Titiev remarks that to understand the meaning of the Tribal Initiation (p. 134), "... we must recall that not only is the *sipapu* the orifice through which man came forth on the earth, but it is also the direct entrance to the Underworld where live the spirits of the dead. It is to be expected, therefore, that the natal aspects of the Tribal Initiation will be complemented by mortuary features."

In a footnote, Titiev explains that (p. 136), "Deceased Kwan do not go to the general Underworld but to a mountain peak called Kwanivi; the Al go to a lake known as Alosaka; the Singers to Duwanasavi; Wuwutcim to any of the "homes" of Kacinas such as the San Francisco Mountains or the spring at Kisiwu. Possibly only the spirits of Wuwutcim men become Kacinas."

Titiev (p. 139) observes that the Tribal Initiation has "... a powerful effect on neophytes who are being made aware that man is born out of the Underworld and returns there when life is ended on earth. It is to affirm the continuity of life after death that the spirits of the deceased are supposed to present when the youths are 're-born'

In Chapter 14, Titiev observes (p. 171), "The most widely spread of the basic concepts of Hopi religion is a belief in the continuity of life after death ..." The Hopis do not consider the death of an individual to be a loss. Instead they regard death as an important change in status in which the person is re-born in the Afterworld. Once admitted to the Afterworld, the spirits engage in similar pursuits to what they did on

earth. They acquire supernatural power to bring rain. Prayer-offerings in the form of prayer sticks and prayer feathers are the most common way to establish contact with the dead. Titiev explains (p. 171), "Each day the spirits are said to rise from the original *sipapu*, which is the entrance to the realm of the dead, and to look east towards the Hopi mesas. They select the best ones who are summoning them and go to visit them."

Titiev (p. 177) concludes the Hopi belief in life after death as merely a stage in the continuous cycle of events means that Hopis regard their dead not as outsiders but as powerful members of society whose sphere of activity has been changed from the upper to the lower realm. Titiev (p. 178) astutely observes that the Hopis have nothing to fear if an essential religious ceremony is about to lapse since in the Below the different religious sodalities perform much the same rites as the world Above.

In summarizing "the meaning of the Hopi religion," Titiev identifies the dangers the Hopi faced from lack of rain, failure of crops, internal strife, onslaughts of disease, and enemy attacks (p. 177). He thinks that (pp. 178), "Shorn of its elaborate, detailed, and colorful superstructure of costumes, songs and dances, the entire complex of Hopi religious behavior stands revealed as a unified attempt to safeguard Hopi society from disintegration or dissolution."

#### Titiev, Mischa

**1958** *The Religion of the Hopi Indians*. In *Reader in Comparative Religion*, edited by William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt, pp. 532-539. Row, Peterson and Company, Evanston, Illinois. [Originally published in *Ancient Religions*, edited by Vergilius Ferm, Philosophical Library, 1950.]

Titiev reduces the Hopi religion to what he considers its barest essentials to argue that the Hopi religion is "a local manifestation of universally held beliefs" (p. 539). In Titiev's (p. 539) words, "Shorn of its elaborate and colorful superstructure of costumes, songs, and dances, the entire complex of Hopi religious behavior appears to be a large-scale attempt to safe-guard Hopi society from dissolution." Titiev thinks Hopi religion accomplishes this through beliefs and ceremonies relating to (1) the afterlife, (2) the role ancestors play in the guise of spirits and katchinas bringing rain, and (3) the sun as an agent of germination. Through their religion, the Hopis turn to the spiritual world to seek stability and permanence under all social and climatic conditions.

Titiev refers to the *Sipapuni* in stating (p. 535),

Perhaps the most fundamental concept of Hopi religion is a belief in the continuity of life after death. As is brought out in their mythology, they believe that in the beginning mankind emerged from an underground home (kiva) to the surface of the earth. Soon after, a witch caused the

first death but escaped punishment by pointing out that the deceased has merely gone back into the underground kiva. So insignificant at the outset was the distinction between the quick and the dead that there was freedom of movement between the upper and lower realms until a mischievous Coyote threw a stone over the kiva opening, and thus brought about a permanent separation of the two worlds. Even so, the spirits of the dead are permitted occasionally to visit the living.

In describing the Katcina Cult, Titiev (p. 535) adds, "Not only are clouds and the spirits of the dead interchangeable according to Hopi belief, but they are also equivalent to the supernatural beings called 'kacinas.'" The kacinas emerged with the Hopis but returned to the underworld leaving their masks and dance costumes behind so the Hopis could impersonate them during the performance of rain-bringing dances.

Titiev (pp. 537-538) thinks that the Tribal Initiation ceremony is integral in understanding the essential meaning of the Hopi religion. He notes that "Various parts of the Tribal Initiation also serve to dramatize portions of the Emergence story. The continuity of life after death is affirmed by the supposed presence of visitors from the realm of the dead ..." during the initiation ceremonies.

#### **Titiev, Mischa**

**1972 *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: Change and Continuity*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, MI.**

The bulk of this monograph describes a seven month period between August 1933 and March 1934 during which Titiev lived with the Hopis at Old Oraibi and kept a daily journal of his observations. The entries from this journal make up the contents of the book with some additional notes and bracketed comments added for explanation, comparison, or validation. In various places in his diary, Titiev documents the continued practice of ritual salt gathering in Hopi life. Early in the book he mentions that a group of dancers from Mishongnovi were "preparing for a salt expedition to Salt Lake in New Mexico," explaining that "Second Mesa folk always go there instead of to the Salt Canyon visited by Oraibi men." (p. 39). The expedition from Mishongnovi, he reports later, took a total of twenty two days--from September 7 to the 29th (p. 64). Titiev's informant, Ned, tells him that "what they will bring back is tastier than store-bought salt" (p. 60).

Titiev interviewed some Hopis who provided detailed information about the traditional salt-gathering ritual. He reports (p. 40):

Joe says that in the old days no man could go on a salt expedition until he had gone through Wuwutcim (Tribal Initiation). . . . He also spoke of the difficulties of descending Salt Canyon. . . . Joe told of one man who had made the journey but who didn't dare risk the descent.

A Hopi named "Ned" provided the author with information on one specific aspect of the ritual and its correlation with Hopi practices generally. He discusses (p. 131-32),

... the ritual copulation that each member of an expedition is supposed to perform with a rock that represents the Salt goddess and is known as Öng Wuhti ("Salt Woman"). As is true of all sexual affairs, except in marriage, each man is expected to make some sort of payment for favors received, and everyone vows to leave some salt with the deity on the return trip. Many tales of misfortune are told about those who skimp or renege on their promised payments.

Early in the diaries Titiev mentions that some Hopis would possibly take him on a trip to Salt Canyon for a fee. He remarks that he "Spoke to Dennis about making a trip to Salt Canyon. [This trip never materialized.] He wanted to know about pay. Ned is willing to go for one dollar a day plus expenses, but Dennis probably will want more" (p. 49).

Titiev argues that (p. 352), "... when men gave up making long arduous expeditions for natural salt (n. 4, p. 359) in favor of buying packaged salt, it brought about a *highly significant* change, inasmuch as it freed parties of able-bodied men for the pursuit of many other tasks over a period of several days." The note cited in this passage immediately above describes that instance of *highly significant* change. The note reads (p. 359), "Oraibi folk gave up going for salt long ago. Around 1951 a number of Hotevilla men set out for the Salt Canyon, but they could not find the spot and returned empty-handed. I know of no later salt-gathering expeditions from Third Mesa. People from the other Mesas are said to go to Zuñi Salt Lake occasionally by truck."

In addition to information regarding salt expeditions, this monograph also provides accounts of traditional Hopi burial practices (pp. 142, 258).

**Turner, Christy G.**

**1963 *Petrographs of the Glen Canyon Region, Styles, Chronology, Distribution, and Relationships from Basketmaker to Navajo*. Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin 38, Glen Canyon Series Number 4.**

This report summarizes three years of "petrographic analysis" in the Glen and San Juan Canyons conducted from 1958 to 1960 during the Glen Canyon Salvage Project. Styles of petroglyphs are dated by ceramic associations, deterioration, and superimposition. In general, the abundance of petroglyphs is directly proportional to the occupation intensity of the various prehistoric occupations. Five stylistic horizons are defined: (1) Navajo-Paiutes, Anglos [1850-present], (2) Hopi [1300-present], (3)

Anasazi, Kayenta, Late PIII [1200-1300], (4) Anasazi, Kayenta and Mesa Verde, PII-III [1050-1250], (5) Anasazi, Basketmaker, PI, Early PII [pre-1050].

Style 2 (Hopi, 1300-present) was dated by comparison to petroglyphs around the Hopi villages and near Moenave (p. 5). Turner states (p. 6), "Style 2 is linked with Hopi revisitation of the canyons from the 14th century to the present, as evidenced by the occasional Hopi yellow and utilityware sherds found on the surface ..." Turner (pp. 22-25) uses Hopi informants and ethnography to argue that all petroglyphs showing humpback figure with or without flutes are not depictions of Kokopele (p. 24).

