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**ZUNI AND THE GRAND CANYON**

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**FINAL**

Laura McKinley

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**ZUNI AND THE GRAND CANYON**

**ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Laura McKinley

October 1995

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## Introduction

The goal of this bibliography is to bring to light documentary evidence which attests to the importance of the Grand Canyon to the Zuni People of New Mexico. It reviews literature written by and about the Zunis, as well as documents concerning the Southwest that reflect, directly or indirectly, Zuni beliefs and practices. In particular this annotated bibliography seeks to illustrate the Zuni Tribe's interests in the environment affected by the Glen Canyon Dam, and constitutes a cultural report funded by the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies.

In aggregate the sources achieve this goal, for they reveal a lengthy history of cultural, economic, and social interconnection between Zunis and the peoples and landscape of the Grand Canyon. Perusing historical publications, anthropological studies, legal depositions, geographical surveys, archaeological reports, and so on, an indisputable pattern of interaction emerges. The documents link Zunis with the Grand Canyon through descriptions of prayers and ceremonies, by references to trade with the Hopis and Havasupais for items from the Grand Canyon, and with depictions of pilgrimages by religious leaders or collecting trips for sacred materials.

Most importantly, these sources combine to illuminate an eternal spiritual bond between Zunis and *Chimik'yana'kya deya*, a Zuni term which translates as "Place of Emergence," but which is synonymous with a place in the Grand Canyon. The Zuni Creation narration tells us that, in The Beginning, the Zunis arose through four Underworlds, emerging finally into *Chimik'yana'kya deya*. From there, with numerous stops and events, they migrated southeast along the Little Colorado River and the Zuni River to the Middle Place, where they still reside after well over a millennium.

*Chimik'yana'kya deya* is not just a revered memory in the sacred Zuni canon. Religious delegations travel regularly to the Grand Canyon and offer prayers at sacred shrines; minerals and plants are gathered there to be used in special ceremonies at Zuni Pueblo. In this way and others, the Colorado River touches the lives of the Zuni People. As Mecalita Wytsalucy, a Zuni cited in this bibliography, explained, "once we settled in Zuni Pueblo [in ancient times] we retraced our steps very often back to the various shrines that mark the path of our migration. It is necessary in our religion to revisit these sacred places often to offer prayers and ask for blessings." These spiritual practices, Governor Lewis of Zuni Pueblo reminded a U. S. Senate committee in 1993, have been carried on for thousands of years. They have "kept the tribe together through the good and bad years they encountered."

To a people legendary for the religiosity of their everyday life, *Chimik'yana'kya deya* is a living and familiar presence. As many of these annotations indicate, Zuni prayers and ceremonies allude to the Emergence with a consistency that indicates the centrality of the story to Zuni faith. In their studies of the Zuni People, anthropologists such as Frank Hamilton Cushing, Elsie Clews Parsons, and Ruth Bunzel quickly learned, as Bunzel wrote, that "religion spreads wide. It pervades all activities. . . . the Zuñi may be called one of the most thoroughly religious peoples of the world...." Even though the Zunis may state that an event happened "a long time ago" or "in the beginning," said Jane Young, another student of the culture, Zunis do not consider the occurrence

described as "being over and done with." It is ever-present, "informing the here and now." Anthropologist Ruth Benedict even noted the "Zuni fondness for recasting incidents of their emergence myth to serve as humorous tales for evening entertainment." So basic to Zuni culture is the Creation tale that one could scarcely conceive of a Zuni identity without it.

Most published accounts of sacred ceremonies were written by non-Zunis. A handful of key documents translated word-for-word the lengthy oral narration of the Emergence and Migration. But these documents will vary, depending upon the speaker. As T. J. Ferguson and Richard Hart explained, the tales

are known in general outline by all tribal members and in greater detail by members of the several religious groups. Each religious group recites its own origin account that summarizes early tribal history and provides the religious sanction for their organization and rituals. Thus, instead of a single origin account there are many accounts, accentuating and elaborating on different aspects of the same general story according to the special knowledge of individual narrators.

Anthropologists sometimes acquired the tales from people other than their cultural custodians, and translations varied considerably. Even Cushing, who lived four years among the Zunis, could offer only one version of the "Zuñi Iliad," as he called it, because "it is jealously guarded by the priests, who are its keepers."

Some researchers misunderstood what was of primary spiritual concern to Zunis, and they frequently provided a superficial view of Zuni religion or perpetuated inaccuracies. This was not always a result of insensitivity; as Cushing well knew, Zunis often shielded sacred rituals and ceremonies from outsiders. In compiling their ethnobotanical study of the Zunis, for example, Camazine and Bye accepted the fact that some esoteric knowledge had been withheld by the medical societies. But even respected and pertinacious researchers living among the Zunis sometimes misinterpreted the meaning of certain information or the significance of rites they witnessed. Some of the documents cited in this bibliography, as another example, acknowledged that Zunis use pigments and plants brought from Chimik'yana'kya deya, but their authors rarely comprehended the sacred nature of such items. Comments about tsuhapa or "in the beginning paint" and "paints from the underworld" must therefore be seen for what they are, oblique references to sacred items from the Grand Canyon.

In fact, three generations of non-Zuni students of the culture have mentioned Chimik'yana'kya deya as a mythical place, or have noted items brought from the Underworld, or have recited events that took place "in the beginning" unaware of the reference to a real geographical location. Zuni religious leaders would like the reader to understand that many interpretations of Zuni religion by non-Zunis contain incorrect information; a statement to this effect will appear frequently in these pages. The present annotator has no doubt misunderstood some material, as well. Nonetheless, what is encapsulated in this bibliography reveals how highly Zunis regard the Grand Canyon and impresses upon the reader the devotion with which they uphold their religion and traditions today.

Although Zunis have their own terminology, this bibliography retains a few non-Zuni terms for the sake of clarity. The Zuni People traditionally call themselves "A:shiwi," but the name "Zuni" (origins possibly Spanish) has been widely adopted, and is used here. The Hopi word "kachina" -- sometimes spelled "kacina" -- is also more familiar to non-Zunis than is the Zuni word for these supernatural beings, "Kokko." Another Hopi word, "Sipapu" or "Shipapu," refers to the Hopi site of Emergence in the Grand Canyon, but was sometimes inaccurately applied to the Zuni place of Emergence -- a separate location in the Canyon -- and occasionally appears in these documents. "Chimik'yana'kya deya" or Chimik/ankyatey/a are modern ways to spell the Zuni name for that place in the Grand Canyon, but when anthropologists first translated the language, spellings differed. Matilda Stevenson wrote "J-mit-kianapkiatea," Ruth Bunzel "Tcimikana."

Regardless of their differences, all of these writers would agree that Zunis venerate their place of birth in the Grand Canyon and their traditional landscape. As Zuni artist Alex Seowtewa told historian Gregory Crampton in 1971,

Today as we live in the present ways of our people, we live also within the realm of our ancestors, for we are sustained through the rituals and beliefs of long ago. We live in accordance with the ways of our people, which bring life, blessings, and happiness.



Alexander, Hartley Burr. *The Mythology of All Races: North American*. Vol. X. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 1937.

First printed in 1916, *Mythology of All Races* is one of the earliest publications to link the Zuni Emergence with the Grand Canyon.

Events in the cosmologies of Pueblo dwellers fall into two categories, Alexander observed: "gestation of life in the underworld and birth therefrom, and the journey to the Middle Place--Emergence and Migration, Genesis and Exodus" (p. 210). In Section VII, "Zuñi Cosmogony," Alexander retold the Zuni tale of Emergence and Migration in abbreviated form (outlines from Cushing), noting the rise of the First People through the four Underworlds before they emerged upon the earth. The historical character of the Migration story, he said, has been made plausible by archaeological investigations tracing Pueblo culture to the ancient cliff-dwellings to the north. Using the Hopi word for their place of Emergence in the Grand Canyon, "Sipapu," he continued his discussion of the Zunis:

Characteristically these abodes are in the faces of canyon walls, bordering the deep-lying streams whose strips of arable shore formed the ancient fields. May it not be that the tales of emergence refer to the abandonment of these ancient canyon-set homes, never capable of supporting a large population? Some of the tribes identify the Sipapu with the Grand Canyon -- surely a noble birthplace! (p. 210)

A hint of what enticed the First People to emerge from the Underworlds, Alexander said, was the place of Emergence itself, "an opening in the earth filled with water which mysteriously disappeared, leaving a clear passage for the Ashiwi [the Zunis] to ascend to the outer world." He mused on the awe inspired in the First People by their surroundings as they emerged from the underworld

looking down from the sunny heights of the plateau into the depths whence they had emerged and beholding . . . the trough of earth filled with iridescent mist, with rainbows forming bridgelike spans and the arched entrances to cloudy caverns (p. 211).

For the earliest known documentation of the Grand Canyon as the Zuni place of Emergence, see the annotation of Alexander Stephen, *Hopi Journal*, who learned of this relationship in 1891.

Alter, J. Cecil. "Father Escalante's Map." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 9 (April 1941):64-71.

Alter located this copy of the original map--created to illustrate Escalante's 1776 diary--in the United States Library of Congress. It clearly marks a route from Zuni to Hopi and the Colorado River (Rio de San Rafael or El Rio Grande Colorado). This is early documentation of the great age of the trails from Zuni toward Hopi and the Grand Canyon.

A copy of the map follows. An article by Herbert Auerbach that accompanied the map is annotated below.

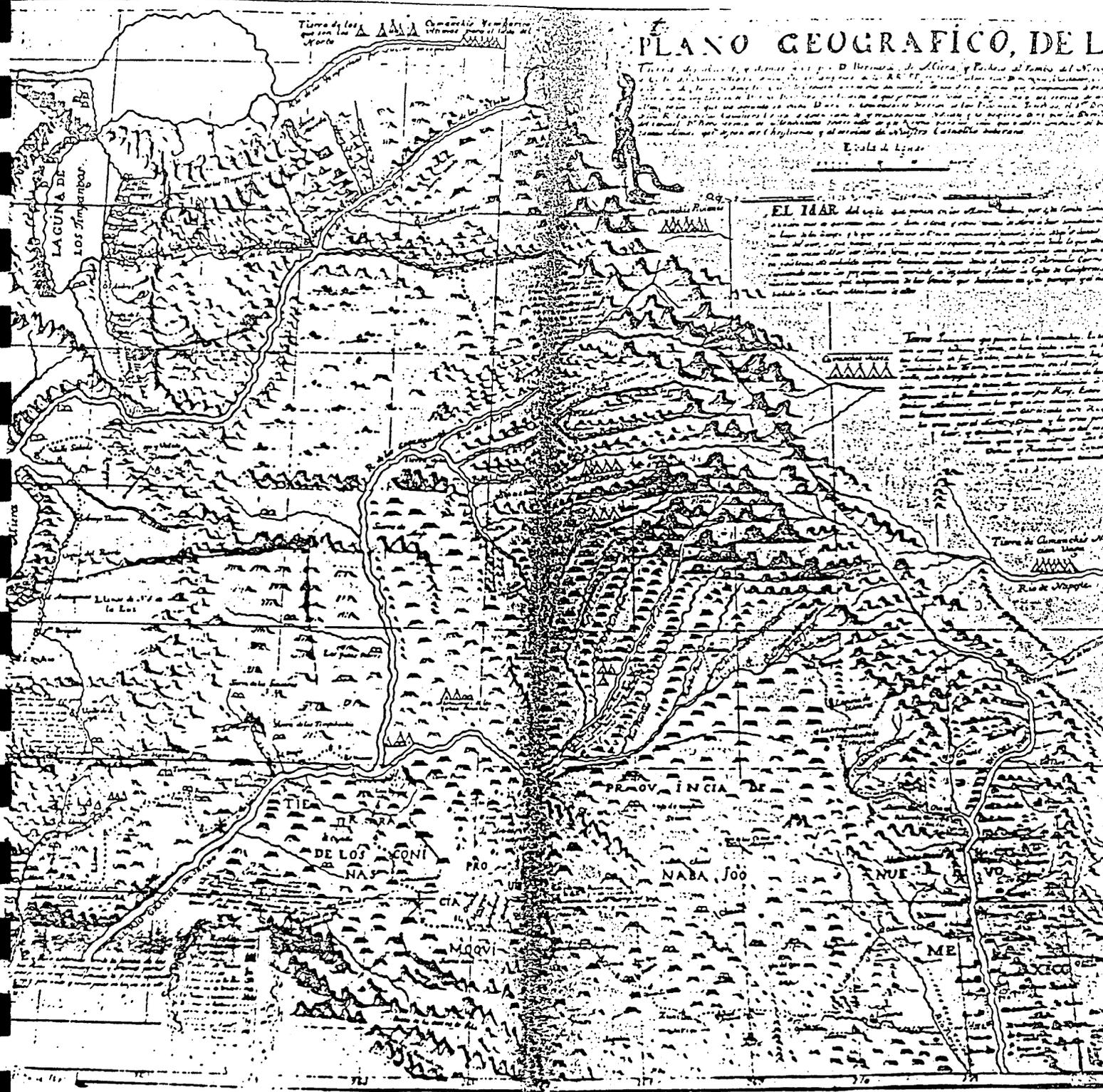


Fig. 1. From J. Alter. A Portion of Father Escalante's Map. Zuni is near the bottom to the right of the book binding.



Anonymous. "Belief of Indians in Evolution." *Science-Supplement* 74 (July 24, 1931), No. 1908:12

Dr. Arthur Woodward, curator of history at the Los Angeles Museum, told the unnamed author of this article that the Zuni Emergence narration indicated that "native [sic] Americans of the Southwest were teaching their children evolutionary ideas" long before Darwin:

The evidence is their creation myths, and also ancient fetishes of stone carved in the form of animals. . . . Frank Cushing . . . set down the Zuni tale of 'The Drying of the World' and the evolution of the Zuni from small, reptile-like forms to men who walked upright and lived as men.

The author synopsised the portion of the narration that explains the Emergence of the people from the Underworld, a tale that describes early humans as increasingly human-like as they rose through the four levels. The earth itself was still unformed, however, and "strange creatures and man-eating animals roamed the wet surface."

To protect men from the fierce monsters, the Culture Heroes shot magic arrows of lightning. Some of the huge beasts died where they stood and their bones turned to stone and were buried in the earth.

The Zuni are not surprised when fossil remains are found now-a-days. They know these gigantic animals roamed the earth when it was new. They know men evolved slowly from lower forms.

The Zunis have converted the spirits of the giant beasts to their own use, the author believed, by making small fetishes in their likeness. "The first evolutionists of America," he or she concluded, "were practical as well as theoretical." Zuni religious leaders caution the reader that much of Woodward's interpretation of Zuni traditions may be incorrect.

Anonymous. "Zuni, An Ancient City of the Pueblos." *Scientific American* 86 (May 3, 1902):313-314.

It is unclear where the author of this small piece acquired his or her information, much of which was inaccurate and even bizarre (contrary to this article, there is no evidence that Zunis sacrificed naughty children as a lesson to others). Distorted as his/her interpretation is, the author did get one thing right: "they have an unwritten literature that has come all the way down from their mythical beginning, verbatim. The Zunis never forget" (p. 314).

Even this sadly misinformed individual knew that Zuni sacred literature originated at The Beginning, although that Beginning in the Grand Canyon was unremarked and doubtless unknown.

Anonymous. "Zuñi Religion." *Science* 11 (March 23, 1888):136-137.

Matilda Stevenson, much of whose work is annotated in this bibliography, presented a paper at the annual meeting of the Women's Anthropological Society in 1888. This article appears to have provided her exact words.

Mrs. Stevenson encapsulated the Zuni Origin and Migration narrations that she would later publish in detail in the *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (1904). "All Indians entered this world in the far North-west, having ascended through three lower worlds before their advent here," wrote the anonymous reporter, who then quoted Stevenson at length, including:

The Zuñi came to this world by the command of the Sun, who sent his sons, Ah-ai-u-ta and Ma-a-se-we (two little war gods) as bearers of his message, and to guide them to his presence. They ascended from the lower world through a huge reed. Po-shai-yan-tka, the high priest of the Zuñi, followed immediately after the gods. The other priests came next in succession; then the eight original medicine orders and all carnivorous animals. Upon reaching this world, the Zuñi for the first time beheld the light of day. . . . (p. 136).

Never was Stevenson to learn that the place of Emergence of the Zunis was located in the Grand Canyon, although she recorded one version of the entire tale and noted the fine points of the story. For example, she knew that the animals revealed some of their secrets to the Zunis after the Emergence, and that medicine priests brought certain "precious items" with them from the Underworlds. Among these was the E-to-ne, their most sacred fetish. Encased in this tiny "sarcophagus" were two frogs, two tadpoles, and vegetal matter; plume or prayer sticks lay on top of the box (p. 136). Another item brought from the Underworld was a drum-stick, deemed to be of special value and significance because it had come to this world with the Zunis. In fact, anything that emerged with the Zunis in the Grand Canyon was considered highly sacred.

After the Emergence, the Zunis learned their sacred songs and rituals. Stevenson concluded by explaining the value to the Zunis of the medicine man, who was both doctor and priest. Their practices were influenced by the gods, and therefore were of religious as well as secular significance. Stevenson told the group of the pervasiveness of religion in Zuni life, ending on a note of admiration for a people who "derive from it much amusement and great joy, and in it all their hopes and aspirations are centered" (p. 137). No one could miss the point that their Beginning and the places and things associated with them, were of supreme importance to the Zunis. However, Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that Stevenson's interpretations are often incorrect.

Auerbach, Herbert S. "Father Escalante's Route." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 9 (April 1941):73-80.

Auerbach's brief description of the 1776 Domingues-Escalante journey accompanied the publication by J. Cecil Alter of a copy of the expedition's long-lost map.

Auerbach noted that the Fathers crossed the Colorado River near its confluence with the San Juan River. From there they travelled to the Indian village of Nacimienco, and then turned easterly toward Moqui (Hopi). From the Hopi pueblos to Santa Fe "the route was well defined. Continuing eastward they reached Cuma and then turned southeasterly until they arrived at Zuni" (pp. 79-80). After leaving Zuni they proceeded to Albuquerque and finally Santa Fe.

The Domingues-Escalante journals are among many that document the Zunis' long-standing ties to Hopi and the Grand Canyon.

Austin, Mary. "The Days of Our Ancients." *The Survey* 53 (Oct. 1, 1924):33-38, 59.

*The Survey*, formerly called *Charities and the Commons*, once boasted social activists Jacob Riis and Jane Addams on its board of directors. The ancient Zuni culture, noted the magazine editors in a brief introduction to this article, is the "earliest chapter of collective living on the North American continent," a chapter that should be cherished, not wiped off the "slate of the American continent, as the officials at Washington seem bent on doing." Mary Austin's accompanying article was a paean to the "most perfect type of cooperative communal life of which we have any knowledge" (p. 33).

If you are privileged, Austin began, you may hear the Zuni and Pueblo Creation narrations, "the only account of early man in America that has the color of veracity," if one viewed the tales as metaphorical journeys from Asia to North America. She perceived the Zuni Emergence in the Southwest as an explanation of the Zunis' coming together as a people and a culture, rather than as their true beginnings as human beings. Using "Sipapu," the Hopi word for their own place of Emergence (like the Zunis in the Grand Canyon, although Austin did not know this) she provided the general outline of the Zuni Emergence:

Man, as the Zuñi understand him, came to knowledge of himself in the lowest of the four womb worlds, in Sipapu, the Mist-encompassed Place, and in a state unfinished. . . . Thence he climbed by the roots of the great pine, by the Douglas spruce say the Tewa--to the world of water-moss, cold, sunless; faint tribal memory perhaps of the arctic tundras crossed on the way to the Middle Place. So world by world . . . they climbed, having as helpers the Great Twin Brethren, right and left hands of the Sun Father. . . . In some such fashion the Zuñis . . . prefigure their passage from their racial homeland to the Place of Emergence, localized for every tribe in some volcanic crevice or bottomless crater lake (ibid).

Austin also described some of the cultural similarities among the Prehistoric Pueblos. These were people who came into the Southwest with like survival skills and religious sensibilities, "having a common origin legend and a common recognition of this Southwest as their Middle Place" (p. 37). In the ruins of kivas left during the migrations one would discover a symbolic Sipapu, "Doorway of the Underworld" (p. 35); on the prayers of the priests depended the community's fortunes.

Primarily this article praised communal life and romanticized the Pueblo culture. Lacking knowledge of the Zuni Emergence in the Grand Canyon, Austin's speculations were vague and her theories inaccurate; however, the contours of the Zuni Origin tale remained intact.

Bahr, Donald. "On the Complexity of Southwest Indian Emergence Myths." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 33 (1977):317-349.

Bahr compared the complexity and narrative content of Pima and Zuni emergence tales. He explained that the stories of the Beginning were regarded as historical truth; they are true also in the sense of being unadulterated, since the chants "achieve near word-perfect replication from one telling to the next" (p. 321).

Zunis, as well as a large number of articles and books on Zuni religion, confirm Bahr's observations. Zunis carefully preserve their narration of their Emergence and Migration from the Grand Canyon to the Middle Place.

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in Bahr's interpretation may be incorrect.

Bahti, Tom. *Southwestern Indian Ceremonials*. Flagstaff: KC Publications, 1970.

Bahti had a degree in anthropology and was a twenty-year collector of Indian art. Published probably for sale in his Tucson Indian arts and crafts shop, Bahti's brief picture book outlines the Creation, Emergence, and Migration narrations. He noted that the tales are repeated at Shalako, "a forty-nine day re-enactment of the Zuni emergence and migration myths" (p. 28), and began the tale as follows:

The underworld which the *Ashiwi* inhabited was totally dark; the people lived in holes and subsisted on wild grass seeds. They are said to have been peculiar creatures with tails, gigantic ears, webbed hands and feet, moss covered bodies and a foul odor. . . .

At the time of the emergence the Divine Ones used their stone knives to transform the animal-like *Ashiwi* into human form. They also taught the Zuni how to make fire and to cook their food. Corn was acquired from two witches who managed to escape from the Underworld at the time of emergence.

The Zunis then began their wanderings to seek the Middle Place (the middle of the world) where they were to settle. Many years were spent in the search and numerous villages were built only to be later abandoned (p. 27). [And so on.]

It is fitting that Bahti drew on these tales to describe Zuni ceremonial life, as they are so basic to Zuni culture. However, Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Bartlett, Florence. "The Creation of the Zunis." *Old Santa Fe: A Magazine of History, Archaeology, Genealogy and Biography* 2 (July 1914):79-87.

Bartlett simply printed a version of the Creation narration with no commentary.

The story mentions the prototypes of men born deep in the fourth cavern of darkness and yet unfinished, and that these creatures (the ancient Ashiwi) were led up through the Underworlds to the outer world or "'light-of-day-place":

The passage through which they last emerged is called J-mit-kianapkiatea, a word pregnant with meaning, derived from many interesting Zuni words and signifying "an opening in the earth filled with water which mysteriously disappeared leaving a clear passage for the Ashiwi to ascend to the outer world," the Uhl-onanne (pp. 81-82).

Once they emerged, the Zunis set out on their wanderings in search of the most suitable place of habitation, travelling eastward toward the Middle Place. Although unaware of the meaning of J-mit-kianapkiatea, Bartlett had outlined the Emergence and Migration of the Zuni People from the Grand Canyon to their present home. Zuni religious leaders would caution the reader, however, that information in this document may be inaccurate.

Bartlett, Katherine. "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 (January 1940):37-45.

Bartlett expanded upon George P. Winship's 1896 narration of these two expeditions by mapping the trails between Hopi, Zuni and the Grand Canyon, and by listing likely stopping points and their mileage. Although the original accounts gave no indication of the routes taken, "we know," Bartlett said,

that Zunis guided both expeditions to the Hopi village, and the Hopis guided Cardenas to the Grand Canyon. It is certain, therefore, that they followed the ancient Indian trails from waterhole to waterhole, the same ancient trails that were used until the twentieth century when fenced-in ranches, new roads, and automobiles put an end to their usefulness (pp. 41-42).

Coronado, on the other hand, approached Zuni from the southwest, traveling in reverse the Hopi route to the Zuni Salt Lakes, the route Zunis used in the winter. These old Spanish accounts point to the ancient trade and travel patterns from Zuni toward the Grand Canyon by way of the Hopi Mesas.

A copy of Bartlett's map follows.



Bartlett, Mrs. W. H. "The Shalako Dance." *Out West* 22 (1905):389-402.

Bartlett went to Zuni to witness Shalako, guided by Mr. Vanderwagon, a missionary, and a Mr. Graham, a long-time resident. She recapitulated the story of Coronado and the Spanish mission era, and described some of the Shalako ceremonies. She heard a brief version of the Emergence tale, of which she said only that "after the Zuñis had been rescued from their dark abode in the bowels of the earth by A-ha-u-ta and Ma-a-se-we, the two War gods, one of their chiefs sent his son to find a suitable place on which to build a town" (p. 400).

The writer did not know a great deal about Zuni culture, or that the Emergence was in the Grand Canyon; however, she inferred the importance of the tale.

Baxter, Sylvester. "An Aboriginal Pilgrimage." *Century Magazine* 24 (August 1882):526-536.

Baxter described the trip taken by Zuni religious leaders to the East Coast in February 1882, accompanied by Frank H. Cushing.

In council discussion before leaving, Baxter said, senior Bow Priest Nai-iu-tchi "repeated the ancient Zuñi tradition of the people that had gone to the eastward in the days when all mankind was one" (p. 527). It is noteworthy that the Bow Priest referred to the Zunis' ancient Migration from the Grand Canyon; the story loomed large as a metaphor. The rest of the article concerns the events of the trip itself.

Baxter, Sylvester. "The Father of the Pueblos." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 65 (June 1882):72-91.

In this appreciative treatment of both Zuni Pueblo (the "father" of the title) and Frank Hamilton Cushing, Baxter vividly described the Zuni people and their environment.

Baxter presented the Zuni Tribe as evidence of mankind's true age: "The ruined dwellings of man [tell] with awful eloquence of the antiquity of both the world and its dominant animal" (p. 73). Frank Cushing alerted Baxter to the Zuni's remarkable collective memory, further evidence of their long history. He cautioned the journalist that "if you are told that any primitive people is ignorant of its history, don't you believe it. They know all about it" (p. 75). Indeed, impressed with the spoken "Zuñi Bible," Baxter remarked:

To acquire and record this wonderful work, the Zuñi Bible, would be a Homeric task. Mr. Cushing has several times had the privilege of listening to its recital--it is very often recited informally. . . . The Bible begins with the mythical origin of the people, and then enters into what is evidently genuine history. This is brought down to comparatively recent times. . . . (p. 76).

Although he represented the Zunis' point of origin as the California coast, Baxter acknowledged that the accuracy of their Migration narration when compared to actual ruins along the route (which, though he did not say this, lead to the Grand Canyon) was "marvelous" (ibid).

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Beaglehole, Ernest. *Notes on Hopi Economic Life*. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 15. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937.

The Hopis and the Zunis have had a very long trade relationship. "Today," remarked Ernest Beaglehole, "the [Hopi] men often stop at Zuni to visit friends, to trade or to procure a supply of fresh food" (p. 53). Such exchanges once included salt from Marble Canyon, in what is now Grand Canyon National Park. Beaglehole described how Hopis gathered salt in the Grand Canyon, and sometimes traded it to Zuni. He pointed out the sacredness of the Grand Canyon and the San Francisco Peaks to regional Native Americans, indicating the cultural relationship Indians had with the Grand Canyon:

Since the Grand Canyon and the San Francisco Peaks passed on the journey [to gather salt] are intimately associated with legend and katsina [kachina] 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).

Of course, this relationship between the Zuni Tribe and the Grand Canyon continues today.

Bell, William A. *New Tracks in North America: A Journal of Travel and Adventure Whilst Engaged in the Survey for a Southern Railroad to the Pacific Ocean in 1867-1868*. Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1965.

*New Tracks in North America* first appeared in 1870. Bell, an Englishman, joined one of several parties surveying a southern route for the Kansas Pacific Railway Company in 1867. He did not go to Zuni, but reported the impressions and observations of those among his group who did.

His party's primary communication with the Zunis seemed to be about trading for food. "Our party found the people of Zuñi to be very honest, but uncommonly sharp traders," he commented (p. 166). Bell repeated a Western saying that there were only two peoples in New Mexico and Arizona among whom one could feel absolutely safe: the Pimas and the Zunis.

In describing the Coronado expedition, he mentioned the Cardenas side-trip to the Grand Canyon, "twenty days through a broken volcanic country," but was nonspecific about the route. Bell's comments lend support to those of other observers who noticed the Zunis' trade relations with and ancient trails toward Hopi and the tribes of the Grand Canyon.

Benedict, Ruth. *Patterns of Culture*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1959.

Benedict's most famous book was originally published in 1934. A comparative study of different cultures, this book contributed to anthropology her interpretation of cultures as "personality writ large," and popularized the concept of culture in its anthropological meaning.

Regarding the Zunis, Benedict stressed the importance of recreating prayers and rituals exactly. Ceremonial life demanded precision and attention, not only from "those who are responsible for the ritual and those who take part in it, but all the people of the pueblo. . . ." The prayers uttered by the Zuni people could be considered "formulas, the effectiveness of which comes from their faithful rendition. The amount of traditional prayer forms of this sort in Zuñi can hardly be exaggerated" (p. 60). She explained that this ceremonial life was organized like a series of interlocking wheels" (p. 65).

Benedict did not dwell on many details of the Zuni religion, but her comments underscored the importance of maintaining religious traditions.

Benedict, Ruth. *Zuni Mythology, Vol. I*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.

Ruth Benedict recorded these tales in the summers of 1923 and 1924, seeking, she said, to discover the relationship between folkloric themes and the Zuni culture.

Like her protégée Ruth Bunzel, Benedict recognized that the Zuni Emergence tale had many variants, "different literary combinations of incidents in different plot sequences" (p. xiii). She noted a lack of historicity in the tales, basing this on the fact that a story-teller might recount the tale of the origins of a group, a practice, and so on, yet contradict that tale in the next breath. Like most "myths," she believed, a picture of Zuni cultural life could be abstracted from these tales. Benedict also believed that Zuni ceremonial stories frequently had little plot, but, rather, were a way to convey ceremonial details through narrations.

Benedict introduced "The Emergence," drawn from accounts by Cushing, Stevenson, Parsons and Bunzel, by commenting that

Zuni origin tales are extreme examples of the extent to which mere plot is dwarfed in Zuni in comparison with ceremonial interest. The familiar incidents of the Zuni origin tale occur in all the available versions and are used in supernatural validation of ceremonies.

The emergence tale belonged to everyone, and was freely repeated in many versions which varied in the details introduced. Incidents out of this narration could be lifted and used in other stories (p. xxx).

For example, she noted the "Zuni fondness for recasting incidents of their emergence myth to serve as humorous tales for evening entertainment" (p. 257).

Benedict printed two versions of the Emergence narration. Both were framed upon the story of deliverance by the sons of the sun, who led the people up from the fourth Underworld to the surface of the earth, and migration to the Middle Place. The second version reflected Bunzel's research, noting the birds (eagle, cokapiso [translation unknown], chicken hawk, and hummingbird), insects (locust), and plants (reeds, pine, spruce, piñon, and cottonwood) that helped the Zunis reach the surface of the Grand Canyon place of Emergence (p. 259). She also mentioned four medicine bundles that were given to the priests upon Emergence (ka'eto-we, tcu'eto-we, mu'eto-we, and thle'eto-we), items which, although she did not say so, were probably still in use during special ceremonies; these fetishes may have contained components brought from the Grand Canyon.

Many of the stories involved specific geographical points of reference, indicating the close relationship between the Zuni culture and the landscape. In the tale "The Corn Maidens," for example, a runner travelled to Hopi past A'mosa, the Sunflower Stalks, Red Spring, to the Hopi mesa, where he overtook the women carrying water up to the mesa trail and to the village.

He summoned the bow priest to return with him, and he returned to Itiwana the way he came (p. 34).

Benedict's analysis not only reiterated the importance of the Place of Emergence to the Zunis, but indicated that the ancient tales remain close to the surface of Zuni culture and everyday life.

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Benedict, Ruth. *Zuni Mythology. Vol. II.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.

In the second volume of *Zuni Mythology*, Benedict retold miscellaneous Zuni folktales. These included "The Sun's Son," in which a young man desired to know whether the Sun actually took the prayersticks and meal offered to him by the Zunis. He not only learned that the Sun did indeed accept these gifts, but he also journeyed to the Underworld, where he saw many strange things, including people who looked like the first Zunis when *they* lived in the Underworld. The sisters of the Sun dressed him and painted patterns on his face with shiny black paint, telling him "Now you are like the Sun" (p. 65). He and the Sun traveled the upper and Underworlds together, and when he returned home he became Pekwin, the priest who sets ceremonial dates by the movements of the sun.

The paint mentioned above is still mined in the Grand Canyon--the place of Zuni Emergence from the Underworld--and painted on the faces of dancers in sacred ceremonies. The Grand Canyon remains an honored place in Zuni religion.

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

Bolton's story of the Coronado expedition retraced every step of Coronado's trip, but cited present-day locations for the sake of clarity. From Mexico City, Coronado and his men made their way to the pueblos of New Mexico, following a route known to his predecessors Cabeza de Vaca, Guzmán and others, who in turn had followed trails established by Indians for generations:

The Spaniards, a step at a time . . . used these ancient trails leading up the coast, until they became a continuous highway for Europeans--a *camino real*--to the Pueblo Land of Arizona and New Mexico, where they struck other Indian paths showing them the way to the plains of Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas (p. 83).

Coronado followed his vanguard Cárdenas out of Chichilte-calli. The march proceeded to the Little Colorado River near its junction with the Zuni River, then up the Zuni to the pueblo of Hawikuh.

After capturing Hawikuh, Coronado described the pueblos that he had taken. In a letter he commented on the high quality salt that Zunis obtained "from a lake a day's journey from here" and that "So far as I can find out, these Indians worship water, because they say it makes the maize grow and sustains their life, and the only other reason they know is that their ancestors did the same" (p. 131).

Coronado sent Captain Pedro de Tovar to investigate the Hopi Pueblos, as well. Tovar was

led by Zuni guides who presumably took him over the accustomed route by which the Hopis periodically came to the famous Zuñi 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, through country today included in the Navajo Reservation (p. 135).

While he was in Tusayán, Tovar told Coronado upon returning in August 1540, "notice was had of a great river. . . ." (p. 137). This river to the west had to be investigated, and Coronado outfitted another expedition to be led by Cárdenas. Cárdenas retraced Tovar's trail and proceeded to the Grand Canyon, arriving in the vicinity of Grand View. Unable to reach the canyon floor (in part for want of water), Cárdenas learned that when the Hopis travelled to the Grand Canyon they buried water jugs in caches along the route for the return trip.

The following spring, Coronado began his march to the plains as far as present-day Kansas. Coronado was impressed by the use of sign language among different American Indian tribes, an apparent lingua franca shared by many tribes in this region of extensive trade networks. He observed that it was effectively used from Zuni to the plains, and commented that

Indians "were so skillful in the use of signs that it seemed as if they were speaking" (p. 248). Failing to find the fabled cities of gold, Coronado was on his way back to Mexico within a year.

Although short on specific information about the Zunis, the book illustrates the ancient ties among southwestern tribes and points to the Zuni trade connection to the Grand Canyon.

Bolton, Herbert E. *Pageant in the Wilderness: The Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776, Including the Diary and Itinerary of Father Escalante*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1950.

Bolton expanded upon Escalante's diary to create a more complete and descriptive narrative of his expedition. Bolton described how the travelers forded the Colorado River at the Crossing of the Fathers, then turned "south-southeast over a well-beaten trail . . ." toward Hopi (p. 120). They arrived at Zuni on November 26, 1776, and remained until December 13.

Although the travelers did not comment on the Zunis, the Escalante diary is another early document indicating the well-established trade relations among regional natives.

Bolton, Herbert E. *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1959.

This book originally appeared in 1908.

Bolton included accounts from a number of Spanish expeditions into the Southwest; many of them provide clear evidence that the Zunis and Hopis visited each other regularly. People, trade goods, and, of course, information traveled rapidly from one pueblo to another. In 1604, for example, Don Juan de Oñate and a large company of men travelled to Zuni, and then "set out from this pueblo, and having travelled twenty leagues between northwest and west they arrived at the province of Mooqui [Hopi]" (p. 268). The Hopis, in turn, were familiar with the Little Colorado River, as well as the Colorado River; in 1626, Zárate noted that Oñate had heard of these rivers from the Hopis.

Bourke, John G. *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona. Being a Narrative of a Journey from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Villages of the Moqui Indians of Arizona, with a Description of the Manners and Customs of this Peculiar People, and Especially of the Revolting Religious Rite, the Snake-Dance; to Which is Added a Brief Dissertation upon Serpent-Worship in General with an Account of the Tablet Dance of the Pueblo of Santo Domingo, New Mexico, etc.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884.

Captain Bourke, a former Indian-fighter turned ethnologist and Indian advocate, described his experiences with a variety of Southwestern native peoples in this, his first book. Although his opinions often emerged from biased, deductive reasoning, he recorded many observations useful to researchers. His analysis ranged across several tribes, including the Zunis, Hopis, Querez and Havasupais.

Bourke portrayed these peoples as completely and scientifically as he was able, and of course he recognized religious rites as central cultural activities. Religion was always a conservative influence, he said, especially among the "savage races," whose religious leaders were also sorcerers, dramatists, and historians. Religion and tribal history were intertwined:

In the religious dances of such peoples as the Zunis, Moquis, and Querez, suggestions of their history and previous environment will crop out in features which from any other point of view would be without import (p. 179).

Bourke conveyed some examples of this interconnection of religion and history. In 1881 his friend Frank Cushing introduced Bourke to some local natives who were willing to discuss their cultures with him, with Cushing acting as interpreter. Nayuchi, a Zuni, informed him that the Hopis and Zunis had "an identical religion, and depended upon each other for help in their sacred ceremonies" (p. 193). A Hopi named Nanahe who had been adopted by the Zunis added that seashells Bourke had noticed were "brought by our forefathers to the country of the Moqui. They are very old. They were not obtained in trade with other tribes. They came from the *country of the new*" (ibid). To this Bourke added parenthetically that "this expression, or its companion--'The country where the Zunis or Moquis came up out of the ground'--is employed when speaking of the cradle of their race, wherever that may have been" (ibid, footnote).

Bourke learned that these peoples came from the west\*, but he did not extrapolate from his discussions where that place was, even though Nanahe acknowledged the Grand Canyon as the place of the origin of the Hopi Rattlesnake Dance. The Snake Order, he explained, was "first organised in the Grand Cañon of the Rattlesnakes, the Grand Cañon of the Cohoninos, the Cañon of the Ava-Supais [Havasupais], and our people in their migration brought the secret with them" (p. 181). Bourke speculated instead that the seashells in Hopi possession represented an emergence from the Pacific (or, rather, their "landing on the western coast") and that their

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\* See page 199, for example, where Bourke quoted the Zuni Pedro Pino [Lai-wi-ahtsai-lu] as saying that "The shells you saw came from the sea. The Moquis came from the west, just as the Zunis did."

"huddling together . . . with the crawling reptiles . . . conserved the tradition of a prehistoric life in caves which snakes infested" (p. 178).

Besides hearing about the tribes' origins, Bourke also learned that Zunis, Havasupais, Hopis, and others had long maintained "intimate commercial relations" and shared many material practices (p. 254). Bourke did not know that some of this trade was for sacred materials from the Grand Canyon, but the observation was suggestive. Combined with Nayuchi's explanation of the mutual religious forms and support enjoyed by Hopis and Zunis, and Nanahe's hint at the Grand Canyon provenance of Hopi religion, it provides strong clues to Zuni culture. Without fully realizing it, Bourke had accumulated important information about the ancient Zuni relationship with the Grand Canyon.

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Brinton, Daniel G. *The Myths of the New World: A Treatise on the Symbolism and Mythology of the Red Race of America*. Philadelphia: David McKay, 1896.

Brinton speculated on the origins of ideas of the soul, Creation, the afterlife, and so on, among Native Americans. He acknowledged the secret/sacred language of the Zunis; on page 258 he noted that the Zuni Creation tale tells of "fourfold containing Mother Earth," or "Earth with her fourfold Womb," without recognizing that this referred to a place in the Grand Canyon.

Bunzel, Ruth. "Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism." In *Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929-1930*. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1932.

Ruth Bunzel lived with and studied the Zuni in the 1920s; she even became a member of the Badger clan, one of whom, Flora Zuni, was her guide and interpreter. Ruth Benedict was Bunzel's mentor, and the two anthropologists studied the Zunis at the same time.