Turner believes that the production of petroglyphs was motivated by eight different factors. He suggests (1) that some petroglyphs were made to recollect events that took place in the winter homes, which he says is demonstrated by the fact that in Navajo Canyon, the greater the distance from the Highlands (winter homes, the more petroglyphs of kachinas are found. Upon reaching the Colorado River, the kachina has become a dominant form (p. 27). He cites the work of Fewkes (1892:19-26), who was able to identify specific mythological personages depicted in rock art that were still seen in ceremonials then practiced. Turner also suggests astronomical phenomena were portrayed in rock art. Other motivations (p. 28) include (2) sympathetic magic concerning the hunt, evidenced by the many zoomorphic designs of mountain sheep portrayed as being hunted or with hunting shafts attached to their back; (3) the practice, creation, and remembrance of designs for blankets, sandals, pottery, and basketry (whose designs may have also had ceremonial connotations); (4) teaching of novitiates about the ceremonial side of the Anasazi world (in a way analogous to how kachina dolls are currently used); (5) clan symbols; (6) creative impulse; (7) propitiatory gestures, "fetishtic" reverence, or fertility tokens; and (8) idle "doodling." Turner (p. 29) posits the majority of the people producing petroglyphs were men, based on an inference from the nature of the interests portrayed, i.e., the hunt and kachina-like figures.

Turner's analysis of the distribution of the petroglyph styles shows that through time the styles occur in an increasingly circumscribed area (pp. 30-37). He makes a number of interesting conclusions in interpreting these patterns. With regard to migrations, he states (p. 32),

In Glen Canyon, Style 2 is located most often at Pueblo II-III habitation and camp sites near river and canyon crossings. This suggests individual movement out of the Hopi country into surrounding areas that were already known to some or all Hopi and that traditional trails were followed for the purpose of trade, gathering, hunting, collecting, or other reasons. One possible motivation agreed upon by Hopi informants was the frequent revisitation of Hopi shrines away from the Hopi villages. If this is true, there is all the more reason to believe that a direct cultural relationship exists between the Pueblo II-III inhabitants of the Glen Canyon and the 14th century Hopi Indians returning to the

Pueblo II-III structures which they had abandoned but remembered ... The distribution is thus a result of travel along already established trails and routes within the Glen Canyon region and is not due to indigenous localized groups living at these fording and crossing stations. This belief is further substantiated by the meager amounts of refuse attributable to Pueblo IV people.

Turner's final conclusion regarding the Hopis is,

Through Hopi informants, written records of Hopi traditions, and study of the Glen Canyon region petroglyphs, a conclusion was reached that the Spider, Water, Tit-mouse, and possibly the Reed and Snake clans could have been familiar with the occupation of the Glen Canyon region between A.D. 1050-1200. These clans are implicated with the prehistoric occupation remains, both within the major river canyon systems and the pueblo centers in the southern Navajo uplands and adjacent river canyon mesas. It is not felt these clans were involved solely in the more recent Pueblo IV revisitation of Glen and San Juan Canyons.

**United States Geological Survey**

**1886 Arizona, Tusayan Sheet, scale 1:250,000.**

This nineteenth-century map superimposes Indian trails and roads onto the landscape between the Hopi Mesas and the nearby Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers. It documents an elaborate network of trails from the previous century which connected Hopis to places and peoples in their surroundings.

**Vecsey, Christopher**

**1988 *Imagine Ourselves Richly, Mythic Narratives of the North American Indians*. Crossroad, New York.**

This book analyses and interprets "myths" and rituals from several Indian Tribes. Chapter 2, "The Emergence and Maintenance of the Hopi People" was co-authored with Carol Ann Lorenz. It is composed of two previously published articles: "The Emergence of the Hopi People" in *American Indian Quarterly* 9:69-92 (1983); and "Hopi Ritual Clowns and Values in the Hopi Life Span" (with Carol Ann Lorenz) in *Humor and Aging*, edited by Kathleen McClusky et al., Academic Press, 1986. Vecsey and Lorenz briefly summarize the emergence myth as documented by Voth in 1905, and then present an analysis that explains the narrative in terms of the derivation and maintenance of Hopi community life.

**Victor, Frances Fuller**

**1870 *The River of the West*. R. W. Bliss & Co., Hartford, Connecticut.**

In this book recalling the history of early frontier activities on the Colorado River, Victor relates a story of a group of trappers, including Joe Meek, who contacted the Hopi in 1834. The group of Americans raised havoc at the Mesas, with two men, Jervais and Frapp, ransacking the Hopis' gardens and killing fifteen to twenty people. Meek claimed to have watched the entire incident from the sidelines (152-153).

**Voelker, Frederic E.**

**1971 William Sherley (Old Bill) Williams. In *The Mountain Men of the Fur Trade of the Far West*, edited by LeRoy R. Hafen. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company.**

The following passage about "Old Bill" Williams documents the role the Hopi Indians played in the dissemination of knowledge about the Grand Canyon to early nineteenth century fur trappers in the Southwest (p. 379).

By a devious trail they arrived at the 'extreme border house where a civilized man lived,' the Cienga Amarillo rancho of Pedro Sanchez, whom Bill had met at Zuni Pueblo in 1827. Continuing west, they crossed the Little Colorado River, and one day met a hunting party of Hopis who directed them to the Petrified Forest. Fascinated, they rode through it to a Hopi village where they learned enough about the Grand Canyon to urge them toward its rim, and after a zig-zag trip they camped above Marble Canyon, where they sat in enchanted stupor.

**Volante, Enric**

**1988 Hopis Gather Golden Eagles in Religious Ritual. *Arizona Daily Star*, July 10, pp. B1, B9.**

This newspaper article describes the ritual collection of Golden Eagles by Hopis from Second Mesa in 1988. Shipaulovi Two Horn Priest Archie Humeystewa is quoted as saying, "These eagles are humans, just like us ... They're here for a purpose." Tribal Vice Chairman Vernon Masayesva is quoted as saying, "The eagle is a powerful bird to the Hopis. The whole family structure centers on the eagles when the are brought in." Boys have the responsibility to hunt for the squirrels and rabbits used to feed the birds and girls are taught to prepare food for the eagles before cooking for their own family." The eagles that are collected are ritually smothered after the Home Dance and the feathers are plucked and distributed among clan members. Walter Hamana is quoted as saying "Its not a matter of killing something. Its a matter of Hopis doing this for your benefit and mine and mankind throughout the world. Its

on their behalf that these things are done, so that life here on Earth will continue. So they're reviving and sustaining life; they're not killing anything. That's the way the Hopis look at it."

**Volante, Enric**

**1988 Eagle Gathering Worries Navajos, Some Biologists. *Arizona Daily Star*, July 10, p. B9.**

This article summarizes a controversy about the Hopi's ritual collection of Golden Eagles from land awarded to the Navajo Nation as part of the Navajo-Hopi land dispute. The Navajo Nation claimed many Hopis collecting eagles were trespassing on Navajo land since they had not obtained federal or tribal permits to collect raptors. Volante states "Fearful that issuing a permit would set a precedent that could lead to increased killing of eagles, the U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) had ignored the Hopi harvest, since it was not considered excessive, agency officials have said." However, in 1985, the FWS issued a permit for Hopis to collect eagles, an action that the Navajo Nation criticized since it did not consider that an adequate environmental assessment of this undertaking had been conducted. Although Golden Eagles are not an endangered species they are protected under the Bald and Golden Eagle Protection Act and other federal laws.

K. C. Fredericks, the FWS regional director for law enforcement, is quoted as saying, "This is a deeply religious and significant event for them [the Hopis] and so far they seem to be managing the numbers and the collecting — as far as we can tell — quite well." It is estimated that the Hopis collected eighteen eagles, a number that Fredericks considered to have an "insignificant" impact on the adult breeding population since six out of ten eaglets die from natural causes.

Volante notes the Hopis rely on prayers and ritual offerings at eagle shrines to ensure the eagles will continue nesting in the area. He states, "Although some Hopis obtain eagle hunting permits as a practical matter, they liken the permits to requiring a Christian to be licensed to enter a church." Archie Humeyestewa, a Two Horn Priest and member of the Hopi Tribal Council is quoted as saying, "These prayer feathers that I prepared and deposited (at shrines) are the only permit that we need, because we've been doing it ever since the beginning of time, when we settled these areas."

Some biologists are reported as being more concerned about the impact of Navajo overgrazing and increased development of the region on the eagle population than by ritual harvesting of eagles by Hopis. Although the FWS has a program to provide eagle feathers and carcasses to Indian Tribes, the Hopis require live eaglets because they, "have the power of lightness and purity needed to carry prayers to deities," as a Hopi legal brief states.

Voth, H. R.

1901 *The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony*, Anthropological Series, Vol. 3, No. 2, Publication 61, pp. 67-158. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

This anthropological monograph describes the performance of the annual Powamu Ceremony as observed by Voth at Oraibi between 1894 and 1901. Voth notes (p. 71) "...by this ceremony the fields and gardens are put in proper condition, symbolically, protected against destructive forces (sand storms, ants, etc.) and in very way consecrated, as it were, for the approaching planting season." In the preface, Voth gives the following definition for the Sipapu (p. 68): "An imaginary opening in the Grand Cañon from which the human family is said to have emerged, and which is represented in kivas, on altars, etc." The *Sipapuni* is depicted on one of the sand mosaics of the Powamu altar.

Voth, H. R.

1905 *The Traditions of the Hopi*. Field Columbian Museum, Publication 96, Anthropological Series 8.

This collection of narratives from Second and Third Mesas begins, appropriately, with the Hopi "Origin Myth" as recounted by Qöyáwaima from Oraibi. To set the context, Voth appends a note which states (p. 1), "The events here related are supposed to have happened in the lower world. The increasing of the various peoples and tribes, and the constant contentions among them, finally led to the emigration from the nether world through the sípapu into this world, the account of which is related by variant traditions of the Hopi." Another version of the emergence narrative that Voth provides in this work was told by Lomávantiwa from Shupaúlavi. Lomávantiwa begins by describing the state of disorder and conflict which existed in the Underworld before emergence. In part 4, "The Wanderings of the Hopi" as told by Yukioma of Oraibi, it is noted that at the time of the emergence (p. 18), "... there were all kinds of people living down there, the White Man, the Paiute, the Pueblo; in fact, all the different kinds of people except the Zuñi and the Kóhonino, who have come from another place."

Lomávantiwa from Shupaúlavi provides a narrative of "The Snake Myth" (pp. 30- 36), which recounts the journey of the Chief's son at Tokóonavi, north of the Grand Canyon, who often (p. 30) "pondered over the Grand Canyon and wondered where all that water went to." Sikánakpu from Mishógnovi provides another version of the "The Snake Myth" (pp. 35-36), in which the (p. 35) "The old men often wondered where the Colorado River was flowing." The old men put a young man into the box they constructed with a pole to guide it and four bahos and (p. 36) "... sent the box off floating down the river." In a footnote Voth notes (p. 36),

The Hopi agree in their different tales that after leaving the sípahpuni, not only the different nationalities scattered and took different routes towards the East, but also those people whom they considered their forefathers, scattered and traveled eastward in smaller and larger bodies. They stopped at various places for shorter or longer periods, and it was in these wanderings that the different clans were created, and it is by reason of this separation and of the traveling eastward of the different bodies by different routes, that the traditions and tales of the different clans vary so considerably from each other.

**Voth, H. R.**

**1912 Notes on the Eagle Cult of the Hopi. In *Brief Miscellaneous Hopi Papers*, Field Columbian Museum, Publication 157, pp. 105-109.**

This article briefly summarizes how the Hopis procure and use eagles in their religion. With respect to gathering, Voth states (p. 107), "The territory around the Hopi villages where eagles may be found is, and has been from time immemorial, divided into portions or allotments, which are controlled by certain clans and families. These territories extend as far as 50 and 60 miles from the villages." He also says (p. 107), "Every spring hunting expeditions set out to procure young eagles. These, when captured in their roosts, are usually tied to racks ... and carried to the villages where they are kept of the flat house tops, tied by one leg to some beam, rock or peg to prevent their escape ... Here they are fed with rabbits, field mice, etc. until about July, when they have grown to full size. The number of birds, thus captured, varies very much in different years. One year there were thirty-five in the village of Oraibi alone. Among these are usually also various kinds of hawks, especially a certain large kind, which the Hopi call 'red eagle,' the feathers of which are used very extensively for prayer offerings, masks, eagle shafts, etc."

Voth notes (pp. 107-108), "In nearly all the principal ceremonies the eagles are remembered by prayer offerings, prepared for them by the priests. These consist usually of small eagle or hawk feathers, tied to a twisted cotton string, about four inches long, and are called nakwakwosis. These nakwakwosis are handed to those priests who are part owners in an eagle allotment and who deposit them with some sacred meal in shrines, devoted to the eagles."

The Hopis have Eagle Katcinas, and these Katcinas receive prayer offerings at the dances, which they deposit at Katcina shrines "that the eagles may not fail to lay eggs and hatch them again the next year" (p. 108).

The eagles are ritually killed after the Niman Katcina ceremony (pp. 108-109). The feathers are plucked for ritual use, and the eagle bodies are ritually buried in grave-yards located close to the villages. In addition to being used in nakwakwosis, the eagle feathers are used on masks, standards, altars, arrow shafts, and for many other purposes. Many different prayer feathers and prayer sticks incorporate eagle feathers

in their offerings. Eagle bones are used to make whistles that are used in "all ceremonies of any importance" (p. 109). Voth also notes, "... an eagle feather pūhu (road) is placed to the west of the grave of departed Hopi to show them the road to the skeleton house."

**Voth, H. R.**

**1912 Notes on Modern Burial Customs of the Hopi of Arizona. In *Brief Miscellaneous Hopi Papers, Anthropological Series, Vol. 11, No. 2, Publication 157, pp. 99-103. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.***

This description of burial customs refers particularly to Oraibi. Voth begins this essay with the statement (p. 99), "The belief in a future state and in a continued existence after death is well defined in the religious conception and in many rites and ceremonies of the Hopi." This belief plays a role in Hopi burial customs. Voth says a burial pit 5 to 7 feet deep is dug and the deceased is placed in a sitting position with the face towards the east (p. 102). During the burial, nakwakwosis (prayer feathers) are prepared offered, and a meal line pointing westward is created. Voth adds (p. 103), "According to a belief of the Hopi the hikvsi (breath or soul) or the deceased ascends early the next morning from the grave, partakes of the hikvsi of the food, mounts the hikvsi of the seat and then travels along the road to the masski (skeleton house) taking the hikvsi of the double baho along as an offering." In the case of small children not yet initiated into religious societies, a symbolic road is made from the grave to the home of the child because it is believed the child will be reincarnated in the next child born in that family.

**Voth, H. R.**

**1912 Four Hopi Tales. In *Brief Miscellaneous Hopi Papers, Anthropological Series, Vol. 11, No. 2, Publication 157, pp. 137-143. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.***

In a "tale" entitled "Tradition about Several Mishongnovi Clans," Voth notes the Batki and Sand Clans came from Palatkwapi via Homolovi (pp. 142-143). They brought with them the knowledge of how to produce rain and crops. They increased the flow from a small spring at Toreva by making an offering of mud, grass, and water brought from the Little Colorado River. This information was provide by a Hopi by the name of Sikánakpu.

**Wallace, William Swilling (editor)**

**1961 Lieutenants Pershing and Stotsenberg Visit the Grand Canyon: 1887.**  
*Arizona and the West* 3:265-284.

This narrative by John Miller Stotsenberg describes a trip that he and Lt. John J. Pershing made to the Grand Canyon in 1887. These two army officers made a recreational trip from Fort Wingate in New Mexico through the Hopi Mesas to the Grand Canyon. In a brief preface, Wallace describes their route as approximating what later became U. S. Highway 66 from Fort Wingate to Gallup, NM, via the Navajo Reservation road through Oraibi to U. S. Highway 89 near Cameron, Arizona, and thence to Arizona State Highway 64 and the Grand Canyon.

Stotsenberg and Pershing were accompanied by a packer and a Navajo scout during their trip. Their original destination was the Hopi villages but along the route they decided to visit the Grand Canyon. After visiting Keams Canyon, Walpi, and Oraibi, the party traveled to Moencopi and Tuba City. Their descriptions of all of these places contain interesting tidbits of historical information about Hopi agriculture, architecture, and society, and about the Mormons in Tuba City that beyond the direct scope of the Hopi GCES project.

Stotsenberg and Pershing had a perilous "adventure" between Moencopi and the Grand Canyon in that they traveled without a guide, had difficulty in finding the trail, ran short of water, and had trouble with their packer and pack animals. Running short of water was especially difficult. After overcoming these difficulties, Stotsenberg and Pershing encountered two Supai Indians hunting antelope, and eventually arrived at John Hance's cabin on the rim of the Grand Canyon. Stotsenberg and Pershing hiked to the bottom of the canyon before leaving to return to Tuba City, Oraibi, and Keam's Canyon.

Of interest to the Hopi GCES project is the fact that trail that ran from Moencopi to the Little Colorado and then to the south rim of the Grand Canyon was well known by non-Indians in 1887. After this trail was described to them by Mormons, Stotsenberg and Pershing were able to find it, albeit with some difficulty. The fact that the army officers encountered Supai Indians along the trail indicates it was a major route of travel in the area.

**Wallis, Wilson D. and Mischa Titiev**

**1945 Hopi Notes from Chimopavy.** *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 30:523-555.

This article is based on information provided by Joshua He-mi-yesi-va (Humiyesva), a student at Carlisle Indian School, during a three week visit to the University Museum in Philadelphia in 1912. The material was "secured" by Wallis,

and Titiev and Elsie Clews Parsons added comments and comparative data. Twenty plates of Hopi shields drawn by Humiyesva follow the text of the article. In a list of birds (p. 528), the *Kela* or desert sparrow hawk (*Falco s. phalaena*) is described as "The bird that first attempted to find a way out of the underworld for the Hopi."

With respect to rain, it is noted (p. 545),

Those of the dead who were good people while on earth become Cloud People after death. They have a round, nearly flat tray made of cotton, called *bac'taawota*, in which they carry water; another in which lightening is carried; and a third in which thunder is kept ... They lift them up to the wind, and water sprinkled from them causes rain. They ... take water out of these trays with their hands, and sprinkle it out into the air, but never throw out all of it.

Plate IX illustrates a shield bearing the sign of *cakwachi* (friendship). Humiyesva describes it as "Na-a-gwatch'sta, 'making friends.' The crescents represent clasped hands, emblematic of peace and truce." One crescent is green, the other is blue. Friendship marks also appear on a shield illustrated in Plate XVII.

**Warner, Ted J. (editor) and Fray Angelico Chavez (translator)**

**1995 *The Domínguez-Escalante Journal*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.**

This is a careful translation of the journal kept during the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition of 1776, which explored a large territory in what are now the states of New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona. It is based on the best of the nine extant manuscript copies of the journal available. Warner and Chavez note (p. 5),

A Spanish league in the eighteenth century was the equivalent of 2.63 U. S. statute miles today. Eighteenth-century travelers calculated a league as the distance traveled for one hour on horseback over level terrain at a normal gait ... Reckoning distance in this manner is obviously a haphazard method at best, and accounts for the fact that in retracing the route it is difficult to understand the long distances traveled on certain days.

In the context of describing blue cloth in the possession of Utes, the Domínguez-Escalante journal mentions that the Cosninas (Havasupai) trade with the Hopis to obtain blue textiles (p. 91).