"Introduction to Zuñi Ceremonialism," provided an overview of Zuni economic, social, and religious life, as observed and interpreted by Bunzel herself. "Nowhere in the New World except in the ancient civilizations of Mexico and Yucatan," Bunzel stated, "has ceremonialism been more highly developed. . . . In Zuñi, as in all the pueblos, religion spreads wide. It pervades all activities. the Zuñi may be called one of the most thoroughly religious peoples of the world. . . ." (p. 480). She noted that "all of Zuñi life is oriented about religious observance, and ritual has become the formal expression of Zuñi civilization. If Zuñi civilization can be said to have a style, that style is essentially the style of its rituals" (p. 509).

Much of Zuni ceremony centered on veneration of sacred objects. The fetishes of the Zunis consisted of such things as bundles of reeds, water containing miniature frogs, obsidian knives and arrow points, pots of sacred black paint, polished round stones identified as "thunder stones", rattles of olivella shells (from a small snail), feathered ears of corn, objects "believed to have been brought by the Zuñi from the lowest of the four worlds where they had their origin." These items were called *tcimikānapkoa*, "the ones that were at the first beginning" (p. 490), and had been kept in sealed jars since the settlement of the village. Mentioned again on page 514, these items included other objects that remained secret and unidentified.

Along with sacred red paint, the sacred black paint mentioned above was cited in prayers and used in rituals frequently. "Some men always carry with them pieces of medicine root or packages of red paint as amulets," she said. "Others possess collections of pebbles and sticks of black paint, from which they seek help in special emergencies, and which are honored with prayers and songs" (p. 491). Some *kacina* masks were, "like the fetishes of the rain priests, 'from the beginning'; most prayer sticks were painted black (p. 500), and in countless rituals, red and black paints were employed. Both the precious red paint and a special iridescent black paint were mined in the Grand Canyon, although Bunzel made no mention of red paint "from the beginning" (the only red paint mine that she appeared to know about was four miles from Zuni). In this and other articles reprinted in the *Forty-Seventh Annual Report*, Bunzel referred to sacred paints from the fourth womb or Underworld. It is not clear that she understood that this paint literally was "from the beginning" or "from the fourth womb"; in "Zuñi Kacinas" she discussed all of the sources of black paint without once alluding to the Grand Canyon.

Having recorded Zuni creation narrations in both secular and ritualistic form, Bunzel observed that they all began in the same way, with the Sun telling his two children to go into the fourth womb and bring the people out to ease his loneliness. She also noted the preciousness of water. "To the Zuñi the whole world appears animate. . . . All matter has its inseparable spiritual essence. . . ." (p. 483). Sources of water, in particular, were always regarded as sacred:

The basis upon which all Zuni ceremonialism rests is the cult of . . . the ancients or ancestors. . . . They are identified with the greatest of all blessings in this arid land, the clouds and the rain. In prayers they are referred to as "those who have attained the blessed place of waters. . . ." (pp. 509-510).

There were no places especially sacred to the ancients, except "perhaps the river bank, especially the point called Wide River, where offerings of food are customarily made" (p. 510).

Bunzel acknowledged that she did not necessarily acquire her information from participants in the rituals. For example, in explaining the cult of the Uwanami, she stated that her informant was fairly reliable but that the information was not quite beyond question. She described this group's sacred objects as "the most sacrosanct objects of Zuni worship," items brought from the innermost depths of the earth at the time of the Emergence. Much of the ritual was secret, and it is likely that her informant was unaware of some of its aspects.

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Bunzel, Ruth. "Zuñi Kachinas: An Analytical Study." In *Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1932.

This volume elaborated on the rituals of the most important cult of the Zunis. It illustrated the complexity and enormous significance of, and attention to, the smallest detail in Zuni religion. It also hinted at the difficulty outsiders would have in learning the details of Zuni religious life. For example, the kachina chief, whose word carried great weight, maintained strict adherence to religious practices, and Bunzel observed that he was "bitter in his denunciation of those suspected of trafficking with whites and those who are lax in preserving the secrecy of all religious rites" (p. 876). In fact, soon after the people came up from the Underworld, someone told the secrets of a dance, and a priest summoned the terrifying kachina Hainawi to punish him (p. 1003).

Bunzel noted that the kachinas first appeared during the Zunis' original odyssey to the Middle Place, and that the masks worn by the kachina impersonators were "ancient and permanent," present "from the first beginning' (tcimikänapkowa)" (p. 880). Another mention of The Beginning concerned the initiation ceremony into the kachina cult. Bunzel referred to the head of the Käklo cult, whose role was to visit the six kivas and recite his "Tcimikänapka penan-e" (talk of the first beginning). This narration of The Beginning consumed over three hours each time, and had to be spoken rapidly and without pause (p. 976). Another reference to telling the Origin narration, Tcimikänapka penan-e, appears on page 985. Under "Miscellaneous Priest Kachinas," Bunzel described the Känä-kwe, who "came out of the earth the way [the Zunis] did" (p. 1010).

The anthropologist also described the materials used in religious ceremonies. Iridescent black paint was used during specific ceremonies on the faces of performers. According to Bunzel's geologist, the paint was manufactured from "fine grains of quartz sphalerite and galena, a ground concentrate of zinc ore." The origin of this sacred paint (called *tshapa*) was not stated (pp. 861, 868), although the faces beneath the kachina masks were sometimes streaked with it (p. 970). Bunzel mentioned the use of three other black paints--hakwine, mitcapiwe, and hekwitola--but all three were prepared from local materials (pp. 859-860). In other contributions to the 47th annual report, Bunzel was aware that some black paints were "from the beginning paints," but did not make such a reference in this section.

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Bunzel, Ruth. "Zuni Origin Myths." In *Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929-1930*. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1932.

"There is no single origin myth," Bunzel stated in her introduction to this piece,

but a long series of separate myths. Each ceremonial group has a myth which contains . . . the mythological sanction for its own organization and rituals. There is not, however, any collected version which is "the talk," because no mind in Zuni encompasses all knowledge" (pp. 547-548).

Bunzel both relayed the Origin narrative in Zuni and in English, and provided the same story in prose form, which was easier for the reader to follow. She emphasized that "the Zuñis are as much preoccupied with the origins and early history of their people as were, for instance, the ancient Hebrews. . . ." (p. 547). "The main outlines of the origin myths are known to all," she said, "and great delight is found in recounting them" (p. 548).

Bunzel provided a word-for-word translation of the Origin narration. She recognized that there were different versions of this story, and noted that three had already been published by Cushing, Stevenson, and Parsons. The title of her version was translated as "Talk Concerning the First Beginning," from "Tcimikana'Kona Pe'na-we" ["First Beginning According to Words"] (p. 549), "Tcimikana" being a reference to the Zuni place of Emergence in the Grand Canyon (nowhere does Bunzel explicitly state this, however; it is unclear whether she realized the dual meaning of the phrase). The word was repeated frequently, in various forms, throughout the many parts of this story. Bunzel's translation used tci'mikänä and tci mikä'kowa ("according to the first beginning"), tci'mikänapkowa ("the ones that first had being"), tcimikäkä and tci'mikäkä ("the first beginning"), and related words. References included the following:

#### Page Words

568 Lines 415 (tcimikäkä) and 426 (tci'mikäkä)

569 Line 447 (tci'mikäkä)

574 Line 568 again refers to the first beginning place: tci'mikäkätekw; Line 570: "first beginning place," tci'mikäkä te'kwi

583 Line 750 (tci'mikäkä) "the first beginning"

604 Line 7 (tci'mikänapkä) "had our first beginning"

The tale indicates that Zunis encountered and used a variety of natural resources in their odyssey from the four Underworlds to the Middle Place (Itiwana). Within the first sentences of the story the importance of certain basic resources is evident: the sun spoke of his need for the attentions of the water fetish, corn fetish, and wood fetish society priests, attentions which included the proffering of shells, prayer sticks and sacred prayer meal. In addition, a number of plants and animals were instrumental in guiding the people from the Underworlds, as the following will show.

The story began when the sun sent his two children Watusti and Yanaluha to bring the people out of the Underworlds. The two encountered people who cultivated wild grasses for food; they also learned of the people's unhappiness in the Underworlds.

Agreeing that they wanted to emerge from the Underworlds, the priests summoned the eagle, the cokäpiso (a bird Bunzel was unable to identify), the chicken hawk, the hummingbird, and the locust to help find a way to the surface of the world. Locust, who, like water, can go through anything solid, made his way up three levels, but his strength gave out before he could reach the surface. Then the reed (Reed Youth) followed in his path and succeeded in reaching the top, where he stood in the light of the sun. The people followed by erecting first a pine ladder, then a spruce ladder, a piñon ladder and finally a cottonwood ladder.

When they had come forth, they spread their sacred possessions in a row, something they did each time they settled down for four days (which means four years). Unused to the light, they needed help sorting out their sacred objects, and Spider instructed an old man of the Dogwood Clan in what to do. Spider also helped him learn and carry out the proper ceremonies in the proper order, and to identify the sacred objects corresponding to the twelve months and the seasons (pp. 553-566 in literal translation, pp. 586-591 in prose version). After this, the people proceeded toward the Middle Place, and the tale of the Migration began.

The tale reveals the reverence with which Zunis regard their place of Creation. It also indicates the significance of minerals, plants and animals that they encountered at The Beginning and that assisted them in their ascent to this world.

Zuni religious leaders wish to caution the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Bunzel, Ruth. "Zuni Ritual Poetry." In *Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929-1930*. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1932.

"Zuñi Ritual Poetry" illustrates the complexity of Zuni ceremonial life. It provides over two hundred pages of prayers performed by specific persons for specific occasions. This document also suggests the pervasiveness of the Origin narration as a theme or framework for Zuni ceremonial life. For example, during the Shalako ceremony, the most important ceremony of the year, the impersonator of the masked god Sayataca spoke of "tci'mikä'kowa" or variations of the word for The Beginning, or the First Beginning, which is the Zuni name for their place of Emergence in the Grand Canyon. "Prayer of a Priest During His Summer Retreat" referred three times to the Beginning; "Sayataca's Night Chant" contained a large number of references, as well:

Page Word Used

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| 723 | tci'mikä'kowa (according to the first beginning)                                  |
| 726 | tci'mik'ä (the first beginning), tci'mikäkätekwi (they had their first beginning) |
| 727 | tci'mikänapkowa (the ones that first had being)                                   |
| 728 | tci'mikäkä (since the first beginning)  |

Likewise, in the "Night Chant of Hekäpa-kwe Ca'lako:"

|     |          |   |
|-----|----------|---|
| 762 | Line 17  | tci'mikä'kona (what has been since the first beginning) |
| 763 | Line 31  | tci'mikäkowa (according to the first beginning)         |
| 765 | Line 83  | tci'mikäkä (since the first beginning)                  |
| 766 | Line 145 | tci'mikäkä " " " "                                      |
| 767 | Line 164 | tci'mikäkä " " " "                                      |
| 771 | Line 343 | tci'mikäkä " " " "                                      |

In the prayers of the Medicine Cult:

|     |             |   |
|-----|-------------|---|
| 828 | Lines 2, 16 | tci'mikäkä, 21 tci'mika'kowa (various forms of "since the first beginning") |
| 829 | Line 1      | tci'mikäkä, 21 tci'mikäkä   |
| 830 | Line 28     | tci'mika'kowa, 38 tci'kä'kowa   |

All of these citations indicate the centrality of the Origin narration to Zuni ceremonial life.

Bunzel reproduced one version of the Origin narration; she does not state from whom she received it. As in other versions, the general outline is the same: the sun sent his two children to bring the people out of the fourth womb of the earth. They arose to the surface of the earth and began their long progression to the Middle Place. Along the way, they named places, and these places have been known ever since by these names.

In addition to regular references to the place of The Beginning, these prayers referred to the importance of certain sacred paints in Zuni ceremonies. While some paints were ordinary, or "common," as the Zunis said (see, for example, p. 711, n26), sacred paints were also used. Some of these sacred black and red paints were brought up from the Underworld, that is, from the place of Emergence in the Grand Canyon. It is possible that Bunzel was unaware of the literal truth of the references to paint "from the underworld," for she recorded the phrase without comment.

Repeatedly, prayers centered on the making and presenting of a proper prayer stick, and on the special words and rituals required for the occasion. "A Monthly Offering of Prayer Sticks" is one illustration. Like other prayers, it describes the clothing of a prayer stick in the flesh of black paint woman in order to give it human form (p. 626). In nearly all of these prayers and rituals a painted prayer stick (plume stick) must be prepared. The first prayer of the medicine cult on page 782 refers to the shrub, unnamed but probably willow, whose wood has been used for prayer sticks, "since the first beginning." The following prayers further illustrate the importance of preparing prayer sticks correctly and the necessity of the sacred paints from the Underworld.

In "Prayers to the Uwanammi," Bunzel described the rituals surrounding the prayers, which included setting up an altar with "pots of black paint that have been brought from the underworld" (p. 643). This theme was repeated in the prayer: "And then also in the fourth womb. . . . You will see your plume wands. You will see whether they have been finished with precious paint." Bunzel commented that the fourth womb referred to the fourth underground world, the place of Origin of the people, and that the paint mentioned was that which had been brought from the Underworld. "A tiny bit added to ordinary black paint makes the prayer stick 'finished' . . . as distinct from the 'unfinished' or 'worthless' prayer stick" (p. 645).

In "The Pekwin [priest of the sun] Goes Into Retreat," Bunzel again noted that the priest had pots of black paint brought from the Underworld (p. 659). Lines 60-61 of the prayer spoke of "The one who first had being ["tci'mikā'kowa"/ Black paint woman,/ With her flesh making the flesh of/ my plume wands" (p. 661). Bunzel added parenthetically that after the priest spoke these and additional lines, he returned to the ceremonial house to set up an altar which included dishes of sacred black paint.

With the "Prayer Before Going On a War Party" came a ritual that included depositing either red paint or iridescent black paint in corn husks which were then taken to distant shrines (p. 671). The priest-emissary at the shrine then told the god what he had brought: Red paint/Sparkling paint (pp. 672-673, lines 26-27, 86-87).

"Prayer of the Impersonator of Pa'utiwa" again spoke of plume wands and black paint woman (p. 695, line 84 and p. 698, line 218) and of perpetuating rites handed down since the first beginning (p. 696, line 122); on page 699 (line 256), the speaker referred to "carrying my father's perfect plume wands," which Bunzel explained meant the staves of office made by the priests and "'finished' with their sacred paint." Where this paint came from is not clear, although the following commentary is suggestive.

"Sayataca's Night Chant" recapitulates the sacred Migration from the Grand Canyon to the Middle Place, noting the sacred places of the journey. It, too, refers to black paint woman and clay woman, who clothed plume wands with flesh and made them into living beings. A "finished" prayer wand was one that was painted with the special paint used by priests, Bunzel again noted, the paint having been "brought from the underworld at the time of the emergence" (p. 710, n15).

The "Night Chant of Hekäpakwe Ca'lako" speaks of "perpetuating what has been since the first beginning" (p. 763, line 31), as well as "precious" plume wands, literally "'finished,'" noted Bunzel once again,

i.e., with the paint brought by the priests from the underworld. This is part of the sacred paraphernalia of the priests and forms part of their altars at seasons of retreat. A tiny bit is scraped off [of the rock from which it is made] and mixed with other paint" (p. 765, line 77, n99).

The power inherent in body paint is represented in "The Society Father Summons the Novice for His Initiation." The paint transforms the novice "into a being like [the divine ones]" (p. 800, line 191 and n37). At the close of the initiation, the society father blesses the novice, whose face and body are painted with sacred paint. As in other ceremonies, "finished" prayer sticks are used that have been given human form by clay woman and black paint woman (p. 804).

The importance of retrieving sacred paints from the Grand Canyon is clear in these translations.

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Bunzel, Ruth. *Zuni Texts*. AMS Press: New York, 1974.

*Zuni Texts* is Vol. 15 of the American Ethnological Society, originally published in 1933.

Working primarily with one informant, Flora Zuni, Bunzel provided dozens of tales and narrations about Zuni life in both English and Zuni. The brief "Preparation for Ca'lako [Shalako]" described the Koyemci "perpetuating what has been since the first beginning" (p. 16) and "Ancient Times" opened with the words "When our ancestors came from the place where they had their first beginning" (p. 29).

The tale of Deer Youth included a ritual in which Deer Youth's face was painted with sparkling paint (p. 105). The origin of the paint was not mentioned, but Zunis have long acquired some of their sparkling paints from the Grand Canyon.

Camazine, Scott, and Bye, Robert A. "A Study of the Medical Ethnobotany of the Zuni Indians of New Mexico." *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 2 (1980):365-388.

In the late 1970s, Camazine and Bye interviewed 27 Zuni medicine men and elders for information about their traditional uses of indigenous plants. If any came from the Grand Canyon region, that information was not indicated in this survey.

While the survey listed a large number of species (138), and built upon Matilda Stevenson's ethnobotanical survey ("Ethnobotany of the Zuñi Indians," *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnography*, included in this bibliography), Camazine and Bye readily admitted that they and Stevenson had sampled only a fraction of the plants used by the Zunis. The two researchers acknowledged that their informants may have been unaware of, or had withheld, esoteric knowledge. They also noted that some knowledge was secret and specific to certain medicine societies or fraternities, and that, because two of these fraternities had become extinct, some information was probably lost forever.

Camazine and Bye's work suggests that there may be many other plants in the Grand Canyon that are crucial to Zuni religion which have not been disclosed to non-Zunis.

Chavez, Fray Angelico, and Warner, Ted J. *The Dominguez-Escalante Journal: Their Expedition Through Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1776*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976.

Franciscan friar Silvestre Vélez de Escalante (commonly called Escalante) was assigned to Zuni in 1775. In July 1776 Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez asked Escalante to accompany him on an expedition out of Santa Fe in search of a route to Monterey, California.

Directed by their superiors to determine the need for new missions along the route, the two friars proselytized among the natives as they traveled. They wandered through the present-day Four Corners area but, forced back by approaching winter weather and various mishaps, they turned south in Utah toward the Grand Canyon. There they crossed the river and headed back to Santa Fe. Having suffered hunger and other discomforts, the party stopped at the Hopi pueblo for provisions and to check on the Hopis' spiritual state. Firmly rebuffed in their attempts at salvation, the party took a side trip to Zuni. There they lingered for around three weeks, stocking up and probably assisting in the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe in early December. Escalante's journal said little about the Zunis. Nonetheless, the geographic links between Zuni and other Indian towns is evident in this narrative, if not the economic and social connections. Such links included trade with the peoples of the Grand Canyon area for sacred pigments, and religious pilgrimages by Zuni priests to the Canyon itself.

Colton, Harold S. "Prehistoric Trade in the Southwest." *Scientific Monthly* 52 (January-June 1941):309-319.

As the director of the Museum of Northern Arizona, Colton focused primarily on Arizona natives. Colton traced a complex network of trade within the Southwest that extended as far west as the Pacific Ocean. One local trade item was red paint:

Probably the most interesting story of aboriginal trade is that of 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, even as far as the Rio Grande. . . . (p. 309).

This trade in red paint, he went on to say, was very old. "We have documentary evidence," he wrote, "that [the red ochre] was an article of trade before 1680 as it is an article of trade to-day" (ibid). In 1691 the Spanish Viceroy of New Spain near El Paso inquired about such paint, although he appears to have been unaware of mines within the Grand Canyon:

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 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 of earth containing vermillion. This is used by the Indians to paint themselves. . . . (ibid).

Colton described the old Indian trade route from southern California toward central New Mexico. One branch off of this prehistoric route crossed through Zuni and Hopi country, veering at its northern end toward the Grand Canyon (p. 310). In prehistoric times, Colton commented, humans carried commercial goods on their backs, and therefore traded valuable, low-bulk materials such as dyes and pigments. Such trade in northern Arizona was unaffected by white men until the coming of the railroad in 1880.

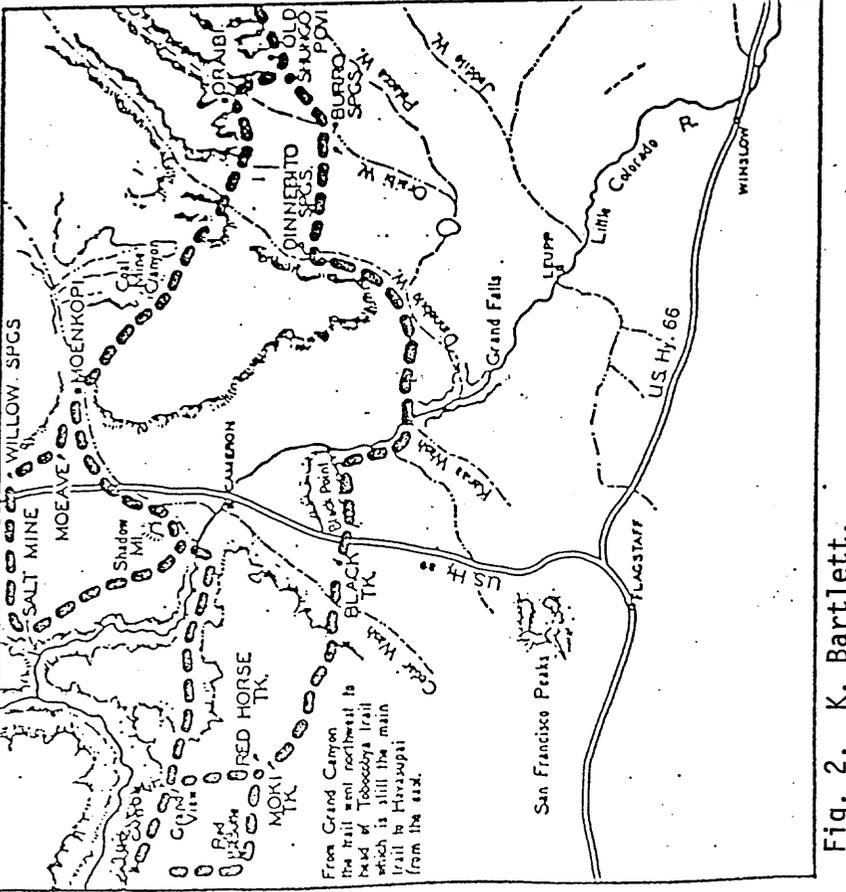
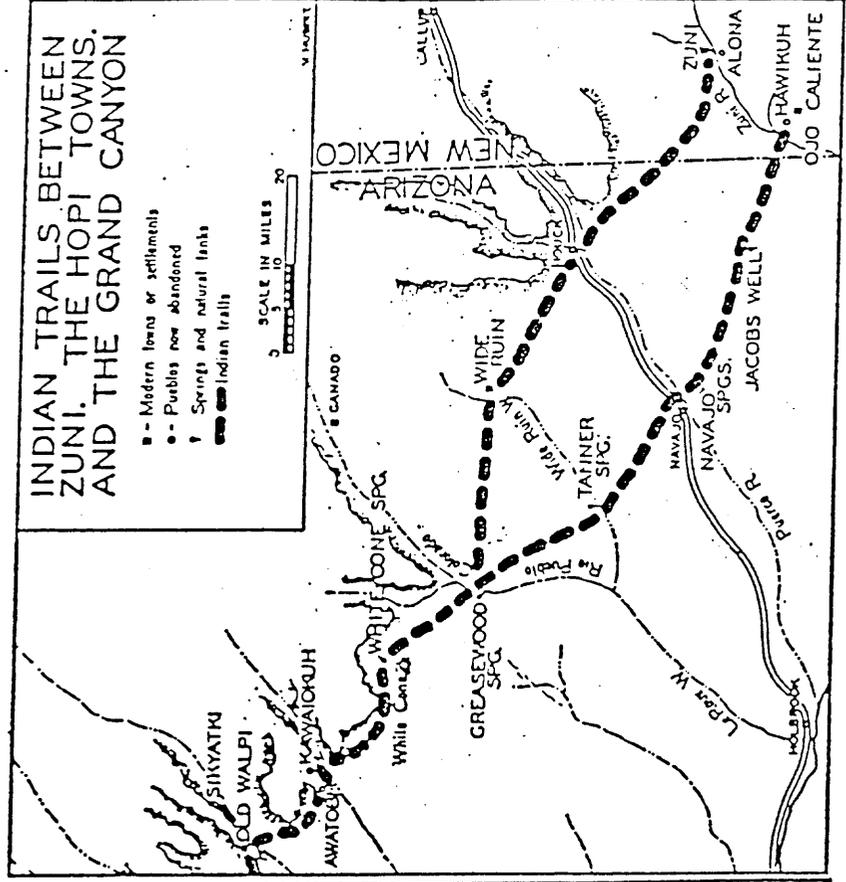
The trade between Zunis and Havasupais for sacred paints from the Grand Canyon, the area of the Zunis' place of Origin, continued for centuries, as this article implies. These are paints that are still used today.

Colton provided a crude map of the American Southwest showing various trade routes at about 1000 A. D. It is attached.

# INDIAN TRAILS BETWEEN ZUNI, THE HOPI TOWNS, AND THE GRAND CANYON

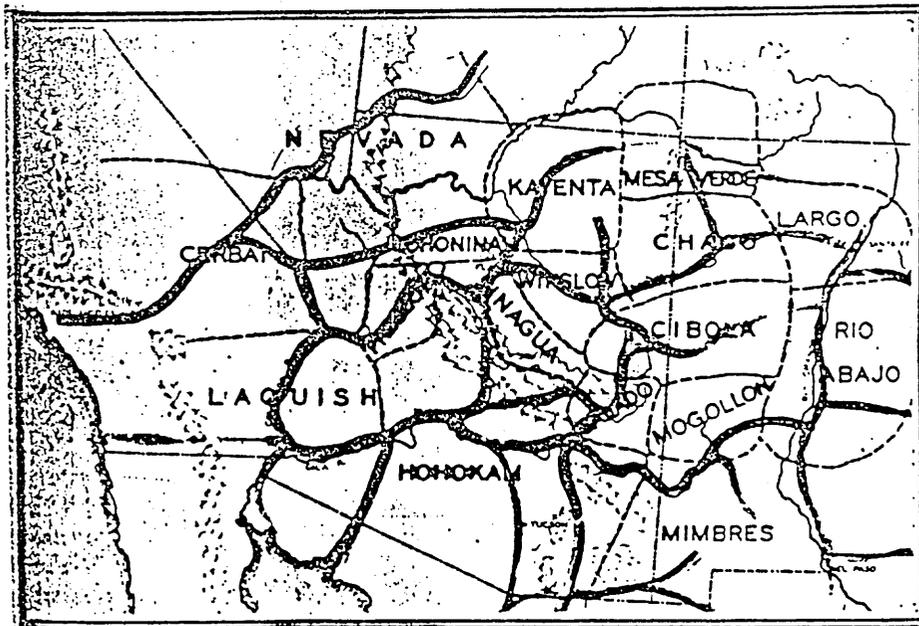
- - Modern towns or settlements
- - Pueblos now abandoned
- - Springs and natural tanks
- Indian trails

SCALE IN MILES  
0 5 10 20



From Grand Canyon the trail went northwest to head of Tobaccoys trail which is still the main trail to Hirasupai from the east.

Fig. 2. K. Bartlett.



MAP OF THE SOUTHWESTERN PART OF THE UNITED STATES

SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE DIFFERENT INDIAN TRIBES CALLED "BRANCHES" AT ABOUT 1100 A.D. THE NAMES OF SOME OF THESE BRANCHES HAVE BEEN SUGGESTED BY GLADWIN, OTHERS BY HALL, ROGERS AND THE AUTHOR. THE MAP ALSO SHOWS THE VARIOUS TRADE ROUTES, PARTLY AFTER BRAND.

Fig. 3. From H. Colton. Prehistoric Trade Routes in the Southwest.

Colton, Harold S. "Principle Hopi Trails." *Plateau* 36 (1964):91-94.

Colton used non-Indian sources from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries to describe the network of trails connecting the Hopis to places and people near and far. Two trails led to the Havasupais in the Grand Canyon; others led to Zuni and other Indian homelands. All indicated links between Zuni and the resources and inhabitants of the Grand Canyon. A copy of the map follows.



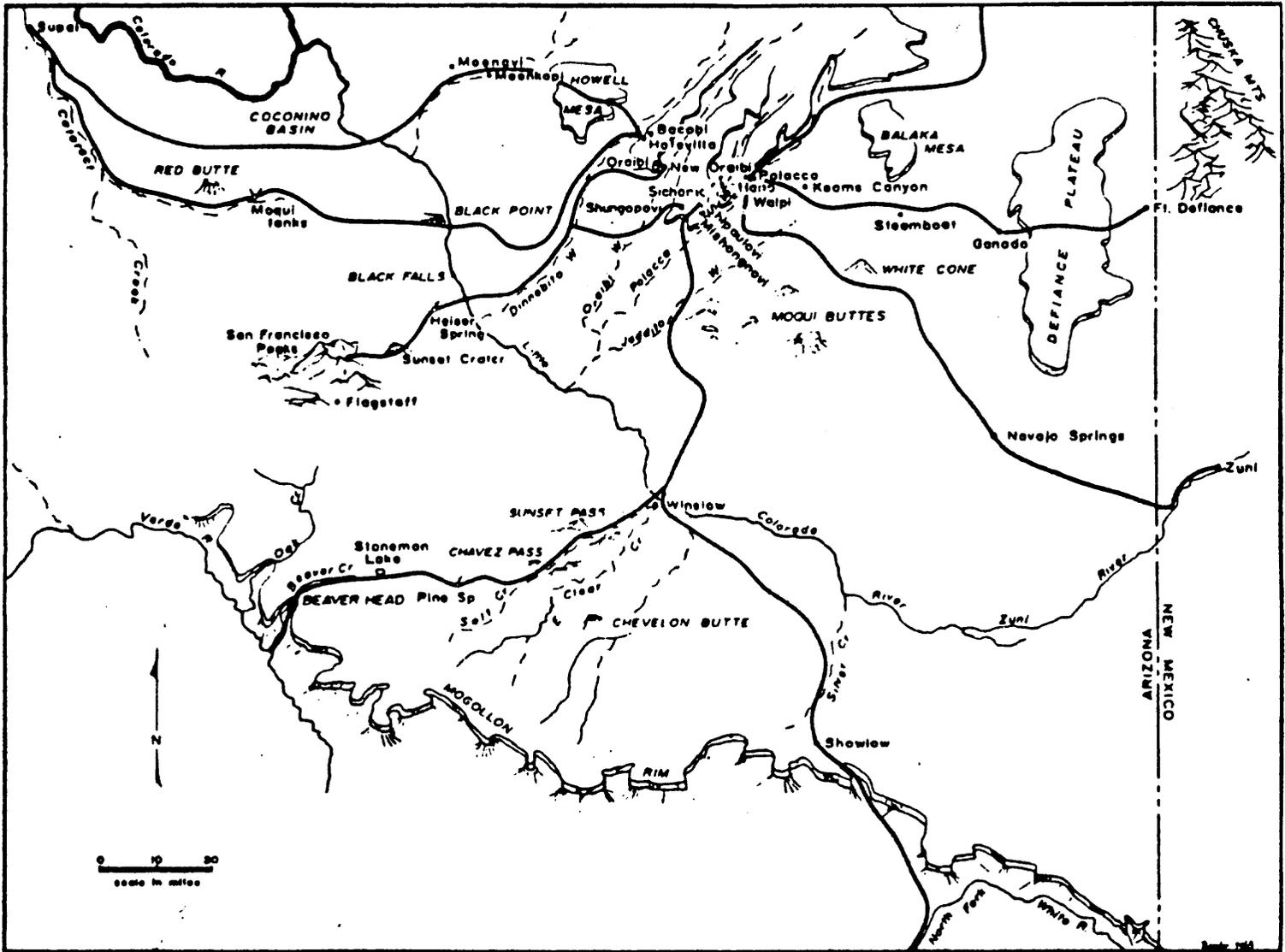
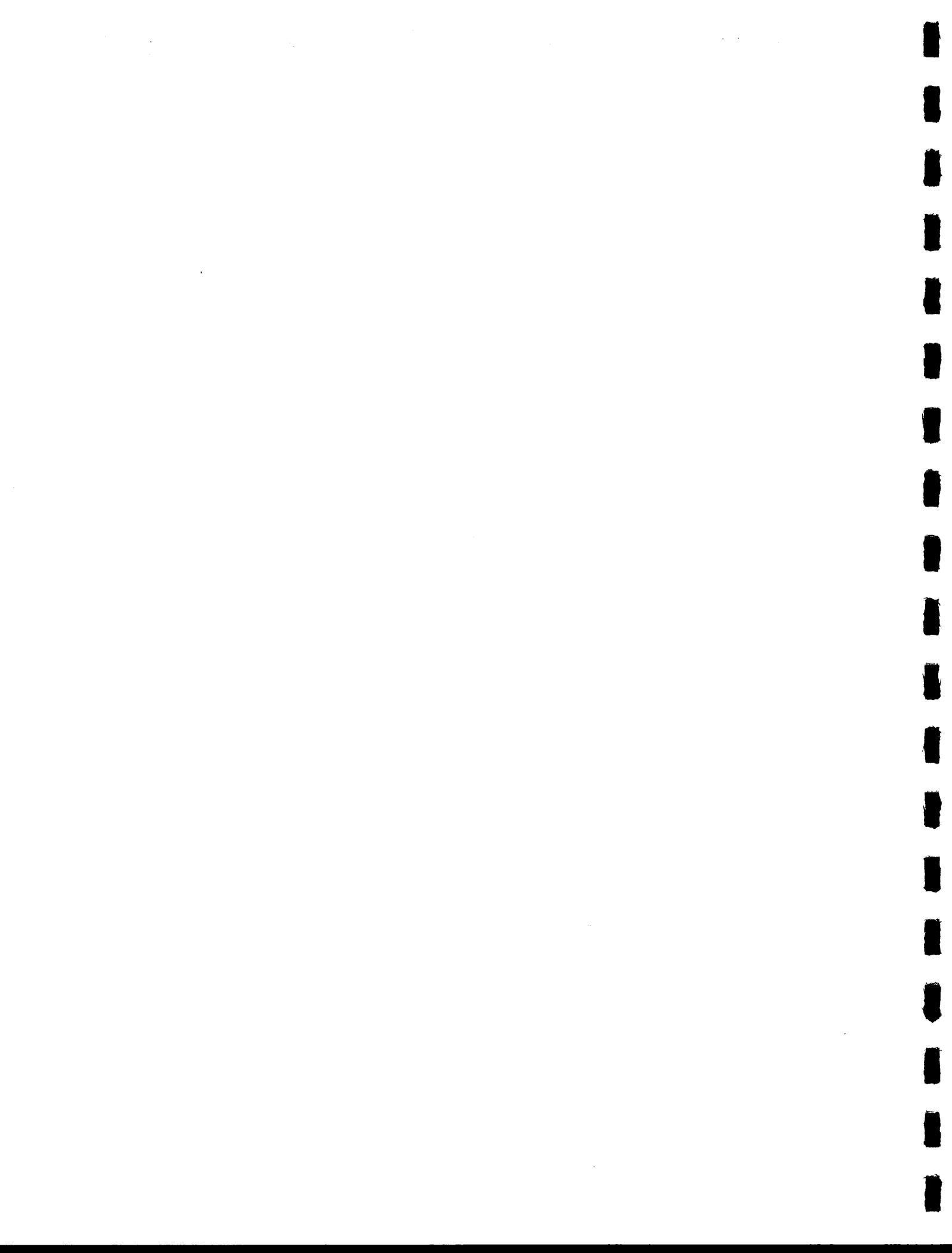


Fig. 4. H. Colton. Principle Hopi Trails.



Conrad, David E. "Whipple At Zuni." In *The American West: Essays in Honor of W. Eugene Hollon*. Ronald Lora, ed. Toledo, Ohio: University of Toledo, 1980.

David Conrad characterized Amiel Weeks Whipple, one of the first Anglos to study the Zuni Indians, as an astute researcher whose methods anticipated that of modern anthropologists in his use of material culture as scientific evidence.

In 1853 the federal government sent Whipple to head a railroad survey from Fort Smith, Arkansas to Los Angeles, California. The government also requested that he tarry a while in Zuni in order to learn something about the culture and language. Although a smallpox outbreak prevented him from visiting some parts of the pueblo, Whipple and his guide, Governor Pedro Pinos, were able to develop strong mutual trust. This would rarely be possible later, after professional anthropologists had revealed Zuni secrets to the world. Zunis became increasingly reticent, especially about religious practices. But for now, they were "willing and anxious to cooperate with Americans and desirous of benefitting from the coming of the railroad" (p. 49).

Whipple was profoundly impressed by the religious faith of the Zunis, Conrad said, although he misunderstood many of its aspects. Among his misperceptions was his failure to recognize that religion permeated Zuni government as much as it did daily private life. Conrad concluded that, like others after him, Whipple saw in Zuni largely what he saw in himself. In his case, this meant "an orderly well-governed society, deeply religious and . . . open and friendly to Americans" (ibid).

Like many observers after him, Whipple recognized in Zunis a religious dedication rare in modern North America.

Coze, Paul. "Twenty-four Hours of Magic." *Arizona Highways* (November 1954):10-27, 34-35.

The title of this appreciative article refers to Shalako, the annual winter festival that is the coming of certain supernatural beings, the blessing of the houses in Zuni, and a time of prayer for the well-being of all living things. It is the ceremony most familiar to non-Zunis because of its spectacular, ten-foot-high kachina impersonators and because the pueblo permits outsiders to witness many parts of the festival.

Not all of the ceremony was open to tourists, but Coze was able to witness what he called "the litany," the lengthy recitation of the Origin and Migration narratives:

For hours it went on, for hours they asked to tell why they came and how they came. For six hours, the gods went into their history since the beginning of time until the present moment, for Zuñi is the center of the world, and the living beings had to be reassured of this tale (p. 23).

Little in this generally respectful essay acknowledged modernity at Zuni Pueblo, and Coze referred to the Zunis as "primitives." But he closed with careful instructions to tourists on how to behave during Shalako and what to expect. "If a Shalako falls during the Races," he concluded, "jump in your car and go home in a hurry."

Crampton, C. Gregory. *Land of Living Rock, The Grand Canyon and the High Plateaus: Arizona, Utah, Nevada*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972.

This is a history of explorations, exploitations, and other human interactions with the Grand Canyon. Crampton researched a large number of documents by people such as Wheeler, Whipple, Powell, and Dutton. His work illuminated the long-established relationship between Zunis and Hopis, who often provided them with sacred paint, salt, and perhaps other resources, acquired from the Grand Canyon.

Using Pedro de Casteñeda's narration of the Coronado expedition (1528-1543), Crampton retold the story of the arrival of the Spanish. He also noted the route that the Hopis followed to get to the Grand Canyon. The Indian guides stayed on long-established trails: "One of these passed under the Coconino Rim . . . the old Indian trail must have followed the Lee Canyon drainage, which parallels Coconino Rim, right up to Buggeln Hill on the very edge of Grand Canyon" (p. 234, n6).

Crampton mentioned pioneer ethnographer Frank Cushing, and his trip to the Grand Canyon. "On horseback and with a Zuñi guide he followed the ancient trading trail by way of the Hopi villages and thence to the South Rim and Topocoba Hilltop" (p. 193). Cushing's subsequent articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Crampton pointed out, attested to the growing curiosity of Americans about the Southwest and the rise of tourism.

Crampton, C. Gregory. *The Zunis of Cibola*. University of Utah Press: Salt Lake City, 1977.

*The Zunis of Cibola* is a narrative history of the Zunis. Crampton based this work largely on other studies, although the book did contain at least one original interview of a Zuni (artist Alex Seowtewa). He briefly discussed the terrain and ancient Prehistoric Puebloan culture, but the more detailed treatment began with Spanish contact. He did not relate the Origin narration in detail or mention the Grand Canyon; however, he did note that Zunis were ever conscious of their own history. In 1971, Alex Seowtewa told Crampton that

Today as we live in the present ways of our people, we live also within the realm of our ancestors, for we are sustained through the rituals and beliefs of long ago. We live in accordance with the ways of our people, which bring life, blessings, and happiness (p. 2).

Regarding their relationships with the land and other peoples, Crampton described Zuni country as being centered within a circle that included Gallup, Grants, Quemado (New Mexico) and Springerville, Holbrook and Ganado (Arizona):

A line connecting these points would describe a wide circle. At the center is the Zuni Pueblo, one of the most historic communities in North America. Though Zuni Indians now occupy only the center part of this big circle of country, the threads of their history extend into the peripheral areas and even beyond. Neighboring Indians . . . occupy some of the outer reaches of this area, too . . . .

Beyond the boundaries of the reservation there are ancient sites and areas, sacred points and shrines, and places of pilgrimage central to Zuni life and history" (ibid).

During the winter, Crampton remarked, "there was leisure time to listen to stories of the first beginnings--the origin legends" (p. 11). He briefly summarized the narrations of the Zunis' Migrations from their place of Origin, which he had heard in Zuni:

These beautiful stories tell of a time when the Children of the Sun led the ancestors of the Zuni people out of the underworld through the four wombs of the earth. Then the ancestors went searching for the center of the universe--the middle place. After many wanderings and adventures they finally found the middle (called by the Indians *hepatina*) where they built the first village, Itiwana. The ancestors, according to this legend, had reached the site of Halona, the present Zuni Pueblo (pp. 11-12).