The Domínguez-Escalante expedition crossed from the north bank to the south bank of the Colorado River on November 7, at a location subsequently called the "Crossing of the Fathers" (pp. 119-123). The expedition headed towards the Moqui villages but made several detours in an attempt to find the Cosninas Indians. On

November 8 the Domínguez-Escalante journal documents the expedition found the footprints of many Indians but did not see any of them. The party followed a "well-beaten path" (p. 123). Paiute Indians were seen on November 9 but the Spaniards could not induce them to come near. The Paiutes are described as having a "great enmity" for the Moquis (pp. 123-124). On November 10, two trails are described, one heading towards the Cosninas, the other to the Moquis (p. 124). On November 14, the party passed through Pasture Canyon, where small farms of the Cosninas were observed (p. 128). On November 16, the expedition reached Oraibi (pp. 130-131). "Here we found a well-beaten trail and concluded it went to one of the Moqui pueblos." The expedition spent four days visiting the various Hopi pueblos (pp. 132-138), departing for Zuni Pueblo on November 20.

It is clear from the Domínguez-Escalante journal that there was a well-established trail network between the Hopi villages and the Colorado River at Glen Canyon. Paiutes and Cosninas (Havasupai) Indians are described in this area.

**Washburn, Dorothy K.**

**1995 *Living in Balance, The Universe of the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and Apache.*  
The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.**

This general audience book was prepared to accompany a museum exhibit. Washburn used Eric Polingyouma as a consultant to prepare a synopsis of the "Hopi Origin and Migration Legends." Washburn (pp. 20-21) traces Hopi roots to the time of the *Yayniini*, "The Beginning," when people left the central valley of Mexico and moved northward to the Mississippian and Southwestern regions. Washburn says that when the Hopi got to the Four Corners area,

... the deity *Màasaw* stopped them at the Hopi mesas and directed them to live in the desert. There they had to develop new farming techniques to survive. With their digging sticks and seeds the Hopi were told to practice the hard life of planting crops in this arid area. Not only would this be a test of the renewed purity of their belief, but it would also be symbolic of the hard work of raising new generations of Hopi people. The Bear Clan was the first to arrive, settling at Shungopavi. Each clan group that subsequently came to the mesas was invited to live there *only* if the members brought a ceremonial that would be helpful in daily living.

But after the Hopi had lived on the mesas for several hundred years life again began to go off balance. The Hopi then asked the *katsina* people to come from the Four Corners area and live with them to help them regain the proper Hopi ways. The *katsina* people agreed if the Hopi would give them half of the year for their ceremonials. For this reason the Hopi had to double up their other ceremonies, with the result that

certain ceremonials are practiced in alternate years. Thus, the two worlds of the Hopi—the Hopi and the *katsin* began when the Hopi invited the *katsina* to come live with them on the mesas.

Of death, Washburn writes that individuals are buried immediately since each dawn is a new day and the deceased must be sent to the house of *Màasaw*, the spirit of the underworld before dawn (p. 52). After ritual preparation of the body, the deceased (at Second Mesa) are buried in a seated position “facing west in the direction of the Grand Canyon, where they will enter the *Sipapu* into the previous world. Uninitiated Hopi adults and children are buried facing east — so they can live their lives all over again.”

**Waters, Frank**

**1977 *Book of the Hopi*. Penguin Books, New York. [Originally published in 1963].**

In this controversial book, Frank Waters has set out to write a definitive and complete account of Hopi life, beliefs, and history. Waters' book is based in part on oral interviews with some thirty Hopi elders. Drawings and source material were recorded by Oswald White Bear Fredericks. Although Waters undertook a substantial amount of research for this book, he did not write it to meet academic standards. Since Waters does not always identify his sources, the book is difficult to use in scholarly research. This is compounded by the fact that Waters homogenizes the variation in Hopi oral traditions to provide a consistent narrative that makes sense to non-Hopis. This approach reduces the historicity and cultural values inherent in the variation of the traditions of different clans and societies, and contributes to making the book problematical for Hopis and scholars.

A reference to the pilgrimage for salt is included in a footnote on p. 146, which says,

Initiates on First and Second Mesa go to Salt Lake below Zuñi, the initiates on third Mesa making the more difficult, ninety-mile pilgrimage on foot to Grand Canyon and bringing back a heavy gift of salt for their sponsoring godmothers. The last pilgrimage was made in 1957, and I am told that hardship is so great that few young men now make the trip. Those who do not go always remain young hawk fledglings too spiritually weak to fly.

**Watson, James B.**

**1943 How the Hopi Classify their Foods. *Plateau* 15(4):49-52.**

Watson (p. 49) notes that the Hopi word for salt is “*uh:nga*.” Salt is a member of a class of foods termed “*uh:ngála*,” which Watson says are or were in the past more

scarce than the staples in Hopi diet. He states (p. 50), "There can be no doubt as to the gustatory function of salt in Hopi or any diet, and the partial phonetic identity between *uh:nga* and *uh:ngála* seems, therefore, more than accidental." *Uh:ngála* foods are items that are scarce, hard-to-get, or "costly," and which are not consumed in large quantities at any given time.

**Weaver, Donald E.**

**1984 Images on Stone, The Prehistoric Rock Art of the Colorado Plateau.**

*Plateau 55: 1-32.*

This well-illustrated article about prehistoric rock art on the Colorado Plateau contains one photograph and a brief narrative description of Hopi petroglyphs at Willow Springs, Arizona. With respect to the Willow Springs site, Weaver notes that,

Although it is difficult, in the case of Native American cultures (both prehistoric and historic), to separate religion from secular activities, some possible primarily nonreligious rock art functions include depictions designed to commemorate important events; to facilitate recordkeeping; to mark family, clan; or other group territorial boundaries and participation; and to mark important calendric or cyclic natural events such as the summer solstice. (p. 14)

The best known example of this type of rock art is the site of Willow Springs near Tuba City. The site was a stopping place for Hopis on their way from the Hopi mesas to sacred salt deposits near the junction of the Little Colorado and Colorado rivers. As a result of repeated visits, rows of virtually identical clan symbols, representing some twenty-seven clans, have been pecked into the soft sandstone rock. Thus, the site served to commemorate one important event in an individual's life, to record a visit to the site, and to mark clan participation. In the rather unique case of Willow Springs, a sound interpretation was easily formulated since the Hopi still used the site in historic times, and a very detailed account of such a journey existed ... It should be noted that even though these interpretations are primarily secular in nature the rock art undoubtedly had religious significance as well.

**Weinburg, Frances Toor**

**1922 *Relations of the Spaniards with the Moquis 1540 - 1780.* M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley.**

This masters thesis in history includes transcriptions of a number of Spanish documents, preceded by a general discussion of the subject indicated in the title. One of the documents Weinburg translates is "Diary of Entrada to Moqui, June 1775, with

letter to Minister Provincial, Fray Ysidro Murrillo, Apr. 30, 1776, by Fray Silvestre V. Escalante." While at Hopi, Escalante obtained information concerning the Cosninas (Havasupai). Escalante relates that there were two Havasupai Indians present at Walpi during his visit to that village. As translated by Weinburg (pp. 48-49), Escalante describes that while he was at Oraibi,

I was going in search of some Cosninas in order to get information of their land and to learn if I could go there along with them. And, having learned that even the two who were in Gualpi the day I arrived had already departed from Moqui for Cashuala, which is their land, I charged the interpreter that if anyone of their relations or friends had any knowledge of the place and of the road, to try and bring him to me with caution, in order to inform me of it. He brought his uncle, saying this one had gone many times to Cosnina and that he would tell me better than anyone else as much as he knew. In fact, his words and countenance denoted that a good soul had fallen to his lot, and assured the truth of what he was able to submit. At the same time I was questioning him, there approached one to the house where I was lodging, and hesitating to continue lest the other (one approaching) should hear him, the very one whom he feared encouraged him, saying now the two were alone and that there was no one to denounce them, that he too knew the land and wished to please me by answering whatever I might ask him. Thereupon the two gave me an extensive report of everything.

Escalante thus provides evidence that in 1775 the "road" to Cataract Canyon where the Havasupai dwelled was well-known by the Hopis, and that both Havasupais and Hopis visited each other's settlements on a regular basis.

**West, Jean and Wynell Burroughs Schamel**

**1991 Those Waterless, Sandy Valleys: Petition of the Moqui Women.**

*Magazine of History* 5(3):46-51.

This is a lesson plan for history teachers designed around a 1894 petition Hopi leaders sent to the "Washington Chiefs." A facsimile of the petition is included depicting the totemic signatures of the signatories. Interestingly, West and Schamel misidentify the signatories as Hopi women whereas contemporaneous correspondence from Stephen to Fewkes clearly establishes the signatories were men.

**Wheeler, George M.**

**1875 *Report upon United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian, Vol. 3--Geology.* Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.**

In the 1873 season of George M. Wheeler's survey of the territories west of the one hundredth Meridian, Dr. Oscar Loew discovered a naturally-formed salt deposit near Sunset Crossing on the Little Colorado River while exploring Hopi territory (p. 628).

**Wheeler, George M.**

**1879 *Report upon United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian, Vol. 7 — Archaeology.* Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.**

During George M. Wheeler's survey of the territories west of the one hundredth Meridian, members of the survey recorded information about Native Americans living throughout the area. Volume 7 is dedicated to the documentation of all archaeological and ethnographic material from the survey. During the 1873 season, members of the survey visited the Hopi Mesas (pp. 388, 405). A Mr. Gibbons reported that while there, he observed Hopis sitting on their roof tops, "looking to the east at sunrise" (p. 321). Dr. Oscar Loew also visited Hopiland during this year and reported that a total of six villages existed at the Hopi Mesas (p. 340,405).

**Whiteley, Peter**

**1988 *Deliberate Acts.* University of Arizona Press, Tucson.**

Whiteley begins his preface with the remark (p. xv), "It's pretty tough to write about the Hopi these days ... Hopis are intrinsically suspicious of anthropologists as people who pry too much, reveal cultural secrets, and make a living by exploiting Hopi culture." He also points out that (pp. xv-xvi), "The communication of knowledge in Hopi society is not an open free-for-all; much knowledge is privileged and valuable, and the average citizen does not have rights of access. Some forms of knowledge, especially pertaining to ritual, are highly sensitive and should never be discussed publicly (anthropologists have largely ignored this, of course)."

Whiteley concludes a discussion of Hopi clans at Oraibi by noting (p. 53),

Mythological history and its reenactment in ritual or its reiteration in tradition constitute crucial features of clan identity in Hopi thought. Clan traditions are matters of continuous intraclan discourse that repeatedly reaffirm marks of distinction. Such marks occupy manifold frames of reference: mythico-historical, theological, ritual, geographical,

archaeological, botanical, zoological, meteorological, and so forth. In short, clans in Hopi thought are cosmological, not simply sociological, entities.

In discussing the structure and sociology of Hopi knowledge, Whiteley notes (p. 255),

*Hopinavoti* is the general category of Hopi ideation that provides thoroughgoing analyses that are comparable to anthropological analyses, in that they stem from a demarcated tradition of interpretation that is specialized, restricted, and "expert." *Navoti* indicates 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 predictive element and the temporal connection between cause and effect mean that present conditions can be explained by reference to past predictions and that future events will in some way reflect contemporary "prophecy"—a term used for *navoti* in Hopi English ("theory" is another).

He notes that *sikavungsinom* are regarded as having a shallower understanding of *Hopinavoti* than *pavansinom*. Hopi knowledge can be portrayed (p. 255) "... as a series of concentric rings marking boundaries of secrecy between circles of knowledge ..." that separate common people from religious leaders with access to powerful and esoteric information. Whiteley notes, (p. 265), "Since knowledge in Hopi society is the currency of power and is closely guarded in secrecy, it follows that the political decision-making process—the actions of knowledge-holders—is a secretive, conspiratorial affair."

Whiteley points out that (p. 273), "... a ceremony's decline is not an abrupt, cut-and-dried affair. Minor, individual observances may continue long after the main performance has ceased." In this regard, he notes that Oraibi's last *Wuwtsim* initiations were held in 1909, the year of the second Oraibi split, but that the more general *Wuwtsim* ceremonies seem to have declined more gradually with some component groups still active in the 1920s.

Whiteley undertakes a detailed description and analysis of the Oraibi splits in 1906 and 1909 that led to the formation of five new villages on Third Mesa. He provides an authoritative account based on extensive archival research and interviews with Hopi people as well as review of previous anthropological literature. Whiteley considers the social, cultural, political, and ritual implications of the deliberate acts that led to the reorganization of Hopi society on Third Mesa.

**Whiteley, Peter**

**1988 *Bacavi, Journey to Reed Springs*. Northland Press, Flagstaff, Arizona.**

This narrative history of the Third Mesa village of Bacavi was written for a general audience. Chapter 2 (pp. 7-13) provides an account of the origin and migration of Hopi people that led to the founding of Oraibi. In recounting the history of the Spanish entrada of 1540 that resulted in García López de Cárdenas' journey to the Grand Canyon, Whiteley (p. 17) notes the Hopi name for the Grand Canyon is Öngtupka, meaning "Salt Canyon." Whiteley notes that after the construction of a Catholic mission at Oraibi, the Spanish priests demanded the Oraibis obtain drinking water for them from Moencopi because they were not satisfied with the water on Third Mesa.

**Whiteley, Peter M.**

**1989 *Hopitutskwa: An Historical and Cultural Interpretation of the Hopi Traditional Land Claim*. Ms. on file at Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

"*Hopitutskwa* means 'Hopi land'" (p. 1). Whiteley provides a well-researched and significant historical overview of the Hopi concept of Tutskwa. As he states (p. 1), "The continuity of these concepts, despite more than one hundred years of acculturative pressure from the dominant society, is a powerful testament to their fundamental entrenchment in Hopi interpretations of their relationship to and emplacement within the land." Whiteley identifies the shrines and landmarks that demarcate the Hopitutskwa, providing English gloss for Hopi words. He includes Pisivayu (Colorado River), which possibly means "river between canyon walls;" and Koonihahawpi means "Havasupai descent trail" (p. 5).

Evidence is presented to demonstrate that the Hopis had historical ties, knew about, and used land beyond the boundary shrines of *Hopitutskwa* (pp. 40-49). This land use is evidence by traditional migration histories, physical trails, trading relationships, and procurement of natural resources (e.g., plant dyes, mineral pigments). As Whiteley concludes, "In summary, any notion that the tutskwa includes the widest extent of habitual Hopi usage of the environment. let alone Hopi knowledge of geographic limits, either prehistorically, historically, or at present, is simply not credible."

Whiteley addresses the cultural meaning of the Tutskwa (pp. 50-58). He notes (p. 50), "Tutskwa i'gatsi -- "land and life" -- go together in Hopi thought. The mythological granting of permission for Hopis to use the tutskwa by the deity Maasaw combined the land with its life resources, from which the Hopis would gain their sustenance, and towards which they assumed responsibility to reciprocally sustain ..." Whiteley (p. 50) adds that the since the Hopis have "... an eternally binding, sacred obligation to take care of it for the supernatural owner" tutskwa is not reducible to

"real estate." Residence, ancestral connections, and religious beliefs form a strong bond between the Hopi and their land.

Whiteley notes (p. 54), "A fundamental principle of Hopi metaphysics is that human thoughts and intentions produce direct effects in the environment. The environment is charged with other intentional beings, natural and supernatural, susceptible to communication and petition if properly addressed. Human beings, then, take responsibility for ecological events." He concludes (p. 55), "In short, since human thought and action directly affect the environment, Hopi moral principles are addressed not just to interpersonal relations but also to interspecific relations. The result is a moral ecology and an ecological morality."

The landscape is critically important. Whiteley points out (pp. 55-56),

Hopis consider themselves centered in this particular landscape. The particularity of the *tutskwa* landscape as the Hopi destiny appears repeatedly in clan migration legends, ritual practices, and tribal traditions. Being Hopi in a cultural sense veritably demands emplacement within this landscape. In the absence of writing, the landscape itself serves as the repository of many traditional associations ... Because of the sheer length of Hopi occupancy, then, many names in the landscape call forth deep historical associations, implanting Hopi traditional knowledge itself within a topographic matrix.

Whiteley concludes, "The entire Hopi ritual structure is dependent on emplacement within the particular landscape, ecology, and meteorology with its seasonal variations -- as are the ritual systems of other Pueblo societies. Hopi rituals would be meaningless outside this environment ..." [emphasis in original].

Religious pilgrimages to outlying sacred sites "provide 'electrical' conduits to the shrine, retrieving its associated power and connecting it into the village centers" (p. 63). Regular journeys throughout the *tutskwa* are necessary to procure ritual materials, i.e., spring water, pine, spruce, cottonwood, turtles, eagles, pigments, etc. (p. 66).

Whiteley observes that (p. 66), "Some Hopi religious practices have ceased during the twentieth century, but since some have been subsequently revitalized, it is not possible to determine whether in particular cases a demise has been final." He adds that (p. 67), "The diminution of some religious practices does not, however, materially affect the religious relationship to the environment."

The gathering of eagles is a religious use of *tutskwa* that links the Hopi people to their land (p. 69). Eagle feathers "have multiple ceremonial uses, and form a central means of communication with deities ..." (p. 69). Whiteley notes that eagles are considered to be ancestors. This gives the Hopis a proprietary rather than general interest in eagles. The Hopis believe that eagles are guardians of the *tutskwa* boundaries, "... in that they dwell near clan ruins, from where they watch over their

Hopi descendants -- just as, when captured and tethered on the rooftops, they watch more closely over the villagers and judge whether they are living properly" (p.71).

Whiteley argues that conservation is central in the Hopi relations to their environment (pp. 75-83). The "economic" use of the environment cannot be divorced from "religious" use. All human action has a reciprocity with the environment, i.e., with *Hopitutskwa*.

**Whiteley, Peter**

**1989 Summary of Opinions and Conclusions Regarding the History of Hopi-Navajo Relations. Plaintiff's Exhibit No. 711 in Vernon Masayeva, etc. Plaintiff, v. Leonard Haskie, etc., Defendant, v. Evelyn James, etc., Intervenor, Civil No. 74-842 PHX-EHC, United States District Court for the District of Arizona.**

Whiteley (p. 1) argues that the Hopi perspective on land use in the area subject to litigation can not be understood unless the history of Hopi-Navajo relations is considered, including (1) the movement of Navajo into the area, (2) the nature of relations between the two peoples, and (3) Navajo population expansion. When the Navajo migrated into the Southwest, probably about AD 1400, they were not ethnically distinct from other Apachean people (pp. 1-2). The first mention of Navajos as an ethnically distinct people was in 1626. The life-style of the Navajos became more sedentary after they acquired agriculture from contact with the Pueblo Indians.