Cunningham, Keith. "Folklore and Bureaucracy: Zuni Culture and Anglo-American Definitions." *Western Folklore* 49 (July 1990):294-298.

Keith Cunningham has built on the organizational research of educational sociologist Rosabeth Moss Kanter, who proposed a relationship "between the structure of education and the major institutional forms of a society." Kanter considered the modern nursery school a major force for imparting a culture's traditional pattern of organization.

Cunningham applied Kanter's model to Zuni culture and argued that Zuni tradition is related even more closely to Zuni organization. To consider folklore to be the unofficial and noninstitutional aspect of a culture, he wrote, and bureaucracy to be a system to overcome irrationality, is in itself a reflection of Anglo-American culture. Like the nursery school, Zuni folklore is in fact a medium of enculturation; much of it is a part of the official, institutional level of the culture.

The bureaucratic systems of organization among the two cultures are similar, but their purposes are very different. Anglo-American bureaucracy is motivated by a concern for the well-being of the individual within the group; Zuni bureaucracy is motivated by concern for and emphasis upon the group within the individual.

This piece indicates to non-Zunis that Zuni traditional societies must be viewed as custodians of a folklore that orders society in a very real way. Tales that non-Zunis might regard as only historical artifacts, Zunis cherish as aspects of their own communal identity.

Curtis, Edward S. "Zuñi." In *The North American Indian, Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Alaska*, Vol. 17. Frederick Webb Hodge, ed. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1926.

This document reveals occasional testiness on the author's part regarding the Zuni version of history. The Zunis were intensely interested in the divine institution of their social structure, he acknowledged, but to the detriment of what he believed should be verifiable, chronological history. He frequently misinterpreted Zuni ceremonies and conduct, stating, for example, that "the writer has always doubted the sincerity of Indian shamans. The old priestly idea of self-aggrandizement at the expense of the credulous is usually present" (p. 165n). Curtis had apparently taken a healing ceremony strictly at face value, overlooking some of the symbolic ritual attached to healing.

However, Curtis did stumble upon the truth about Zuni ties to the Grand Canyon, without realizing it. He described the Zuni concept of the world as flat and joined at the edges to the sky; "below it are four other similar worlds with diminishing degrees of light, until at the lowest there is absolute darkness" (p. 104). All was darkness in these four worlds beneath the earth (p. 113). Once the people climbed up into this world, "the sound of their coming forth was a low rumble, and the earth was shaken with their footsteps. The place was Chímikyannápkyatéa" (p. 116).

Curtis was aware that certain ceremonies required the recitation of the Origin and Migration legend (p. 128) or the reenactment of the Emergence from Chímikyannápkyatéa (pp. 139-140). During Shálako, for example, "the Father of the Kóyemashi recites a prayer of great length, in which the migration of the Áshiwí is recounted" (p. 143).

Other references to the Emergence and Migration were sprinkled throughout the monograph. On page 106, Curtis recapitulated the portion of the Migration tale that described choosing the eggs from the raven and parrot. Page 125 mentioned the ettowe, fetishes "brought from the lower world" that Matilda Stevenson described in detail.

The author also noted that "even in prehistoric times the pueblos of Cibola maintained constant communication with other and relatively distant people," including "direct communication with the Yuman tribes along [the] Colorado river" (p. 95). In all but name, Curtis had discovered the Grand Canyon's place in Zuni culture.

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Curtis, William E., *Children of the Sun*. Chicago: Inter-Ocean Publishing Company, 1883.

This little travel book leaned heavily on Frank Cushing's descriptions and interpretations of Zuni culture and society, with additional information drawn from the writings of Major Powell, Lt. Ives, and others. Curtis appears to have stayed but briefly at Zuni, and many of his impressions of the Zunis were filtered through Cushing himself, who acted as his guide.

Curtis noted that the Zunis seemed familiar with the country lying between the Rio Colorado and the Pacific Ocean at California (p. 144). Aware of recent attempts by whites to acquire rights to Zuni water, Curtis warned his readers of the Zunis' (alleged) imminent cultural extinction, made all the more poignant by the fact that they had "occupied and lived peacefully within the same narrow valley for nobody knows how many centuries" (p. 43). He speculated that they may be the oldest people upon the American continent, and quoted an old priest, Nai-iu-tchi, as saying that the Zunis had been there "since the time when our fathers were born from the womb of the earth" (p. 61). That this was a very long time, Curtis said, was supported by oral tradition:

The Zunis have an unwritten epic, like the Iliad of Homer, which is entrusted to the memory of a priest. . . He is a sort of bard or historian for the tribe. . . . Chapters from this bible are recited upon different public occasions. . . . The work begins with the mythical origin of the people, and then enters into what may be considered accurate tradition and genuine history (p. 67).

To Curtis, the reliability of the Zuni Origin narration was supported by Coronado's accounts and by archaeological evidence: "Every place to which their bible refers as the deserted dwelling of the people can be identified with unerring accuracy by those familiar with the ruins of Arizona" (p. 68).

Chapter VIII, entitled "The Greatest Wonder in the World," offered a brief sketch of European encounters with the Grand Canyon. It aimed to entice visitors to the canyons of the Colorado River via the railways, which canyons "will be the resort of thousands of people from whom their wonders have hitherto been shut off by insurmountable obstacles" (p. 154).

Cushing, Frank H. "A Zuñi Folk-Tale of the Underworld." *Journal of American Folklore* 5 (Jan.-March 1892):49-56.

The newly-created Bureau of Ethnology sent Frank Hamilton Cushing to study Southwestern pueblo dwellers in 1879. Cushing was the first anthropologist to attempt to live as a full member of the society he wished to study. His articles about Zuni in popular magazines helped awaken an interest in native anthropology among non-Indian Americans. In addition to the Cushing publications cited below, see the two Jesse Green entries for other editions of Cushing's work.

Careful to note that he would soon be publishing a more detailed Origin tale (see "Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths," also annotated), Cushing said that he acquired this rather informal fragment from Wai-hu-si-wa, a priest of an undisclosed order at Zuni. (At other times Wai-hu-si-wa provided some secular folktales to Cushing as well.) He opened the Origin story by explaining the ghostly, insubstantial nature of the protohumans of the Underworlds who were the first Zunis. He then introduced the Twin War Gods, who entered the dark and misty Underworlds to observe how the people lived and to offer a better alternative. For the war gods, this was not the welcoming experience it would be in other versions of the tale, for the people were frightened, and not at all sure that they wanted their guidance. However, the twain eventually taught the people how to eat solid food, "by means of which they were hardened . . . in order to ascend to the daylight and take their places in men born of men!" (p. 56). This ascendance would later be revealed to the world to be into the Grand Canyon, a particularly sacred place to the Zunis, but Cushing never discovered this information for himself.

Wai-hu-si-wa made this short tale into an explanation of the manner in which humans nourish themselves. Babies cannot eat solid food, "for are not the babes new-come from the *Shi-u-na* (hazy, steam-growing) world; and are not the aged about to enter the *Shi-po-lo-a* (mist-enshrouded) world, where cooked food unconsumed is never needed by the fully dead?" (ibid).

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that Cushing's information may be incorrect.

Cushing, Frank H. *The Nation of the Willows*. Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1965.

Cushing originally published this piece in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1882. It described in detail his 1881 trip from Zuni to the Havasupai (Kuhni) tribal land on the floor of the Grand Canyon. He was accompanied by Tits-ke-mat-se, a Cheyenne, and Tsai-iu-tsaih-ti-wa, a young Zuni guide. Robert C. Euler, who wrote the forward to the 1965 edition, noted that

When Cushing rode out of Zuni on his Havasupai journey, accompanied by a Zuni Indian guide and an acculturated Cheyenne Indian assistant, he travelled 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 (p. 3).

Cushing and his companions travelled three days to Hopi, following the traditional Indian route. They continued west and eventually turned south, "following a well-beaten trail into Desierto Pintado, which borders the Colorado Chiquito." Crossing the eastern Colorado Plateau to Havasupai, they descended deep into the canyon of Cataract Creek. "At one place, we would see . . . the little swallow-nest houses of a bygone persecuted race," Cushing wrote. "At another, we would pass the mouth of a resounding cave, the walls of which were painted with emblems, and whose nooks were the hunting shrines of the strange inhabitants" (p. 33). Finally the men reached the canyon floor and entered a grove of willows and cottonwoods. The Havasupai village stood only seven miles south of the Grand Canyon.

From the canyon floor Cushing noted that

within some of the great horizontal cracks of these western cliffs, and often high up, were little buildings of stone laid in mud plaster, and not unlike the cliff-dwellings we had observed on the way down, and of which ruins exist in almost every cañon throughout the great Southwest (p. 34).

He also observed that only two trails descended this canyon: one from the southeast, by which they had entered, the second from the southwest, "a wonderful example of Indian engineering skill" (p. 39).

Cushing discussed trade and enumerated the tribes nearest to the Havasupais. Some were actually quite distant. "Separated from the Ha-va-su-pai by the terrible waterless wastes I have described, the Moquis and Zuñis have nevertheless been their constant visitors for generations. Doubtless, the latter guided Coronado's lieutenant to the great cañon" (pp. 43-44).

Zunis regarded the Havasupais as their "younger brothers," Cushing said, an unknowing reference to the local tradition that the Zunis and Havasupais both emerged from the same place (p. 46). The nearby Hualapai people traded red and black paints to the Havasupai, which both sexes used to paint their faces (p. 53). Their red paint, which was "ochre of the finest quality," Cushing wrote, "has such celebrity among the Indian tribes that, reaching the Utes on the north,

and the Comanches in Texas, it sometimes travels, by barter from hand to hand, as far east as to the tribes of the Mississippi Valley" (p. 63).

Cushing, Frank H. "Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths." In *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1891-92*. J. W. Powell, Director. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896.

Frank Cushing began this report with the history of Spanish-Zuni interaction, in part to illustrate the relative lack of European influence on Zuni religion. He speculated on Zuni origins and ancestry, discussed Zuni architecture, clan names, and so on. He called the Origin epic a "series of explanation-myths" and presented it, as the title indicates, in an abbreviated form (p. 375). The "myths" he segmented into discrete components, beginning with "The Genesis of the Worlds, or the Beginning of Newness" (p. 379).

Cushing viewed the Genesis tale as a symbolic gestation. Mankind began in the lowermost womb of the Underworld. "Anon in the nethermost of the four cave-wombs of the world, the seed of men and the creatures took form and increased. . . ." (p. 383) After developing into full human beings, the people began their search for the Middle Place to the east.

Yet Cushing also believed that the tales reflected reality, as well:

That . . . the Zuñis are actually descendants of two or more peoples, and the heirs of two cultures at least, is well shown in their legends of ruins and olden times, and especially in these myths of creation and migration as interpreted by archeologic and ethnographic research (p. 342).

Many of Cushing's observations describe the Zunis' ancient religion, and the Grand Canyon's profound importance to them, although he never made the intellectual connection between the Place of Origin and its actual location in the Canyon.

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Cushing, Frank H. *Zuni Breadstuff. Indian Notes and Monographs: A Series of Publications Relating to the American Aborigines*. Vol. VIII. New York: New York Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1974.

*Zuni Breadstuff*, first published in 1884, contains tales of the origins of food, rituals and legends surrounding food preparation, and so on. The book "demonstrates the deep interrelationship between Zuni ceremonial life, folk history, and everyday customs," states Frederick Dockstader in the preface (p. 6).

"The Origin of Corn" begins at The Beginning when "men and the creatures remained bounden in the lowermost womb of the Earth Mother" (p. 24). In a reference to the Emergence from the Grand Canyon, the story tells of humanity's deliverance into the world of sunshine. Some humans wandered away to become the "ancestors of nations unknown to us" (p. 26); some, when they first saw the light of the sun, "fell to grasping their eyeballs and moaning" (p. 27). The Zunis' ancestors were

told that they should wander for many generations toward the land whence the Sun brings the daylight (eastward), until at last they would reach the 'middle of the world,' where their children should dwell forever over the heart of our Mother Earth until their days should be numbered and the light of Zuñi grow dark (p. 31).

Then the story moves on to tell of the Corn Maidens and their relationship with the Zunis.

Also of interest is Chapter VI, "I'no'te'kwe A-wen I'-tâ-we, or 'Food of the Ancients,'" in which Cushing said:

That the primeval Zuñi was not unlike what tradition has painted him, is evidenced by the myths, institutions, and language of his modern lineal descendants, and by the remains he left in devious trails of his centuries of migration. . . . perhaps his closest representative today is the Ha-va-su-pai', or Coçonino, of Cataract cañon, in Arizona (p. 221).

This was as close as Cushing usually came to recognizing the Zunis' origins in the Grand Canyon.

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that Cushing's information may be incorrect.

Cushing, Frank H. "Zuñi Fetiches." In *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1883.

Cushing catalogued a large variety of Zuni fetiches and summarized their origins, usage, and so on. This report included fine drawings and watercolors, some in color. He opened the monograph by noting that the Zunis supposed "all inanimate objects, as well as plants, animals, and men, to belong to one great system of all-conscious and interrelated life," in which degrees of relationship were in part determined by degrees of resemblance (p. 9).

In order to explain the power that fetishes held, Cushing began with one version of the "Zuñi Iliad," the Zuni Origin narration. He lamented that he had been unable to record literally even portions of this narrative, "as it is jealously guarded by the priests, who are its keepers, and is publicly repeated by them only once in four years" (p. 12). Cushing's position as a Bow Priest permitted him to hear one-fourth of the Origin literature, he added, in 1881. The story began:

In the days when all was new, men lived in the four caverns of the lower regions (Á-wi-tën té-huthl-na-kwín = the "Four Wombs of the World"). In the lowermost one of these men first came to know of their existence. It was dark, and as men increased they began to crowd one another and were very unhappy. Wise men came into existence among them, whose children supplicated them that they should obtain deliverance from such a condition of life (p. 13).

Over time, the divine children led the people up to the surface of the earth and into the light of the sun. "Eastward the two children began to lead them, toward the Home of the Sun-father" (p. 14).

After the Migration narration Cushing summarized Zuni knowledge of the origins of stone fetishes. The divine children turned some animals to stone--but without depriving them of their heart--so that they could serve, rather than devour, mankind. The hearts of these stone animals were infused with spirit and retained power over animals upon which they had formerly preyed. Sacred black war paint, "a kind of plumbago [i.e., graphite], containing shining particles, and procured by barter from the Ha-va-su-pai (Coconinos), and from sacred mines toward the west" was one component of the pouches carried by all members of sacred societies and was included in offerings made in ceremonies in which the fetishes were employed (p. 35). Of course, sacred black paint came from the Grand Canyon area, where the Havasupais lived.

Cushing, Frank H. *Zuni Folktales*. New York: AMS Press, 1976.

*Zuni Folktales*, originally published in 1901, is a selection of Zuni fables, each with its lesson regarding proper Zuni behavior.

The stories illustrate the long association of the Zunis with the land, for they incorporate real places on the landscape and indicate the Zunis' long-time use of trails and routes to the west (as well as other directions). For example, one story refers to Tâ'ia (the town of Las Nutrias), while in "The Warrior Suitor of Moki," the storyteller describes "the trail from Moki [that] leads to our town" (p. 193).

Cushing, Frank H. "The Zuñi Social, Mythic, and Religious Systems." *The Popular Science Monthly* 21 (June 1882):186-192.

In a lecture before the National Academy of Sciences, Frank Cushing offered an overview of the fraternal organizations and social structures of Zuni, as he understood them, and described some of the important kachina figures. Explaining the roles of priests, he placed them at the top of the governmental structure, ranking above the political leadership of Zuni.

Because of the supreme importance of religion to the Zunis, Cushing remarked on their primary "mythology," the Emergence and Migration narrations. He explained the Twin War Gods to the audience, whom he called "the guiders of mankind from the four great wombs of earth, the birth-place of the human family, [who guided them] far eastward toward the middle of the world" (p. 190). Although Cushing knew the general direction taken by the Zunis after their Emergence--he had often heard of the Emergence and had seen some of the places Zunis settled in the past--he was unaware that Zunis believed their origins to be in the Grand Canyon. Yet he repeated the story as one of the crucial aspects of Zuni culture.

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Darton, N. H. *Story of the Grand Canyon of Arizona: A Popular Illustrated Account of its Rocks and Origin*. Kansas City, Missouri: Fred Harvey, 1917.

Darton was a geologist with the U. S. Geological Survey.

In this tiny book, Darton mentioned the fact that Indians had lived for centuries in Grand Canyon, but said little about their culture. In the last few pages he listed many of the named features in the Canyon, and attempted to explain their origins. For Zuni Point, he said that "The Zuni pueblo south of Gallup, New Mexico, is the remnant of the historic Seven Cities of Cibola" (p. 81). Darton was probably unaware that Zuni Point is in the area of the ancient Zuni Migration.

Dorsey, George A. *Indians of the Southwest*. Passenger Department, Atchison & Santa Fe Railroad, 1903.

This short travel book was written for short attention spans, and intended as a brief introduction to the peoples and places which the rail line approached.

Dorsey characterized the Pueblo peoples as "peaceful, industrious and conservative" (p. 23), and emphasized the importance of religious traditions to them. "As a rule," he said, "the Pueblos [sic] are an intensely religious people and devote much of their time to the performance of elaborate ceremonies," many in hopes of inducing rainfall (ibid). He acknowledged that shrines "surround the Zuñi on almost every side" and that the Zunis performed a "profusion" of religious rites, few of which these conservative people allowed non-Zunis to see (pp. 97-99).

Dozier, Edward P. *The Pueblo Indians of North America*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

Dozier, who received his Ph.D. from the University of New Mexico, was himself a native of Santa Clara Pueblo. This book was his contribution to the "Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology" published by Stanford University for students of the social sciences.

Traditional Pueblo society and culture, Dozier observed, "is vigorous and enduring." Much of the ceremonial life and community living patterns that are uniquely Puebloan, "go on underneath an external surface of apparent acculturation to modern American culture" (p. 27). Religious life among the various pueblos remained strong, including the telling of the stories of origin, which shared important details:

In general form, and even in some of the details, the origin myths of all the pueblos are remarkably similar. All relate emergence from a world underneath the present one. The emergence is reported to be from an opening in the roof of the lower world. An aperture representing the place of emergence is represented by a hole in the floor of some kivas, but not in all Pueblo kivas. . . . The origin myths tell of several worlds underneath the earth in which their ancestors lived before ascending into the present one (pp. 203-204).

Stressing the importance of the ancient religions to the Puebloans, Dozier concluded by remarking that traditional culture would remain strong. This is borne out by Zuni concern for, and continuance of, sacred religious practices.

Dubin, Margaret. "High Tops & Kivas." *Native Peoples* 4 (Winter 1991):48-52.

"Stories passed down from grandparents to grandchildren provide a moral foundation and strength for Zuni youth," Margaret Dubin said in this brief article (p. 49). But, she said, many traditional Zunis and Zuni elders are worried that the younger generations are decreasingly attentive to the Zuni language, ancient customs and religious practices. (Then again, among traditional peoples, every generation raises this fear.)

The link between the older and younger generations weakens when the young fail to learn the Zuni language. This becomes especially painful during religious celebrations, because many prayers and stories are told only in Zunian. The school district recognizes the value of Zuni religion to the families, Durbin added, and accommodates significant religious holidays. This is one of many writings that indicate the importance to Zunis of preserving sacred Zuni landscapes, customs, and practices.

Dutton, Bertha P. *American Indians of the Southwest*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983.

This is an overview of tribal distribution, cultural characteristics, and historical developments, and it includes a brief discussion of each of the southwestern tribes in the modern age. She mentioned the Zuni Origin tales, of course, as a basic element of Zuni culture.

Dutton's general discussion of southwestern tribes mentions fetishes and their significance to these peoples. Fetishes have been with them "since the time of their coming forth onto this earth--from the Place of Emergence, which is known by its proper term in each linguistic group" (p. 8).

Pueblo Indians share another important trait, which is the extent to which religion permeates their lives and organizes their everyday activities. Certain dances and kachinas relate back to ancient times "when the Indians had not yet emerged from the dark underworld. Each Pueblo group recognizing these characters explains their origin as their migration myths are recited" (p. 44). Dutton quickly synopsisized the Zuni Origin and Migration tale; "according to their mythology," she began, "the twin sons of the Sun Father guided the Zuñi from the undermost world to this world. Here they organized four esoteric fraternities. The people traveled about for many years. . . ." (p. 48).

The Zunis, more than most southwestern tribes, kept to their old ways, and their social organization "is the most complex to be found in the Southwest" (ibid).

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Edaakie, Theodore. "Deposition of Theodore Edaakie." *The Zuni Indians of New Mexico v. The United States*. United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L (filed April 27, 1979).

Several Zunis provided depositions in support of a land claim filed by the tribe in 1979; several have been included in this bibliography. These men were asked to discuss traditional Zuni relationships to the land, and provide details of the many ways that the tribe has used its natural resources. They indicated that the spots visited in the Zunis' migration narration were not mythic but real, identifiable places that exist today.

This deposition was taken on February 21, 1980. Mr. Edaakie, 69 years old, said nothing about the Grand Canyon area, although he mentioned that members of his medicine society collected medicinal herbs from Mt. Taylor "and to the west" (p. 18). He also reiterated the Zunis' universal religious beliefs: "we all pray to one thing, a hona:won:wel/onn/a. All of us pray to the spirit that keeps our ways, keeps our path" (p. 12).

Eggan, Fred. "Aboriginal Land Use of the Zuni Indian Tribe." *The Zuni Indians of New Mexico v. The United States of America*. United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L. Chicago: University of Chicago, n. d.

Eggan prepared "Aboriginal Land Use" for use in the Zunis' successful 1979 suit to return certain lands to tribal control. He summarized the archaeological evidence which traces Zuni ancestors back to the northwest and southwest of Zuni. Eggan cited Oscar Nastacio's deposition of 1980 in which he explained Zuni origins:

In Zuni tradition, the people emerged from the underworld at "Place of Beginning" located at Ribbon Falls in the Grand Canyon, close to where they believe the Hopi and other Indians later emerged. In their travels eastward from the region of modern Flagstaff, Arizona, to their present location, the Zunis stopped at a number of places which were still remembered in their prayers and visited periodically to make offerings (p. 46).

He loosely described the Migration route and the variety of shrines and sacred places along the way. "All of the places mentioned are of religious significance to the Zunis, beginning with the 'Place of Beginning' in the Grand Canyon, the San Francisco Peaks, Woodruff Butte (or 'Medicine Mountain'), and the Sacred Lake" (p. 48). The migration by their ancestors and the ruins of their early villages provided the basis for claims to territory west from Holbrook, Arizona, along the Little Colorado River.

Citing archaeologists A. L. Kroeber, John B. Rinaldo, Leslie Spier, F. W. Hodge, Frank Roberts, Jr., and others, Eggan noted the 1300 years of continual Zuni development in the Zuni and Nutria river valleys. He reiterated that present-day Zunis still visit distant shrines in areas "claimed in their myths as the scene of their former migrations" (p. 21).

Eggan, Fred. "Pueblos: Introduction." In *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest*, Vol. 9. Alfonso Ortiz, vol. ed., general editor William C. Sturtevant. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979.

In his contribution to this encyclopedia, Eggan commented that the Zunis have "the most complex ritual organization of any of the Pueblos" (p. 232). He also noted the interweaving of past and present in the Zuni worldview:

"The Pueblo Indians conceive of their society as in a 'steady state,' unfolding according to a preordained pattern or plan and continuing in a 'timeless' existence. The proper procedures are established in the origin myths and embodied in tradition, as interpreted by the priests and leaders" (p. 234).

As this passage indicates, the tale of Zuni Origin in, and Migration from, the Grand Canyon provides the framework for Zuni culture and society.

Eggan, Fred. *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

This study, first published in 1950, was Eggan's 1933 doctoral thesis. As the title indicates, it was his interpretation of social organization of the Pueblo cultures in the mesa and canyon region of western New Mexico and eastern Arizona. About the Zuni relationship to the Grand Canyon he said nothing, although he did acknowledge the "early migrations of the Zuni" (p. 212). However, in a later publication he was more specific; see his first entry in this bibliography.

Ellis, Florence H. "Pueblo Witchcraft and Medicine." In *Systems of North American Witchcraft and Sorcery*. Moscow, Idaho: University of Idaho, 1970.

Florence Ellis found it interesting that "the Pueblos conceive witches to be organized on the same basis as medicine men" and that they behaved similarly to medicine societies. As each curing society had a specialty, for example, so too did witches specialize in certain occurrences (p. 68).

Ellis referred only generally to Zuni origins, noting that witches, too, were at The Beginning (in the Grand Canyon, although she did not mention this):

According to Zuni myth concerning the origin of witches, people came out from the underworld in religious society groups, and a rumble accompanied the passing of each. After they all emerged and began building their town, there was another rumble and out came a witch, painted all white with two horns rising from the top of his head (p. 43).

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Espinosa, José Manuel. "The Legend of Sierra Azul." *New Mexico Historical Review* IX (April 1934):113-158.

The legend of this "lost" mine dates at least from the mid-1600s. It played a role in the conquest of New Mexico by the Spanish, who believed the mine--originally presumed to be near Zuni--contained valuable ores, including mercury. Espinosa traced the history of the legend, providing a factual basis for its persistence and crediting it in part for Spanish conquest of the region. His article also reinforced the evidence that for centuries the Zunis traded for paint, a substance found in and around the Grand Canyon, and considered sacred. That the Zunis, like other Southwestern Indians, traditionally used paints for ceremonial, medicinal and decorative purposes, was well-known by natives and early Spanish explorers alike.

The earliest documentary mention of paint mines was in 1598. Indians west of Hopi (tribe unclear) gave the Farfán expedition powdered ores of various colors. Asked to show him the mines from which these ores were taken, they took Farfán to a place either on the east slope of the Aquarius Range or in the Hualpai Range. "Here, about thirty or thirty-five leagues west of Moqui . . . they found many veins rich in brown, black, water-colored, blue, and green ores" (p. 117). Years later, in the 1680s, it was still widely known that a fine red pigment obtained at Oraibe and traded throughout New Mexico as paint and medicine was mined from a mountain "west of a 'large river' some twelve leagues west of Oraibe, evidently the Little Colorado River" (p. 124).

Such pigments appeared in a number of accounts from the early Spanish occupation, and were frequently noticed as trade items in Zuni. For example, Diego de Vargas led an expedition into Hopi in 1692. He examined there a Zuni named Pedro, who said that

the mines of Sierra Azul and Cerro Colorado were ten days travel from Aguatubi, in a high and steep mountain difficult of access. That it took a day or two to go up and get the ochre out of the earth, having to descend into a deep pit, and that there was no water there. . . . The Indians used this earth to paint themselves, and also for the preservation of their skin. . . . The road from Moqui was bad, and water was scarce. . . . A river lay in the route, the banks of which were so steep that horses could not be taken down them, but must be left on the east side; and it was necessary to pass through the country of the warlike Coninas (p. 149).

In 1697 "at an Indian camp twelve leagues west of Casas Grandes named San Andrés," another man, Juan Matheo Mange, met a youth painted vermilion, who said that his paint had come from an area near the Colorado River. He produced a heavy ball of red paint, liquid and oily in appearance, a sign that it contained quicksilver.

Such encounters, and the search for Sierra Azul, Espinosa concluded, broadened European knowledge of the territory and hastened the reconquest of New Mexico.

Ferguson, T. J. "Zuni Settlement and Land Use: An Archaeological Perspective." *The Zuni Indians v. United States*. United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L (filed April 27, 1979).

In his description of the traditional Zuni economic system, Ferguson noted that when the Spanish arrived in the mid-sixteenth century, the Zunis were part of the regional trade network among pueblo and non-pueblo peoples. The Zuni villages were

a nexus in this trade network, serving as a redistribution point for products in a large exchange system which extended along an east-west axis from the Great Plains to the Colorado River, and along a north-south axis leading down into northern Mexico. . . .

The trading relations of the Zunis connected them with a wide area, and brought them into contact with many different peoples. The early Spanish explorers found that . . . Indians on the Colorado River were well aware of the arrival of Coronado at Hawikku within weeks of its occurrence. There was obviously steady communication and contact between Zuni and many other tribes, some at great distances from Zuni (p. 32).

Ferguson discussed the Zunis' roots in the Mogollon and Anasazi (Prehistoric Puebloan) cultures to the south and north of Zuni. Evidence of Prehistoric Puebloan occupation as early as A.D. 700 dots the Zuni River tributaries and "connects the Zuni area to cultural developments occurring throughout the Upper Little Colorado River Valley and adjacent drainages" (p. 40). Numerous archaeological sites such as Chevelon, near Winslow on the Little Colorado River, lie along the traditional Migration route. The period A.D. 1300 to 1450 was a time of abandonment and consolidation throughout the Southwest, compelled in part by the search for water and reinforced by religious imperatives:

Choosing to migrate to new areas as part of a religious quest to seek the center place is a recurrent theme in the Zuni origin and migration accounts of the ancestral Shiwi, and this undoubtedly was a contributing factor in migration and abandonment (p. 102).

Indeed, much archaeological evidence indicates that "at least one of the more important migrant groups to arrive at the protohistoric Zuni pueblos came into Zuni from the west (p. 133).

Theories abound as to the origins of this group, including that of Frank Hamilton Cushing, who suggested that it originated in the Colorado River area (p. 134), but the important point here is that the migration evidence corresponds to the traditional Migration narration, at least as far west as the upper Little Colorado River. The place of Origin and the Migration route are sacred to the Zunis, and Ferguson's evidence helps verify the tribe's ancient connections to these places.

Ferguson, T. J., and Eriacho, Wilfred. "Ahayu:da Zuni War Gods." *Native Peoples* 4 (Fall 1990):6-12.

"After the creation of the world, and before Zunis found the Middle Place," the Sun Father created the war gods for them (p. 6). (Although the article does not mention this, the twin war gods were responsible for guiding the first Zunis out of the Underworlds through the Grand Canyon place of Emergence.) The Ahayu:da are the twin war gods who, even today, "reside in shrines on Zuni lands, in places determined in ancient times" (p. 7).

When the gods are in their proper shrines, Zuni religious leaders can insure that they act as guardians of the Zuni people. However, when removed from their shrines, their powers are unleashed, and their recovery is "a matter of grave concern to the Zuni religious leaders and the Zuni people" (ibid). Thus the return recently of the Ahayu:da taken by whites in the nineteenth century was important and welcomed by Zunis.

Once the Ahayu:da were again in their shrine, they became communal property available to anybody who wished to give offerings. Besides the Bow Priests who were responsible for them, all Zunis could ask them for self-confidence and success. One Zuni explained that ordinary people like himself "who just may be out walking, and they have that religious feeling, that faith . . . will put some offerings in that place where the War Gods are enshrined" (p. 10). This is one of many articles and books indicating the sacred nature of traditional Zuni shrines and locations, including those that, in modern times, do not lie within reservation boundaries.

Ferguson, T. J., and Hart, Richard. *A Zuni Atlas*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.

The atlas is organized topically, and makes a number of points pertinent to the GCES project.

Section One, "Location of the Zuni Area," notes that "the traditional area of Zuni land use extends over a large region stretching from the Grand Canyon in the west to the Rio Grande in the east" and that "the Zuni people made use of a wide range of valuable resources throughout the area of Zuni sovereignty and beyond." It stresses that "the oral traditions of the Zuni people and the historic documentary record indicate that the Zunis had an intimate knowledge of this region, based on ancient, historic patterns of land use (p. 3).

The Zunis occasionally traveled well beyond this area for a variety of purposes. For instance, the Zunis hunted large game at Blue Mountain (Sierra Abajo) in Utah; conducted religious observances at Mesa Verde in Colorado; hunted buffalo in the plains of eastern New Mexico; traded with other Indians in western and southern Arizona and northern New Mexico; and made religious pilgrimages to the Pacific Ocean. Thus, this depiction of the Zuni area does not encompass the total range traversed or visited by the tribe, but it does contain the region of greatest Zuni land use and the majority of important individual places used by Zunis. . . .

The Zunis regularly continue to use many places outside the reservation, exercising their religious traditions and practices while sustaining their culture and way of life throughout the Zuni area (ibid).

Section Eight, "General Direction of Zuni Origin and Migration," deserves to be quoted at length:

There are two sources of knowledge about the origin of the Zuni people and their migration to the middle place of Zuni Pueblo. The first source consists of oral traditions handed down within the tribe, and these are the subject of Map 8 [attached]. The second source consists of archaeological research, a subject treated separately in Map 9 [attached]. The Zuni accounts of tribal origin and migration, the *chimik'yanakona penane*, are known in general outline by all tribal members and in greater detail by members of the several religious groups. Each religious group recites its own origin account that summarizes early tribal history and provides the religious sanction for their organization and rituals. Thus, instead of a single origin account there are many accounts, accentuating and elaborating on different aspects of the same general story according to the special knowledge of individual narrators. The basic tenets common to the various origin accounts create an overall concordance between them. The origin accounts of the

*chimik'yanakona penane* embody sacred truth, and as such are differentiated by the Zuni people from folk tales or *telapnane*.

Map 8 provides a graphic summary of the migration of the Zuni people as it can be reconstructed from the several versions of the Zuni origin account that have been recorded. It is a composite depiction of the routes of early migration, combining features that are described in different versions of the origin account. Two important characteristics of the information illustrated in Map 8 should be kept in mind to assure that the map is not misinterpreted or taken to represent more than it is intended to mean.

First, Map 8 illustrates a simplified and generalized synthesis of the information contained in the Zuni origin accounts. It is simplified because there are many more places mentioned in the religious prayers that preserve the origin accounts than appear on Map 8, but the exact locations of many of these places are no longer known. For instance, in the prayers there are over thirty springs and stopping places mentioned between the place of emergence, *Chimik'yana'kya deya*, and the middle place of Zuni Pueblo, or *Halona:Itiwana*. Only six of these places, whose locations are well known, are illustrated in Map 8. Since different versions of the origin account occasionally describe a particular event as occurring at different places, it was necessary to generalize the main thrust of direction. . . .

Second, the referents to the places mentioned in the origin and migration account are more metaphorical than literal. For example, while some origin accounts tell of the emergence of the Zuni into this world through a hole in the Grand Canyon and other accounts place the emergence further down the Colorado River in the Mohave Desert, both places are referred to as *Chimik'yana'kya deya*, the Place of Beginning. What is important is the powerful use of metaphor and not the fact that two separate places of emergence are given in the different versions of the origin accounts. The *chimik'yanakona penane* make the important point that all life, including that of humans, ultimately derives from the earth. The essentially symbolic nature of the origin and migration accounts is recognized by many Zuni elders who know and explain the origin talks. After providing a list of the places referenced in his origin account, one Zuni religious leader commented, "These are the places that are mentioned and places that are discussed as a trail, but it is a religious idea, or religious trail that is recited in the prayer and not an actual path of people walking on the trail." Another religious leader in a similar circumstance remarked, "The trail or the road is one of . . . symbolic nature. The place names along the symbolic trail are the ones we have been talking about, the actual road is not the same as the symbolic road."

The symbolic character of the origin and migration accounts do not lessen their power and value. The *chimik'yanakona penane* create a symbolic bond between the Zuni people and their environment and provide an "historical" context for

their tribal customs and organization. The following is a brief general account of the Zuni origin and migration, focusing on the sweeping direction of movement.

The Zuni people were created and first noticed in the fourth and innermost world or womb. When fire was first discovered and light first lit up this dark, deep place, the people discovered they were covered with slime, had webs on their hands and feet, had tails, and that their genitals were improperly placed on their foreheads. It was a great struggle for the Zunis, as their immortal gods led them up through the third womb, then the second womb, and finally through the first womb and into the light of the Sun Father on the surface of Mother Earth. After the Zunis emerged into the bright day, the slime was washed from their bodies, the webs of their hands and feet were split, and the people were finally arranged until they appeared as people do today.

The Zuni people emerged from the fourth underworld deep within a canyon along the Colorado River. But the Zuni, or Ashiwi, as they call themselves, were still far from their home. They began a journey through the canyons and deserts of what is now Arizona and New Mexico in search of the middle place, the center of the world, the mid-most spot among all of the great oceans and lands, the spot in the middle of all the heavens of the universe, a spot destined to be their home. As the people traveled from locale to locale, searching for the middle place, they stopped and built villages and stayed in them for "four days and four nights" (which, according to those who know the narratives, actually means four years). Each stream or spring, each ancient village site, each stopping place in the origin trail of the Zunis became a sacred shrine, still remembered in prayers, and at which offerings are still left when the Zuni people return to them. . . . (pp. 21-22).

Section Nine, "Major Archaeological Sites and Culture Areas in the Zuni Region," states that at present

it is not possible to specifically correlate archaeological culture history with the Zuni accounts of origin and migration. In general, however, the Zuni origin accounts and archaeological culture history share certain basic and major themes, including an economic shift from hunting and gathering to corn agriculture, the prevailing movement of people across the landscape [and so on]. . . .

By the end of the prehistoric era . . . the Zuni people had concentrated . . . into a tightly clustered group of six pueblos along the Zuni River. . . . in an optimal area of land and water resources for agriculture. . . . The Zuni pueblos at this time served as a nexus in a widespread regional trade network connecting the Colorado River area on the west with the Great Plains to the east, and the Colorado Plateau on the north with the Hohokam, or Pima-Papago area, and northern Mexico to the south (pp. 25-27).

Section Sixteen, "Traditional Zuni Plant Collection Area," mentions that "the use of gathered materials for medicinal purposes necessitated visiting an area from the Sandia Mountains in the east, to the San Francisco Peaks in the west. . . ." and that "the collection, preparation, and application of specific medicines was always accompanied by religious ceremony" (p. 45). Map 16 (attached) illustrates the fact that plant collection extended to the Colorado River and the Grand Canyon.

Section Seventeen, "Traditional Zuni Mineral Collection Area," extends the discussion of the Zunis' traditional collection area (the accompanying map is attached):

Materials for fetishes were gathered in diverse locations throughout the Zuni territory. The Zunis also gathered materials from the Petrified Forest, the Malpais, the Grand Canyon, the Gallo and Mogollon mountains, and every other corner of their country (p. 49).

Section Eighteen, "Traditional Zuni Religious Use Area" (map attached), further discusses the Zunis' intimate attachment to the region, and their commitment to protecting the landscape:

The Zuni people had, and continue to have, extraordinary knowledge of, affinity with, and empathy for the landscape about them. To the Zunis, the landscape is considered a spiritual relative and thus is cared for with reverence, because it provides the physical setting within which Zuni religion is grounded. Although traditional Zuni thought did not conceptualize environment in a scientific manner, in effect, because of religious belief, the Zunis conserved their natural resources. The Zunis want other people to understand the depth of feeling they have for the landscape, and to understand that they have treated the environment with the same kind of respect that they have for their friends and relatives. This relationship permeates their religious use of the landscape, and, by extension, their utilitarian and political use as well.

Zuni people often use a metaphor to try to express to non-Zunis how they feel about the land. They say, "The landscape is our church, a cathedral. It is like a sacred building to us." Although the entire building (that is, all of the landscape) is sacred to the Zuni people, certain portions of it are especially hallowed--particularly buttes, geological formations, lakes, mud ponds, ruins, and religious trails. In this pervasive folk metaphor, a mesa may be an altar, or a spring a sacred alcove. All these places are remembered in prayers, and offerings are regularly left at many of them. All water is considered sacred in this semi-arid climate, and springs are considered to be the most precious things on earth.

In a traditional religious sense, the outside boundaries of Zuni land are a series of mountains and geographical regions, all held especially sacred to the Zuni people. These are: the Sandia Mountains, near the present city of Albuquerque, New

Mexico; Mount Taylor, at the northeast end of the Zuni Mountains; Sierra Abajo, or Blue Mountain, to the north near Monticello, Utah; the Mohave Desert and the Grand Canyon area to the northwest; the San Francisco Peaks, near Flagstaff, in the west; and the Mogollon, Gallo, and Tularosa mountains to the southwest and south. Inside these general boundaries are innumerable springs, ruins, cliffs, waterways, trails, mesas, buttes, and other places of unique religious significance. Regions, as well, may take on important and singular religious values.

The Zuni people believe that after they came into the world from a spot variously located in the Mohave Desert or the Grand Canyon, they searched for many years, across what is now Arizona and New Mexico, for the "middle place". . . . The spot that they eventually found is very near the heart of Zuni Pueblo, and is believed to be the center of all six directions: north, west, south, east, zenith and nadir. Each of these directions is closely associated with a color, and with plants, seasons, animals, and clans, as well as religious organizations in existence at Zuni Pueblo. Indeed, the entire culture and being of the Zuni people are tied inextricably to the landscape about them. . . .