Whiteley states (pp. 2-3), "Major changes occurred in Navajo society and culture as a result of borrowing from Pueblo peoples. In particular, following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, it is likely that the Navajo acquired the following specific features from Pueblo refugees: matrilineal clans, an emergence mythology, four-directional gods (and hence a concern with sacred mountains), and sand-painting, kachina-style masked-god impersonation, weaving, and animal husbandry. The addition of horses, acquired by raiding, greatly improved Navajo mobility and military capability."

Under military pressure from Utes, Comanches, and Spaniards, the Navajos were forced to abandon Dihnetah, their original area of settlement (pp. 3-4). They moved to Mt. Taylor, the Chuska Mountains, and Canyon DeChelly. Reports of Navajos raiding Hopi villages begin in the 1770s but at this time the Navajos still lived in the area far to the east. The earliest report of Navajos living at Black Mesa is in 1819.

Navajo mobility was high (pp. 4-5). Navajo raids on the Hopis and other pueblos were serious and persisted after the United States assumed control of the Southwest in 1848. During the 1863-1864 campaign to round-up the Navajo, some Navajos fled to and settled in the area west of the Hopi villages. After the establishment of the 1868 Navajo Reservation, economic conditions and population growth led to further Navajo settlement in the 1934 area. The Navajos were recent

immigrants to the area compared to the Hopis and Paiutes who had been there for a much longer period.

Whiteley states, "Navajo expropriation of Hopi property and territory proceeded by systematic aggression that amounts to territorial expansion through conquest." Whiteley opines that governmental agents were intimidated by Navajo pressure into recommending or adopting policies prejudicial to Hopi interests.

In Whiteley's opinion, Navajo religious practices focus on individual health and well-being in contrast to Hopi religion which is concerned with environmental harmony (pp. 8-9). Navajo sacred sites are characterized by multiplication, replication, and shifting locations of key conceptual features (e.g., "four sacred mountains"). Hopi sacred sites are more fixed and entrenched in the landscape. Whiteley (pp. 10-11) concludes "The proliferation and replication of Navajo sacred places reflect a cosmology that is malleable and adapted to changing environments that Navajos have moved through." Whiteley concludes (p. 14), "Hopis are long-term occupants of the 1934 area. Navajos are recent arrivals who, in the Hopi view, have usurped Hopi rights."

**Whiteley, Peter**

1992 *Hopitutungwni: "Hopi Names" as Literature*. In *On the Translation of Native American Literatures*, edited by Brian Swann, pp. 208-227. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.

Whiteley presents an elegant analysis of Hopi names. He observes that Hopi names are derived from totemically named clans so they reflect a pattern of social relations articulated with kinship and ritual systems. Hopi names also serve to individuate persons. Whiteley's principal concern in the analysis is to demonstrate how Hopi names are "... individually authored poetic compositions that compose a literary genre ..." (p. 209). Borrowing from Sapir and Basso, Whiteley characterizes the condensed evocative nature of Hopi names as "tiny imagist poems" (p. 213). Whiteley notes that two of the occasions for name giving in Hopi culture include the rituals conducted upon a return from a post-*Wuwtsim* initiation salt pilgrimage to the Grand Canyon and at death, preparatory to the "soul's" (*hikwsi*, literally "breath") journey to Maski, the home of the dead (p. 211). In a footnote, Whiteley (p. 222) explains that even though he has criticized the conventional use of the terms "clan" and "phratry" in Hopi ethnography, the concepts still are "useful shorthand terms for Hopi social groups, so long as the usage is not taken to imply formally and functionally discrete social-structural units."

**Whiteley, Peter**

**1993 The End of Anthropology (at Hopi)? *Journal of the Southwest* 35(2):125-157.**

This essay analyzes the uses and abuses of anthropological research at Hopi. In regards to a study of the Hopi salt pilgrimage by a professor from Northern Arizona University, Whiteley quotes a speech made by Tribal Chairman Vernon Masayesva. Masayesva says (p. 140),

I learned that [the] university could not take action on my complaint since the research was protected by a sacred university tradition called "academic freedom." It is this type of research that is causing many Hopis to pressure the Hopi Tribal Council to enact an ordinance prohibiting *all* future research activities on the Hopi Reservation ... Although the [Salt Trail] research wears the cloak of scholarly enterprise, its publication denotes to us a lack of sensitivity to our religious values and the way we organize and conceptualize our sacred traditions. Research needs to be based on the reality of our existence *as we experience it*, not just from the narrow and limited view American universities carried over from the German research tradition.

**Whiting, Alfred F.**

**n.d. Whiting Collection, Cline Library Special Collection, Northern Arizona University.**

The Whiting Collection housed at Special Collections at the Cline Library, Northern Arizona University, consists of original field notes, manuscripts, and a substantial amount of miscellaneous notes taken from the publications of other scholars. Although Whiting specialized in ethnobotany and textiles, he had a very wide range of interests and all of these are represented in the Whiting Collection.

**Whiting, Alfred F.**

**1939 *Ethnobotany of the Hopi*. Museum of Northern Arizona Bulletin 15. Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art, Flagstaff, Arizona.**

This classic work in ethnobotany analyzes the importance of plants to the Hopi people. Information about the use of many specific plants is provided in chapters dealing with agriculture; wild plants used for food; plants used for construction, implements and decoration; Hopi medicinal plants; plants of ceremonial and magical importance; and plant symbols in social and ceremonial life.

Whiting (1939::48) describes over 100 plants with Hopi names and uses. Many of these plants are used for more than one purpose. Whiting's ethnobotany includes:

40 cultivated plants; 10 semi-cultivated plants; 54 wild plants used for food; 47 plants used for construction, implements, and decoration; 65 medicinal plants; 37 ceremonial and magical plants; and 45 plants used symbolically.

The following information on the Hopi attitude towards nature, as told to M. R. F. Colton, is provided (p. 6).

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 through 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.

Hopi hunters carry *pahos* for the game animals they hunt. Whenever a Hopi gathers a particular type of plant a prayer offering is placed beside it to carry a message of the Hopi's need to other plants. The Hopi then finds another plant of the same species to collect (p. 7).

Whiting (p. 19) notes that before the coming of the trader salt could only be obtained with great difficulty so several wild plants with salt flavors were used in seasoning food.

Whiting (p. 39) observes that smoking among the Hopi is primarily a ritual activity. He says, "The chief object seems to be to produce a 'cloud' which, because of its fragrance, will attract the attention of the heavenly powers who controlled the rain bringing clouds upon which so much of Hopi life depends." Two species of Native tobacco (*Nicotiana attenuata*; *Nicotiana trigonophylla*) are smoked, sometimes in a mixture with other plants such as cotton, spruce, pine, and aspen.

Many plants are used in Hopi rituals as symbols. Plants that grow in or next to water, e.g., rushes, cottonwood, willows, sedge, and cattail symbolize water (p. 43). The symbol of the One Horned Society is a stalk of agave. A mat of raw cotton is placed over the face of the dead as a symbol that the deceased has become a cloud (p. 44). The ceremonial prayer stick, or *paho*, is important in Hopi ritual (p. 44). There are many different kinds of *paho* with special significance but they usually consist of a stick to which feathers and various other objects are attached by hand spun cotton.

Whiting notes the association of colors with cardinal directions is one of the fundamental patterns of Hopi ritual symbolism (pp. 44-45). He gives the following associations: northwest with yellow; southwest with blue or green; southeast with red; northeast with white; zenith with black; and nadir with all colors or gray.

Many Hopi clans are named after plants (pp. 47-48), e.g., Reed, Greasewood, Agave, Juniper Pinyon, White fir; Cottonwood, Douglas fir, Oak, Tansy Mustard, Tobacco, Mariposa lily, Painted cup, Thistle, Squash, Larkspur, Gilia, Prickly pear, Cholla, Rabbitbrush, and Corn.

Many plants are obtained from distances of eighty miles or more (p. 49). Whiting observes that Agave is not found in the Hopi country and is obtained by trading with the Havasupai. Whiting (p. 71) says *Kwa:ni* or Agave reached the Hopi through trade with the Havasupai of the Grand Canyon. The baked leaves are used as food and drink. The stalk is used as a ritual symbol.

**Widdison, Jerold G. (editor)**

**1991 *The Anasazi, Why did they leave? Where did they go?* Southwest Natural and Cultural Heritage Association, Albuquerque, New Mexico.**

At a panel discussion at the Anasazi Heritage Center, Leigh Jenkins, the Director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, makes the point that the Anasazi didn't go anywhere, they are still here as their descendants (e.g., the Hopi and the Zuni) attest to (pp. 31-33). As Jenkins says (p. 31), "I guess if you hang around until Thursday, you'll probably find the answers to the questions being posed here, because probably around six o'clock, the Anasazi will go home to Hopiland. And this Anasazi will even tell you what he went with, a 1986 Chevy Celebrity."

Jenkins (p. 32) observes that petroglyphs "demonstrate and validate the Hopi claim to aboriginal presence in the Four Corners area." He points out that some of the Hopi clan signs are readily identifiable in rock art photographs in the Anasazi Heritage Center. He adds that oral history is important to the Hopis. And he also notes that the Hopis prefer the term *Hisatsinom* to "Anasazi." Jenkins says *Hisatsinom* literally means "people of long ago;" He states (p. 33), "But to the Hopi ... they are ancestors of the Hopi. Today we carry on some of the very traditions and ceremonies that our clan and our ancestors carried on during their migrations."

In discussing the Hopi's stewardship pact with Maasaw, Jenkins (p. 32) points out that archaeological sites are "... testimony to the presence of the Hopi ancestral people. They are monuments and hallmarks that attest, in fact, that Hopi people, through their clans ... stayed around these lands for periods of time." Jenkins summarized by stating (p. 33), "... the Anasazi didn't go anywhere. We're still here."