Religious pilgrimages and use of religious areas helped the Zunis keep abreast of what plant, animal, and mineral resources were available for beneficial use, and have provided the foundation for Zuni life, past and present. Many of the religious sites throughout the area continue to be used to support Zuni religious activities, although, with increasing non-Zuni development in the area, access to many of them is growing more difficult (p. 51).

Section Nineteen, "Zuni Trade Relationships," points to the long-standing relations between Zunis and other peoples as far east as the Oklahoma Panhandle and as far west as the Pacific Ocean. The accompanying map (attached) illustrates these connections and shows that the Havasupais traded paints from the Grand Canyon area, and the Hopis traded cotton and other items. Section Twenty and map, "Major Zuni Trails," continue this theme and link Zuni to the Hopis and the Grand Canyon:

In pre-contact times, Zuni traders established a vast network of contacts. . . . Worn, well-marked trails went out from Zuni like the hub of a wheel. . . . Two branching trails went to the northwest to the Hopi villages and then on to the Grand Canyon and farther down the Colorado River, where the Havasupai and other tribes were located. . . .

The Zunis used collections of water from streams, springs, rivers, and the ocean for religious purposes (p. 55).

Finally, Appendix One, "Zuni Land Use Sites," briefly cites the Grand Canyon as a place traditionally used by the Zunis for religious observances and other purposes:

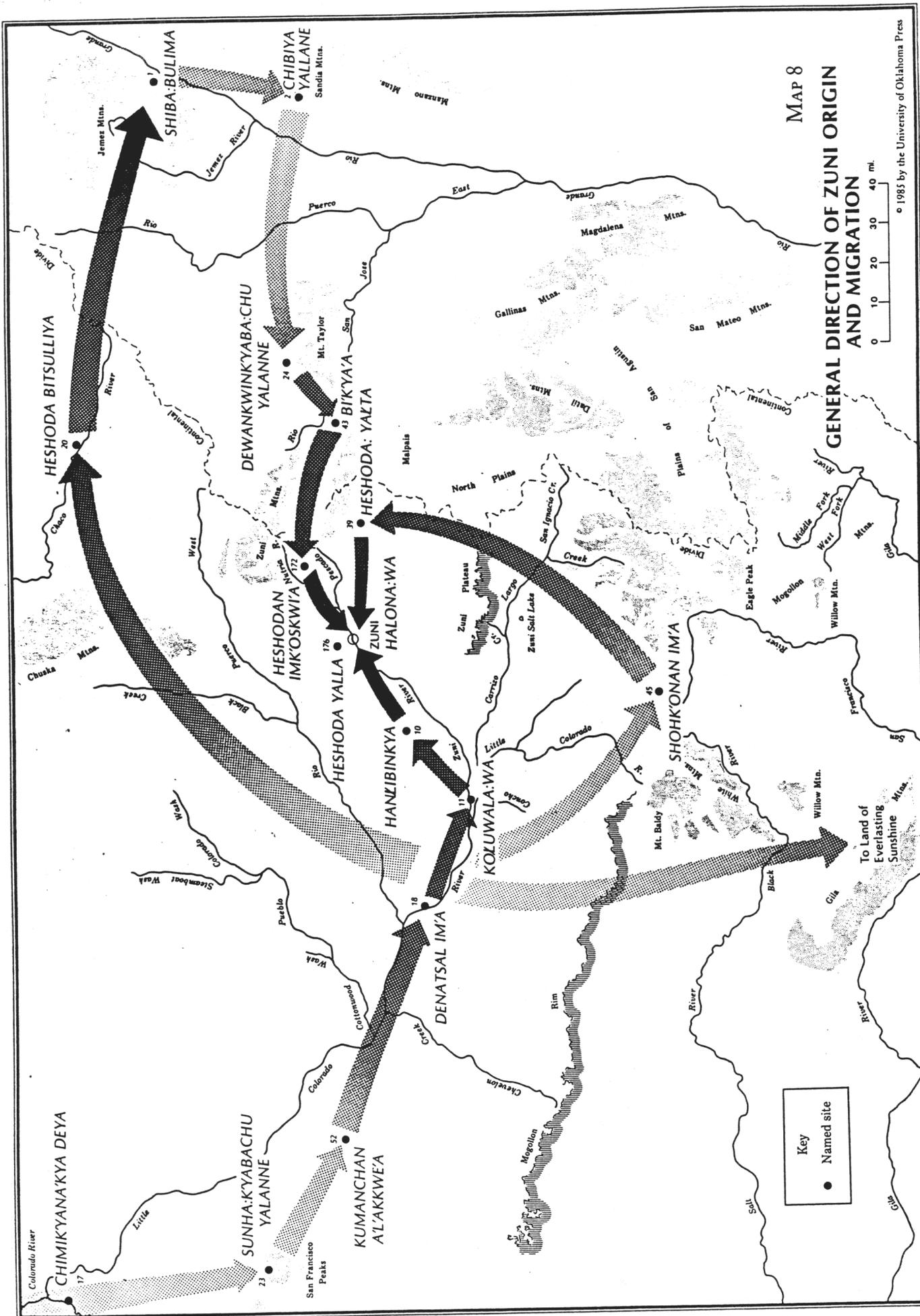
Site 17: *Chimik'yana'kya dey'a*

Location: Colorado River, Grand Canyon, Arizona

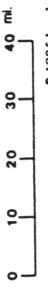
Plant Collection: Willows and herbs are collected here.

Mineral Collection: Sands and clays are collected here.

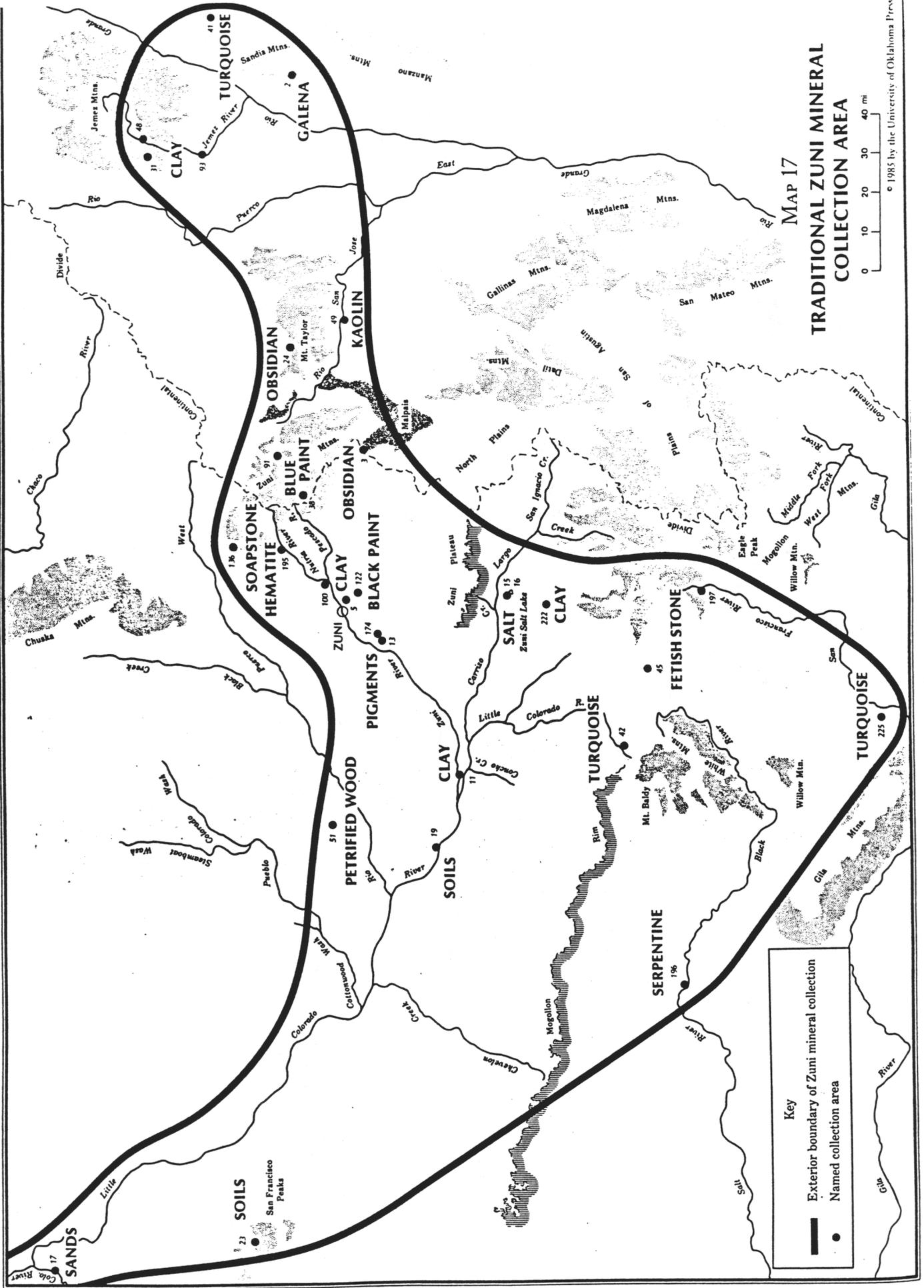
Religious Use: This is the original point of origin in the Zuni origin and migration narrations. It is visited regularly by the Galaxy Fraternity (p. 126).



MAP 8  
 GENERAL DIRECTION OF ZUNI ORIGIN  
 AND MIGRATION



Key  
 • Named site

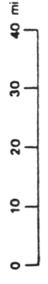


Key

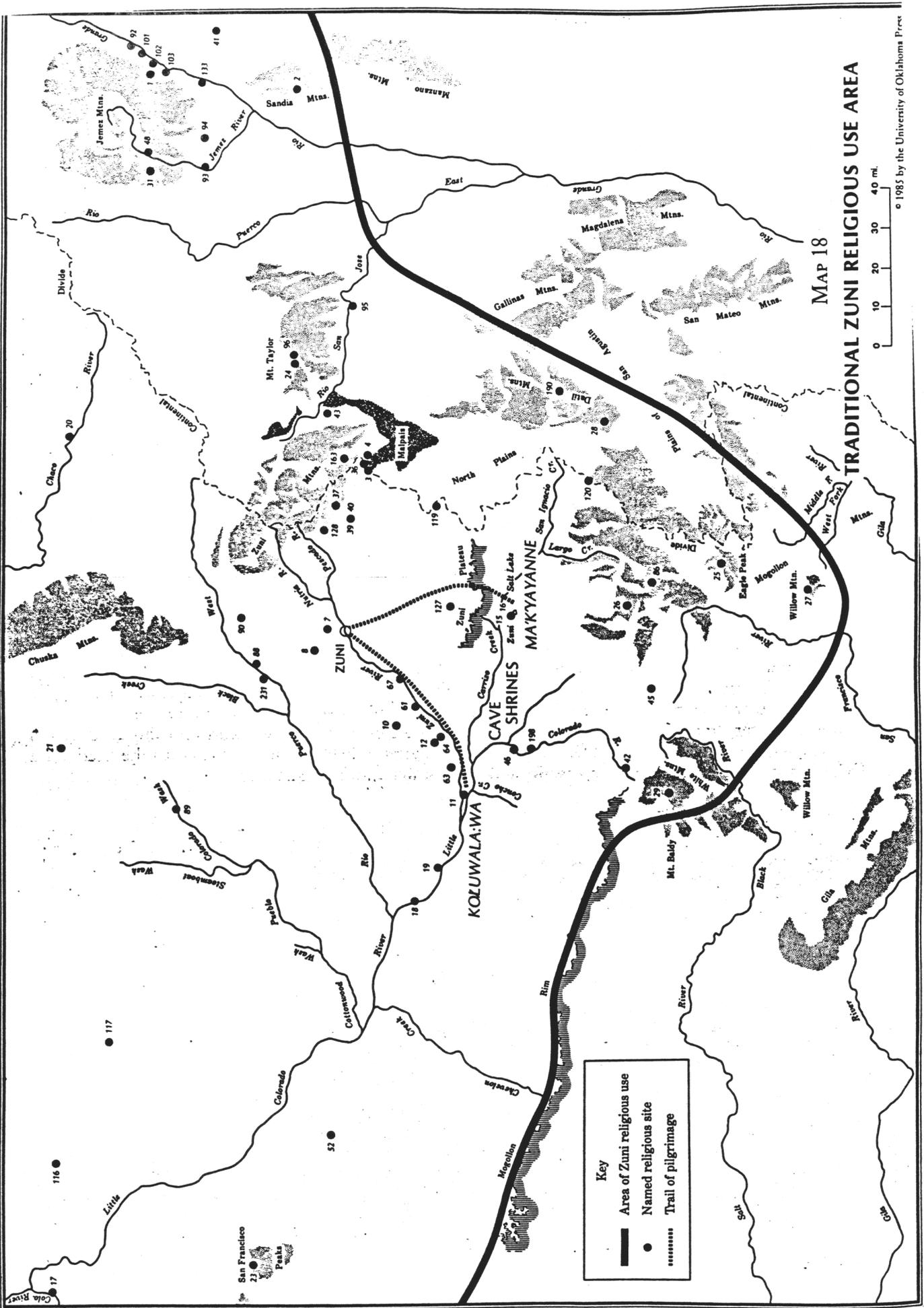
- Exterior boundary of Zuni mineral collection
- Named collection area

MAP 17

TRADITIONAL ZUNI MINERAL COLLECTION AREA



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MAP 18

TRADITIONAL ZUNI RELIGIOUS USE AREA

**Key**

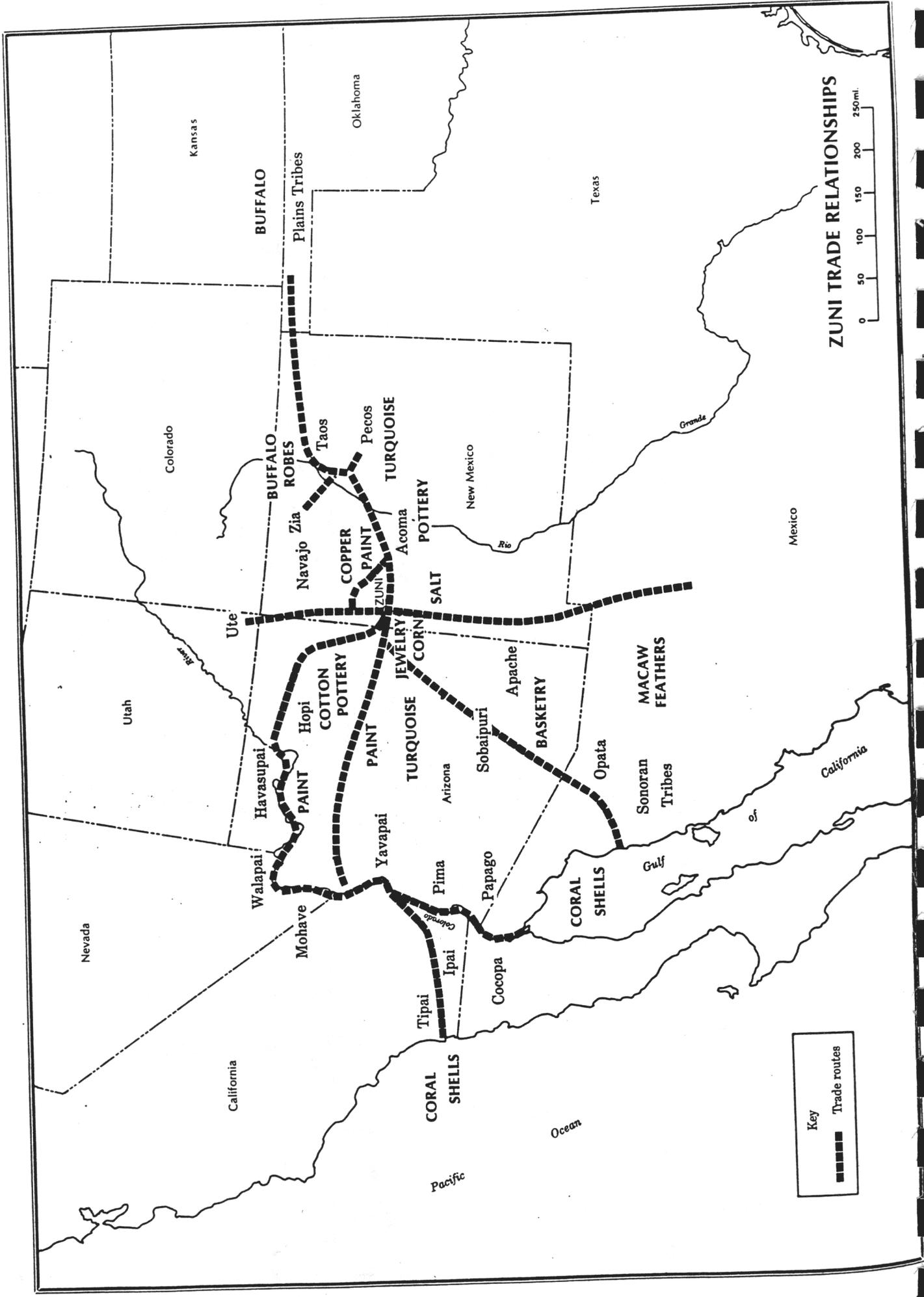
- Area of Zuni religious use
- Named religious site
- ..... Trail of pilgrimage



# ZUNI TRADE RELATIONSHIPS



Key  
Trade routes





Fergusson, Erna. *Dancing Gods: Indian Ceremonials of New Mexico and Arizona*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1957.

*Dancing Gods* was originally published in 1931. Fergusson wrote for popular consumption and did not provide a systematic outline of the beliefs and practices of the Zuni people. She established the setting of each dance, and described advance preparations briefly. She tended to dwell more on outward appearances than on religious symbolism and significance, but her work is useful for its reiteration of the importance of religious accounts and precise observance of religious practices.

Explaining the provenance of the winter Sword Swallower ceremony (Wood Fraternity), Fergusson began with mention of the Origin narration: "When the ancestors of the Zuñi were wandering in search of the middle world, the Wood Fraternity separated from the rest and went northward. . . ." (p. 72). Referring to the former spring at Black Rock, which was submerged after the building of Black Rock Dam, Fergusson wrote that the Zunis

believed that underground roads led from that spring into the fourth, and most sacred, world. In time these wanderings came to an end, and the Wood fraternity found their people at the very middle of the world, where Zuñi now stands. Here possibly we have an example of a legend founded upon the actual wandering of a small group of people who joined a larger group, bringing their ceremonies with them (p. 73).

Her description of the summer Rain-Dance (Shalako), too, began with the Zunis' Emergence from the Underworld, although she mistook the home of the Shalako--the "Sacred Lake"--as the place of Zuni origins (p. 87).

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Fewkes, J. Walter. "A Few Summer Ceremonials at Zuñi Pueblo." In *A Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*. Vol. I. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1891.

Fewkes observed Zuni corn and rain dances as a participant in the Hemenway Archaeological Expedition of 1889-1890.

Of primary interest here is Fewkes' perception of Zuni secrecy regarding many religious practices, and of the extent to which religion pervaded Zuni life. On page one, footnote one, Fewkes remarked that the "Indians are very reticent about their sacred observances, and oftentimes different persons contradict each other as to matter of fact." On page five he added that "almost everything in the life of a Zuñian has a religious side, or is to be met by something which for want of a name we may call a religious observance." Such comments, as has been noted elsewhere, reinforce the understanding that Zunis regard all aspects of their religious traditions with great respect.

Foreman, Grant, ed. *A Pathfinder in the Southwest: The Itinerary of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple During His Explorations for a Railway Route from Fort Smith to Los Angeles in the Years 1853-1854*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941.

After the Gold Rush of 1849, Americans wanted to know more about, and achieve access to, the unexplored West. Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, sent Lt. Whipple to survey along the 35th Parallel, from El Paso to San Diego, in 1851. In 1853, Whipple returned to the Southwest (accompanied by Joseph Ives and H. B. Möllhausen) to locate the best southern route for a railroad to the Pacific, a task he completed in 1856. During this journey, he was also expected to learn what he could about American Indian populations, cultures, and languages. His observations were frequently distorted by preconceptions of native culture, a problem by no means confined to the nineteenth century, but in general Whipple made an admirable effort to absorb the Zuni point of view. He quickly recognized the great age of Zuni culture and its ties to peoples and places in the region.

Heading west from Albuquerque, Whipple's party reached Zuni in the fall of 1853. He described some of the ruins and other landmarks as they passed through, including El Moro and Inscription Rock, where Whipple noted that the "freshest" of the Indian hieroglyphics appeared at least twice as time-worn as the Spanish inscriptions dating from 1690 (p. 134). Whipple also described the city of Zuni and remarked on a tradition which he said had been "handed down by the caciques from time immemorial. In the most ancient times . . . their fathers came from the west, and built the present town" (p. 140). The party then headed toward Jacob's Well along an old Zuni-Hopi trade route, then to the Rio Puerco and onward west. One of the first Anglos to sojourn among the Zunis, Whipple established a cordial and mutually respectful relationship with his informants.

Fynn, A. S. *The American Indian, As A Product of Environment, With Special Reference to the Pueblos*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1907.

This was Fynn's Ph.D. dissertation, much enlarged, with hopes "that it may be of some service in helping to keep alive an interest in that race which is so rapidly losing its identity" (introduction).

Good intentions aside, Flynn underestimated the persistence of Indian peoples and cultures. In addition, his information was impressionistic and from second and third-hand sources. His most reliable observation on the Zunis included a passage from a journalist, Sylvester Baxter (cited in this bibliography):

The Zuñis have a real epic, a sort of Iliad or primitive Bible in verse, originating in far remote times and transmitted by oral communication from generation to generation. This sacred work is publicly recited at rare but regularly recurring intervals (p. 137).

This "epic," of course, was the tale of Zuni Origins in the Grand Canyon and Migration to the Middle place, where they still reside and where their culture still flourishes.

Galvin, John, ed. *A Record of Travels in Arizona and California, 1775-1776, by Father Francisco Garces*. San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1965.

This is a reprint of the diary kept by Father Francisco Garces as he journeyed through the Southwest over eleven months in 1775-1776. Garces traveled with the second Anza expedition, but he branched off in order to visit several Indian tribes, whom he hoped to convert to Christianity (and Spanish rule). In addition, his superiors had instructed him to keep an eye out for an overland route linking the Province of Sonora and the Colorado River with Monterey.

After he had seen the Grand Canyon and mingled with the Yavapais, Garces followed the ancient trail to Oraibi in the Hopi mesas. There he met a Zuni, but he did not travel to Zuni and only described the region in general terms. It is no surprise that he met a Zuni at Hopi, for the two people traded frequently (including items from the Grand Canyon); Garces made his way around the region on Indian trails of great age and regular use.

Gill, Sam D., and Sullivan, Irene F. *Dictionary of Native American Mythology*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1992.

In the Zuni portion of this dictionary, the authors noted the centrality of chimikyanakowa--"that which was the beginning"--in Zuni culture (p. 44). They also pointed out that men devote years of their lives to learning the stories of origin, which are formally recited once every four or eight years by Kiaklo, a masked kachina figure.

The dictionary provided one explanation of the difference between "raw" and "cooked" (daylight) people; daylight people were those who had emerged from the earth. The Creation story that they reprinted began with a strong celestial presence (the Sun), and continued through the Emergence and Migration tales; these stories the authors pulled from the early anthropological studies of the Zunis by Cushing, Stevenson, Parsons, and Bunzel. Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in these documents may be flawed.

Goddard, Sara Anne. "The Zuni Language As a Means of Interpreting Pueblo Indian Culture." Masters Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1930.

Sara Goddard spent the summer of 1930 among the Zunis in order to complete a masters thesis in linguistics. Working with someone named Natchapani, she recorded some traditional tales, collected ethnobotanical information, described some cultural practices and provided a Zuni vocabulary. Illustrations included an altar and a map of the Zuni region drawn by a Zuni.

A number of words that Goddard learned referred directly or indirectly to activities involving the Grand Canyon area. Among these terms were:

1. Tshupah, which she defined as "Galena. Lit[erally] spirit rock. Used in the making of sacred meal for prayers. The Sun-Father likes galena better than anything else." Tshupah is sacred black paint mined in the Grand Canyon for important religious artifacts and ceremonies (pp. 69, 77).
2. Names for places in Kothlu/wala:wa or Zuni Heaven, an extremely important area on the Zuni Migration route, such as Wé.nimmah, the archaic name for the sacred lake, Khó.thluwalayalunneh, a nearby mountain, also sacred, and Khóyimcah Yalunneh, "home of the Katsinas" (or Kokkos, kachinas) (pp. 78, 81, 97).
3. The word Sú.pan'an, which referred to the Havasupais, a tribe from the Grand Canyon area that traditionally traded pigments (including tshupah) and other items to the Zunis, and Súpa.khweh, which meant "Supai [Havasupai] person" (p. 97).

Goddard also learned a little about the prayer sticks placed near the altar that she illustrated for this thesis. She did not say where the materials for the prayer sticks originated (the Grand Canyon is one possibility), although she did mention the underworld, an unknowing reference to the Canyon:

The two prayer plumes on each side of the mat are allowed to remain for only one night. They are then taken out and placed in the ground. The sticks are of willow and are painted black, because symbolically, they are to go down beneath the ground to the underworld and petition the powers. The plumes are tied on with yucca strings (p. 86).

It is worth noting the number of allusions Goddard's informants made to the Grand Canyon, without her recognition. That she missed the true significance of what she learned is unsurprising, especially since Zunis guarded certain information carefully. This is typical of many authors cited in this annotated bibliography: knowledgeable, perhaps, but lacking in complete comprehension.

Gordon, Mary McDougall, ed. *Through Indian Country to California: John P. Sherburne's Diary of the Whipple Expedition, 1853-1854*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.

Acting as company meteorologist, Sherburne accompanied his brother-in-law, Lt. A. W. Whipple, on his expedition from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Los Angeles, California. They passed Zuni along the way. The following route information contributes to the recognition of Zuni's ancient ties to the Grand Canyon.

Sherburne and most members of the expedition did not enter Zuni because of an outbreak of smallpox there. They camped outside the pueblo and, once rested, headed west. After hacking a length of road through timberland, they were called back to the pueblo by a few Zunis who agreed to guide them to the Little Colorado River by an easier route. This, of course, was the traditional Zuni route through Jacob's Well, Navajo Springs, the region of the Petrified Forest, across the Rio Puerco and up the Little Colorado. Whipple's party proceeded along the Little Colorado until it turned west toward Leroux's Spring, south of the San Francisco Mountains.

Granger, Byrd H. *Grand Canyon Place Names*. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1960.

This small volume of major place names in Grand Canyon was drawn directly from a larger work, *Arizona Place Names* (both the 1935 and the 1960 editions).

The final entry in this pamphlet is Zuni Point, which is south of the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado and overlooks the Grand Canyon; "This point was named for a tribe of Indians which lives in New Mexico near the Arizona border northeast of Springerville" (p. 26). However, it does not explain why this spot was so named. Zuni Point is in the area of the ancient Zuni Migration.

Green, Jesse, ed. *Cushing At Zuni: The Correspondence and Journals of Frank Hamilton Cushing, 1879-1884*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990.

This chronologically-organized collection of writings of and about Cushing presents his important impressions and experiences as the first anthropologist to live among the Zunis. Editor Frank Green drew on a wide range of outside sources to support and clarify Cushing's primary documents.

At Zuni, Cushing took on the dual role of anthropologist and archaeologist. Most of his initial information came from the Zunis themselves. One of the first things the young anthropologist learned was that the Zunis strictly adhered to tradition:

The arts of this Civilization, industrial as aesthetic, are regulated by rules or *formulae* handed down in unvarying language from generation to generation. . . . [T]he religious, social, and political organizations and institutions are no less rigidly ruled by instructions contained in myriad prayers, 'ancient talks,' and songs, dating back at least as far as the prehistoric period (p.95).

Religion and tradition governed all Zuni activities. Even games had their sacred character, "all of which, save those played by children, being held as having originated with and for the gods" (p. 103). A June 1881 newspaper story by Sylvester Baxter of the *Boston Herald* conveyed Cushing's sense of the strength of Zuni religious traditions. The Zunis had an archaic language, Baxter noted, just as English had its Anglo-Saxon; this language survived in religious rites known only by the priests. But the Zunis' possessed a "marvelous knowledge of their past," and many of the sacred Zuni songs were "of unknown antiquity. This is a striking illustration of the conservative influence of religion in preserving the institutions of the past" (p. 155). In addition,

Mr. Cushing has . . . deciphered the secret of the inscriptions or pictographs that cover the cliffs in this part of the country. One of the most important results of this acquisition is the proof they give of the correctness with which the Zunis had related to him the history of the ruins they mark and of the extent of the country once covered by the race (ibid).

The most important oral tradition of the Zuni people was the Emergence and Migration narration (or Origin narration). Cushing first heard the "ancient story of his race . . . an unrecorded history, an unwritten Bible," from an old Zuni man. It began:

Before men knew their Father Sun, their mother Moon, their brothers the Stars, before they knew the world of light,  
There were four worlds (*A'wi-ten Te-hu li-wa*), one below the other, in the mountains west of the west, the last one low down in the earth, and dark as the black in the chimney and the dye in dyed deer skin (p. 149).

This was just the first part of the story of the Emergence of the Zuni people from the four Underworlds. Although different priests received the story in different versions, the essential details remained the same.

Repeatedly, Zunis stressed the importance of the ancient stories and traditions. This was especially evident in the reverence the Zunis held for their land and places along the Migration route. One such place, for example, was Han-thli-pin-kia (a place on the Migration route). In December 1881, the Bow Priesthood, into which Cushing was eventually initiated, held a meeting. Here the old Bow Priest Niesto told Cushing that

the laws of our institution are very ancient. Our gods A-hai-iuta were in ancient times the grandest of beings, though only small boys, and masters of all. They did not come out of the four great caves with ourselves, but at the time we reached Han-thli-pin-kia they appeared in the midst of the wars of the *Ká'kás*, in a cloud of vapor, and were dressed in the costume of war. . . . (p. 195).

Hanthliblinkya, as Jesse Green noted, was the point of origin of both of the twin war gods and of the Zuni division into clans. It was the first stop in the wanderings of the Zuni ancestors as they set forth from Kolhu/wala:wa (the sacred lake where ancient Zunis and kachinas dwelled) in search of the middle of the world. "Niesto's story as here written down is the first version of this segment of the Zuni origin myth to be recorded" (p. 195, n88).

Cushing believed that his initiation into the Bow Priesthood would break down Zuni objections to his learning their sacred rites. His friend Lt. John Bourke, who was an ethnologist himself, spoke with Ké-ā-si, second in command of the Order of the Bow. This man

told me [Bourke] that one of his duties was to preserve mnemonically the Sacred Genesis of his people, handed down by word of mouth, from successor to successor from the earliest times. The record, he said, was called in his language "the words of the doings of the Ancients in the days of the New, or the Record of the doings of Gods and Men in the Beginning." (The word Ancients, as he explained, includes both Gods and Men.)

From what I have learned through the kindness of Cushing, I am convinced that the *Ah-shi-wi* have, in addition to the Mythology which every nation, savage or civilized, has evolved for itself, a theology and a theogony as consistent and well defined as those of the Ancient Greeks and Romans. . . . (p. 187).

Ké-ā-si, Bourke continued, remarked to Cushing about the story of the Sacred Genesis:

do you think that I have brains enough to make up such a story? No. Nor have you brains enough to compose it. It is the story of our Ancients, handed down from the Old Days, and, as you know, given to me by (mentioning the name of his

predecessor who had lately died in office) who sat up with me by day and night pouring it into my ears (p. 187).

Although Cushing appreciated the care with which Zunis maintained their oral histories, as a scientist he was skeptical of traditional explanations of Zuni origins. He continued to search for proof that ruins along the ancient Migration route were indeed Zuni. His archaeological expeditions confirmed much of the Migration narration.

Both the Origin narration and the physical evidence agreed, stated one of Cushing's 1880 reports, that "while originally all are supposed to have issued from the same birth place, they subsequently separated, occupying pueblos (now in ruins) widely apart before finally, for the sake of mutual protection, again coming together as one people like the present" (p. 99). Green added that:

It is also worth noting that [Cushing was the first ethnographer to suggest] the Zunis' dual ancestry in the cultures now known as Anasazi and the Mogollon. . . . They had migrated south into the valleys of the Little (Chiquito) Colorado and the Rio Grande and their respective tributaries, where they blended with the people who evidently already inhabited these areas. In the region of the Little Colorado this blend was with the Mogollon people, who are generally thought to have moved into the area from southern New Mexico and Arizona long before. Which of these two cultural ancestors was prior with respect to Zuni is not yet an entirely settled question. . . . Recent findings seem to indicate, however, that it was the Anasazi. . . . In any case, as the origin myths told, Zuni was indeed the 'middle' at which these 'wanderers' from the north and south found their common destination. Cushing's preliminary efforts to match the ruins with the migration myths (which he doubtless took too literally) obviously left much for later researchers to sort out" (pp. 371-372, n33.)

Cushing's 1880 report reveals his confidence in his archaeological verification of the Migration narration:

Tradition points to the place of origin of the Zuni and three others of the Pueblo nations (Taos, Oraibi, [and the Havasupai]) as from under the ground in the "mountains west of the West." It is not until this tradition brings these nations to the regions of the Colorado Chiquito [Little Colorado] that it begins to emerge from fable and mythology into almost definite history.

South from the latter river, near the *Yahl-a K'o-herie* (White Mountains), was the first stopping place of any length, very primitive ruins still marking the site, which indeed may be said of all the points I mention below, more than half of which I have personally examined (p. 100).

In the fall and winter of 1880, Cushing retraced a portion of the historic Zuni Migration route, travelling along the Rio Puerco to the valley of the Little Colorado River. He encountered a number of ruins that corroborated the Zuni Migration narration. Cushing wrote to one colleague in September 1880 from the Rio Puerco that he was investigating ruins

important as the traditional home of the *Hle-e-to-kwe*, or northern division of the great Pueblo race from which the *Shi-wis* claim to be descended. The remains of the Sun monument and the six communal *ki-wi-si*, or estufas of the *modern* Zunis are strong evidences of the reliableness of these Zuni traditions, although the ruins are in the heart of the Navajo country, and I have had to ride nearly a hundred miles to reach them (p. 124).

He continued to explore ruins and caves along the Zuni Migration route well into the spring of 1881. According to the second annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Green noted, Cushing returned to re-explore caverns he had previously visited, as well as others on the Rio Concho and caves still used as sacrificial depositories by the Zunis near La Laguna del Colorado Chiquito, north of San Juan. These explorations, some accomplished by perilous descents into caves and craters, were unsanctioned by the Zunis. They resulted in the collection of thousands of artifacts such as prayer sticks, rain pots, sacred figures, and other relics, "spoils," Cushing said, "from the repeated similar sacrifices of centuries ago" (p. 143). Cushing remarked on the importance of the discovery. "It proves absolutely and completely not only the general correctness of the Zuni migratory traditions, but also . . . their close or direct connection, in the far past, with the builders of the Ancient Pueblos throughout Arizona and New Mexico" (ibid). In fact, Cushing hoped to survey all such areas "covered by the earlier Zuni traditions" (p. 147).

In 1881, Cushing visited the Grand Canyon. Having heard of the people called in Zuni *Kuh'-ni-kwe* (the Havasupai) who, he had been told, resembled the Zunis, Cushing decided to journey to the Grand Canyon area to see for himself. The Havasupai and Zunis knew each other well, he learned, and spoke a similar language. They dressed in similar clothes, possessed a similar religion, and shared political customs and institutions (p. 146). In his diary, John Bourke mentioned on May 29, 1881, that he had met with Cushing, who had arranged to take him to the Moqui (Hopi) villages and then to the Grand Canyon. "Mr. Cushing thinks that the [Havasupai], of the Grand Cañon, have a common origin with the Zunis. . . . The Zunis themselves admit as much" (p. 154).

Cushing had vainly hoped to be the first white American to describe the Havasupai, but a cavalry expedition headed by Lieut. Palfrey had been there first. Cushing's expedition to Havasupai began on June 19, 1881. He and his companions followed the traditional route between Zuni and Hopi country, which they reached on June 22 ("descended into a sandy plain or hill, coming into view of the first Moqui plantings", p. 166.) They came to a rough pass at which a Hopi told Cushing that, indeed, "Kuh-nis [Havasupai] had visited Oraibi." On June 28 they arrived at Oraibi, and June 29 at Moenkopi, or Mo-e-na-ka-ve, as Cushing interpreted it. The party continued in a southwesterly direction toward the Little Colorado River and beyond, crossing the river to veer toward the western end of the Grand Canyon. They followed the most

direct travel route from the Hopis' Third Mesa to Havasupai. (Prof. Emory Sekaquaptewa confirmed this route in a letter to Green: "There are many oral accounts of trading journeys between the Hopi and Supai [the Hopi term for whom is *Koonina*], and these accounts talk about *Kooninyö* [Supai Trail]. My guess is that Cushing's party was guided along this old established trail" [p. 169, n13].)

Descending along the twisting trail toward the Havasupai lands, Cushing noticed "some pictograph shields with Zuni emblem. . . . At 9th turn some cliff houses. . . . Further on, more cliff houses and pictographs--some wonderfully fresh. . . ." (p. 170).

Almost immediately upon meeting the townspeople and a Havasupai council, Cushing was told again of the Havasupai relationship to the Zunis. The Havasupais, he noted, had the same story of Creation. The visitors lingered a few days, and returned to Zuni by a more southern route, via Prescott. Near Prescott Cushing passed a place close to Thumb Butte that was

Distinctly Zuni. On high rock which caps a natural heap like pyramid. Face literally covered. Among symbols-- *Mo-yu-tchun* [star], *Sai-an-ne* [horn, antler], *Na-a-li* [deer], *E-la-we Mi-kai-a-thla* [standing young corn], *Hle e-to-we* [large turtle], *We-lo-lo* [lightening], etc. etc. (p. 175).

Green agreed with Cushing's interpretation:

In light of Cushing's identification of the symbols as Zuni, one may be reminded, as was Jane Young (personal communication), of the petroglyphs and painted images on the rocks above the ruins of the Village of the Great Kivas at Zuni. 'Cushing's words remind me,' she writes, 'of two adjacent rock faces which contain the following: a crescent moon, a four-pointed star, a zigzag (Zunis identified as lightning), an owl, a corn plant, 2 spirals, a turtle, and a deer with oddly elongated antlers.' A photograph of this site appears in her book *Signs From the Ancestors: Zuni Cultural Perceptions of Rock Art* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988) [ibid, n32.]

By 1883, Cushing had journeyed back to the East with six Zunis, had married, given lectures, written articles, and returned to Zuni. Largely as a result of his efforts, Zuni was now receiving wide attention. This brought to Zuni a large influx of visitors and influences from the outside world.

Frank Cushing continued to study Zuni customs in minute detail. In March 1883, he wrote to John Wesley Powell, director of the Bureau of Ethnology, that "in the caves and craters to the Southwest are well preserved sacrificial deposits antedating the earliest Spanish *conquistadores*" (p. 280). In April he wrote of his plans for another "reconnaissance of several ruins and localities mentioned in the Zuni traditions. . . ." (p. 284).

Later, in the 1890s, Cushing wrote of the many collections he had made throughout his four years at Zuni. Referring specifically to the "Cave of Oblique Descent" (A-asselaie) near the "little Mexican town of Las Tusas, in the midst of extensive ancient ruins which stand on both sides of the Colorado Chiquito," he said:

As these ruins are alluded to by one of the chroniclers of Coronado's Expedition in 1539-40, as abandoned and desolate at that time, and as they are distinctly referred to as pertaining to the "Parrot and Seed clans of the ancestors" in the Zuni myths of creation, I had both historic and traditional warrant for regarding the sacrifices of these cave shrines as not only pre-Columbian but also very remote. . . . [When the Zuni priests examined the objects] I learned . . . what each object had signified 'in the days of creation.' . . . (p. 343).

By the close of his stay at Zuni, Cushing had accepted much of the Zuni Migration narration as true.

Zuni religious leaders wish to note that Cushing's information was sometimes incorrect.

Green, Jesse, ed. *Selected Writings of Frank Hamilton Cushing*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

In "My Adventures in Zuñi," published in 1882-1883 in *Century Magazine*, Cushing recounted the more colorful aspects of his entrance into Zuni society. He included a brief version of the Zuni Creation narration, and described his initiation into the Bow Society.

Like Cushing's other works, this was suggestive of the importance of the Grand Canyon to the Zuni People, although it lacked specifics about the Grand Canyon as the sacred place of Origin.

Hammond, George P., and Rey, Agapito, eds. *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.