**Wiget, Andrew**

**1982 Truth and the Hopi: An Historiographic Study of Documented Oral Tradition Concerning the Coming of the Spanish. *Ethnohistory* 29:181-199.**

Wiget's article is similar to Eggan's (1967) "From History to Myth" in that it evaluates the historical accuracy of Hopi traditions by comparing oral "testimonies"

with independent sources of data. Like Eggan, Wiget finds Hopi traditions to be very accurate in portraying the general motivational and causal patterns underlying the events in question, as well as specific historical details. The Hopi traditions Wiget investigates are those concerning the coming of the Spaniards to Hopi and the Pueblo Revolt. The oral accounts are derived from published sources, and from interview transcripts from the Doris Duke Oral History Project archived at the University of Utah Marriott Library.

One of the traditional accounts describes the behavior of Spanish priests at Oraibi. As Wiget (p. 185) summarizes:

The priests began to send the Hopi off the mesa westward for water, either to Moencopi ... or the Little Colorado River ... The Hopi tired of this quickly and instead got water at a spring near the sun shrine three miles southeast of the village ... (P) does not mention this digression, nor the Hopi solution of building cisterns to avoid being sent for water. (P) sees this whole practice as a deliberate ruse on the part of the priests to separate their husbands and fathers from their families, thus permitting the priests free access to illicit affairs with the women. (W) does not mention any such tactic, but agrees the priests were after the woman.

Wiget concludes that his study demonstrates that the kind of information valued by Western historians can be found in oral tradition. Rather than view the public records embedded in oral narratives as "distorted," Wiget thinks we need to address the "metahistorical framework" which supports these narratives. He states, "Only then might one understand the cultural concept of historical significance, and so avoid the reduction of some elements to literalness and the elevation of others to myth. That way one might rescue from the distortion of Western categories the truth of the Hopi."

**Wilson, Iris Higbie**

**1965 *William Wolfskill, 1798-1866*. Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California.**

In 1826 William Wolfskill was hired by Ewing Young to take charge of a fur trapping expedition in New Mexico. George Yount was also a member of this expedition, as were ten other trappers. Wilson adds (p. 50),

In addition they were joined by a party of five trappers which had been organized by Thomas L. Smith, later known in California as "Peg Leg Smith," and a Frenchman by the name of Maurice Le Duc. These two adventurers had explored a large area of central Utah, had their horses stolen by Ute Indians, fled across the San Juan into Arizona and finally

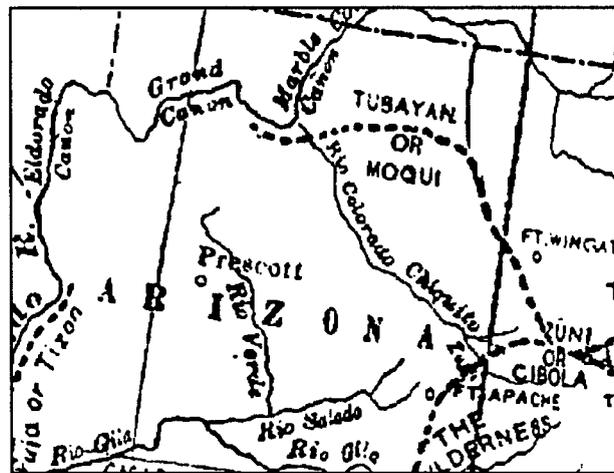
ended up by spending several days with the Moqui Indians near the Little Colorado River before returning to Taos.

**Winship, George Parker (translator and editor)**

**1922 *The Journey of Coronado, 1540-1542, From the City of Mexico to the Grand Canon of the Colorado and the Buffalo Plains of Texas, Kansas and Nebraska; As Told by Himself and His Followers.* Allerton, New York.  
[Reprint of a work originally published in 1896].**

This book presents a translation of the narratives from the Coronado Entrada of 1540 to 1542. Chapter 11 provides the history of how Coronado sent Don Pedro de Tovar from the Zuni Pueblos to the Hopi Mesas in 1540 (pp. 32-37). After hearing about the Grand Canyon from the Hopis, Tovar returned to the Zuni Pueblos. Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas and twelve companions were subsequently dispatched to Tusayan where the Hopis guided them to the Grand Canyon. The Spaniards attempted but failed to reach the Colorado River in the bottom of the Grand Canyon.

Winship's map of the Spaniard's route (see figure below) shows them crossing the Little Colorado and approaching the south rim in the vicinity of what is now Grand Canyon village.



Detail of Winship's map depicting "The Route of Coronado" from Cibola to Tusayan and the Grand Canyon.

Winship reports the Spaniards traveled for twenty days to reach the Grand Canyon from Hopi (p. 35) from Hopi. They spend three days on the south rim looking for a passage to the river but found it impossible to descend. Captain Malgosa, Juan Galeras and a third Spaniard attempted to hike to the bottom but returned after only hiking a third of the way to the river. While at the Grand Canyon the Spaniards had to

travel a league or two inland every day in order to find water. The Hopis advised them that they could not go further because there was no water. The Spaniards report that when the Hopis (p. 37), "... travel across this region themselves they take with them women loaded with water in gourds and bury the gourds of water along the way, to use when they return, and besides this, they travel in one day over what it takes us two days to accomplish."

**Winslowe, John R. (pseudonym of Gladwell Richardson)**

**1969 Ancient Salt Trails. *True West*, August, pp. 26-29, 42.**

While this article is based on fact it also contains a certain amount of hyperbole. Some of the material is drawn from Gladwell Richardson's personal observations when he worked at the Houck Trading Post around 1919. Most of the article describes Hopi salt pilgrimages to Zuni Salt Lake. These particular salt expeditions were not directly associated with the Wuwtcim initiation and they incorporated trading at Zuni Pueblo and various trading posts along the trail.

Richardson (p. 26) states that the Oraibi Hopis also "... journeyed west to mine salt in the Little Colorado River canyon where it joins the big Colorado." He includes photographs of the Little Colorado River gorge and Tutuveni in the article (p. 29). The caption for the photograph of Tutuveni states, "The salt trails went into the Little Colorado River Canyon and cut their clan symbols on the rocks at Willow Springs."

While no dates are provided in this article, other publications of Gladwell Richardson make it clear he is describing the early twentieth century. He notes (p. 28) that the men of Moencopi "... were not then using the western trail to the mines at the junction of the Colorado Rivers." Of the western trail, he says (p. 29),

The western salt trail formerly used by the Oraibians was even more fraught with disaster than the trail to Zuni. It passed, southwest across the Denehbetoh Valley, crossed Hopi Mesa to Clan Rocks, thence via Bodeway Mesa into the Little Colorado River canyon. It was all hot, dry desert to Clan Rocks at Willow Springs. To make this leg of the return journey woven willow water bottles covered with piñon pitch were buried along the route going out. Picked up the return, this supply enabled them to negotiate the waterless desert to Oraibi.

Willow Springs provided a good water supply. While resting over there, going and coming, the Hopis carved their clan symbols on the great blocks of red sandstone. These petroglyphs remain there today, avidly photographed by tourists on U. S. Highway 89. Even though most are centuries old, they can be readily identified as clan symbols.

The western salt trail was also subject to the rigors of climatic conditions, but even worse were the sudden attacks by roving bands of Havasupai, Piute, Ute, and

Navajo Indians. For this reason, beginning about 1885, expeditions to the Little Colorado were slowly abandoned. Finally all Hopi salt trains were diverted to Zuni in New Mexico. On this long trail the Navajo and Apaches attacks ended shortly before 1900. No one bothered the Hopis and they faced only heat and cold and storms.

**Wray, Jacilee**

**1990 *Havasupai Ethnohistory on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon National Park: A Case Study for Cultural Resource Management in the National Park Service.* M.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff.**

In this masters thesis, Wray (p. 42-43) presents the following information about the "Moqui Trail" to the Havasupai.

The Moqui Trail, which was the trade route between the Hopi Mesas and Havasu Canyon, was mostly abandoned by 1910. The trail led down Little Jim Canyon, past a cave which was used by Havasupai hunting parties, and then out onto the Cataract Plain to Havasu Canyon

...

**Yamada, George**

**1957 *The Great Resistance.* Privately published, New York.**

This is a privately published collection of "traditionalist" writings about the Hopi, including copies of letters from Hopi leaders to U. S. officials, statements by Hopis, reprinted news articles, and essays by non-Indians. Most of the tract concerns Hopi tribal sovereignty and land problems. Yamada quotes a letter written by the "traditionalist" chiefs to the President of the United States that says (p. 2),

This land is a sacred home of the Hopi people and all the Indian race on this land. The boundaries of our land were established permanently and was written upon Stone Tablets which are still with us. It was given to the Hopi people the task to guard this land not by force of arms, not by killing, not by confiscating property of others, but by humble prayers, by obedience to our traditional and religious instructions, and by being faithful to our Great Spirit, Massau'u.

Yamada states the 1955 "Hopi Hearings" grew out of a meeting held with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on March 18, 1955, in Washington at which Dan Katchongva, David Monongye, and several others complained about temporary grazing permits and other issues of land and governance. A statement by Dan Katchongva (p. 40) includes the passage,

After we arrived on this land Massau'u showed us the boundary of this continent. He Himself showed us the land and the life of the people and their leaders. Then Massau'u marked out the boundaries for each group until they covered the whole continent, after which each group was given an individualized Life Plan with certain religious beliefs and the way to worship, the way to live, the food to eat, the languages for each group.