*Narratives* is a collection of original manuscripts, translated from Spanish, which relate to the expedition of Francisco Vázquez Coronado. Coronado and his army marched through northern Mexico and north America in 1540, traveling as far as the Kansas plains. The editors attempted to locate many of the places described by members of the expedition, but their wanderings were difficult to follow. Some documents made general references to the Grand Canyon or Zuni.

In the "Report of Fray Marcos de Niza," the Franciscan friar was assigned to Coronado's province of Culucacán in 1538 in order to claim new lands in God and the emperor's names, establish new missions, and assure that the Spanish did not mistreat the natives. In March 1539, he left Culucacán and traveled to the Zuni/Hopi area. The route north was well-established, and his party "marched over a wide and much-used road. . . ." (p. 75).

"Castañeda's History of the Expedition" (1540) briefly described Coronado's entrance into Zuni, and Don Pedro de Tovar's subsequent reconnaissance of Hopi or Tusayán, "distant 25 leagues from Cíbola (p. 214)." He outlined no specific route.

Having heard from Don Pedro de Tovar (who had heard it from the Hopis) about "a large river" where there lived unusually large men, Coronado sent Don García López de Cárdenas to locate these oversized people and explore the Colorado River. Tovar had learned that men on foot would not meet another settlement for more than twenty days once out of the Hopi pueblos, so Cárdenas passed through the Hopi pueblo for provisions. And in twenty days they reached the rim of the Grand Canyon, but they were forced to turn back: they lacked sufficient water to search for a way down to the bottom (p. 216).

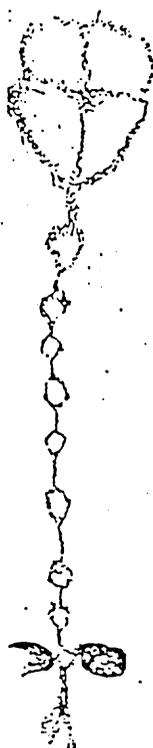
In all, this book lends weight to the idea that Zuni and the Hopis have been linked to the Grand Canyon for a long time.

Harrington, M. R. "Ruins and Legends of Zuni Land." *The Masterkey* 3 (May-June 1929):5-16.

Harrington was the director of research at the Southwest Museum. In this article published in the museum journal, he described his guided tour of Zuni and the legends that he heard. His preference for documented history was evident, but he was fascinated by the ancient homeland and its tales. "It would take volumes," he remarked, "to record the legends clinging about all the ruins in Zuni Land." In a visit to Hántlipinkya, his guide Lorenzo showed him some pictographs, including one which symbolized the Zunis' ancient Migration from their place of Origin. "These little circles are the places where our ancestors stopped when they were coming from the West," Lorenzo explained, "and the lines between them are the trails from one stopping place to the next (p. 6).

You see that place where the line splits into three, up near the top? Well, that is where the tribe split into three parts, one swinging to the north, one to the south, and the other going straight ahead, eastward. You see the lines all come together again up above? That means that the three bands all came together again at the Middle Place, where Zuni stands today (p. 9).

A reproduction of the pictograph is attached. For other carvings, Lorenzo offered no explanation. Harrington came away from his month-long visit entranced by the Zuni culture.



*The Zuni Migration Pictograph in Hanthlérinkya Canon, Arizona*

Fig. 10. M. Harrington. The Zuni Migration Pictograph.



Hart, E. Richard. "Boundaries of Zuni Land: With Emphasis on Details Relating to Incidents Occurring 1846-1946." Vol. 1. Sun Valley, Idaho: Institute of the American West, 1980.

Hart submitted this expert testimony to the United States Court of Claims on behalf of the Zuni Tribe in *The Zuni Indian Tribe of New Mexico v. The United States of America* (Docket No. 161-79L).

The introduction to Hart's report emphasized the Zunis' long-standing affinity with the landscape around them. It repeated their metaphor of the landscape as cathedral, a place where a mesa might be an altar, or a spring a sacred alcove, and where an entire region could take on religious values. "The Zuni people believe," Hart wrote, "that, after they came into the world from a spot located variously in the Mohave Desert region or the Grand Canyon area, they searched about for many years, across what is now Arizona and New Mexico, for the 'middle place'" (p. 3). Every spot along the Migration route is still held sacred, from the Grand Canyon to Zuni. The entire area, from the bottom of the Grand Canyon to Zuni, was "thoroughly familiar to the Zunis, who knew stories about every turn in the wellbeaten trail" (p. 5).

The remainder of this document described the recorded history of the Zunis, their utilitarian use of the land, and its gradual diminution at the hands of white Americans.

Hart, E. Richard. *Hearing Before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, Ninety-Eighth Congress, Second Session, on S. 2201, to Convey Certain Lands to the Zuni Indian Tribe for Religious Purposes, April 9, 1984*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1984.

This hearing eventually resulted in the return of Kolhu/wala:wa (or Zuni Heaven), a highly sacred location on the original Migration route, to the Zuni people. Acting Chairman Barry Goldwater opened the meeting by acknowledging that, since at least 1540, the Zuni aboriginal land claims extended far into Arizona.

Many people addressed the committee in order to emphasize the importance of Kolhu/wala:wa to Zunis. E. Richard Hart, director of the Institute of the American West (now the Institute of the North American West), reminded the committee that "the religion of the Zunis permeates every aspect of their life" (p. 9). Ben Kallestewa, head Komos'ona, added that the interest of the Zuni people in such areas was primarily religious, and that this had been true long before white people came to the area (p. 15). Kallestewa, along with several other Zuni religious leaders, submitted a statement briefly outlining the Zuni Emergence narration. The religious leaders reiterated how important it is to Zunis that religious representatives be able to return to the sacred places along the Migration route. (Their statements are annotated separately in this bibliography; see Kallestewa and Zuni Religious Leaders annotations.)

Other statements submitted for the record summarized the activities and findings of the first anthropological researchers to live and work among the Zunis. Richard Hart noted that in the 1880s Frank Cushing made unsanctioned visits to some of the sacred sites along the Migration route and retrieved ancient and modern offerings from them. James and Matilda Stevenson did likewise in the 1890s, noting at the time that some of the shrines were extremely old. Such observations multiplied as researchers and the curious continued to descend upon the Zuni homeland. "The point of all this," said Hart, "is that there is a complete thread showing the Zuni use of this area since aboriginal times until today" (p. 9).

Hart, E. Richard. "Historic Zuni Land Use." In *Zuni History: Victories in the 1990s*. Sec. I. Seattle: Institute of the North American West, 1991.

This is one article in a two-part tabloid produced by the Institute for the Zuni Indians.

Hart summarized the sacred and secular meaning that their region holds for Zunis, and provided a general map which outlined the boundaries of this area. He described the great respect with which Zunis regard the natural environment, and the special reverence they have for their traditional lands:

I think that the Zunis want, above all, to have outsiders understand the depth of feeling which they have for their landscape and understand that they have treated their environment with the same kind of respect which they have for their friends and for their families (p. 5).

These lands are alive and connected by veins and arteries (underground springs or other waterways) like a living being.

All natural features within these boundaries have important associations for the Zunis. "Regions," Hart remarked, "can have special religious values. The Zuni people believe that . . . they came into the world from a spot which has been variously located in the Mojave Desert Region or in the Grand Canyon area," from which they migrated to the Middle Place, near to their present-day location. The entire length of the Migration route is sacred to them; each place is marked by shrines and associated with sacred legends (*ibid*).

No one person could possibly remember all the sacred tales, medicinal plants, proper rituals, prayers, mineral collection techniques, and so on, crucial to maintenance of traditional Zuni ways. Therefore, knowledge is compartmentalized throughout the tribe. The clans and religious fraternities each hold in trust a portion of this knowledge. "In this way an incredibly vast amount of knowledge has been retained" about the region and their culture (*ibid*).

Hart briefly described many of the important Zuni lifeways and outlined the Zunis' post-contact history, concluding with the remark that "the area of traditional Zuni land use is what the Zunis required for long term survival in the area" (p. 7).

Hart, E. Richard. "Protection of *Kolhu/wala:wa* (Zuni Heaven): Litigation and Legislation." In *Zuni History: Victories in the 1990s*. Sec. II. Seattle: Institute of the North American West, 1991.

This is another article from the two-part tabloid mentioned in the previous annotation.

According to Zuni tradition, *Kolhu/wala:wa* "is the place where all Zunis go after death and is the location where the supernatural *Kokko* [kachinas] reside under a sacred lake fed by the waters from a precious spring." Often called "Zuni Heaven," this lake is located near the confluence of the Little Colorado and Zuni Rivers. It is "conceptually and geographically central to Zuni religion," Hart explained, and is referred to in the ancient Origin and Migration narrative. Every four years certain Zunis set out on a pilgrimage to this place in order to perform religious rites, some for the purpose of bringing rain to their pueblo, others aimed at bringing peace and prosperity to the entire world (p. 6).

Non-Indians have not consistently acknowledged the centrality of Zuni Heaven to the Zuni people, and some have tried to prevent Zuni pilgrimages across their lands. Hart, who has been an expert witness for Zunis and the Department of Justice on this subject, outlined the history of negotiations that Zunis have pursued in order to assure access to Zuni Heaven. Today, passage is assured, and Zuni Heaven again belongs to the Zunis.

Hart, E. Richard. "Zuni Trade: Rebuttal Report of Plaintiff Zuni Indian Tribe, Vol. II." *The Zuni Tribe of New Mexico v. The United States*, United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L, 1981.

In 1979, the Zuni Tribe sued for the return of certain traditional lands to the Zunis. In this document, Richard Hart disputed much of Justice Department expert witness Earl H. Elam's interpretation of secondary historical evidence. Elam had attempted to prove that the Zunis were not exclusive owners of their traditional territory and that, at any rate, the boundaries of this territory were unclear. However, many sources could be cited in support of their claim to ownership. Of importance to the Glen Canyon project are the sections that demonstrated the Zunis' continued use of routes northwest of Zuni, including trails along the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers, for trade and religious purposes.

Hart cited Edward S. Curtis's *North American Indian* regarding trade (the "pueblos of Cibola," of course, are the Zuni Pueblos):

Even in prehistoric times the pueblos of Cibola maintained constant communication with other and relatively distant people. A well-marked trail led eastward to the Rio Grande valley and the Tiwa villages, with a northerly branch to Sia [sic]. Another extended to the Hopi and on to the Grand Canyon (Appendix, "Zuni Trade," p. 2).

Curtis also emphasized the importance to the Zunis of certain pigments, paints, and stones:

The blue paint of the Zunis was famous, as were several other of their pigments. Groups of men would travel long distances from Zuni to trade their paints, turquoises, and skins for feathers and other paints. For instance, the trade with the Havasupai, at the bottom of the Grand Canyon, probably involved, on the Zunis' part, blue paint and stones found from the Zuni mine which was in the Bluewater district of contemporary New Mexico, between Acoma and Zuni, while the Havasupai had equally valuable items to trade in return. The Zunis obtained "sacred black war paint (*tsu-ha-pa*)--a kind of plumbago [graphite], containing shining particles" (p. 5).\*

Hart cited anthropologist Frank Hamilton Cushing's description of trade among the Havasupais, Zunis and Hopis. "For centuries," Cushing wrote, "there had been a lively trade between Zuni and Hopi and with the Havasupai." When the Spanish first reached Zuni in the sixteenth century, therefore, it was already a hub of a huge trade network that extended into Mexico and California (p. 6). Cushing was certain that Zunis had led Coronado's lieutenant Alarcon to the Grand Canyon.\*

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\*Quote from Cushing, Frank Hamilton, "Zuni Fetishes", *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1883.

\*See Frank Hamilton Cushing, *The Nation of Willows* (1882).

Accounts of Zuni trade to the northwest (with Hopis, Navajos, Havasupai, and others) were numerous. In 1851, Hart stated, Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves observed that the western trail out of Zuni was "well-beaten" and "well-marked," and he witnessed Apaches driving animals to Zuni for trade (p. 16). Likewise cartographer Richard H. Kern saw Hopis trading cotton cloth at Zuni, and purchased some for the Sitgreaves expedition (p. 17). In August 1863, U. S. Army troops encountered five Hopis with burros loaded down with blankets and other items manufactured by Indians on the Zuni-Hopi trail near Jacob's Well (p. 27). Because the U. S. was warring with the Navajos in 1863, Major E. W. Eaton forbade Zuni trade with them, but it had been a long practice, and in fact sporadically continued.

These are just a few of the many recorded observations of regular Zuni trade to the northwest.

Hart, E. Richard, ed. *Zuni and the Courts: A Struggle for Sovereign Land Rights*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995.

In the 1960s, the Zuni Tribe initiated a series of legal battles to reclaim ownership or rights to lands and resources within their traditional use area. In three cases, they 1) sued the United States for payment for aboriginal lands taken without adequate compensation; 2) sought compensation from the federal government for environmental damage to Zuni trust lands that the government had promised to protect, and 3) assisted by the U. S. government, sued a private rancher who impeded access to sacred Zuni shrines. Richard Hart prepared an overview of these cases and compiled comments presented by the attorneys, as well as a number of essays written by people who testified for the Zunis. He also provided commentary on how and why the Zunis succeeded in these three cases, and suggested how similar cases could be handled.

Zuni connections to the Grand Canyon arise in several places. In a chapter on historic Zuni land use, Hart pointed out that entire regions can have religious values to American Indians: "The Zuni people believe," he said, "that after they came into the world from a spot located deep within the Grand Canyon, they searched about for many years, across what are now Arizona and New Mexico, for the 'Middle Place'" (p. 8).

The findings of the United States Court of Claims are highly relevant to the GCES. Appendix A (entitled "Findings of the United States Claims Commission," although the case was transferred to the Court of Claims) recapitulated the ancient secular and religious relationships (these often overlap) of Zunis to their surrounding landscape. Finding No. 23 summarized the Zuni oral tradition about ancient migrations and sacred landmarks. Regarding the Grand Canyon, it noted that

According to Zuni tradition, the people at Zuni migrated from other places, particularly "The Place of Beginning" located at Ribbon Falls in the Grand Canyon. In their migration eastward from the Grand Canyon to their present location, the Zunis stopped at a number of places which are still remembered in their prayers and visited periodically to make offerings. . . . (p. 251).

In a footnote, the judge acknowledged that:

like any religious history, oral recounting throughout generations can become less than accurate. Again, however, this Finding is to be taken in context with all other Findings. Moreover, the court is persuaded by the testimony of plaintiff's experts that, to the Zunis as to members of other tribes, the transmission of historical data and tradition was always of great import with little, if any, reliance placed on written documentation. . . . [G]iven the import attached to the oral transmission of history and religious observation by the Zuni, there is no reason to suspect gross or deliberate distortion. Accordingly, the court is persuaded that, notwithstanding some insufficiency, this recounted history is of evidentiary probity (p. 280).

The court again acknowledged Zuni ties to the Grand Canyon when it commented that "The Zunis . . . made . . . limited use of areas . . . to the northwest of the San Francisco Peaks up to the Grand Canyon" (Finding No. 27, p. 252). In a statement on the nature of Zuni land use and occupation, it reiterated the Grand Canyon connection by noting that

In Zuni tradition, [the San Francisco Peaks area] was one of the first stopping places on the migration of the Zunis from "The Place of Beginning" in the Grand Canyon to their present location at the Pueblo of Zuni (Finding No. 60, p. 264).

The court was satisfied that Zuni ties to the land were well-known by the Mexicans prior to the Mexican-American War. When the United States entered the war with Mexico in 1846, Zuni religious and resource boundaries extending to the Grand Canyon were already clear and understood (Finding No. 66, p. 268), as was Zuni mineral collection in the Grand Canyon (Finding No. 68, p. 269). Trails for religious pilgrimages, for hunting and gathering, and for trade were also well-established by 1846. Two branching trails went northwest to the Hopi villages and then on to the Grand Canyon; another followed the ancient migration route from Grand Canyon to Kothlu/wala:wa. "Spaniards and Americans," stated the report, "first entered the Zuni area traveling the Zunis' well-developed trails. Finally, use of the Zuni trails within the Zuni claim area was by permission of the Zuni Tribe, either expressed or implied" (Finding No. 73, p. 271).

Hieb, Louis A. "Meaning and Mismeaning: Toward an Understanding of the Ritual Clown." In *New Perspectives on the Pueblos*, Alfonso Ortiz, ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972.

Hieb's chief concern was the relationship between ritual process and social structure. He analyzed the *koyemci*, the Zuni ceremonial clowns, because he believed their oppositional role in Zuni culture would illuminate the social order by its inversion of that order. The clowns were a "point of articulation [of] everything Zuni and everything foreign to the traditional Zuni world view" (p. 186).

The tales which recount their origins were the primary way to understand the *koyemci*, Hieb believed; their significance and importance were established in the Zuni Beginning. Such studies indicate the importance of the places and figures in the Origin tale to Zuni culture, and thus the place of Origin itself.

Hirst, Stephen. *Life in a Narrow Place*. New York: David McKay Company, 1976.

This nontechnical picture book described the history and the modern life of the Havasupai Indians, who live in the Grand Canyon.

Hirst discussed the Havasupais' traditional trade relationship with the Hopis and noted that "the Havasupai red paint was held sacred by many Indian people for ceremonial body painting and often found its way as far east as the Mississippi" (p. 50). Although unmentioned, these distant trade partners included the Zunis.

Hodge, Frederick Webb, ed. "Zuñi." In *Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1912.

Hodge relied on the written record for this brief overview, using information supplied primarily by non-Indians. Only one paragraph dealt with Zuni customs, and here Hodge acknowledged that "they adhere tenaciously to their ancient religion, which is closely interwoven with their social organization" (p. 1018).

Hodge, Gene Meany. *The Kachinas Are Coming: Pueblo Indian Kachina Dolls with Related Folktales*. Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1967.

These are brief tales from Zunis, Hopis, and others. With some omissions and simplifications, Hodge took the Zuni tales from Cushing (*Zuñi Creation Myths, Zuñi Folk Tales*) and Bunzel (*Zuñi Katchinas*).

Some of these tales, such as "Why Ants Are So Thin," refer to the Emergence and Migration of the Zuni people. "When in very ancient times the Zuñi were seeking the middle of the world," she said, they reached the present Zuni and built Halona Itiwana, the "Middle Ant-hill of the World" (p. 7). The tale of "The K'yáklú Being and the Duck" (p. 19) opens "when the world was new." Later in this section, Hodge said that K'yáklú prepared the people for a visit from the gods by repeating the story of the Zunis' Emergence from the lower worlds and of their wanderings in search of the Middle Place (p. 25).

In her notes to the story "How the Twin War Gods Stole the Thunder-stone and the Lightning-shaft," Hodge explained that "the Twin War Gods established the Priesthood of the Bow, or War Society, in the very early days of the world when the Zuñi people were looking for the middle place at which to settle" (p. 104).

The tales further illustrate the importance of the Origin narration to Zuni culture. But Zuni religious leaders caution the reader that some of Hodge's information may be incorrect.

Hough, Walter. "Sacred Springs in the Southwest." *Records of the Past* 5 (1906):164-169.

Hough described various southwestern springs and some of the native rituals surrounding them. The Zuni, he thought, "also believes that the sacred springs are used for the gods to look through to the upper world" (p. 166). The Migration narration of the Zunis seemed to Hough to be "in large measure a recounting of the springs at which they halted in their wanderings from the earth navel whence they issued, to the traditional center of the world where they now live" (p. 168).

Springs and live streams provide information on probable distribution of ancient pueblos, Hough wrote, because water has always been the key to survival in the desert.

Hustido, Alonzo [also spelled Alonzo Hustito]. "Deposition of Alonzo Hustido." *The Zuni Indians of New Mexico v. The United States*. United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L (filed April 27, 1979).

In 1980, several Zunis provided depositions in support of a land claim filed by the tribe the previous year. These men were asked to discuss traditional Zuni relationships to the land, and provide details of the many ways that the tribe has used its natural resources. This deposition was taken February 19, 1980, and included a brief background interview of the interpreter, Edmund Ladd, age 54.

Among other things, Mr. Hustido mentioned that plants important to Zuni practices could be collected "anywhere" (p. 37) in their traditional lands, meaning that every portion of their ancient lands had plants that they used. He also commented on special paints used in tribal ceremonies; although he did not say so, some of these come from the Grand Canyon.

Hustido did refer to the Emergence in the Grand Canyon. Asked what makes a shrine a shrine, he responded that "in the beginning when we first began, when we first began is when the areas were established and . . . they have been used ever since, and . . . it's not man-made" (p. 40).

His deposition concluded with a statement on ceremonies conducted at Kothlu/wala:wa, "Zuni Heaven."

Ickes, Anna Wilmarth. *Mesa Land: The History and Romance of the American Southwest*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1933.

Writing for the layman, Ickes made a reasonable effort to present Zunis as the "experts" saw them. Ickes actually visited the peoples she wrote about, but she drew largely on Matilda Coxe Stevenson, Frank Cushing, and Ruth Bunzel for information on the Zunis. Her discussion of the Origin narration was cursory:

The Zuñi, as other Southwestern tribes, believe that they have risen from three underworlds and that when they first came up to this one they had tails and long ears and webbed feet and fingers. . . . All this mythology finds its counterpart in the priesthoods and fraternities, and myths are acted out during the dances (p. 148).

This Emergence from the Underworlds, of course, was into a place in the Grand Canyon, although evidently none of Ickes' sources were aware of this.

Ives, Lieutenant Joseph C. *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West, Explored in 1857 and 1858*. 36th Cong., 1st Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 90. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1861.

Lt. Joseph Ives accompanied Lt. Whipple on his expedition in 1853; on that trip they both visited Zuni. In 1857, the Secretary of War returned Ives to the field, this time to lead the first geographic expedition into the Grand Canyon. Unfortunately, today he is remembered largely for his failed attempt to navigate the Colorado River in a paddle-wheel steamboat, and for his dismissal of the Grand Canyon as a wasteland that future generations would shun.

In May 1858, his party left the Colorado River and approached the Little Colorado River (which Ives called the Flax River) by skirting the San Francisco Peaks to the south. He sent part of the group on to Fort Defiance by way of Zuni, along the trail established by Lt. Whipple in 1853, but no record appears to exist of this portion of the trip. Although he did not visit Zuni on this trip, Ives noted that the Zunis possessed "force of character and . . . courageous qualities" (p. 127). He and his remaining men proceeded toward the Hopi villages. They followed the Little Colorado River past "ruins of ancient pueblos," until they located a

well-beaten Indian trail running towards the north. . . . Near by are several salt springs, and scattered over the adjacent surface are crystals of excellent salt. This accounts for the position of the trail, for it is doubtless here that the Moquis obtain their supply of that article (p. 117).

The trail was easy to follow, and within a week the party was in the first Hopi Pueblo. Ives expressed his desire to go further to the north, and was told that "four days' travel in that direction would bring us to a large river" (p. 121). From Hopi, Ives could see that

several trails radiated from the foot of the bluff in perfectly straight lines. . . . One conducted to the [Little Colorado River] and doubtless to the Yampais village; another, the chief told us, was the trail of the Apaches; another, that of the Coyoteros [Navajos]; a fourth came from Zuñi, and still further east was the Navajo trail leading to Fort Defiance (p. 122).

Ives attempted to enter the northern end of the Grand Canyon by land, but, without native assistance, he was unable to return to its upper reaches. All of this information reinforces the point that Zunis traded for goods from the Hopis and the Grand Canyon area.

James, George Wharton. *In and Around the Grand Canyon: The Grand Canyon of the Colorado River in Arizona*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1911.

Originally published in 1900, this updated version is a travel book and a handbook of sights and experiences awaiting the visitor to the Grand Canyon. James offered a brief history of explorations, a description of the trails, people, and geology of the Canyon, and his first impressions upon seeing the Canyon.

In his discussion on the Havasupais, James stated that "When possible . . . [the Havasupais] will trade for or buy from the Zunis or Navahos silver rings, bracelets, necklaces, belts, bridles, etc., and they display them with gratification and pride" (p. 283). This hints at the long-standing trade among Southwestern Indians and implies that the Zunis were trading for goods from the Grand Canyon area.

James, George Wharton. *The Indians of the Painted Desert Region: Hopis, Navahoes, Wallapais, Havasupais*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1903.

James' hyperbolic description of the painted desert and its inhabitants reached deep into Western tradition for comparisons. He portrayed a wonderland sparsely populated by people whose "mysterious" origins rivalled the "riddle of the Sphinx" (p. 3). While he characterized them as people of immense contradictions--in some ways "civilized," in other ways reminiscent of extinct pre-Christian cultures--James saw much to admire about desert peoples: intelligent farming practices, egalitarian traditions, fantastic Homeric epics, "stupendous" and complex religiosity, and so on.

Although James did not include the Zunis in this account, he did refer to them in general ways. "According to the legendary lore of the [Hopi] Snake clan," he commented at one point,

the Zunis, Hopis, Paiutes, Havasupais, and white men all 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 where the Little Colorado empties into the main stream. As the various families emerged, some went north and some south (pp. 107-108).

Not a comprehensive study of any one group, this book details some of the more public or, to non-Indians, startling of native practices, such as the Hopi snake dance.

James, George Wharton. "With the Zunis in New Mexico." *Overland Monthly* 72 (October 1918):284-299.

Subtitled "The Religious and Ceremonial life of the Zunis," this is the concluding section of a three-part series which began in August 1918. The first two installments touched on Zuni-Spanish contact and some Zuni ways and customs.

James prefaced part three by observing that "the Zunis, the Hopis, and all the pueblo Indians of our Southwest are extremely conservative in their religious beliefs." Never for one single moment, he added, have Zunis been "any other than firm believers in the religion and ceremony of the past." It would require hundreds of pages to describe Zuni religion, James said, because "their mythological lore is vast . . . their ceremonial ritual so complex, so varied, so all-embracing" as to eclipse any form of ritualism known to Europeans (p. 284).

The author sketched out what he knew about the few ceremonies he witnessed personally, such as the making of prayer sticks, each of which was sacred and handled with reverence. The sticks were colored with certain paints, he noted, and only the proper paints could be used (it is unlikely that James knew of the sacred paints mined in the Grand Canyon). He recounted a ritual performed by a rain priest, and he repeated the invocation he offered at an altar: as the priest prayed for rain, asking for happiness for all the people, James (or his informant) translated the prayer as describing how the Zunis once were "poor, poor, poor, poor, poor,/ poor,/ When we came to this world through/ the poor place" (p. 290). Again, he left the significance of this reference to the place of Emergence unremarked.

The closest James came to comprehending the Zuni Emergence in the Grand Canyon was in his description of a most sacred fetish, parts of which were acquired directly from the Canyon:

Each rain-priest is possessed of a most wonderful fetish which is supposed to have come, clasped to the breast of the ancestral rain-priest, from the undermost to the outer world. This fetish is in two parts, one consisting of four hollow reeds, containing water, in the largest one of which is a diminutive toad, *alive*. The ends of the reeds are closed with clay which came from the underworld, and native cotton (p. 286).

Unfortunately, James betrayed the honor that had been bestowed upon him in being permitted to witness the rain priests' ceremony. He bribed a young Zuni who, he said, "had learned the white man's superior knowledge" and who was contemptuous of "the heathen superstitions of his people" to steal two sacred war gods from nearby Towayalanne (Corn Mountain). James boasted of this exploit, and acknowledged that he still held the two statues in his Pasadena home. One of the great romanticizers of the American Southwest of his day, he demonstrated a widely prevalent ignorance and condescension toward Indian traditions.

Kallestewa, Ben. *Hearing Before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, Ninety-Eighth Congress, Second Session, on S. 2201, to Convey Certain Lands to the Zuni Indian Tribe for Religious Purposes, April 9, 1984.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1984.

As noted in the second annotation of E. Richard Hart, this hearing contributed to the return of Kolhu/wala:wa, a lake and the most sacred location on the ancient Zuni Migration route, to the Zuni people.

Ben Kallestewa, head Komos'ona, stated to the committee that religious considerations motivated the Zuni people to seek recovery of the lake, and that it had been religiously significant since ancient times. The Zunis first encountered Kolhu/wala:wa in their journey to the Middle Place; Kallestewa did not mention that this journey began at the Grand Canyon. He referred to some of the sacred items that priests must gather at the lake, such as clay pigments for the Kokkos and willows for prayer sticks, and explained how carefully the accompanying rituals must be performed. The priests not only pray for long life and prosperity for Zunis, he told the committee, but for all the world. Protecting the lake and retrieving sacred materials was crucial to their religion.

Likewise is the site of Emergence in the Grand Canyon holy to the Zunis. Their reverence for Kothlu/wala:wa extends to the entire landscape, and they must be able to honor their sacred places in the traditional way.

Kessell, John L., and Hendricks, Rick, eds. *By Force of Arms: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1691-93*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992.

Vargas was the thirtieth governor of the Spanish colony of New Mexico. This collection of letters and reports reveals the experiences and thoughts of the man who reclaimed the Southwest for the King of Spain after the Indian uprisings of the previous decade.

In the introduction the editors summarized the history of Spanish-Indian interaction in the Southwest. They commented on the "rich and all-encompassing religious beliefs" already well-established before European contact (p. 5), and on Indian reverence for the landscape. Indian men regularly undertook religious pilgrimages to mountains in all four directions, mountains they held sacred.

The San Francisco Peaks yielded an ore with which local Indians painted themselves; this ore was hematite, or red ochre, a mixture of clay and hematite. The editors added that the Hopis traded for red ochre from Cataract Canyon; in fact, the ochre traveled along the major trade routes, and could be acquired from Hopis and Zunis (p. 203, n11). There is no evidence that the Spanish were aware that paint from the Underworld, which was sacred to the Zunis, could also be acquired from the Grand Canyon area.

Between October 1692 and January 1693, Vargas and his heavily armed men took ritual repossession of Zuni and the other pueblos. The Spanish found the Zunis "more polite than others," but only some had remained Christian in the absence of the Spanish.

Kirk, Ruth. *Zuni Fetishism*. Albuquerque: Avanyu, 1988.

Kirk examined twenty-five fetishes and published her findings in 1943 in the journal *El Palacio*; this is a reprint.

Everything related here to the Emergence in the Grand Canyon is indirect. "Supernatural beings are believed to have occupied the same relation to man in the beginning of time as now," she commented, "therefore they are considered immortal" (p. 8). Masks used by Zuni priests are the property of the entire tribe, "and, because they derive from the emergence, are much more holy than the individually owned dance masks, receiving added veneration and care" (p. 18). It is her tone as much as her references to the Emergence that is important here; Kirk recognized the special regard in which Zunis held the place of Emergence and things from that place, which was in the Grand Canyon. But Zuni religious leaders note that information in Kirk's book may be incorrect.

Kirk, Ruth. "Zuni Hunt." *New Mexico* (Nov. 1937):16-17.

The function of the hunting fetish is the primary focus of this piece.

In explaining the origins of the fetish, Kirk remarked that Zunis all know where they come from: after rising from "a dark underworld," the Zunis received fetishes from the Sun Children as protection from beasts. This rise from dark underworld, although Kirk did not mention it, was into a place in the Grand Canyon.

Klett, Francis. "The Zuni Indians of New Mexico." *Popular Science Monthly* 5 (May-Oct. 1874):580-587.

Francis Klett traveled to Zuni from Fort Wingate in 1873 with Lt. Wheeler. Klett understood the Zunis rather poorly, for he commented that "the traditions of the Zuni are few and simple." However, he did learn that

their people came from the northwest on their march southward; that all Pueblo Indians belong to a common race . . . ; that some of their forefathers remained behind in the great migration of the nation, while the large body pursued a southerly course, ultimately forming the mighty empire of Mexico, as found by Cortez after its conquest; that long before the white man came, their people inhabited a *mesa* south of their town (p. 586).

The "southward" trek Klett referred to commenced from the Grand Canyon, the world now knows, but it would not be until 1900 that the Zuni Origin in the Grand Canyon was published (see Stephen annotations).

Koch, Felix J. "The Indians of the Painted Desert." *Overland Monthly* 67 (1916):70-74.

Most of the information for this short article was provided by a Captain Humfreville, an otherwise unidentified man who appears to have lived in the Southwest for a long time. The piece was inspired by the temporary Indian compound that had been established at the 1916 San Diego Exhibition, an "exhibit" that included Navajo and Zuni Indians.

Koch said few things about Zuni religion, acknowledging that they were "reticent in speaking of their religious beliefs" (p. 73). He thought that they "worship the sun," (ibid) but had no knowledge of the Zuni Emergence into the sunlight at their Grand Canyon site of Origin. However, Koch did learn from Humfreville that the Zunis had a tradition that "their gods brought them to an arid and sterile plain for a home," and that they acquired prayers from their ancestors "to the spirits dwelling in the ocean, home of all water, and the source from which the blessing must come" (p. 74).

Kuipers, Cornelius. *Zuni Also Prays: Month-by-Month Observations Among the People*. Christian Reformed Board of Missions, 1946.

Rev. Kuipers was the principal of the Christian Reformed mission school in Zuni. His observations provide random and superficial commentary about Zuni life, but his purpose, to further christianizing efforts at Zuni Pueblo, is clear. He was aware of the Zunis' Emergence from the Underworlds, though it is doubtful he knew this to be an Emergence into the Grand Canyon, but his presentation of the Creation narration was cursory: the Zunis settled in their present town, the Middle Place, "after long, long wanderings from the West" (p. 130). He was quite aware that traditional religion persisted in many pueblos, commenting that "a mass in the morning is followed by Indian rituals in the afternoon" (p. 136). This certainly held true for Zunis, who could rejoice in the pleasures of Christmas, he said, yet view it as an anti-climactic flourish to Shalako (the annual celebration in which the Emergence narration is recited).

Kuipers' success as a missionary among the Zunis was limited, as most Zunis held to traditional ways. He concluded on a note of frustration and challenge:

At Zuni today there is no Macedonian call, "Come over and help us!" It is not like the parched land that drinks up the water of life eagerly. It is not like an empty glass which one can fill; to the contrary, it is filled already to the brim with every concoction the devil can contrive. Zuni is satisfied with its own religion. The Center of the Earth is self-centered. . . . nor is any religion from without, desired within.

Little wonder then that the early missionary enterprise of Catholicism was long withstood. Little wonder then that every spurt of missionary effort today is followed by gatherings of the council and of those who do not want the Christian way. As the Zuni ancients said they shut their blinking eyes to the radiance of the sun when they came from the dark womb of the earth [i.e., the Grand Canyon], so their children today in the clutches of the dark domain shut their eyes stubbornly to the Light of the World (pp. 146-147).

Zuni prays, all right, Kuipers ended, but to "pagan gods":

It prays to these gods who come from the sacred lake or other sacred shrines . . . . It prays to the Sun-Father, the Earth-Mother and the hosts of heaven. It prays to the idols made of wood, who are the Twin Gods of war. It prays to the Beast Gods . . . . It prays to an untold array of fetishes, reeds, stones, concretions, effigies, masks and all that human ingenuity can contrive (150-151).

Ironically, many Christians today support protection of traditional native American ways, and Kuipers' comments contribute to our understanding of how precious the Grand Canyon and its environment are to the Zuni People. And

while he only hints at the sacredness of the Grand Canyon, he fairly shouts the primacy of their ancient religion to the Zuni people.

Ladd, Edmund J. "In the Beginning." In *Understanding Complexity in the Prehistoric Southwest*. Santa Fe Institute, Studies in the Sciences of Complexity, Proceedings, Vol. XVI. George J. Gumerman and Murray Gell-Mann, eds. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1994.

In a discussion of historical processes in the Southwest, Jonathan Hass et al introduced the subject of oral traditions and their functions. Such traditions, which establish a people's identity and denote their relationship to each other and the world, sometimes make specific references to prehistoric sites important in their history. The Zuni Origin and Migration narrative mentions many such places. The very first, of course, is the place of Origin in the Grand Canyon. Anthropologist and Zuni tribal member Edmund Ladd wrote a short version of the tale, reprinted in this section, which omits the traditional stopping places along the route, save two. These two locations are the point of Origin and the Middle Place, the beginning and the end of the Zuni Migration. The first half of Ladd's poem is as follows:

In the beginning  
 there were no humans on the surface of the earth.  
 Every day Sun Father came up in the east traveled high over Mother Earth  
 pausing overhead at high  
 and then descended into the western ocean and it became night.  
 All night long  
 Sun Father travels under Mother Earth to arrive in the east  
 in time to bring a new day.  
 But the days were empty.  
 There was no dancing,  
 no laughter,  
 no singing.  
 There were no prayers,  
 no offerings.  
 Every day as Sun Father traveled high above Mother Earth  
 he could hear the cries of his children deep in the womb of Mother Earth.  
 One day as Sun Father was passing overhead he paused at high noon.  
 He created the Twin Gods, and said to them,  
 "Go, Go into Mother Earth and bring my children into my light."  
 The Twin Gods obeyed Father Sun.  
 After many trials and tribulations  
 they brought Sun Father's children up from the Four Worlds below,  
 to his light.  
 That was The Beginning--Chimegann/Kya.

The exact place of origin is not known,  
 but it was somewhere to the West (to the West of modern day Shiwin/a).  
 People say, based on the word of the beginning, that  
 it was in the Grand Canyon (pp. 225-226).

Ladd, Edmund J. "Sacred Areas and Sites." In *A Cultural Resources Survey of the Zuni River from Eustace Reservoir to Bosson Wash, Zuni Indian Reservation, McKinley County, New Mexico*. Prepared for Zuni Archeology Program, Pueblo of Zuni, by Barbara E. Holmes, Project Director, March 1980.

"Sacred Areas" is a brief description of the spiritual significance of the Zuni River to the Zuni people. It illustrates the continued importance of sacred places to the Zunis, especially water and the rivers that lead back to the Grand Canyon. These are the rivers that the ancient Zunis followed from their place of Emergence in the Grand Canyon to their present home at the Middle of the world.

Ladd, Edmund J. "Zuni Religion and Philosophy." In *Zuni El Morro: Past and Present*. Special issue of *Exploration: Annual Bulletin of the School of American Research*. Albuquerque: MacLeod Printing Company, 1986.

Edmund Ladd, a Zuni as well as an archaeologist, briefly summarized the Zuni socio-religious system. Describing the practice of offering a pinch of the evening meal on the banks of the Zuni River to the dance gods and ancestors, Ladd explained that the Zuni River is the "spiritual lifeline of the Zuni people":

Nearly every aspect of the religious system is in some way tied to the river. Along its banks and in the stream, offerings are made to the gods and to the ancestral spirits for continuous protection, spiritual guidance, and long life. In times past, the river was the absolute source that gave life; it provided drinking water for the people and the animals as well as water for the plants, which man and beast depended on for life in this high, dry plateau country (p. 31).

Ladd closed by cautioning the reader to remember that he was not speaking of a system whose time had come and gone. He was describing a "living, functioning, viable, vibrant culture that has withstood successive challenges and impacts with little change for over 700 years." Western civilization had had little impact on the religious life of the Zunis. Their "basic political and religious foundation, to this day, has stayed the same" (ibid).

Ladd, Edmund J. "The Zuni View." In *The Anasazi: Why Did They Leave? Where Did They Go?* A Panel Discussion at the Anasazi Heritage Center, Dolores, Colorado, Sponsored by the Bureau of Land Management as part of the "Four Corners Tribute," June 19, 1990. Jerold G. Widdison, ed. Albuquerque: Southwest Natural and Cultural Heritage Association, 1991.

Mr. Ladd is a professional anthropologist as well as a Zuni. He, like the Hopi spokesman whose remarks preceded his, expressed dismay at the archaeological profession's persistent questions about the fate of the Prehistoric Puebloans. The Hopis and the Zunis *are* descendants of the Prehistoric Puebloans, which their oral history and traditions make clear. Both men also deplored the profession's tendency to reduce their ancient migrations to simple environmental determinism. His ancestors "moved up from the lower earth below, and they started moving . . . . They weren't traveling because there were droughts or there was pestilence. They were traveling because they were looking, searching, for the center place" (p. 34).

The audience also needed a reminder, Mr. Ladd believed, that Zunis are quite aware of who their ancestors were and that "of course we know where we came from" (p. 35). He then gave a quick synopsis of the Zuni Origin and Migration tale. Ladd did not recite this lengthy narrative poem, which begins with the Emergence in the Grand Canyon and, depending on the version, sometimes describes the splitting off of some people and the joining together of others, but he commented that Zuni origins were multi-faceted:

Now, you've heard the white man's myth and story of the origin of people, people moving from one place to another because of hunger. We know why they moved and we know where they originated. Some of them came up from the streams and the rivers to the north. Some of them came up the rivers north to the Rio Grande. Some of them came up from the rivers in the Grand Canyon (p. 36).

All these people combined to become the Zuni Tribe. "And I don't think," he added, "the Anasazis all decided to bring down the curtain on Friday afternoon, to put their little packs on their backs and go to Zuni. I think there were movements in small numbers . . . . I don't see the Anasazi people moving en masse" (p. 42).

LeBlanc, Steven. "The Cultural History of Cibola." In *Zuni El Morro: Past and Present*. Special issue of *Exploration: Annual Bulletin of the School of American Research*. Albuquerque: MacLeod Printing Company, 1986.

LeBlanc outlined the progression of human settlement known to have existed in the greater Zuni culture area. Around 1000 A. D. the nature of houses began to change. Among the innovations was the sipapu (actually a Hopi word), a "small hole in the floor symbolizing the opening through which the ancestors emerged from the underground world" (p. 5). This suggests the great age of the Emergence narration, and its importance to the ancient Zunis.

The article also noted that Zunis were active traders with other pueblos and the peoples to the south in Mexico.

Lummis, Charles F. *Some Strange Corners of Our Country, the Wonderland of the Southwest*. New York: The Century Company, 1892.

Lummis, the director of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles, published a number of books on southwestern Indian life.

Written for younger readers, this book sought to remind Americans that the wonders of their country rivaled any in the world. Although he tended to make blanket statements about southwestern Indians, Lummis did attempt to describe some individual tribal practices. As for Zuni, he marvelled at the thousands of prayer sticks he encountered on a day's walk in Zuni Pueblo, and at the height of its buildings. He noted that ruins of such buildings "are everywhere" (p. 97).

Even the briefest of visits revealed the pervasiveness of religion among the Zunis and their special relationship to the land.

MaHooty, Chester. "Deposition of Chester MaHooty." *The Zuni Indians of New Mexico v. The United States*. United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L (filed April 27, 1979).

In 1980, several Zunis provided depositions in support of a land claim filed by the tribe the previous year. These men were asked to discuss traditional Zuni relationships to the land, and provide details of the many ways that the tribe has used its natural resources. Chester MaHooty answered questions about such topics as his activities as head man of the Galaxy Fraternity. Mr. MaHooty was 50.

In describing his religious duties, MaHooty said that he and a group of men would go to Santa Fe to one religious site and also to the Sandia Mountains to another religious site. "We pick up the herbs over at Mount Taylor and Ice Caves and go down to Grand Canyon," he said. "That's where we been created from the four floors, from under, and this is where all of the significance and all the religious names have been created, too" (pp. 11-12).

In order to advance in these groups or societies, members had to memorize certain prayers. MaHooty was asked if these prayers dealt with the story of Creation, and he replied: "Well, for those medicine duties. It's all combined together. . . ." (p. 12). The interviewer pushed the question further, reminding him that he had at some point specifically mentioned the Grand Canyon as a place of the creation where there were four floors, and MaHooty stated that he had learned such prayers "from the old folks -- it's still the same." He acknowledged that the tradition had ancient origins and that he practiced to learn and repeat this tradition as a part of his religious function. "It's all together, religious and old tradition. And . . . I still carry mine the same way as it [has] been created" (p. 13).

Requested the name of the place where the Zunis were created or emerged from the four floors, as he had previously mentioned, MaHooty replied that "the Zuni term for the origin is C-H-I-M-I-K/A-N-K-Y-A-T-E/A, literally, meaning the place of the beginning" (p. 14), a place considered sacred to the Zuni people.

It's down in the Grand Canyon and falls. It's combined together with the place down there, it's Ribbon Falls. There is an old ruins down below there. . . . After they originated in the place of origin in the Grand Canyon, they began to travel and headed eastward until they came to a place called . . . tenatsal/emm/a. . . ." (p. 14).

MaHooty then generally described the Zuni Migration.

Asked whether there were any pilgrimages or visits which were made to Canyon de Chelly, Arizona, Mesa Verde, Colorado, and San Francisco Peaks, Arizona as part of the Zuni culture and tradition, he replied:

Because we have religious positions, whenever we go near or to these place we still make offerings, we still pray, we still make our payment. They have never

been forgotten, but they still are visited. And it's us who have the religious positions that have this responsibility. And when we go to places like this where the park service is, we notify them that we are going and coming or that we have arrived, and they have allowed us to pray and to make our offerings" (p. 18).

This was true of all the sites which he had listed, beginning with Chimik/ankyate/a:

We have visited . . . chimik/ankyate/a . . . last year. Last year when the religious ceremonies were held, renewing of certain masks, the leaders went down to the Grand Canyon to make collections because of the origin place. And they also planted prayer plumes there. And they notified the ranger, and the rangers assisted them in going down. . . . It's been carried on for years (pp. 17-19).

The examiner next asked MaHooty to describe soil and herbal collections his group made in the Grand Canyon, and he replied that "at . . . chimik/ankyate/a various kinds of willows for making prayer plumes and clay for paints and sand from the river and from the places of origin near the village for renewal of masks" (p. 19). These collections were made at these specific spots for the curing society and also for the renewing of certain masks.

And the last collection that was made was made about a year or year and a half ago. And although collections are made at these specific spots, it is considered to be important to collect from all areas of religious significance such as Mount Taylor and San Francisco Peaks including . . . chimik/ankyate/a . . ." (p. 20).

The religious leaders visited these places, sometimes in a group but also individually. They were obligated to visit places of religious significance and to collect certain kinds of herbs and other things.

Mr. MaHooty also discussed trading salt for hematite from the Havasupais of Grand Canyon. The trading place was reached by going over an old trail somewhere near the present town of Keams Canyon, Arizona.

They considered that area as a meeting place, one side being Hopi, and one side being Zuni, a kind of boundary between the Hopi and the Zuni. . . . The boundaries were east and west, westward along the Colorado River to the Grand Canyon and eastward to the area of the present-day Gallup, New Mexico (p. 68).

A discussion of making and collecting Zuni arrowheads followed. The examiner asked MaHooty about places on the migration route, and MaHooty acknowledged that they were also included in prayers (p. 74).

Mariager, Dagmar. "A Zuñi Genesis." *Overland Monthly* 13 (1889):383-385.

It is difficult to tell whether Mariager acquired this mangled account of Zuni origins from a Zuni. Events were out of sequence, new actors added to the basic storyline, and Navajos and Americans included (not even Navajos are in the original Zuni narratives). Yet, despite a few Christian allusions, *The Beginning in the Underworld* (here a cavern) remains clear. The rest of the tale, however, is hopelessly muddled.

McGregor, John C. *The Cohonina Culture of Northwestern Arizona*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951.

McGregor analyzed the economy and material culture of the ancient Cohonina, and attempted to relate them to the Prehistoric Puebloan (formerly "Anasazi"), Patayan, and other prehistoric cultures.

In a section entitled "Evidence of Trade," he commented that "one of the materials they probably had available is red paint. This is found in some quantity in Havasu Canyon, and is today a Supai Indian article of trade" (p. 143). McGregor noted that the Cohoninas used significant quantities of this paint in their pottery. This indicated the great age and wide usage of the red paint mines in the Grand Canyon area, mines which also supplied the Zunis with sacred, ceremonial, and decorative paints.

Mead, Margaret, ed. *An Anthropologist at Work: Writings of Ruth Benedict*. New York: Avon Books, 1973.

Originally printed in 1959, this book includes letters, diaries, published and unpublished articles on a variety of topics.

One letter written to Margaret Mead in 1925 recounted the telling of the Emergence tale by a Zuni man named Nick, whose sacred stories, she wrote, were "endless in ceremonial details." Nick was apparently a solitary man, not a priest, but he knew any number of sacred stories. "He told me the emergence story with fire in his eyes," she said, "through twenty-two repetitions of the same episode in twenty-two 'sacred' songs" (p. 292).

Benedict's description of her informant's spirit in retelling the Origin story suggests not only that it was a tale well known, but one which remained alive to Zunis.

Mercer, Jean Ann. "Native American Perspectives on the Grand Canyon: The Ethnohistorical Component of the GCES." *Colorado River Studies Office Newsletter* 5 (1992):1-2.

This newsletter is published by the Bureau of Reclamation. Mercer mentioned the involvement of six tribes--Havasupai, Hopi, Hualapai, Navajo, Southern Paiute, and Zuni--in the Glen Canyon Environmental Studies, and commented on the close attention paid by the Glen Canyon Dam Environmental Impact Statement to their concerns.

For centuries, American Indians were the custodians of many Colorado River and Grand Canyon resources prior to the designation of Grand Canyon National Park, Mercer noted. Although she offered no details about Zuni involvement in the GCES, she observed the importance of the Grand Canyon to regional Indians, that "to some Pueblo groups, the Grand Canyon is the place of the ancestral emergence into this world" (p. 1).

Möllhausen, Baldwin. *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific with a United States Expedition*. Vol. I. Translated by Mrs. Percy Sinnett. London: Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1858.

Baldwin Möllhausen was a German scientist who accompanied Lt. A. W. Whipple of the U. S. Army's Topographical Engineers on his journey through the Southwest in 1853. His diary mentioned Zuni because the party passed Zuni Pueblo and because Zunis helped them find their way. Zuni guides led them west of Zuni to Jacob's Well and Navajo Springs, through the petrified forests. They followed the Rio Puerco to the Colorado Chiquito, which they then followed for some time.

Along the way, the European encountered evidence of a great migration. By the Rio Colorado Chiquito (the Little Colorado River) lay fertile soil and "more and more ruins, in such quantities as to afford ground for the conjecture that wandering races of a remote antiquity had possessed extensive settlements in this valley" (p. 122). The party followed the Colorado Chiquito toward the west, heading for the San Francisco Mountains.

Like Whipple, mentioned elsewhere in this bibliography (see Foreman), Möllhausen impresses the reader with the deep roots Zunis had in the region and the clear tracks that they left as they migrated away from the Grand Canyon.

Moore, Rick. "Protecting the Ancient Human Legacy: Archaeological Resources in the Grand Canyon." *Colorado Plateau Advocate* (Spring/Summer 1994):10.

Moore noted the growing level of involvement of local tribes in the management of Grand Canyon National Park, especially after the implementation of a programmatic agreement created to improve management of cultural resources downstream from the Glen Canyon Dam. Said Moore:

The Hopi, Havasupai, Hualapai, Navajo, Paiute, and Zuñi tribes, among others, recognized the Grand Canyon as a special place long before the United States government came to a similar realization 75 years ago. To these tribes, the canyon is a sacred place to which they are connected by both genealogy and mythology.

Modern-day tribes, he added, continue to use the canyon to obtain plants and minerals for use in ceremonies. The landmark agreement included the tribes as full partners for the first time in the management of non-reservation lands controlled by the federal government. The *Advocate* would like to see such partnerships extended over the cultural resources of the entire Colorado Plateau.

Moquin, Wayne, and Van Doren, Charles, eds. "The Beginning of Newness: A Zuñi Creation Legend." In *Great Documents in American Indian History*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.

Moquin and Van Doren pulled the Creation tale verbatim from Frank Hamilton Cushing's "Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths," published in the *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau American Ethnology* and annotated in this bibliography.

Morehouse, Barbara Jo. "Power Relationships in the Spatial Partitioning and Natural Resource Management of the Grand Canyon." Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona, 1993.

Morehouse traced the evolution of Grand Canyon National Park (politically, geographically, and so on) as a variety of constituencies vied to control portions of the area. Interactions among these factions helped define its configuration and uses.

The author acknowledged that American Indians have modes of knowledge that are different from Euro-Americans', and that local tribes lack words for boundaries in the English sense. Hopis, for example, use a term indicative of relative space, defined by particular criteria, rather than absolute space, which is bounded to maintain individual power over that space (p. 321). On page 322, she noted the traditional Hopi use of the salt mines in Grand Canyon, and that the Zuni Tribe had recently publicly affirmed its religious ties there. Since she completed this dissertation, the Zunis have actively asserted their traditional cultural and spiritual connections to the Grand Canyon.

Murphy, Matthew M. "Territory Claimed by the Older Moquis." National Archives, CCF 45096-10-313, 1911.

This intriguing map was prepared by the Special Allotting Agent at the Hopi Reservation. As the title indicates, it delineates the lands identified by older Hopis as belonging to Hopi. The map also contains an arrow pointing from the Grand Canyon toward Zuni, stating "Zuni from Cataract Canon to present location." No explanation is given, but it appears that the elders informed Murphy of Zuni origins in, and migration from, the Grand Canyon.

Portions of the map follow.

Note:-

The arrows → show the routes followed by the clans that inhabit the Mogai villages at the present time. Each clan claims all the land on both sides of route. As the routes converge the claims overlap each other; some of the first Mesa people came from Jaes today; some from Clear Creek Canon below Hinglost; some from Grand Canon; some from Ains to the north; some from Chinlee. 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.

Matthew M. Murphy  
Specializing Agent  
Mogai Reservation, Arizona



Territory Claimed by the older Mogai:-

- Mouth of Little Colorado to Holbrook;
- Holbrook to Chinlee;
- Chinlee to San Juan River;
- San Juan River to Colorado River;
- Colorado R to mouth of Little Colorado.

The younger Mogai claim that the present Mogai reservation was well within the limits of the territory described above.

Map "B"

Fig. 11. M. M. Murphy. Route to Zuni from Cataract Canyon, Part I.

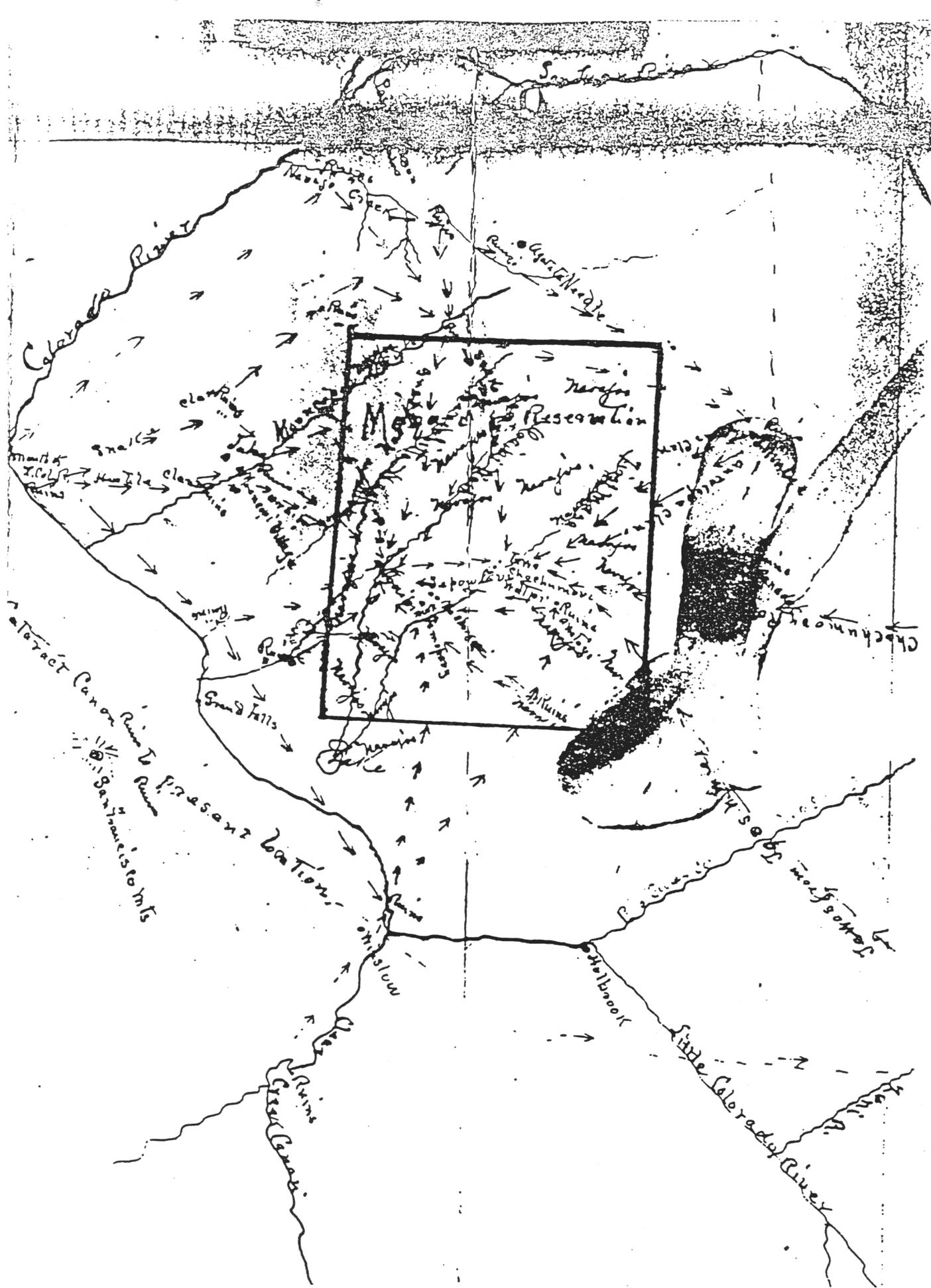


Fig. 12. M. M. Murphy. Route to Zuni from Cataract Canyon, Part II.

Nastacio, Alvin Lynn. "Deposition of Alvin Lynn Nastacio." *The Zuni Indians of New Mexico v. The United States*. United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L (filed April 27, 1979).

This deposition was taken in 1980 as testimony in a claim filed by the Zuni Tribe seeking return of traditional lands.

Born in November 1943, Mr. Nastacio was 36 when he gave this deposition for a suit involving the return of certain traditional lands to the Zuni tribe. He worked for a time in California, and had been a silversmith in Zuni for ten years. He belonged to the Galaxy Fraternity.

Nastacio told the interviewers about the Zuni Emergence from Chimik/ankyate/a, "the beginning place at the beginning." He said that "the people were brought up from the Four Worlds below, and perhaps the canyon from which they came up, the Four Worlds below are now represented by the various levels of the canyon" (p. 28). After discussing the Emergence from Chimik/ankyate/a, Nastacio proceeded to explain the next steps in the ancient Migration of his people.

He also discussed ceremonial paints briefly, and commented that there were "other places" besides Kothlu/wala:wa (Zuni Heaven) where Zunis acquired them; however, he mentioned no specific locations. In addition, having learned religious activities from his father and grandfather, he understood quite young that some of these activities were "dangerous" (p. 42). On this subject he said that before he was initiated into his kiva at seventeen he knew that his grandfathers made long pilgrimages, but at that time he was unaware of their destination. In this deposition he commented that "they did not tell me that they would go [back to the place of origin], so I don't really know [when they did this]. Maybe it would take them ten days or more to go from here to the place of origin" (p. 44). Mr. Nastacio went on to discuss other ceremonial responsibilities.

Nastacio, Oscar. "Deposition of Oscar Nastacio." *The Zuni Indians of New Mexico v. The United States*. United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L (filed April 27, 1979).

This deposition was taken February 27, 1980 as part of a suit to recover certain lands traditionally belonging to the Zunis. Mr. Nastacio was approximately 86 years old.

In reciting the narrative of Zuni tribal origins, Nastacio said:

I have been . . . to the place where they say we came up, and I came and I spent the night there, and there are ruins where we are supposed to have stayed when we first came up. I have seen where we came up. . . . There were places where there were rock fences and in the middle there were square stones set up as if they were set up in chimneys, but this is where we settled and this is where we came up and this is where we stayed (p. 12).

The name of the place in Zuni was Chimik/ankyate/a:

I went to the bottom, and as you come up, it's just like the height of . . . towayallan/e [the mountain near Zuni] but there were different worlds, different levels which we came up through, and as we came up we saw places of extreme danger (p. 12).

Asked in addition if there were shrines located to the west of the Pueblo, he mentioned several. "From . . . chimik/ankyate/a to . . . kolhu/wala:wa [Zuni Heaven] are all . . . places of religious significance to my people. There are places of importance from the very beginning" (pp. 16-17). Nastacio told the court of sacred places mentioned in the prayers of the Galaxy Society:

In ancient times when we came up, these were places that we remember in our prayers, in our chants. I don't know . . . if these are real places or whether they are just in the prayers. I'm sure they are real because they occur in the prayer of the origin.

After some discussion, he clarified the order of sacred places from the Grand Canyon east to Zuni. These were identifiable on the map:

From the Grand Canyon until you come to the town where you go through the mountains and then you come to Winslow, Arizona and you follow the road until you come to where the roads fork to go to Hopi. . . . And then you turn there and you go towards . . . tenatsal/emm/a and you make a circle into the canyon where there is a town, there is a village, and then you come back out and you get back on the road and you go towards Show Low. . . . And in the Show Low area you make a left-hand turn and then you come to . . . kolhu/wala:wa, pass through St. Johns, and then on to Zuni" (pp. 27-28).

Mr. Nastacio expressed some frustration at having to locate precise, numbered spots on the map. "The numbers are unimportant," he explained. "These are places of worship and places of significance" (p. 28).

A discussion of resource gathering ensued. Nastacio described the trail that traders took to Hopi:

Starting from here at Zuni, we go . . . northwest to the head of Bosson Wash and then on to a place called Badger Springs, and then you cross the Wash at . . . Ma/ettude and then you come to a place called K/yemayak/a-na. The road does not go right by this place anymore. It only goes near the trail, near the old trail (p. 37).

Asked whether the Spanish were mentioned in the Origin and Migration narrations, he emphatically replied "No, we came from the place of origin and they came from the south" (p. 50). He also made a point of keeping his Zuni religious statement separate from his discussion of the Spanish and the culture that they brought to the Southwest. "I have gone through all my religious circle and everything," he said. "I do not wish to mix this up with the baptized language" (p. 51).

At one point off the record, Nastacio apparently said that one time he made the pilgrimage to the place where the people came up:

It was about four years ago. It was about four years ago when the -- when my spiritual fathers, the Mudheads, are to be renewed, and I went to make collections and I went and made collections not only at the place of origin, but to all the springs that I could find and all the mountains I could find, and every place where the religious chants and the religious songs tell me are points of importance. And that is why I know everything about the places. I know all the mountains. . . .

Many years ago, perhaps when my grandfather and his grandfathers were alive they would travel by donkey. . . . Maybe it would take them ten days or more to go from here to the place of origin (pp. 43-44).

Nastacio also provided details about the resources that Zunis utilized throughout their traditional land use area.

Newman, Stanley. "Zuni Dictionary." Part II. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 24 (January 1958):1-117.

The one entry of interest to the GCES is on page 18, and reads as follows:

chimi (p) recently, now, and then. chimi-k/a, causative; originate. chimi-k/a-na-  
/kowa/, causative, static, past agentive; origin story. chim /ona, that which is  
new.

As has been noted throughout this bibliography, the Zuni word for their Origins (or, more precisely, "The Beginning") is the same as that for the Grand Canyon place of Emergence.

O'Neil, Floyd A. "Values of Zuni Oral History." In *Zuni History: Victories in the 1990s*. Sec. I. Seattle: Institute of the North American West, 1991.

Historians, Floyd O'Neil acknowledged, are trained to rely upon written documents and to suspect oral traditions. Yet he has found that

in Indian oral tradition . . . that long tradition of living without relying for certain types of knowledge on the written word makes the continuity of Indian oral tradition far superior to continuity found in the western European cultures in which we non-Zunis operate (p. 14).

O'Neil's comments reiterate the importance of respecting Zuni sacred traditions.

Pandey, Triloki N. "Some Reflections on Aboriginal Land Use of the Zuni Indian Tribe." Santa Cruz, Calif.: University of California, n. d.

Pandey prepared this report for the Zuni Tribe as part of their 1979 suit for the return of Zuni lands to the tribe. Quoting Zuni anthropologist Edmund Ladd, he prefaced his statement by commenting that "the Zuni view their universe as a single complete whole. All parts are equally important. . . . [yet] certain portions, and certain places are especially important" (p. 1). In preliterate societies, shrines and sacred cultural markers historically have been used to denote and maintain geographical boundaries. Pandey cautioned non-Indians to recognize such aboriginal markers as being as valid as written documents in land use disputes.

He also described tribal land use and geographical boundaries from around 1200 to the present. "Since prehistoric times," Pandey remarked, "because of its location at the crossroads of trade routes, Zuni has been a favorite marketplace for traders" (p. 17). Some of this trade, of course, was along the well-established roads to the Grand Canyon. Pandey does not say so, but this trade included sacred paints and other materials crucial to Zuni religious ceremonies.

Pandey, Triloki N. "Zuni Oral Tradition and History." In *Zuni History: Victories in the 1990s*. Sec. I. Seattle: Institute of the North American West, 1991.

Pandey found some similarities between his native Hindu culture and that of Zuni, particularly in the emphasis on continuity--the stability of beliefs and customs--and repetition of exact prayers and ritual poetry. "What was determined by the Zuni war gods . . . in the beginning, at the time of emergence, is still the basis of their socio-moral order" today (p. 9).

Zunis have maintained their fundamental values for centuries. Pandey discussed the transmittal of knowledge in an oral culture, and how this frames the collective memory.

I believe that in a literature [sic] society what maps and charts and documents do, shrines or other sacred cultural markers do in a non-literature society like Zuni. That's why the Zuni people have to visit these places in order to reaffirm their cultural tradition, in order to reaffirm their cultural belief (p. 11).

Pandey concluded by saying that until we treat the non-literate tradition on a par with the literate, we will perpetuate an unjustified inequality. Non-Zunis must respect and acknowledge sacred Zuni beliefs.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. "The Favorite Number of the Zuñi." *The Scientific Monthly* 3 (Dec. 1916):596-600.

One of the first pieces that Parsons wrote on the Zunis, "Favorite Number of the Zuñi" incorrectly places the Zuni Emergence at Kothlu/wala:wa, or Zuni Heaven, the sacred lake west of Zuni. Subsequent monographs were not specific as to location; however, she did eventually record the Chimiky' anakona penane, 'from the beginning talk,' "Chimik'yana'kya deya" being the name for the Grand Canyon place of Emergence (see following Parsons annotations). None of her publications acknowledged that she knew the real location of "Chimik'yana'kya" deya."

In this article, Parsons alluded to the four Underworlds and said that she had heard what she assumed was a recent tradition, an origin tale that recounted who came up from these worlds and in what order (this version sounded recent to her because it included Mexicans and Americans). Her assumption of Zuni Origins at Kothlu/wala:wa, a highly sacred point on the Migration route, may have been a misunderstanding. Parsons said that a Rain Priest spoke of the Zunis emerging there, but it is possible that he was telling her of the origins of Zuni religion and kokkos at Kothlu/wala:wa. (This major event in the sacred history of the Zuni People has been described by Zuni religious leaders; see "Statement by Zuni Religious Leaders on Kolhu/wala:wa," the final annotation in this bibliography.)

Zuni religious leaders would remind the reader that information in Parson's document may be incorrect.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. "Hopi and Zuñi Ceremonialism." In *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. 39. Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1976.

Although the original publication date of this essay was 1933, Elsie Clews Parsons collected Indian folklore earlier in the twentieth century.

In an attempt to explain similarities between the Hopis and the Zunis, Parsons enumerated their differences, primarily through study of their rituals and ceremonies. But she pointed to the close match between the Emergence narrations of the two peoples. For example, "in the Zuni emergence myth, the emergence into the upper world, where the Sun is seen for the first time, is by means of a reed" (p. 31); likewise, the Hopis had their Reed Clan, people who took that name as soon as they "climbed out inside the reed" (p. 31).

As in her other published works on the Zunis, Parsons seemed unaware that this common Emergence was from the Grand Canyon, although she had heard the story first-hand from a Zuni. Zuni religious leaders note that information in in this document may be incorrect.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. "The Origin Myth of Zuñi." *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 36 (1923):135-162.

An old Zuni man named Thlippethlanna, a member of the Little Firebrand Society, gave Parsons this version of the Origin narration or Chimiky' anakona penane, 'from the beginning talk.' Parsons translated "chimiky'anapkoa" to mean "from then on," and commented that the ettone (rain, seed fetish) and black pigment used on prayer sticks may all be considered as chimiky'anapkoa. Today one would interpret this word as signifying provenance in the Grand Canyon.

Parsons did not mention that different people knew different versions of the Origin narration; rather, she noted the more general outline of the tale, known by all Zunis:

is not accounted a *telapnane*, or tale or folk-tale, but a 'talk'. . . . the 'talk' belongs to none, it is non-proprietary, and it is therefore . . . exoteric or secular. It is known or, rather, it may be known, by anyone, and there is no reluctance about imparting it (p. 135).

The story opened when two messengers from the sun visited the people living in the "fourth bottom of the world," awitelin tehula. Taking their rain/seed fetishes with them, they followed the pair up through the underworlds into the brightness of the sun (pp. 136-137). From there they proceeded toward the Middle Place, experiencing the events that defined them as a people.

Zuni religious leaders would like the reader to understand that, as in other interpretations of Zuni religion, some information in this document may be incorrect.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. *Pueblo Indian Religion*, Vol. I. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1939.

*Pueblo Indian Religion* was an attempt to describe, analyze and compare hundreds of Southwestern Indian rituals and ceremonies.

In chapter two, "Cosmic Notions, The Emergence, and the Next World," Parsons opened with a statement that among Pueblo people "the story of creation is a story of emerging from the underworld," a "drama of finding an opening into the sunny upper world and the climb up by tree or reed." The most precious things they had, such as war gods who were leaders or watchmen, came up with the people; this was one way they determined authenticity or importance. Later, Parsons commented on "certain sacrosanct stones" at Zuni that Zunis believed had "come up with the people" (p. 329).

Parsons went on to offer a generic Pueblo emergence story of coming up through the underworlds and heading eastward (or southward), with portions of the narration identified as belonging to specific Pueblo peoples (p. 215). For example, from the Zunis she noted that the four underground wombs or levels were dark (p. 212). The analysis was indeed general, and she borrowed information from Emergence and Migration accounts recorded by Bunzel, Stevenson, and others.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. *Pueblo Indian Religion*, Vol. II. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1939.

In this volume, Parsons continued the analysis of Pueblo customs begun in Volume I.

Parsons repeated her 1924 description of the Scalp Ceremony (see bibliographical annotation on "The Scalp Ceremonial of Zuñi") in which prayer sticks were painted with "from the beginning" black paint (pp. 626, 630). Her discussion of kachina ceremonies and dances noted that "under the eyes and across the nose of every Zuni kachina there is a line of the iridescent black paint called *tsuhapa*" (pp. 732-733), which was made, according to information from Ruth Bunzel, from "fine grains of quartz sphalerite and galena, a ground concentrate of zinc ore" (p. 1188, n78). Parsons gave no indication that she recognized the literal meaning of paint "from the beginning," that is, paint brought up from the Grand Canyon.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. "The Scalp Ceremonial of Zuni." In *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. 31. Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1974.

Parsons originally published this piece in 1924. In describing the highly complex Zuni scalp ceremony, she mentioned that "'from the beginning' black paint" was required for the prayer sticks (p. 15) and for the faces of some of the participants (pp. 19, 39). However, it is not clear if she understood the direct link to the Grand Canyon (where the special paint was collected) that this implied.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. "Winter and Summer Dance Series in Zuni in 1918." *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 17 (1920-1926):171-216.

One footnote in this piece is significant to the GCES, and that is footnote 44 on page 201, in which Parsons commented on the appearance of some of the dancers. During the "fourth Koyupchonane dance" in February 1918, she observed the "line of micaceous hematite (called *tsuhapane* from the term for the stars, *tsuhapa moyachuwe*, like them it glistens) with which every dancer as well as their *awilona* is painted across nose and cheek bones."

Tsuhapa, as has been noted elsewhere in this bibliography, was mined in the Grand Canyon for its sacred values and used in particularly sacred rituals.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. "Zuñi Tales." *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 43 (January-March 1930), No. 167:1-5.

Working with a young Zuni interpreter, Parsons recorded most of these nineteen Zuni folktales in 1918 and 1920. Only one relates to the Origin narration, a story told by Kyalatsilo of the Shuma'kwe Society, (approximately 65 years old): "How the Shuma'kwe Came Up." These were the people who went to the north in the Migration narration, and the story began with the Emergence:

*Inote* at the beginning, where the people came out, they came out the last, Shumakoli and Saiyapa and their children. Saiyapa were bow priests (*apilashiwanni*). When they all came out, they stayed there. At last their father Shumakoli said to them, "Now we are going to start." They all started to the east (p. 2).

The Bow Priests went only as far as their food medicine held out, and then stopped. Their father Shumakoli informed them that they must "go back to where we began and get your food medicine," and so they returned nearly to where they "came out." There they gathered some special plants and brought them to their father. He instructed them to bathe and wash their heads before they ground the medicine (*akwawe*), "their only food."

After this the story developed as a migration narration, with stops of four days (that is, years) along the route, until they arrived at Kothlu/wala:wa, where the others who emerged first had arrived before them. From here they moved on toward the north and continued their search for the best place to live. The tale ended with struggles for survival in the place they finally chose (pp. 2-5).

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in Parson's document may be incorrect.

Powell, John Wesley. *The Exploration of the Colorado River and Its Canyons*. New York: Dover Publications, 1961.

Taken from his personal journal, and originally published in 1895\*, this included Powell's account of his exploration of the Colorado Plateau. He attempted to describe the wonders of Grand Canyon and the peoples he encountered.

Powell also recorded his and his crew's frequent discoveries of signs of ancient civilizations. For example, in August 1869, the party reached--and named--Glen Canyon. Powell noted that Father Escalante's crossing of 1776 was somewhere nearby, and commented that "a well-beaten Indian trail is seen here yet" (p. 233). Later, at the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers, he found a deeply-worn trail that was "doubtless a path used by the people who inhabited this country anterior to the present Indian races--the people who built the communal houses of which mention has been made." Returning to camp after this discovery, he learned that "some of the men have discovered ruins and fragments of pottery; also some etchings and hieroglyphs on the rocks" (p. 241). On August 16 the party reached (and named) Bright Angel Creek, where they observed

the ruins of two or three old houses, which were originally of stone laid in mortar. Only the foundations are left, but irregular blocks, of which the houses were constructed, lie scattered about. In one room I find an old mealing-stone, deeply worn, as if it had been much used. A great deal of pottery is strewn about, and old trails, which in some places are deeply worn into the rocks, are seen (p. 259).

Of course, many of the trails and ruins in the Grand Canyon are the legacy of the ancestors of the Pueblo Indians. The last two sites described above are on the ancient Migration route of the first Zuni people.

At the end of that month Powell and his crew were relieved to leave the perilous confines of the Grand Canyon and to emerge under open skies again. Dissatisfied with the hastiness of his trip, however, Powell returned one year later to retrace his steps. This time he detoured to Hopi and then, on November 3, 1870, to Zuni, travelling, no doubt, along the ancient Indian trails between the Grand Canyon, Hopi and Zuni.

Powell made a crude attempt to characterize Zuni customs and beliefs. Unaware that he had just come from one of Zuni's most sacred places, the Grand Canyon, he noted that all life around him was considered miraculous and was "worshipped as divine," and that "no small part of savage life is devoted to cult ceremonies and observances" (pp. 363-364). Although Powell's sojourn in Zuni was brief, it is significant that he came away with a strong impression of Zuni religiosity. It was the cardinal characteristic of Zuni culture. The same reverence drives their concern for the Grand canyon today.

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\*Formerly entitled *Canyons of the Colorado* (1895).

Powell, John Wesley. "Introductory." In *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1883.

This was an introduction to a wide-ranging volume of contemporary ethnographic studies of American Indians, including Frank Cushing's "Zuñi Fetiches," which contained a version of the Zuni Origin narration that Cushing had heard in 1881. Powell summarized Cushing's field work with the Zunis, noting that Cushing had travelled west of Zuni in January 1881 to explore ancient ruins and that his fieldwork had confirmed the ancient Migration narration:

[Cushing marked] the sites of the pueblos referred to in the Zuñi ritualistic recitals, as far west as the valley of the Colorado Chiquito. [Cushing] not only discovered a series of monuments, but also verified the correctness of the recitals above referred to by a study of mythologic pictographs with which many of them and the surrounding rocks were covered.

A second expedition revealed ruins on a mesa thirty miles south of San Juan that were over three miles long, "an example, doubtless, of successive occupation and abandonment" (pp. xxvii-xxviii).

Powell's comments reflected Cushing's "discovery" that indeed the Zunis did migrate from the west and that their Emergence and Migration narrations commemorated real places and events.

Price, Phil. "The Gift of the Corn Maidens: A Myth of the Zuni Indians." *Southwestern Lore* 2 (Sept. 1936):35-37.

Mr. Price did not reveal his sources for this story, a compressed version of Zuni Creation, Emergence and introduction-of-corn tales. But even in this stripped-down form, the tale retained certain events central to the complete narrative: the Zunis lived far down in the undermost world until led to the sunny upper world (that is, the Grand Canyon), they received corn after their Emergence, and they began the search for a permanent home, which they finally found in what is now Zuni, New Mexico.

Quam, Gilbert. *Statement before the subcommittee on Indian Affairs and Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States House of Representatives, June 28, 1977. Hearing on H. R. 3787 and S. 482, identical bills to direct the Secretary of the Interior to purchase and hold certain lands in trust for the Zuni Indian tribe of New Mexico; to confer jurisdiction on the court of claims with respect to land claims of such tribe; and to authorize such tribe to purchase and exchange lands in the states of New Mexico and Arizona, n. d.*

Gilbert Quam, born and raised in Zuni, was ordained a religious leader of the tribe. He made the following statements to the House subcommittee:

The history and religion of our people are very closely connected. When we emerged from the Grand Canyon we began a migration around the Southwestern United States. The pottery sherds, ruins, and other remnants of our migrations are the boundary markers of the lands which we claim for Zuni.

He recapitulated the story of the Zuni Migration once they emerged from the Underworld and pointed out that there were many shrines marking their route:

Back in the beginning we all spoke the same language, but now we speak different languages. But our shrines are still there and they mark the way we came so we can trace our migration right back to where we came from. . . .

Quam noted that the other tribes in the region knew the history of the Zuni people and respected their Migration as something that belonged to them. Their pilgrimages to the Grand Canyon, and their shrines, were therefore unmolested. He also pointed out that the boundaries of their land were understood, and that the Zunis had good relations with the Hopis. When they visited and traded in Oraibi (in Hopi country), they used one main path to get there.

Quam, Ralph. "Deposition of Ralph Quam." *The Zuni Indians of New Mexico v. The United States*. United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L (filed April 27, 1979).

In 1980, several Zunis provided depositions in support of a land claim filed by the tribe the previous year. These men were asked to discuss traditional Zuni relationships to the land, and provide details of the many ways that the tribe has used its natural resources. Mr. Quam was between 65 and 80 years old when he provided this testimony. Edmund Ladd interpreted.

Mr. Quam told his questioners about the journey of the Kokko called Kaklo, whom he has represented in the past, from Kolhu/wala:wa to Zuni. He explained that he started the appropriate prayer from "where . . . Chimik/ankyatey/a starts" (p. 24). He listed place names from Chimik/ankyatey/a to Kolhu/wala:wa, all of which were mentioned in prayer. "I cannot identify them as to exact location," he said, "but these are from the beginning, from the beginning place, and these are the places that are mentioned in sequence in the prayer and in the songs" (p. 26). These were the locations to which the people moved every four years--from the place of Emergence to the sacred area near the Zuni River and the Little Colorado River--and they were always recited in precise order.

At one point Quam explained that

These are places that are mentioned and places that are discussed as a trail, but it is a religious idea, a religious trail that is recited in the prayer and may not be an actual path of people walking on the trail. And this is the Kaklo's path, the god that I represent (p. 32).

Asked if in modern times they still visited Chimik/ankyatey/a, he answered, "the Kaklos which I represent and the hunting society, I do not know if they've gone in recent times, but in recent times the Galaxy Society are the ones who have gone there" (p. 33).

Recent oral histories such as this are clear evidence that the Grand Canyon, the trail from the Canyon to Zuni, and the places along the trail are as sacred to the Zuni People today as they were in ancient times.

Raley, Helen. "Cibola to Cambridge." *The Pan-American Magazine* 37 (July 1924):328-332.

The title of this piece refers to the transfer of archaeological acquisitions from Zuni to the museum at Cambridge University.

The author outlined the Coronado and Cushing eras at Zuni, and described some of the items taken from the traditional Zuni area. She mentioned a chime of hollow stalactites found at a site near Zuni which had been brought from a sacred cave on the Little Colorado River; this river was on the migration route of the Zunis after their Emergence from the Grand Canyon. Raley knew nothing of the Zuni Emergence there, but she speculated on the "great migrations" from Asia that brought the first peoples to America, and commented that "Zuni lore admits this ancestry, promises that those souls which fare forth out of the *pueblo* to seek the Lake of the Dead [Kothlu/wala:wa] shall journey again into the dim Northwest" (pp. 330-331). So, she concluded, "gazing from the land of Summer to the Waters of Sunset, [the priest] plumes the eagle prayerstick" and gives thanks for the day.

In fact, the "dim Northwest" and the "land of Sunset" were probably references to the Grand Canyon, a place of supreme importance in Zuni culture.

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind the reader that information in this document may be incorrect.

Redhouse, John. "An Issue of Religious Freedom." *Akwesasne Notes* (Autumn 1980):36.