The tract includes additional statements by Monongye, Hermequaftewa, and Banyaca (pp. 48-56, 58-66).

**Yava, Albert**

**1978 *Big Falling Snow*, edited by Harold Courlander. Crown Publishers, New York.**

As the subtitle states, this book is about, "A Tewa-Hopi Indian's Life and Times and the History and Traditions of his People." Yava was born in 1888. With respect to clan migrations, Yava states in part that (p. 36), "A number of clans traveled up and down the Colorado River and the Little Colorado for a good many years, maybe centuries, before they arrive here." Yava points out the migrating groups that arrived at Hopi spoke several languages. The people from the north spoke Pauite or some Shoshonean dialect. Others spoke languages of the eastern Pueblos, Piman, and Apache. He observes that (p. 36) "... it was this mixture that came to make up what we now call Hopitu, the Hopi People."

Yava provides a brief account of the emergence from the lower world into the fourth world (pp. 38-41). As he says (p. 41), "You can see the theme of dissension and evil, and of the search for a place of harmony, starts with the emergence story." He notes that different clans and the same clans from different villages have their own special details and different explanations for the emergence. Yava observes (p. 40), "The emergence through the sipapuni is commemorated in a great many ceremonies. Sometimes it is discussed and debated in the kiva." In the Hopi-Tewa account, the Tewas originated at a place called Sibopay, the navel of the earth, possibly located at a briny lake north of Alamosa in Colorado.

Pokanghoya and Palengahoya (pp. 46-47) "are sometimes referred to as twins, but they really aren't twins because one is older and one younger." Palengahoya means "echo" because he does everything that his brother does.

Yava (pp. 55-59) provides an account of a young man's journey through the Grand Canyon that led to the origination of the Hopi Snake Dance. His account begins at Tokonave, at a village called Wuhkokieku.

Yava describes his initiation into the One Horn Society during the Tribal Initiation ceremonies (pp. 73-81). At one point Yava and the other initiates were being

tested by not being allowed to drink water for four days. During this period, the society members in the kiva "... would always be talking about water, how it flowed down the Little Colorado, and what such and such a lake looked like. It was for our benefit, of course. Old man Charlie was always talking about Grand Canyon and all the water that went through there, and how he used to swim in it when he was young. It made us pretty mad."

Yava states (p. 98),

... there are conflicting ideas about where people go when they die. One idea is that the spirits of the dead return to the underworld, from which the people originally came, through the sipapuni. Over here on First Mesa the people don't claim to know where the sipapuni is located. For them the location is lost to memory. But the Oraibis claim that the sipapuni is in the bottom of the Grand Canyon, and they'll tell you exactly where it is. Whenever the Oraibis go the Canyon on a ceremonial salt-gathering expedition—there's a big salt deposit there—they stop at the place where the sipapuni is supposed to be. I think its a marshy spot that is usually covered with muddy water.

He adds (p. 99),

The belief that dead spirits reenter the sipapuni is familiar to most Hopis, but there is also belief in a place called Maski, the House of the Dead or the Place of the Dead. It is generally described as being in the west, but over here on First Mesa we don't have any particular knowledge of where it is supposed to be located. Some of the Oraibis believe the entrance to Maski is in the Grand Canyon in the general vicinity of the sipapuni. There is a shrine to Masauwu over there. Because they believe this, the Oraibis generally bury their dead facing west, toward the Canyon to which their dead spirits have to go. We First Mesa people don't hold to that belief. We generally bury our dead facing east ...

Yava notes that First Mesa people are buried facing east so they can recognize and greet the good Bahana when he makes his appearance coming from the east (p. 105).

Yava describes the Hopi trail to the Grand Canyon, stating (p. 117),

... that land traditionally belonged to the Hopis. West of Tuba going towards Grand Canyon along the old trail there are many petroglyphs showing that this country was an old Hopi region. Oraibi people went along this trail on their ceremonial salt-gathering expeditions. There's a big flat rock at a place called Teuteuveni where men on these expeditions made their clan signs after getting their salt. The Oraibis

when there, but the Walpis went on their salt-gathering expeditions to Zuni Lake in New Mexico. They used to have a big ceremony in Walpi in connection with those expeditions.

**Yeatts, Michael**

**1992 Hopi Involvement in GCES. *Glen Canyon Environmental Studies Update*, Winter ed., p. 5 .**

This report on the Hopi's involvement with GCES explains the responsibilities of the tribe as a cooperating member of the project. The Hopi's involvement is two-fold: (1) to provide primary research in archeological and ethnohistorical records of the Hopi past in and around the Grand Canyon and (2) to participate in the writing of the Environmental Impact Statement that will assess the effects of Glen Canyon water releases on the downstream environment according to the many different user groups. Yeatts notes the past and present significance of the Grand Canyon to the Hopi people. He notes that the tribe's research will provide substantiation of this significance, and, moreover, "a record of how the Hopi people feel about impacts to the resources, cultural and natural."

**Yeatts, Michael**

**1995 *A Cultural Resource Inventory of the Lower Little Colorado River, Coconino County, Arizona*. Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, Arizona.**

The results of a 12 mile long survey of the lower Little Colorado River gorge are presented in this report. This Class III survey was completed by the Hopi Tribe as part of the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies. A total of 11 cultural resources were identified, including 5 archaeological sites and 6 traditional cultural properties. In addition, there were 5 isolated occurrences and 2 possible natural resource procurement locations. Most of the archaeological sites are interpreted as limited, specialized activity loci. The sites and traditional cultural properties represent both prehistoric and historic Hopi use of the Little Colorado River.

**Young, M. Jane**

**1994 *The Interconnection Between Western Puebloan and Mesoamerican Ideology/Cosmology*. In *Kachinas in the Pueblo World*, edited by Polly Schaafsma, pp. 107-120.**

Young analyzes iconographic parallels to explore the idea that Zuni and Hopi ideological systems, especially those manifested in kachina cults, are derived largely from concepts that originated in Mesoamerica. She is more concerned with documenting similarities in religious concepts than direct correspondences between kachinas and codex depictions of various Aztec deities. Young examines similarities in

concepts relating the sun, goddess of water, wind and rain, gods of death and rebirth, father of the gods, gods of germination, and fire gods. In closing, Young notes that the Southwest-Mesoamerican connection is complex and that more research is needed to address a number of questions that remain to be answered.

**Yount, George C.**

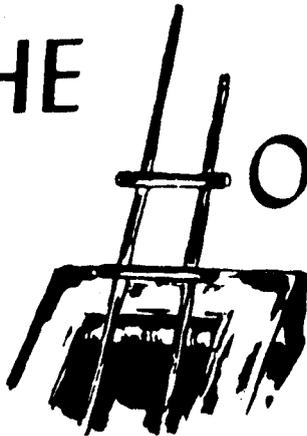
**1942 A Sketch of the Hopi in 1828. Presented by Robert F. Heizer. *The Masterkey* 16(5):193-199.**

George C. Yount was a "mountain man" who visited the Hopi mesas in 1828. This article consists of an excerpt from the manuscript of Yount's collections published in full in 1923 (The Chronicles of George C. Yount, *California Historical Society Quarterly* 2:3-66). The "presenter" Robert F. Heizer adds several prefatory and concluding remarks that places Yount and his observations in historical and anthropological context.

Yount provides a brief but interesting summary of Hopi society, religion, economy, and architecture in the early nineteenth century. He refers to the Hopis as the "Mocos," presumably a variant on the word "Moqui." Yount mentions the Hopi's remembrances of "Old Bill" Williams, another "mountain man" who had visited the Hopis a year prior to Yount's trip. He notes that several other Americans had visited the Hopis during the year following "Old Bill" Williams' sojourn.

Yount makes one brief remark about the Grand Canyon. He says, "No history at all exists of the nation, or of its origin, save a vague tradition that their forefathers came from the Big Canon of the Red River ..."

# THE HOPI TRIBE



GLEN CANYON ENVIRONMENTAL  
STUDIES OFFICE

Ferrell H. Secakuku  
CHAIRMAN

AUG 21 1996

Wayne Taylor Jr.  
VICE-CHAIRMAN

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FLAGSTAFF, AZ

19 August 1996  
Mr. Dave Wegner, Program Manager  
Glen Canyon Environmental Studies  
Bureau of Reclamation  
P.O. Box 22459  
Flagstaff, Arizona 86002-2459

RE: Transmittal of *Hopi Ethnohistory and The Grand Canyon: Annotated Bibliography for the Hopi Glen Canyon Environmental Studies* prepared by T.J. Ferguson and Gail Lotenberg.

Dear Mr. Wegner,

Please find enclosed a copy of *Hopi Ethnohistory and The Grand Canyon: Annotated Bibliography for the Hopi Glen Canyon Environmental Studies* prepared by T.J. Ferguson and Gail Lotenberg. This is submitted as a deliverable under the Hopi Cooperative Agreement, with the Bureau of Reclamation, No. 1-FC-40-10560, entitled Cooperative Agreement for Hopi Tribe Coordination with the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies and the Glen Canyon Environmental Impact Statement.

Copies of this document are also being sent to Dr. Signa Larralde, Regional Archaeologist, Upper Colorado Region, Bureau of Reclamation and to Ms. Jan Balsom, Cultural Resources Manager, Grand Canyon National Park. Should you have any questions please contact Mr. Kurt Dongoske, Tribal Archaeologist, or me at 520/734-2244.

Sincerely,

Leigh Jenkins, Director  
Cultural Preservation Office  
The Hopi Tribe

xc: Dr. Signa Larralde, BOR  
Ms. Jan Balsom, GRCA

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