Published in a pan-Indian newspaper which began in the late 1960s, this article condemned the U. S. Forest Service for permitting development of the Arizona Snow Bowl ski area in the San Francisco Peaks. These mountains, which are in the area of the ancient Zuni Migration, are sacred to a number of Indian tribes, Redhouse noted, not least the Zunis.

Richardson, Gladwell. *Two Guns, Arizona*. Santa Fe: The Press of the Territorian, 1968.

*Two Guns* is a brief and colorful narrative pitched to the tourist trade and local history buffs.

Although it is primarily the story of a town located in Canyon Diablo, and the adventures and anecdotes associated with it, the author did begin his narrative with ancient American Indians. Richardson mentioned cliff dwelling ruins in the area dating from the Basket Maker and Pueblo I and II periods. Before the town developed in 1881, he noted, Indians, Spanish, and non-Indian Americans had long traversed the steep canyon on their way to the Little Colorado and the Colorado River.

Two Guns is known to Zunis as Kumanch an A'l akkwe'a, a stop on the ancient Zuni Migration route. Richardson did not mention the Grand Canyon, but some of the Indians using the trail may have been Zunis who maintained the shrines there or who were on their way to the Grand canyon to pray.

Riley, Carroll L. "The Road to Hawikuh: Trade and Trade Routes to Cibola-Zuni During Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Times." *The Kiva*, Vol. 41 (1975):137-159.

Riley's thesis was that the Zuni pueblos were a crossroads of major trade, with trade routes running to the south, northwest, and southwest well before 16th century Spanish contact. This accounts for the urban character of the Zuni pueblos, she said, and the wide variety of artifacts and materials found among ancient Zuni ruins.

One type of trade good that Zunis acquired from others were blankets from Hopi. Riley touched only briefly on prehistoric economic and cultural exchanges with Arizona, but believed that Arizona's Yuman people were in close contact with Cibola-Zuni. Among the items that Zuni exported was turquoise, which could be found as far away as the Pacific Coast and Mexico.

Zuni sacred and secular use of materials from the Grand Canyon goes back many centuries; Riley indicates just how elaborate the trade relations were.

Rinaldo, John B. "Notes on the Origins of Historic Zuni Culture." *The Kiva* 29 (April 1964):86-98.

Rinaldo argued for a relationship between the Late Mogollon Pueblo culture to the south of Zuni and Zuni culture itself. He cited data which indicated that Zuni culture during the Pueblo I-III periods was broadly Chacoan in nature and more closely related to Prehistoric Puebloan culture than to the Mogollon. Much of the later Zuni culture, however, was Mogollon in derivation, he said.

Rinaldo also noted that the general area

covered by the present-day Zuni Indians when visiting their distant shrines extends into the northern periphery of the Mogollon complex. Thus today the Zuni make ceremonial trips not only southwest to Hantlipinkia . . . and to the Red and Green Lakes at Kiatuthlana, but also to the shrines west of there . . . in the area claimed in their myths as the scene of their former migrations in search of "The Middle" (pp. 87-88).

Although Rinaldo acknowledged that archaeologists had abandoned efforts to trace traditional migrations of the Western Pueblos as narrated in their "mythology," his data confirmed the outline of the Migration narration. However, Zuni religious leaders would remind readers that some of Rinaldo's information about Zuni traditions may be incorrect.

Saunders, Charles Francis. *Indians of the Terraced Houses: An Account of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona*. Glorieta, New Mexico: Rio Grande Press, 1973.

This book was originally published in 1912.

Disgruntled by the frenzied state of white American civilization and convinced that white standards should not be imposed on the pueblos, Saunders made a case against government interference in pueblo life and culture.

His description of the Origin narration is limited. Each pueblo culture in the Southwest had its origin narration, Saunders noted, but they resembled each other in many ways. For example, they shared a belief in the creation of the first people in a subterranean world, from which they were led by the Divine Ones through the opening in "Shipapu" (or Sipapu, the Hopi word for their place of Emergence in the Grand Canyon) into this world of light. Saunders did not relate this specifically to the Zuni Origin in the Grand Canyon, and it is extremely doubtful that he understood the geographical reference. Zuni religious leaders wish to remind readers that some of his information may be incorrect.

Saunders, Charles Francis. "The Little World of Zuñi." *The Outlook* 97 (Feb. 25, 1911):453-459.

"The Zuñis are still a little world to themselves," Saunders said, a people skilled in agriculture and crafts long before Columbus set sail. They were a peaceful people who raised their crops by irrigation and prayer, and were "entirely self-supporting" (p. 456).

This was a brief article, and Saunders said of the ancient Zuni origins in the Grand Canyon only that "the guardian god of Zuñi brought the people and left them" at the exact center of the earth (p. 454). He stressed that

the most vital element in Zuñi's life is its native religion, which is not a matter of one day in seven, but constant. Zuñi may starve or feast on fat things, may mourn or frolic, may labor or idle in the sun, but it never loses sight of humanity's dependence upon the universe, or faith in the continuance of the ancient care of Zuñi's gods if appealed to (p. 458).

Saunders mentioned the offering of prayer sticks throughout the year at "immemorial shrines on hill and plain and by certain springs." Zuni sacred dramas were akin to the European mystery plays of the Middle Ages, and their religion was the foundation of an orderly, honest and respectful society. However well-meaning, Zuni religious leaders caution the reader that some of Saunder's information may be inaccurate.

Seowtewa, Ken. "Adding a Breath to Zuni Life." *Native Peoples* 5, No. 2 (Winter 1992):10-16.

Ken Seowtewa described the art project in which he was engaged, which was to paint the kachinas on the interior wall of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church in Zuni. Ken's father Alex began this work nearly twenty years before. When he initiated the project, Alex Seowtewa pondered which of the many Zuni kachinas he would fit onto the church walls. Seeking the advice of tribal elders, he settled on painting the highlights of the village's current religious practices.

One of the figures painted on the church walls represented a rain priest whose responsibility it was to recite the long prayer containing the traditional Zuni creation story. In aggregate the paintings tell how the Zunis came into being as a people and "reinforce the need of our people to carry on our culture, our heritage and our traditions" (p. 16).

Sergeant, Elizabeth Shepley. "The Principales Speak." *The New Republic*, February 7, 1923:273-275.

In a series of letters and articles to *The New Republic* in 1923-1924, Sergeant blasted the Indian Bureau and United States policy toward Pueblo Indians. She condemned assimilative programs which sanctioned the reduction of Indian lands and resources, and which destroyed native culture yet neglected to provide for Indian health and well-being. Her argument was representative of a growing segment of Americans who regarded traditional lifeways as morally superior to modern industrialism.

Sergeant intended this article to convey the gentleness, wisdom and timelessness of Pueblo culture. She quoted a priest [tribe unspecified] who remarked:

We have existed here as Pueblos, we are the Principales, we have been dry farmers since the beginning and we depend upon the rains to raise our crops. All the time we are in prayer that we shall have enough rains for our crops, we are not helped by any other helpers. Our people are always in good feelings with each other in order to have more success in worship of the rains for years coming.

So we must hold our original rights, our lands, our people (p. 275).

Another priest thanked "our friends for helping us in our troubles because of those who try to destroy our spiritual life which we hold dear" (ibid). The piece illustrated the dignity and tenacity with which Pueblo people held to their culture.

Silko, Leslie Marmon. "Interior and Exterior Landscapes: The Pueblo Migration Stories." In *Landscape in America*. George F. Thompson, ed. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.

Editor George Thompson invited twenty artists, scholars and writers to provide their diverse views on the meaning of landscape and place in America. His goal was to fathom the interrelatedness of the natural and cultural landscape and all living creatures.

Poet and author Leslie Marmon Silko, who was raised in Laguna Pueblo, contributed an essay with a generalized Pueblo worldview. She opened with the image of the spiritual and physical unity of all things, observing that survival to traditional Pueblo peoples "depended upon harmony and cooperation not only among human beings, but also among all things--the animate and the less animate, since rocks and mountains were known on occasion to move" (p. 157). Truth and the preservation of knowledge was a communal endeavor, therefore oral tradition "embraced all levels of human experience" (p. 159).

Human activities and needs adapted to their surroundings, and Pueblo oral tradition accentuated the geographical landmark. But the Migration story was also an interior journey, in which the sacred route of the Emergence and Migration traced the creation of the people as a culture:

continued use of that [migration] route creates a unique relationship between the ritual-mythic world and the actual, everyday world. . . . The landscape . . . takes on a deeper significance: the landscape resonates the spiritual or mythic dimension of the Pueblo world even today (p. 162).

Geographical features mentioned in the narratives exist for ritual purposes, marking a "journey of awareness and imagination in which they emerged from being within the earth and all-included in the earth to the culture and people they became" (p. 163). Pueblo Peoples acknowledge that all humans and all life emerged from the four worlds below. But it was at that moment that they became aware of themselves as a people; thus the Emergence was into a precise cultural identity. That persistent "sense of identity was intimately linked with the surrounding terrain," and "narratives about the Pueblo people necessarily give a great deal of attention and detail to all aspects of a landscape" (p. 167).

Although she did not specifically mention the Grand Canyon, Silko has helped illuminate the importance of the place of Emergence to the Zuni People, as well as their reverence for their traditional landscape: altering a sacred geographical place tampers with life itself, because all things are connected. The Zunis must be able to continue their ancient practices in order to perpetuate their cultural identity, and this includes returning to the Grand Canyon to perform proper rituals and to gather traditional materials. The flow of the Colorado River, and the balance of the ecosystem, matters to these people.

Simpson, James H. *Navaho Expedition: Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Navaho Country, Made in 1849 by Lieutenant James H. Simpson*. Frank McNitt, ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.

In 1849, the War Department sent Lieutenant Colonel John M. Washington to control Navajo raids in New Mexico. Accompanying him was Lt. Simpson of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, who was to explore the old Spanish Trail from Santa Fe to Los Angeles. This was Simpson's travel journal.

During the trip, Simpson visited Zuni to investigate the roads there and rumors of Apache attacks. His description of the journey was detailed, although he was able to observe more about Indian engineering feats than Indian culture. He noted in his journal that, according to the governor of Zuni, the Zunis "came originally from the setting sun" (p. 118). Here editor Frank McNitt added that the Zunis also

perpetuate an origin myth similar to that of other Pueblos insofar as they all believe their people 'in the beginning' were born in some dark underworld beneath the earth's surface. By continuing effort, the A'shiwi progressed upward by stages, until finally they emerged into sunlight upon the earth (119n).

Having found the rumors of Apache attacks to be false, the party moved on to the Acoma and Laguna Pueblos. In his report to the War Department, Simpson informed his superiors 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 this, to San Diego." A mountain man from Santa Fe named Richard Campbell had advised Simpson that in 1827 he had travelled from New Mexico to San Diego "by the way of Zuñi and the valley of the Rio de Zuñi, and found no difficulty throughout the whole distance" (p. 160).

However, in order to reach the Colorado River, one had to leave the Zuni River at the falls within a few miles of the Zuni River's confluence with the Colorado, "and a valley running southwardly followed down to its junction with the valley of that river." Above the mouth of the Zuni River there was a ford, Campbell informed Simpson, called the Ford of the Fathers, "to which a route leads from Zuñi by way of the pueblos of the Moquis" (p. 161).

This is one of the first written accounts of the Zuni Origin tale, however brief, and further indication of the ancient route from Zuni to Hopi, and thus toward the Grand Canyon.

Sitgreaves, Captain Lorenzo. "Report of an Expedition down the Zuni and the Colorado Rivers in 1851." *U. S. Senate Executive Document Number 59*, 32d Congress, 2d Session. Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1962.

The federal government originally published this report in 1853.

Captain Sitgreaves was sent to the Colorado River by the Corps of Topographical Engineers as part of a search for a clear southern route to the Pacific. In his report to the Secretary of War, he mentioned that there was a "well-marked trail" along the Zuni River to the Little Colorado River, one more piece of evidence of the ancient uses of the trails toward Hopi and the Grand Canyon (p. 6).

Snell, Joseph W. "By Wagon from Kansas to Arizona in 1875--The Travel Diary of Lydia E. English." *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* (1970):369-389.

The English family left Kansas in 1875, following first the Santa Fe Trail, then the "paths of the padres" (Escalante and Dominguez, who had found the well-worn trail between Zuni, Hopi, and the Grand Canyon in 1776) to Prescott, Arizona.

Eight weeks into their journey the English Family passed Zuni, about which they had much misinformation. Mrs. English mentioned the road west of Zuni in her diary. She and her family passed Jacob's Well and Navajo Springs, indicating that they had taken the traditional Zuni trail toward Hopi. Once at the Rio Puerco, they picked up the mail road (present-day Route 40), which followed a section of the ancient Zuni Migration route. They passed through the petrified forest, crossed the Little Colorado, and headed southwest toward Prescott.

Like the padres, the Englishes had followed the ancient Zuni trail west.

Spicer, Edward H. *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533-1960*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1972.

Spicer sought to understand what had happened to southwestern Indian cultures as a result of European contact. His book provided a broad analysis of this interaction, but he also focused on cultural change within the major Indian groups.

In the early Spanish period the Zunis generally remained on the periphery of the Spanish domain, Spicer said. They avoided direct conflict with the Spanish by superficially accepting the rather weak mission program imposed upon them. During the Mexican period the western pueblos remained relatively isolated as well, in part because of their distance from Santa Fe. In fact, "neither Hopis nor Zunis felt the touch of Mexican political authority," he commented (p. 197). Because of this isolation, Hopis and Zunis retained a closer visiting and trading relationship with each other than with any other pueblo peoples.

The greatest period of change for Zunis came with American contact, particularly after pioneer anthropologist Frank Hamilton Cushing's sojourn in the 1880s. In his way, Cushing appreciated Zuni culture, but his writings, which brought it to the attention of the world, changed it forever. Other anthropologists came to Zuni, missionary schools enrolled hundreds of Zuni children, and some Zunis converted to Protestantism. Still, traditional ways endured. As traditional Zunis felt pressured by this alien culture, "attitudes of secrecy" grew up among the Zunis regarding their ceremonial life (p. 199). As late as 1946 one missionary, Christian Reform minister C. Kuipers (annotated in this bibliography), complained that Zuni was not

like an empty glass which one can fill; to the contrary, it is filled already to the brim with every concoction the devil can contrive. Zuni is satisfied with its own religion. The Center of the Earth is self-centered; no missionary impulse radiates to the far reaches of the earth; nor is any religion from without, desired within (p. 366).

Little wonder, Kuipers grumbled, that Spanish Catholicism had made few inroads. Little wonder, too, that

Every spurt of missionary endeavor today is followed by gatherings of the [Zuni] council and of those who do not want the Christian way. As the Zuni ancients said they shut their blinking eyes to the radiance of the sun when they came back from the dark womb of the earth, so their children today in the clutches of the dark domain shut their eyes stubbornly to the Light of the World (ibid).

Take Christmas, for example. "All the Zunis like Christmas," Kuipers said, only because it is present-getting time.

In reality, however, Christmas for Zunis is the anti-climax of December's ceremonies. Shalako is the climax of the Zuni ceremonial year. . . . Thus Zuni

prays. It prays to these gods who come from the sacred lake or other sacred shrines . . . . It prays to the Sun-Father, the Earth-Mother and the hosts of heaven. It prays to the idols made of wood, who are the Twin Gods of war. It prays to the Beast Gods . . . . It prays to an untold array of fetishes, reeds, stones, concretions, effigies, masks and all that human ingenuity can contrive (ibid).

Kuipers' frustration was understandable. Not until the federal government's assimilative programs of the 1930s did the "hitherto impermeable" Pueblos exhibit real change, least so among the Zunis (p. 576).

Spicer's study reiterates that Zunis continue to be committed to their traditional culture and religion regardless of acculturation to mainstream American culture. Protectiveness and secrecy regarding their religion, veneration of the Grand Canyon place of Emergence (what Kuipers called "the dark womb of the earth"), and reverence for their traditional landscape and all natural things remain strong. It need hardly be said that most of Kuipers' information on Zuni religion is prejudiced and uninformed.

Spier, Leslie. "Havasupai Ethnography." In *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXIX. New York: American Museum Press, 1928.

In a discussion of dress and adornment, Spier noted the Havasupais' traditional use of red and black paints from the Grand Canyon. They obtained red paint from a mine on Diamond Creek, on Hualapai land.

The mine entrance is a small orifice in the face of a cliff, which can only be reached by a ladder. Only one man at a time can enter, crawling flat, dragging a sack under him. The powdered red clay is scooped into the sack, which is held under the arm as he backs out. This is dangerous work, for more than one man has been killed in the crevice. A second mine is located east of Grand View in their own range. Black paint . . . is scraped from a stratum in a trench at Pine Springs [a place the ethnographer erroneously located inside both Havasupai and Hualapai territory\*] . . . (p. 196).

These comments are pertinent because Havasupais, Hopis, and others traded these paints to the Zunis for their own traditional uses.

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\* See *Havasupai Indians*, Robert A. Manners, Henry F. Dobyns, and Robert Euler, New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974.

Stephen, Alexander M. *Hopi Journal*. Vol. I. Elsie Clews Parsons, ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.

Stephen took part in the 1890 Hemenway expedition to the Southwest, and over a span of four years he recorded the ceremonial and daily life of the Hopis. His repeated references to Zuni-Hopi cultural exchanges reinforce contemporary understanding of the close ties between the two peoples. Some of his commentary on Hopis therefore bears implications regarding Zuni culture, especially because *Hopi Journal*, first published around 1900, may be the earliest publication to note the Zuni Emergence from the Grand Canyon.

Zunis and Hopis visited each other regularly, Stephen's journals noted, and this led to an exchange of cultural forms as well as trade goods. Stephen commented on the Kashaililalauwu, for example, a musical grinding party performed in winter and said to be borrowed from the Zunis. Hopis informed him that this practice had originated in the Underworld, before the Zunis arose in the "Great Cañon" (pp. 153-154).

On another occasion, Hopis utilized pigment similar to that of the Zunis, which the editor noted was a "ritual black pigment that `they brought up with them'" (p. 311n). Hopis also used willow sticks brought directly from Zuni, and in other ways duplicated Zuni rituals.

Stephen observed In'tiwa, a Hopi, prepare for one ceremony, during which In'tiwa informed him that "in a cavernous recess, which he calls kiva, in the bottom of the Grand Canyon near the salt deposit and Zuñi sipapu, is a spring which bubbles perpetually" (p. 497). A footnote on page 849 mentioned the Zuni Emergence in what the Hopis called Üüñtupkabi; in his glossary, Stephen again mentioned Üüñtupkabi: "near salt deposit in Grand Cañon, place of Emergence of Zuñi and Havasupai . . ." (p. 1167).

Stephen, Alexander M. Letter to Fewkes, March 12, 1894, Fewkes Manuscript Collection, Ms. 4408, 2-5. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

Alexander Stephen's interest in Pueblo Indians brought him to the Southwest in the 1890s. In this letter to noted archaeologist Jesse Walter Fewkes, Stephen repeated a conversation he had held in Hopi with a visiting Zuni, Tó-tci.

Asked about the Zuni place of Emergence, Tó-tci replied that "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" (p. 4). Comparing the two peoples, Tó-tci added that, among other things, both peoples believed that their dead returned eventually to Sipapü. While much of this statement is inaccurate, Zunis have acknowledged the Grand Canyon as their place of Emergence.

Stephen, Alexander M. Letter to Fewkes, November 25, 1891, Fewkes Manuscript Collection, Ms. 4408, 2-5. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

Stephen's letter to archaeologist J. W. Fewkes included an account of the Emergence in the Grand Canyon as told by a Hopi man named Wiki. Wiki recited a Hopi version of this tale, but this included other peoples in the Emergence. Thus he told Fewkes that

Far down in the lowest deep of Pi-sis-bai-yu (the far below river, the Colorado) at the place where we used to gather salt, is the Si-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.

The place designated is a saline deposit in the Grand Cañon, a short distance West from where the Colorado Chiquito debouches into its greater namesake.

Although Zunis do not believe that the Hopi Sipapu is their own place of Emergence, they do agree that the Grand Canyon is where they Emerged. This letter may be the earliest preserved document that acknowledged the Zuni Emergence in the Grand Canyon; the first publication of this information appears to have been Stephen's *Hopi Journal*, also annotated in this bibliography.

Stevenson, Matilda Coxe. "Ethnobotany of the Zuñi Indians." In *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1908-1909*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1915.

Matilda Stevenson came to Zuni with her husband James, an ethnographer from the newly-formed Bureau of Ethnology, in 1879. Mrs. Stevenson became interested in the Zuni culture herself, and over the next quarter century she returned to the pueblo frequently to study the Zuni people. She was something of a rival to Frank Cushing, with whom her dealings were strained. In addition to the annotations below, Stevenson is also quoted in the anonymous piece entitled "Zuñi Religion."

In "Ethnobotany," after describing a number of medicinal plants used by the Zunis--some of which she could attest to herself--Stevenson listed edible, weaving, and ceremonial plants. Several of these, she noted, were found when the Zunis first emerged from the Underworld, that is, into the Grand Canyon. These included:

#### Edible Plants

Tumbleweed [*Amaranthus blitoides* S. Wats], or *Kushutsi*, "many seeds." The seeds of this plant "are supposed to have been brought from the undermost world in the precious *elleteliwe* [fetishes] of the rain priests and scattered by them over the earth." Stevenson noted that originally the seeds were eaten raw, but after the Zunies possessed corn, the seeds were ground with corn into a meal to be steamed (p. 65).

Wormwood [*Artemisia wrightii* A. Gray] or *Kiatsanna*, 'small seeds.' Stevenson stated that this was "among their most ancient foods, and that they depended much on it when they first emerged into the outer world" (ibid).

Narrow-leaved Lambsquarter [*Chenopodium leptophyllum* (Moq.) Nutt], also referred to as *Kiatsanna*, 'small seeds.' "The Zuñi declare that the seeds of this plant, with those of another plant (*Artemisia wrightii* Gray) . . . were among their principal foods when they first reached this world" (p. 66).

#### Weaving Plants

Cotton [*Gossypium hirsutum* L.], or *Uwe*, 'down.' Stevenson learned that Zunis "declare that they brought the cotton and the milkweed from the innermost world and that they began cultivating both when at Hänlipinkia" (p. 77).

Milkweed [*Asclepias galiodes* H.B.K.], also called *Uwe*, 'down.' See cotton above; this material was still used for ceremonial clothing when Stevenson gathered this information (ibid).

#### Ceremonial Plants

Rocky Mountain Bee Plant [*Peritoma serrulatum* (Pursh) DC], or Apithlalu, 'hand many seeds.' A paste was made from this plant and "used in conjunction with a black mineral paint to color sticks of plume offerings to the anthropic gods. The mineral is supposed to have been brought from the underworld when the Zuñi ascended to this world" (p. 96).

Douglas Spruce [*Pseudotsuga mucronata* (Raf.) Sudw.], or *Kialatsilo*, 'water comes out arms.' "The breath from the gods of the undermost world is supposed to ascend through the trunks of these trees and form clouds behind which the rain-makers work" (p. 97).

Cancer Root [*Thalesia fasciculata* (Nutt.) Britton], or *Wekwinne*, 'foot.' This plant was called "foot" by the Zunis because it grew in abundance in the undermost world, "and as the people trod upon it, it felt pleasant to the feet." Used to make tea for the Sword Swallowers ceremony (p. 98).

Although the fact of provenience in the Grand Canyon is significant, Zuni religious leaders wish to remind readers that some of Stevenson's interpretations of botanical significance may be incorrect.

Stevenson, Matilda Coxe (Mrs. Tilly E.). "The Religious Life of the Zuni Child." In *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1887.

Stevenson described birth rituals and outlined the religious instruction of a Zuni boy's life. In order to explain the Koyemshi whom the boy might be expected to impersonate, she summarized the Origin narration, reiterating the importance of the Grand Canyon (which she did not mention directly) in Zuni traditions:

In journeying hither, [they who first entered this world] passed though four worlds, all in the interior of this, the passageway from darkness into light being through a large reed. . . . They reached this world. . . . and when the sun arose the people fell upon the earth and bowed their heads in fear. All their traditions point to the distant land of their appearance in this world as being in the far northwest (p. 540).

Zuni religious leaders caution the reader that Stevenson may have misunderstood what she heard; therefore, some of her information may be incorrect.

Stevenson, Matilda Coxe. "Zuñi Ancestral Gods and Masks." *The American Anthropologist* XI (Feb. 1898):33-40.

Stevenson's essay provided a brief overview of the origins and character of the Kok-ko (or kachinas), the rules under which they may be impersonated, and their importance to the Zuni community.

The anthropologist mentioned that Zunis "believe they were created in an innermost world, which they call Awitāntehula, 'Fourth World;' also Annosientehula, 'Blackness-of-soot World.'" The Sun Father created his two sons Kowwituma and Watsusi and bade them go to the Underworld and bring his children to his presence. "The two rent the earth with their lightning arrows and descended into . . . the Fourth World" (p. 34). They led the Zunis to the world above, where they assumed their present appearance, formed societies, and proceeded to migrate to Itiwanna, the middle of the world.

Stevenson named only a few of the landmarks along the Migration route: the Little Colorado River and the Zuni River (both created on the spot as the people migrated), and Kothlu/wala:wa, which included the mystic lake, where the Kok-ko reside. Nonetheless, the Origin of the Zuni People in the Grand Canyon and their Migration to the Middle Place were basic to any explanation of Zuni ceremonies. Please be aware, however, that some of Stevenson's interpretations and assumptions may be inaccurate and misleading.

Stevenson, Matilda Coxe. "The Zuni Indians: Their Mythology, Esoteric Fraternities, and Ceremonies." In *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1904.

Although her sources, methods and interpretation are often disputed, Matilda Coxe Stevenson gathered a remarkable amount of information about Zuni culture. Many researchers have based their own studies of Pueblo culture upon material from her monographs.

The focus on physical nature in Zuni prayers and rituals impressed thoughtful outsiders who studied Zuni customs. Stevenson's opening statement in this book (entitled "Mythology: General Conceptions of the Universe") noted that "primitive man" was

deeply impressed by his natural environment; every object for him possesses a spiritual life, so that celestial bodies, mountains, rocks, the flora of the earth, and the earth itself are to him quite different from what they are to civilized man. The sturdy pine, the delicate sapling, the fragrant blossom, the giant rock, and the tiny pebble play alike their part in the mystic world of the aboriginal man. Many things which tend to nourish life are symbolized by the Zuñis as mother. . . . the earth is symbolized as the source, not only of all vegetal matter which nourishes man, but also of the game which gives him animal food. The earth is mother, the great one to whom all are indebted for sustenance (p. 20).

An example of this relationship of Zunis to physical nature was in the way that the seeds that kachina impersonators distributed in ceremonies were received: with reverence, as if they "actually came from the gods of seeds in the undermost world" (ibid).

Stevenson relayed one version of the Zuni Origin narration. In this story, the Ashiwi were led up through the third, second, and first worlds of the Underworld, then to the outer world. Unaware that she was speaking of a place in Grand Canyon, Stevenson noted that

The place of coming through to this world is called Ji'mit kianapkiatea, a word full of occult meaning, having reference to an opening in the earth filled with water which mysteriously disappeared, leaving a clear passage for the A'shiwi to ascend to the outer world (p. 26).

In the undermost world the villages of the Hopis and the Zunis were not far apart, and "the two peoples, though not related and speaking different languages, communicated with one another and were friendly" (ibid).

The Origin tale referred repeatedly to certain natural resources in the Grand Canyon. Moss was ubiquitous in the Underworlds, and it was dry grass that the Divine Ones, whom the Sun Father sent to lead his children to the outer world, set afire to provide the first light the Zunis ever had. The story pointed particularly to those resources which fed the Zunis--until the arrival of the Divine Ones, they had lived on grass seed--and to those which helped them rise to

the outer world. To assist in the ascent, the Divine Ones cut a pine tree (the ever-scientific Stevenson recorded this as *Pinus ponderosa* var. *scapulorum*) to make a ladder from the fourth Underworld to the third. They cut a spruce (*Pseudotsuga douglassii*) for the ascent to the second world, an aspen (*Populus tremuloides*) to reach the first world, and finally a silver spruce (*Piceapungens*) to the outer world (pp. 25-26).\*

After climbing from Ji'mit kianapkiatea, the Zunis sought to locate their proper place in the world, and learn the correct way to live. The Ashiwanni, or rain priests, tarried at the place of Emergence to sing sacred songs and to learn the identity of the birds of the six regions or directions. These birds, listed in the table below, were to become their ettowe, or sacred fetishes (p. 27).

| Zuni Name   | Direction | Common Name      | Scientific Name              |
|-------------|-----------|------------------|------------------------------|
| Onothlikia  | North     | Long-tailed chat | <i>Icteria longicauda</i>    |
| Maiya       | West      | Long-crested jay | <i>Cyanocitta macrolopha</i> |
| Mula        | South     | Macaw            | None given                   |
| Kiatetasha  | East      | Spurred towhee   | <i>Pipilo megalonyx</i>      |
| Kiawulotki  | Zenith    | Purple martin    | <i>Progne subis</i>          |
| Healonsetto | Nadir     | Painted bunting  | <i>Passerina ciris</i>       |

Once these things had been done, the Zunis began their search for Itiwanna, the Middle Place.

In this lengthy report, Stevenson catalogued numerous Zuni rituals and traditions. She described many especially sacred ceremonies that referred to the place of Emergence either verbally or through the use of objects from the Grand Canyon. The practices that she witnessed included the use of sacred paints or objects "from the underworld," and ritual reenactment of elements of the Emergence tale. Again, it is clear that Stevenson was unaware that these resources came literally from the Grand Canyon.

References to sacred paints from the Underworld abound in Stevenson's report. Pages 172-173 explain the preparation and planting of Telikinawe by the rain priests, an offering of prayer sticks. Among the materials used by the fourteen Ashiwanni for such rituals were red and

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\*Stevenson noted that other versions of this tale specified that the Ashiwi ascended to the outer world through a giant hollow reed, but she explained that there were different ways to tell the story, or rather, different types of story. In addition, she noted that the Divine Ones also instructed the Hopis on how to ascend to the outer world; however, the two worked only for the Zunis.

black paints from the undermost world, as well as unspecified birds and butterflies matching the directional or regional colors. Describing the "Hla'hewe ceremony for rain," Stevenson noted that the pekwin (sun priest) painted a portion of a participant's face "black with paint supposed to have been brought by the A'shiwanni from the undermost world" (p. 198). In several places she mentioned ceremonies that involved black and/or red paint, without specifying the sources of these paints (see, for example, pp. 212, 491, 504n, 561, 674, 583, and 596). Elsewhere, Stevenson discussed ceremonies or ritualized games that required the use of "micaceous hematite," possibly a reference to the sacred glittering black paint mined in the Grand Canyon. For example, on page 333 she described a game which involved cups painted with black paint "said to have come up from the underworld." (See also pp. 241, 498, 512, 574, 598, and 599 for other references to micaceous hematite paints). Of course, these represent only the materials and rituals that Stevenson was permitted to witness and record.

Among the performances that Stevenson witnessed or heard was "The History Myth of the Coming of the Ashiwi As Narrated by Kiäklo." The impersonator of Kiäklo recited the Emergence tale, alluding to the moss world and the four tree ladders listed above (pp. 73-77). In the "Winter Dances of Korkokshi," dancers performed a ritual in front of a fire altar symbolic of the entrance to the undermost world from the water-moss world above it. (p. 146). And Stevenson's description of the Ashiwanni, or rain priesthood, acknowledged the importance of the ettone, the sacred fetish of all of the rain priests except Zenith. Each ettone was "supposed to have descended directly from the shiwanni who brought it in a basket clasped to his breast from the undermost to the outer world." This fetish consisted of water-filled hollow reeds, one of which contained a tiny toad (*Bufo punctatus*). "The ends of the reeds," Stevenson noted, "are closed with a blackish clay, said by the Ashiwanni to have been brought from the undermost world, and native cotton." Originally, she noted, the reeds contained only wild grass seeds (*kiatsanna*), the only food then [i.e., before the Emergence] known to the Zunis (p. 163).

Zuni religious leaders would remind the reader that some of Stevenson's information may be incorrect. However, it is in such details as the above that a pattern of homage to the Grand Canyon birthplace emerges. Use of materials from the place of Origins such as water, minerals, and plants is a mark of highest reverence in a religious ceremony. Consistently, prayers and rituals weave the place and circumstances of Zuni Origins throughout religious consciousness. As a community, Zuni Pueblo maintains its cultural identity by constant celebration of its traditions and the sacred landscape. The Grand Canyon is essential to this identity.

SWCA, Inc. *An Archaeological Overview of Grand Canyon National Park*. Flagstaff: SWCA, 1993.

SWCA, Inc., environmental consultants, prepared this overview for the National Park Service as a tool for management of the park's cultural resources. The report estimated that there are around 2700 identified cultural resource sites within park boundaries and noted that "many thousands more are thought to exist" (p. ix). These sites indicate human occupation of the Grand Canyon as far back as 11,000 years. Eight contemporary groups of American Indians have ties to the Grand Canyon, the report noted, including the Zunis:

Although their reservation lands are far from the Grand Canyon, the Zuni still hold at least one documented belief that focuses on it: the place of emergence of the ancestral Zuni into this world is said to be within the Grand Canyon. . . . (p. 83).

The sources for this information were Alexander M. Stephen's *Hopi Journal* (1936) and Ferguson and Hart's *A Zuni Atlas* (1985), both annotated in this Zuni bibliography.

SWCA reminded its readers that the National Park Service has a mandate to inventory and nominate all properties under its jurisdiction that are eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. After 1992, such eligible properties included traditional cultural sites, an indication of the Service's heightened awareness of the sacredness of ancient native cultural remnants and associated landscapes.

Tedlock, Barbara. *The Beautiful and the Dangerous: Encounters with the Zuni Indians*. New York: Viking, 1992.

In this anecdotal narrative, Barbara Tedlock recorded her conversations with and impressions of certain Zuni Indians in the early 1970s. Zuni ways--or at least those of one particular Zuni family--gradually revealed themselves through a series of vignettes and the occasional traditional tale. None of this could be characterized as a systematic collection of information. Tedlock sought a less structured way to reach ethnographic understanding, she said, than the usual anthropological study, but like anthropologists from an earlier era, she consulted a limited sphere of informants.

As a participant observer, Tedlock was aware that some information was too sacred to be revealed to non-Zunis (see, for example, p. 234), and that her informants did not necessarily know or recite a sacred tale exactly as it would be spoken by the proprietary Zuni priest. She noted that "the majority of Zuni narratives are either part of the *chimiky'ana'kowa/origin story*, which can be told in any season at any time of day, or else they are *telapnaawe/tales*, which are told only during winter nights" (p. 301). She listened to the chanting of the Origin tale during *Shalako* (pp. 247, 248), learned that Zunis experience four rebirths before returning to the hole of Emergence (p. 121), and that there were sacred shrines related to the Emergence and the four inner rooms of the Underworld (pp. 228, 241). References to The Beginning were common in her discussions with her informants about religious traditions. Nowhere did Tedlock acknowledge that "the Beginning," in the Zuni language, is synonymous with the place of Emergence in the Grand Canyon.

Zuni religious leaders urge readers to be aware that some of Tedlock's information may be inaccurate or misleading.

(The paperback version of *The Beautiful and the Dangerous*, published in 1993, is subtitled *Dialogues with the Zuni Indians*.)

Tedlock, Barbara. "Zuni Sacred Theater." *American Indian Quarterly* 7 (1983) No. 3:93-110.

The Zunis' annual round of theatrical performances is designed both to express their views of ultimate reality, said Tedlock, and to shape their lives in terms of this reality. Theater unites the community "by the manipulation of a set of sensuous symbols rather than a set of explicit beliefs encoded in religious doctrines or creeds" (p. 93). The symbols to which Tedlock referred include material resources such as clays, minerals, altars, and prayersticks, as well as behaviors such as dances, gestures, chants, and the like.

Shalako, the most famous of Zuni sacred ceremonies, requires a year's preparation. The rituals associated with Shalako include numerous references to the process and place of Emergence. The preparation of prayersticks and masks requires sacred paints, some from the Grand Canyon. The body and mask of the Fire God impersonator, for example, are "painted black with the darkness of origin (p. 102). Clowns "associated with the nadir and the four sacred wombs below the surface of the earth . . . in which the people lived before emergence" (p. 103) are a central feature of the event.

Such symbols and analogies reflect the Zuni cosmogony, and reinforce and celebrate the Zuni community. However, Zuni religious leaders wish to remind readers that some of's information may be incorrect.

Tedlock, Dennis. *Finding the Center: Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians* (translated by Dennis Tedlock from performances by Andrew Peynetsa and Walter Sanchez). New York: The Dial Press, 1972.

Dennis Tedlock performed anthropological field work in Zuni in the 1960s, collecting hundreds of narratives, many related to the Zuni Beginning in the Grand Canyon. "Formal Zuni narratives are performed largely by men," he wrote in his introduction, "and almost any man over fifty knows at least a few of them. These fall into two types, he added, the "tales," which are considered fiction, and the stories of the chimiky'ana'kowa, "The Beginning," which are regarded as historical truth (p. xvi). Many of the stories he recorded were related to the Beginning, the Emergence and Migration from the Grand Canyon.

In 1965, Tedlock recorded and transcribed (with help from the storyteller, Andrew Peynetsa) the Beginning narration. He attempted to recreate the pitch and tone of these poems in graphic form in order to reveal the art of narration as well as the beauty, drama, and humor of the poetry itself.

In "The Beginning," Part I, the Sun gave life to the two Ahayuuta, and sent them to bring the people of the fourth Underworld into his presence. Tedlock noted that the Underworlds were numbered like the stories in Zuni buildings, from the top down. Andrew Peynetsa recited the poem in fifty-two minutes. In part he said (tonal reproductions not copied):

The twins went on  
until they came to the place of emergence.  
A hole was open there.  
"Well, perhaps here."

They entered.  
When they entered, entered the first room  
it was full of the color of dawn.  
The second  
room they entered  
was full of yellow.  
In the third room they entered  
they could hardly make anything out.  
There in the fourth room  
when they entered  
it was full of darkness, nothing could be  
seen  
Nothing could be made out.  
They got their footing  
when they came to the bottom (pp. 230-231).

There the twins encountered someone stalking a deer. The man, surprised to see them and somewhat faint of voice, agreed to take them to the village in the fourth Underworld. Lighting cedarbark torches so that they could see in the dark, they temporarily blinded the hunter, who begged them to douse the torches. Then he guided them to his village. "Our Sun Father brought us to life," announced the two, "because we must take you with us out into the daylight" (p. 234). The priests living in the village created yellow prayer sticks and when they were finished, "there at the place where they were going to get out," a fir tree grew. It grew until it reached the third world above. Gathering up their garden seeds and their wild seeds (representing all the wild plants growing in the traditional Zuni area), they climbed to the next world. There they created blue prayer sticks, at which point an aspen sprouted and grew until it reached the second Underworld. Repeating the process, red prayer sticks brought forth a narrow-leaf cottonwood to the yellow room (in the color of dawn) of the first world, and finally a white prayer stick was rewarded with a cane that "grew until it stood sticking out into the Sun Father's daylight" (pp. 235-255).<sup>\*</sup> Eventually all the people emerged into the sunlight in this way.

The Emergence in the Grand Canyon is not specifically mentioned here, but the Canyon environment is nicely evoked by the Zuni Creation poetry. Please be aware, however, that some of Tedlock's information about Zuni religion may be incorrect.

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<sup>\*</sup>Mr. Peynetsa later added an alternative set of plants by which the first people arose through the Underworlds: ponderosa pine, Douglas fir, aspen, and cane (pp. 269-270). He also mentioned that the members of the Saniyaka Society were wearing yucca wreaths around their necks as they emerged, the only society to do so (p. 297).

Tedlock, Dennis. *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.

In chapter five of *The Spoken Word*, "The Poetics of Verisimilitude," Tedlock compared Zuni "fictional narratives" to mainstream American cultural phenomena, "including everything from horror films to scientific proofs" (p. 159). By such analogies he persuaded the reader to hear Zuni traditional tales on a variety of levels.

Tedlock wrote that the Chimiky'ana'kowa (Origin story) is regarded as literally true, even by Christian Zunis. It can be told at any time of day or in any season, and "accounts for most of the major features of Zuni social organization" (p. 160). Among others, he used the version taken down by Matilda Coxe Stevenson, which opened:

Now in truth our beginning is:  
 the fourth inner world  
 the soot inner world  
 is where we live. . . . (p. 243).

Tedlock commented that these words--"or rather the word"--is given by Kyaklo, a Zuni person who witnessed the events of The Beginning. Kyaklo comes once every four or eight years to give his word, but the word does not reside exclusively with Kyaklo. Fourteen priesthoods each have an interpretation of The Beginning; thirteen medicine societies have thirteen more, and in every Zuni household resides at least one adult who knows how to interpret The Beginning. Tedlock stressed the word "interpretation" because versions depend upon the time or place, the audience and its degree of knowledge, what questions it might raise within the audience, and even sudden insights that may occur to the storyteller. The Chimiky'ana'kowa is told critically, he said, the teller providing commentary, simultaneously respecting the text and revising it (pp. 234-237).

Tedlock's analysis indicates the elasticity of the Origin tale, as well as its central place in Zuni culture. Its "factualness" is not an issue to Zunis. But Zuni religious leaders also wish to caution the reader that some of Tedlock's information on Zuni religion may be incorrect.

Tedlock, Dennis. "Zuni Religion and World View." In *Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest*, Vol. 9. Alfonso Ortiz, vol. ed., general editor William C. Sturtevant. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979.

In this reference work Tedlock contributed an overview of the Zuni religion. A subsection entitled "Death and the End of the World" offered a few interpretations of Zuni beliefs about the afterlife:

When a person has been separated from his former daylight existence by four deaths, he finds himself all the way back at the hole where the Zunis emerged from the earth, which is even farther west than Kachina Village (Tedlock and Tedlock 1971-1972:A7, 1), or else he has descended, death by death, to the lowest of the four underworlds, where the Zunis originated (Edmund J. Ladd, personal communication) (p. 507).

Tedlock has alluded to a topic which further indicates the importance of the place of Emergence to Zuni culture.

Tedlock, Dennis, and Tedlock, Barbara, eds. *Teachings From the American Earth: Indian Religion and Philosophy*. New York: Liveright, 1975.

The Tedlocks explored the ways in which knowledge of the eternal is reached in various tribes, and the nature of their world views.

In "An American Indian View of Death," written by Dennis, a capsule Pueblo emergence tale was told, in which Sun Father summoned the people "from the darkness of the underworld to live in his light. Emergence into the light was the first in a whole series of unique historical events" that separated people from the "raw" or natural world. The contemporary presentation of a newborn infant to the sun recapitulates this Emergence (p. 265).

Dennis Tedlock mentioned the journey of the Zuni soul back "to the hole where their own ultimate ancestors first emerged from the earth at the beginning of historical time," at a place even farther west than the Kachina Village known as Zuni Heaven (p. 268). (This western place was not named, but it is in the Grand Canyon.) People who had died four times over became "natural" beings again, a deer, for example, in a return to their prehistoric state.

He noted that Zuni rain priests were there at the Beginning, deep in the fourth Underworld from which Zunis rose. Rain priests accompanied the Zunis to the surface and then on their eastern migration. Rain priests pray for all mankind, he said, a grave responsibility. Please note: some of the information in this publication may be inaccurate, and Zuni religious leaders wish to caution the reader to be aware of this.

Tyler, Hamilton A. *Pueblo Gods and Myths*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.

Tyler was not an ethnographer, but he was empathetic, he said, to native cultures. In this book he offered a "composite picture of all the Pueblo gods," though there existed no pan-Pueblo pantheon.

Tyler drew on Western tradition (from Greek mythology to Freud to James Joyce) and well-known studies of the Zuni, Hopis, et al, to analyze Puebloan culture as a whole. In "The Creators and Their Creations," he noted the Emergence of some Pueblo peoples from the Grand Canyon, although he did not mention the canyon by name:

there is considerable certainty and unanimity of accounts between [the Acoma, Zuni, and Hopi] on the events relating to the emergence of mankind through Shipapu [the opening through which the ancestors emerged] (p. 103).

He discussed "The Beginning," "The Emergence," and so on, for their literary qualities and in relation to universal mythical themes. Some of Tyler's information on Zuni religion, it must be noted, is incorrect.

Tyler, Lyman. "Rebuttal Report." *The Zuni Indians of New Mexico v. The United States*. United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L (filed April 27, 1979).

In 1979, the Zuni Tribe filed a claim against the federal government in order to retrieve traditional lands taken without compensation from their forefathers. Witness-for-the-defense Earl H. Elam provided the Justice Department with a badly skewed and slipshod case against the Zunis, claiming, in general, that the disputed land never belonged to the Tribe. Lyman Tyler, who was a historian and the director of the American West Center at the University of Utah, submitted this rebuttal to Elam's argument. It summarized some of the important evidence presented by witnesses for the Zunis.

Tyler began by listing places, near and far from Zuni Pueblo, that are sacred to the Zunis; these included Chimik/ankyate/a, which Tyler defined as the "Place of beginning" at Ribbon Falls in the Grand Canyon; he acquired this information from Chester MaHooty's deposition (p. 4). Other depositions revealed widespread traditional use of the landscape by Zunis. Alonzo Hustido's deposition, for example, mentioned that plants important to Zuni practices could be collected "anywhere" in their traditional lands (p. 6). Anthropologist Triloki Pandey testified that ancient shrines and sacred cultural markers historically have been used to denote and maintain geographical boundaries (p. 12). Pandey also reported Zuni trading and ceremonial relationships with the Hopis and Havasupais, peoples near the Grand Canyon place of Emergence. Although not mentioned here, such trade included sacred items from the Grand Canyon. (All of the above-mentioned sources are cited in this annotated bibliography.)

The report ended by saying that the author knew of no permanent loss of territory within the Zuni land claim area until the United States government seized these lands from Mexico and began permitting settlement in 1848.

Underhill, Ruth. *Red Man's Religion: Beliefs and Practices of the Indians North of Mexico*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965.

"All Pueblos have the tale of emergence from the Underground," Underhill noted in introducing a generic version of Pueblo Origin tales (p. 206). In such tales, she said, humans came from the earth; from the lowest womb of the Earth, they came up like seeds, called into daylight by the Sun.

This is as specific as this book gets about the Zuni Emergence in the Grand Canyon; Underhill otherwise attempted a northern continental survey of indigenous religious perspectives.

United States. *Annual Report upon the Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian, in California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, Arizona, and Montana: Appendix JJ, Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers for 1876.* By George M. Wheeler. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1876.

Wheeler's 1876 annual report said almost nothing about Zuni, although Lt. Charles C. Morrison of the Sixth Cavalry supplied a report of a route survey conducted through portions of southern Colorado, northern New Mexico and Arizona.

Morrison informed his superiors of the few available routes from Wingate, New Mexico, to Prescott, Arizona. One of these was a road "running south over the Zuni Mountains to the Puebla [sic] of Zuni, down the creek of the same name; thence, crossing over to the White Mountains at Summit Spring, the road runs to Camp Apache" (p. 143).

Like many other surveyors and explorers, Morrison had taken the well-worn trail from Zuni Pueblo to Kothlu/wala:wa (or "Zuni heaven," a sacred area) along the ancient Zuni Migration route. From there he followed traditional Indian trade routes to the outlying region. These trails all interconnected, some leading to the Grand Canyon, where Zunis went on religious pilgrimages and to trade with local tribes.

United States. *Hearing Before the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, One Hundred Third Congress, First Session, on Oversight Hearing on the Need for Amendments to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, February 9, 1993, Albuquerque, New Mexico.* Washington, D. C.: U. S. Printing Office, 1993.

These (as yet unpassed) amendments to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA) of 1974 were intended to further specify and strengthen rights of tribes to practice religious traditions. Among the people testifying before the committee was Governor Robert E. Lewis of the Zuni Pueblo.

Governor Lewis introduced the Zuni spiritual leaders who had accompanied him to show their support for these amendments. He then explained to the Senate Committee the Zuni reverence for plants, animals, and the land and sacred places where worship is conducted "to the Master of the Universe" (p. 14). Noting the feeling with which Zunis give thanks to their Creator, the Governor also pointed out that the majority of the members of the religious orders were young, implying that religious traditions remain vital among the Zuni people. Regarding religious uses of resources, he commented:

When the States were formed and county lines were set up, it was like shutting the door on our people to obtain in areas that were now off their reservation areas plants that served as medicinal herbs . . . that [our people in the medicine societies] needed to do the healing process . . . as well as for other uses (ibid).

A printed statement that Lewis submitted at the hearing reminded the Senate Committee that "Zuni is about the only tribe in the United States that has a year-round cycle of religious activities" (p. 323), and that

these religious/spiritual practices have been carried on for thousands of years. The form of government which the Zuni "emerged" with, whenever the beginning was, closely related with the spiritual side that kept the tribe together through the good and bad years they encountered. The faith and trust that they always maintained toward the Creator of the Universe never slackened (p. 324).

Although it did not explain that the Grand Canyon contained the place of Emergence for Zunis and other tribes, the statement said that, in the past, places of Indian worship were sometimes shared by several tribes. "Groups were never molested on their pilgrimages to places beyond their own boundaries."

When states were formed and cut up into counties, etc., many places of tribal [altar sites] were put off of tribal reservations and even into other states. . . . The majority of [such sacred sites] wherever they may be . . . are only [used] for brief periods at certain times of the year. Other areas that some tribes wish to preserve permanently as very special off-limit sites for justifiable reasons, should be

honored. No Indian, no matter what tribe they may represent, would ever desecrate burials of other tribes, nor burials of non-Indians (pp. 324-325).

In addition to shrines and burial sites, the statement reiterated the importance to Zunis of certain plants and herbs growing in areas far from the reservation. Travelling to collect such plants, a Zuni "will first go through prayers before gathering, and gathering only what is needed for use, until the next season. The same is done by other tribal healers." Birds, too, in carefully limited quantities, provide feathers for ceremonies; again, "no Indian will take more [than] what is needed" (p. 325).

The Zuni religious society called the Mudhead Society submitted a supporting memorandum to the Zuni AIRFA coalition, and this was also published with the hearing statements. The Society noted that the Zuni religion and culture is unique and complex, and that the religion and places of worship are in harmony with nature.

The Zunis' aboriginal land use in the past encompassed lands in east-central Arizona; the Society expressed its concern about obtaining eagle feathers, migratory waterfowl and songbirds, plants, animals and certain minerals outside the reservation. "At present," it stated, "our land use is small in what is now our reservation. . . ." (p. 329). The Mudheads reminded the committee that the Society uses special feathers on a monthly schedule

in the form of prayer sticks that are one time offerings at our sacred sites. We do not retrieve past offerings and replace worn feathers. They are planted into the Mother Earth for time immemorial (ibid).

The animals, plants and natural substances used in the Zuni religion depend upon each religious society and the time of year. Certain medicinal plants are known to, and used by, certain societies. "The natural substances we use in our religion [are] hard to label and name, using the English language," the Society wrote, but most are found within Zuni's aboriginal lands, albeit outside current reservation boundaries. Dozens of other Zuni religious societies--whose members run into the hundreds--also use these resources in similar ways, the memorandum continued; "the religious cycle never ends" (p. 330).

The memorandum from the Mudhead Society concluded:

We hope that the proposed amendments to AIRFA pass, so that our sacred shrines, ancestral sites, sacred gathering areas, and all things that are important and significant to Zuni religion, culture, and history, can be protected and preserved in perpetuity for future generations (ibid).

United States. "Hearings in the Matter of: Consultation Meeting Before the Task Force to Implement the American Indian Religious Freedom Act." Vol. II, Transcript of Proceedings, at the Zuni Recreation Center, Pueblo of Zuni, June 23, 1979. Albuquerque: Macias Reporting Service. Transcript lacks page numbers.

In this public hearing on the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, held at Zuni, a variety of people spoke in general terms about Zuni religious practices. They expressed deeply-held religious convictions and concern for the protection both of their sacred places and their religious privacy.

Tribal Archaeologist T. J. Ferguson prefaced his comments with a note of caution: while we may speak of sacred artifacts and places, this often fails to convey adequately spiritual qualities along with the physical. "There are . . . various types of power that exist in places and objects that Anglos simply don't recognize," he said. Ferguson recommended the institution of a federal register for Native American sacred places, although he recognized that the sensitive and private nature of some of these sites would complicate such a system. When a sacred place is listed, "then you begin to lose control over that information of where that place is and some very special safeguards need to be made before the Zuni Tribe will be willing to list anything. . . ."

Edmund Ladd, an archaeologist and a Zuni, provided an outline of the Origin and Emergence narrations of the Zuni People for the task force. He described coming up from the four Underworlds in the Beginning and stated that

Our religion didn't come from anywhere. It wasn't given to us by somebody else.

We originated with it. . . . [and] many of the religious aspects of our culture came in from the four worlds below, at the beginning of time. Every four years, our people moved. . . . They stayed in various places, [you] could go out in the areas now, and you'll see where the people lived from time to time: the great ruins of Mesa Verde, the great ruins of the Colorado River. These are places where our people lived, looked for the sun of the world.

Ladd discussed the ways in which prayer sticks are utilized, and impressed upon the committee the variety and complexity of Zuni religious observance. "These religious leaders are constantly aware of religion," he stated. "These people must be purified at all times, even those that have been appointed only for one year."

Several people mentioned that Zuni religious leaders had remained awake far into the previous night discussing the vital matter of protection for their religious places and practices. Alvin Nastacio spoke of sacred places and used the Zuni metaphor of coming up from the darkness to describe his own religious education as a child. Speaking of the ancestors and sacred ground, he said that "we're all over, outside of our reservation, from east to west, north to south." While he could not tell exactly how far the ancestors went, he knew that Arizona State "is ours." To this Edmund Ladd added that the leaders had discussed creating a list of Zuni sacred places. "The [Newekwe] Society had their society as coming all the way up from the Grand Canyon," he

said. "The San Francisco Peaks, the junction of the Little Colorado [with the Zuni River] is most important to us." Many such places were important to their people.

The discussion turned to sacred Zuni artifacts currently stored or displayed in museums, and Alonzo Hustido expressed his concern that idols of the twin war gods held by the Smithsonian Institution be returned. The war gods were "the two boys that brought us up from the four worlds below. . . . They are the ones who are put out on the shrines and they are the ones who protect the entire world."

Hustido was followed by Vera Bellison, who felt strongly that the confidentiality of Zuni religious matters should be maintained. Such things should be secret, she said. "I have been taught how to keep my religion inside my own heart, never to pass it on to another person unless [it is someone from] my belief and clan." Her comments illustrate the dilemma that the Zunis face when wishing simultaneously to protect sacred spaces outside of Zuni and yet maintain traditional religious privacy.

United States. *Preliminary Report Concerning Explorations and Surveys Principally in Nevada and Arizona. Prosecuted in Accordance with Paragraph 2, Special Orders No. 109, War Department, March 18, 1871, and Letter of Instructions of March 23, 1871, from Brigadier General A. A. Humphreys, Chief of Engineers. Conducted under the Immediate Direction of 1st Lieut by George M. Wheeler, Army Corps of Engineers.* Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1872.

The surveys outlined in this report included a trip undertaken with some trepidation into "the jaws of the Grand Cañon" in October 1871. "After many difficulties," Wheeler wrote, "in comparison with which any other hardships and privations of the expedition sink into insignificance," the exhausted boat party reached the mouth of Diamond Creek (p. 18). Breaking into smaller groups, the surveyors explored some of the tributaries of the Colorado.

Wheeler was largely ignorant about the many Indian peoples met along the way, and was often hostile, especially toward the less "friendly" tribes. He briefly recorded his (or his subordinates') observations about these people and the numerous archaeological ruins that his surveyors encountered:

The ruins of the famous Aztec tribes, a name so rythmical in legend, were met in many localities. Their status can be referred to as little better than--if indeed quite as good as--those Pueblo Indians, among whom we now have evidences remaining in the Zunis and Moquis besides other local tribes on the Rio Grande, however great their numbers might have been (p. 29).

The report made no further mention of the Zunis, but it does illustrate the amount of archaeological evidence available regarding Zuni migrations from their place of Origin in the Grand Canyon.

United States. *The Zuni Tribe of New Mexico v. The United States*. United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L. Opinion filed May 27, 1987.

This opinion rendered in a suit for the return of traditional Zuni lands to the Zuni people included a detailed explanation of the court's findings. The following is a summary of the points relevant to the Glen Canyon Environmental Study:

The court acknowledged the Zunis' claim that they have traditionally used a far larger area of land for life-sustaining activities--including worship--than they physically occupy (p. 3). Landforms marked the boundaries of this traditional area, including the bottom of the Grand Canyon in the northwest corner of the claim area, and they were valid substitutes for legal documents or titles (p. 10). The Zunis clearly had ancient ties to the land, perhaps as far back as 5000 B. C. because of the Zunis' probable relation to the Prehistoric Puebloans or Anasazi (p. 14). When their habitation sites were consolidated (by A.D. 1450), the Zunis did not abandon the outlying portions of their sustaining area or claim area, but "continued to make traditional use of the entire area for farming, hunting, and other life-sustaining activities" (p. 18): "the ancient ties of Zuni people to their land is presently manifest in the tribal oral tradition about Zuni origin and migration and in the physical artifacts representing the archaeological history of Zuni culture" (p. 20).

The court noted that oral history, like any religious history, can become somewhat inaccurate. But it recognized that the transmission of historical data and tradition was always of vital concern when little or no reliance was placed on documentation. "Given the import attached to the oral transmission of history and religious observation by the Zuni," the court found such recounted history to be valuable testimony to the Zunis' ancient ties to the land (p. 21). According to Zuni tradition, the document continued,

The people at Zuni migrated from other places, particularly "The Place of Beginning" located at Ribbon Falls in the Grand Canyon. In their migration eastward from the Grand Canyon to their present location, the Zunis stopped at a number of places which are still remembered in their prayers and visited periodically to make offerings (p. 22).

The religious boundaries of the Zunis' land, it stated, extended to the Grand Canyon and Mohave Desert to the west. It recognized traditional demarcations of Zuni territory, including the San Francisco Peaks,

one of the first stopping places on the migration of the Zunis from "The Place of Beginning" in the Grand Canyon to their present location at the Pueblo of Zuni. . . . These mountains marked the western edge of exclusive Zuni use and occupation as of 1846 and the common boundary point between Zuni and Hopi and Havasupai lands (p. 44).

In addition, "entire regions . . . may take on important and unique religious values. Thus, each stopping place in the origin and migration narrative of the Zunis is a shrine area held in special esteem" (p. 52).

The court also noted that, for a variety of medicinal, religious, and other reasons, "the Zuni people collected various plants from every biotic community in the Zuni area, from the Alpine tundra at the top of the San Francisco Peaks, to the Mohave Desert scrub in the bottom of the Grand Canyon" (p. 53). Zunis also "gathered minerals from the petrified forest, the Malpais, the Grand Canyon, the Gallo and Mogollon Mountains, and every other corner of their country" (p. 54). Some collections were for trading purposes. Ganado, a "place where water could be found on the Zuni/Hopi trail and was often used by Zuni traders," was a landmark dividing Zuni lands from their neighbors' lands; likewise with Steamboat Canyon (p. 47). Trade extended northwest along two branching trails to San Juan country and to the Hopi villages, and on to the Grand Canyon. "Another trail went to the Grand Canyon from Kothluwalawa, following the ancient migration route. From Hopi and Zuni, trails went west to the Colorado River and the tribes living along it." And so on in all directions (p. 57).

In conclusion, the court recognized a series of natural features as traditional Zuni boundary markers and ruled in favor of the Zunis.

Vacit, Frank. "Deposition of Frank Vacit." *The Zuni Indians of New Mexico v. The United States*. United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L (filed April 27, 1979).

This deposition was taken in February 22, 1980 for a suit filed by the Zuni Tribe for the return of certain traditional lands.

Mr. Vacit was 65 years old, and sometimes spoke through an interpreter, Edmund Ladd. He discussed the significance of sacred places, and why they were named in prayers related to the ancient Zuni Migration. Like other Zuni witnesses for this case, clarified why the places of Zuni Emergence and Migration are of vital importance to the Zunis. They are all considered sacred.

Vogt, Evon Z., and Roberts, John M. "A Study in Values." *Scientific American* 195 (July 1956):25-31.

Concerned with the way values function in organizing behavior, the Harvard University Laboratory of Social Relations initiated a study in 1949 of five cultural traditions in the region south of Gallup: Zunis Navajo, Mormons, Catholic Spanish-Americans, and Protestant-American homesteaders from Texas. Living in close contact with one another and faced with similar living conditions, the researchers wondered, why do great differences among these groups persist?

One of the more predictable differences between Zunis and the non-Indians was their sense of their relationship to the land. The Anglo Mormons and Texans shared an outlook of mastery over nature, while Zunis had "developed techniques of cooperating with nature" (p. 30):

This attitude is of course sustained by a body of realistic information on ways to make a living in a difficult environment. . . . [The Zuni] lives in the present, but in many things, much more than any of his neighbors, he looks back to the past. It is a glorious past, an ancient mythological time when Zuñis came up from the "wombs" of the earth, wandered around, and finally settled in the "middle place," where their descendants to this day still maintain a shrine to mark the center of the universe" (p. 30).

The researchers were careful to build a rapport with their informants, and thus felt it was not "politic to study prayers, ceremonies and other religious matters at close range" among the Zunis (p. 26). Therefore they would not have acquired much information about the rise from those "wombs of the earth" into the Grand Canyon, but they did acknowledge that the Zunis were

organized in a complicated series of interlocking religious, kinship and secular units in which the individual strikes a delicate balance with external authority. . . . Zuñis have been characterized as having a kind of "middle of the road," "avoidance of excess" approach to life, in the manner of the ancient Greeks. Although this characterization must be qualified, it still symbolizes the Zuñi ideal (p. 28).

Thus did the researchers reach at least some understanding about the Zunis: that they maintained their ancient religious beliefs, including those about the Grand Canyon area as their place of Genesis, and that they still held to their traditional ideals about the way their relationship to the land should be conducted. However, some of Vogt and Robert's information regarding Zuni religion may be inaccurate.

Voth, H. R. *The Traditions of the Hopi: The Stanley McCormick Hopi Expedition*. Chicago: Field Columbian Museum Anthropological Series, Publication 96, Vol 8, March 1905.

Among other tales, Voth printed one man's version of the Hopi Origin Tale. In the course of the telling, his informant described all the people living in the Underworld. He said that all different kinds of people were there, "except the Zuñi and the Kóhonino, who have come from another place" (p. 19). Again, on page 48, the story-teller said that "[A]fter all the people, except the Zunis, had come out from the underworld through the sipahpuni, they remained for some time with Skeleton (Másauwuu) . . ."

Voth's informant was implying that the Zunis Emerged into the Grand Canyon, otherwise he would not have brought them into his discussion of the peoples who arrived at this world through the Canyon. He was also aware that, although both Hopis and Zunis emerged from the Grand Canyon, their points of emergence were not the same.

Warner, Louis H. "Zuni Indians Are Exclusive." *National Republic* 18 (April 1930):7, 32, 43.

Warner, the Chairman of the U. S. Public Lands Board, discussed the surveys completed at Zuni and why the Zunis wished to include Corn Mountain (mistranslated here as Thunder Mountain). Sympathetic to the Zuni claim, he repeated the Zuni flood tale, in which two children sacrificed their lives on Corn Mountain that their people might live, and found in it a lesson of personal sacrifice for the public good.

As to Shalako and other Zuni traditions, Warner thought that whites would never know them well. He commented that the Zunis' "closest relationship seems to have been with the Hopi people," who "claim a like origin" (p. 7). Warner did not know that this common origin was in the Grand Canyon (albeit from separate points), a place highly sacred to both tribes.

Warner, Louis H. "Zuni, the Largest of Pueblos." *National Republic* 18 (Aug. 1930):22, 40.

Louis Warner presented Zuni as a romantic place, isolated from Gallup and (fortunately, he thought) the modern world. He wandered fondly through his impressions of Zuni traditions, comparing the Zuni and biblical flood stories and noting that Zuni Pueblo stood at the center of the universe, according to their legends. He mistook this spot as their place of Emergence, commenting inaccurately that "from it their ancestors emerged into the light of the outer world at the beginning. Other pueblo peoples will tell you of the emergence by four stages from the regions below, but none, to my knowledge, claims to know the spot" (p. 22).

Obviously, the Zunis were holding back on Mr. Warner, for they knew very well of their Emergence from the Grand Canyon and of their Migration to the Middle Place at Zuni.

Washburn, Dorothy K. *Living in Balance: The Universe of the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo and Apache*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1995.

"The Zuni and Hopi believe they originated from the womb of Mother Earth and rose through a series of underworlds to this, the fourth world," Washburn's section on the "Puebloan perspective" began. This idea of origination from the Earth, she said, of being just one of many living things involved in the great cycle of birth, death and renewal, diverges striking from the widespread notion of humanity's Creation and ascribed mastery of the Earth. The Zunis and Hopis recognize and sustain this relationship with Mother Earth through a full calendar of dance, prayer and ritual (p. 17).

In both cultures, Washburn continued, each clan has its own history of migration from its place of emergence to its present home. Archaeological studies continue to clarify the clan-based nature of population migration and settlement. Numerous small sites that were occupied and vacated after a short time could well be the former homes of clans moving in concert with environmental conditions.

Washburn reprinted a poem representing the Emergence and Migration written by Zuni anthropologist (and tribal member) Edmund Ladd. She stressed that this is but one version of many. "In the beginning," Ladd commenced,

There were no humans  
 on the surface of the earth.  
 Every day Sun Father came up in the east  
 traveled high over Mother Earth . . .  
 But the days were empty  
 there was no dancing  
 no laughter  
 no singing.  
 [T]here were no prayers  
 no offerings.  
 Every day as Sun Father traveled  
 high above Mother Earth  
 he could hear the cries  
 of his children deep in the womb  
 of Mother Earth.  
 One day as Sun Father was passing overhead  
 he paused at high noon[.]  
 He created the Twin Gods  
 And said to them  
 "Go, go into Mother Earth and  
 bring my children into my light."  
 The Twin Gods obeyed Sun Father.  
 After many trials and tribulations

they brought Sun Father's children  
up from the Four Worlds below,  
to his light.

That was the Beginning--  
*Chimeganu/kya* (p. 19).

Of *Chimeganu/kya* (or *Chimik'yana'kya dey'a*), Ladd offered an aside in his poem, saying that the exact place of origin was not known, but that it was somewhere to the West. But, based on the word of the beginning, he added, people say that it was the Grand Canyon. The poem continues through the Migrations and final arrival at the Middle Place. (A similar, also abridged, version of this poem is annotated in this bibliography under Ladd.)

Washburn included some maps of traditional Zuni areas. One, based on a map by Ferguson and Hart (reprinted elsewhere in this bibliography) illustrates the Zuni place of Emergence (written as *Chimik'yana'kya dey'a* and translated as Grand Canyon) and Migration to the Middle Place, Zuni Pueblo itself. The Migration legends, she commented, "establish the framework of the Zuni universe, the key celestial figures who assist the Zuni on earth, and the travels of the Zuni to the center place" (p. 18).

A brief section named some especially important natural features in a landscape sacred in its entirety to the Zunis. Among them was *Kothlu/wal:wa*, or Zuni Heaven, which is at the confluence of the Little Colorado River and the Zuni River, and, of course, *Chimik'yana'kya dey'a*, "a place in the Grand Canyon where the Zuni emerged" (p. 20).

Waters, Frank. "The Middle Place, Between Old and New: Zuni Pueblo." *New Mexico Magazine* 49 (November-December 1971):57-66.

"*Itiwana*," the Middle Place, the middle of the world, has been its other ceremonial name since the First Beginning," reads Waters' introduction. "*Long, long ago when the people emerged from the fourth underworld and were searching for the sacred middle of this upper world, they came to a little river. . . . This river was the Zuni, and it was there that the Zuni people found a home at the middle of the world* (p. 12).

To this day, the Zunis practice their ancient religion; "one of the most complex and deeply rooted, it has a long tradition" (p. 14).

Waters, Frank. *Masked Gods: Navajo and Pueblo Ceremonialism*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1950.

Waters recapitulated the history of the Spanish conquest of the Southwest, but his primary goal was to synthesize a common ceremonial pattern from among Navajos and Pueblo Indians, as well as Mayas, Aztecs, and Incans. He tended to divide people into "us and them," "us" being "rational" whites and "them" being the Indians, whom he designated "a people predominantly intuitive by nature" (p. 13).

The book offered a Navajo creation tale which began "in the Beginning the people lived in several worlds below. Successively they emerged from them to a new world above" through a hole in the ground where a giant rock stood (p. 167). Using Elsie Clews Parsons' and Frank Hamilton Cushing's translations of the Zuni Creation tale, Waters also referred to the Zuni Emergence from the Underworld, adding that, like the Navajos, the Zunis conceived of an earth Mother "through whose successive womb-worlds they emerged to this one" (pp. 169-170). Zuni symbols included *sipapu* (actually a Hopi term), at the place of Emergence in the Grand Canyon:

It leads back down into the depths of the earth; into her who is known as the Goddess Mother of creation, Our Mother Earth. It too is a mighty rock, as long as a mountain range, as high as its highest peak. But upside down. A deep cleft in the earth, a monstrous chasm . . . the Grand Canyon is impervious to time and change . . . For us, as for the Hopi, Grand Canyon is the largest and deepest *sipapu* into the nebulous past . . . Through this *sipapu* we come to the deep underworld, the heart of the rock, the womb of Our Mother Earth. It is the revered Place of Beginning whence came man (pp. 170-173).

He continued to describe the Underworlds. A system of waterways existed underground, connecting ultimately with four encircling oceans. Various springs and lakes were openings to this system.

Waters described the Zuni place of worship as one which simulated the Underworld, with its submerged space and symbolic *sipapu*. "The kiva is not only an architectural symbol of the physical universe," he said. "The universe with . . . its great *sipapu* canyon, is itself but a structural symbol of the mystical soul-form of all creation (p. 174). He added that "the [Zuni] creation myth is . . . not only the story of man's journey up through these four Underworlds, but of his evolutionary development on the way" (p. 178). In the evolutionary scheme, man must also recognize his kinship with animals, even though he is chief over the lower forms of life.

Wisely, Waters acknowledged the difficulty in obtaining information about sacred rituals. Paid Indian informants "even today" would impart misleading information to ethnologists; some cameras were smashed at public dances, and "secrecy is the rule" (p. 225). As he understood, some of the information given to him may have been incorrect, and Zuni religious leaders would caution the reader to keep this in mind when reading Waters' writings on Zunis religion.

Weber, Steven A., and Seaman, David P., eds. *Havasupai Habitat: A. F. Whiting's Ethnography of a Traditional Indian Culture*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985.

Weber and Seaman reprinted and updated some of Alfred Whiting's data on the Havasupai, gathered by Whiting in 1941 but never published. His fieldwork in ethnobotany was intended to supplement Leslie Spier's 1928 study of the Havasupais, but Whiting died before the work could be completed. *Havasupai Habitat* surveyed Havasupai folkways, healthcare, uses of the land, and so on.

A chapter on natural resources used by the Havasupai included a notation on hematite or red ochre, which was used to make paint. It could be found on Diamond Creek, in the Hualapai Reservation, as well as in Cataract Canyon (and other sites) in the Grand Canyon. The entry stated that the Hopis relied upon the Havasupais and the Hualapais for their supply. "Through the Hopi, the red paint passed east to many tribes, particularly the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico" (p. 160). An accompanying description told of the harrowing climb to reach the mineral cave on the face of a cliff, and of the many uses of the red paint, including facial and bodily decorations, sunblock, and salves. Sphalerite galena, another mineral gathered from the Hualapai Reservation, could be ground into black paint. "At one time this material was traded as far east as the Zuni," although by 1941 this particular deposit was no longer in use.

Sacred paints from the Grand Canyon remain vital to many Zuni ceremonial masks, body decorations, altars, and religious activities.

Wiget, Andrew O. "The Oral Literature of Native North America: A Critical Anthology." Vols. I and II. (Ph. D. diss., University of Utah, 1977.)

Wiget's dissertation is a critical analysis of themes, genres, styles, and other literary values in a wide-ranging sample of Native American oral literature. He included the Zuni Origin narrations as recorded by Frank H. Cushing and Ruth Bunzel in his analysis, as well as lullabies and secular tales.

Wiget, Andrew O. "Oral Tradition: A People's Shared Memory." In *Zuni History: Victories in the 1990s*. Sec. II. Seattle: Institute of the North American West, 1991.

In 1988 the Pueblo of Zuni received a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to record contemporary Zuni storytellers, and Wiget was the project coordinator.

Traditional stories from the pueblo are of two types, Wiget noted. One is the folktale (telapna:we), which uses special words or formulas, and the other is the ino:te pena:wa, or "ancient speaking," which includes "public" versions of the Zuni Emergence tale (chimikyankowa). Wiget did not discuss the tale of the Emergence further, but he did make a strong case for the reliability of oral storytelling.

Wiget, Andrew O. "Sayatasha's Night Chant: A Literary Textual Analysis of a Zuni Ritual Poem." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 4 (1980):99-140.

Using Ruth Bunzel's version of Satasha's Night Chant, Wiget analyzed the lengthy ritual poem as a cultural and literary form. He commented that the central portion of the narrative is devoted to a reenactment of the sacred journey to the Middle Place from the point of Emergence (which is in the Grand Canyon, although Wiget does not state so directly). This Migration defined the sacred space of the Zuni People:

Shrines are places made sacred, and the origin myth recalls that at these places men interacted with the supernatural. To reenact this journey is to renew, through participation, contact with the supernatural in the dimension of space in a repetitive mode similar to that by which the ceremony renews the world in the dimension of time (p. 103).

Through the tale of Emergence, Zunis identify sacred space with Man's becoming. The Middle Place--the Center--is the point of union between heaven and earth, the sacred and profane, and it is there that Man, the highest creation, can be completed. The symbols of the ritual form a mimetic pattern. By returning to the Origin and place of creation, ritually duplicating the act of creation and therefore identifying one's self with the design of the First Being, the Sayatasha impersonator brings about the renewal of the world.

Zuni religious leaders wish to remind readers that some of the information in this publication may be incorrect.

Wilson, Edmund. *Red, Black, Blond and Olive. Studies in Four Civilizations: Zuñi, Haiti, Soviet Russia, Israel.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

The author did not set out to compare these four cultures, although he did find some perhaps-inevitable similarities. Zunis, Haitians and Israelis as groups displayed a high degree of religious faith; even the Soviets, he thought, saw in Marxism a process of the Dialectic differing little from the will of God in its inevitability. Wilson visited the Zunis and observed some religious ceremonies in 1947, relying on Bunzel, Stevenson and Cushing to fill in some details. The Zuni portion of the book was first published in *The New Yorker* in 1949.

Although he confessed to impatience with Zuni "exclusiveness," Wilson was a thoughtful observer, curious about Zuni social life. He described the kachinas and performances of Shalako, but he also watched with interest the way that the other Zunis conducted themselves during the ceremonies. He recognized Zunis' defensiveness regarding anthropologists and other whites who witnessed sacred ceremonies but abused the privilege. "Though the Zuñis sixty years ago were made the object of intimate ethnographic studies, they are today determined that the whites shall never again photograph their ceremonies or take down their chants and prayers" (p. 6). It is well to remember, then, that some of Wilson's information about Zuni religion may be inaccurate.

The pueblo's "strength and cohesion it seems mainly to owe to the extraordinary tribal religion: a complicated system of priesthoods, fraternities, and clans which supplies it with a medical service, a judiciary machinery, and year-long entertainment," he said, "as well as performing the usual function of religion." Wilson noted that the Zuni religion imposed an effective discipline upon its members, and he found Zunis as a group to be "extremely self-controlled, industrious and self-reliant" (p. 4). This discipline included the patience of individuals who memorized lengthy prayers and dances for the Pueblo's sacred ceremonies. Dances that would bring rain had to be reproduced exactly right. "The speech made by Sáyatasha alone--which the actor has had to learn by heart--takes him six hours to deliver" (p. 33). Another Shalako figure "enumerates all the springs that the Zuñis in their wanderings passed, when they were looking for a site for their town" (p. 30).

The importance of religious traditions and discipline to the entire Zuni community was obvious to Edmund Wilson. His faith in Western culture somewhat undermined by modern materialism and shaken by the devastations of World War II, he saw in Zuni culture a matchless elegance and spiritual steadfastness.

Woodward, Arthur. "A Modern Zuñi Pilgrimage." *The Masterkey* 6 (May 1932):44-51.

In June 1925, a group of Zunis traveled to Los Angeles at the invitation of the Shriners, who were holding their annual convention there. Upon hearing that the group had spent a day by the ocean, which none had ever seen, Woodward interviewed their interpreter, Warren Ondelacy, to learn of their reactions.

Woodward prefaced this article by commenting on the importance of water in Zuni tradition. Citing Frank Cushing, he noted that the "twin culture heroes" -- who had brought the Zunis from the dark underworlds, leading them up ladders to the light, from one cavern to another until they arose to the surface of the earth -- had themselves emerged from the "foam of the great waters" (p. 44).

Woodward learned that, because the Pacific Ocean had an important place in Zuni religious traditions, the emotions of the Zuni group had been "very close to the surface." Ondelacy later sent Woodward a letter recapitulating what the sojourners had told their community about the trip. "I have met the gods of the rainmakers whom we have always addressed in our prayers," was their collective summation (p. 48).

This article reminds us that Zuni religious traditions about water and the gifts of the earth were remembered and perpetuated with utmost reverence. Yet it is also well to remember that Woodward was probably uninformed about Zuni religion and that much of his information may have been inaccurate.

Wright, Barton. *Kachinas of the Zuni*. Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1985.

*Kachinas of the Zuni* reproduced paintings of many of the Zuni kachinas, with descriptions of their functions, individual costumes and ceremonies. He provided an overview of the role of kachinas in Zuni society and of the material aspects of ceremonial dances and rituals. Zuni religious leaders would caution the reader to remember, however, that some of Wright's information may be inaccurate.

Wright discussed the retreats required of kachina impersonators and the importance of planting prayer sticks at various shrines (often secret and thus not named). He also pointed out that all young males were traditionally initiated into the Kachina Society; part of this initiation was to listen to a two or three hour recitation of the Creation story. This story of Emergence and Migration from the Grand Canyon (which Wright did not mention) was and is central to Zuni culture.

Wright, Barton, ed. *The Mythic World of the Zuni*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

Drawing on Cushing's writings, Wright recounted the Emergence and Migration narrations in discrete stages, accompanied by Wright's own illustrations. From Matilda Coxe Stevenson, however, comes his knowledge of the place of Emergence as "Jimit'kianap-kiatea," which he identified as "a water-filled opening . . . far to the northwest" (pp. 114-113). In his glossary Wright identified Jimit'kianap-kiatea as "the spring where the Zuni emerged from the Underworlds" (p. 160), but he did not acknowledge its location in the Grand Canyon.

Wytsalucy, Mecalito [also spelled Mecalita Wytsalucy]. "Deposition of Mecalito Wytsalucy." *The Zuni Indians of New Mexico v. The United States*. United States Claims Court, Docket No. 161-79L (filed April 27, 1979).

In 1980, several Zunis provided depositions in support of a land claim filed by the tribe the previous year. These men were asked to discuss traditional Zuni relationships to the land, and provide details of the many ways that the tribe has used its natural resources. Mecalito Wytsalucy, head Rain Priest of the Zuni Tribe, gave this deposition on February 27, 1980. He was 85 years old.

The interview was relatively brief. An attorney asked him if he would like to offer any information about the Zuni People that he thought the court should know. Wytsalucy responded by citing the place of Emergence and a discussion that took place in 1930:

If you want to know something about the way we have originated and the way we have come, I will be able to tell you something about this.

When I was younger . . . I used to go to a place called Peach Springs, and there I met another Indian who told me about the place where we originated together.

The name of the Indian is . . . Kuh'ne:que, and I talked to this young man about the place where we originated.

I spoke to this young man and he said to me, asked me when I was going to return, but if I would write to him and tell him when I was going to come, either by train or by bus, he would meet me and we would go to the place where we originated (pp. 8-9).

The pair never did make the trip together, he said. He then discussed Kothlu/wala:wa (Zuni Heaven) and some ruins on the Zuni Migration route.

In paragraph three of the above quote, the translator who prepared the transcript may have slipped by referring to "Kuh'ne:que" as the young friend's name. This is actually the Zuni name for the Havasupais, who live in Cataract Canyon, which branches off of the Grand Canyon. (Peach Springs is the tribal headquarters of the Hualapai Reservation, another people of the Grand Canyon area.) What Wytsalucy and his friend were discussing was their common place of Origins, the Grand Canyon. That he felt it important, in an explanation of sacred Zuni places, to volunteer information on the Zuni place of Emergence indicates once again the centrality of the Grand Canyon to Zuni culture.

Wytsalucy, Mecalita [also spelled Mecalito Wytsalucy]. *Statement before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs and Public Lands of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, United States House of Representatives, June 28, 1977. Hearing on H. R. 3787 and S. 482, identical bills to direct the Secretary of the Interior to purchase and hold certain lands in trust for the Zuni Indian tribe of New Mexico; to confer jurisdiction on the court of claims with respect to land claims of such tribe; and to authorize such tribe to purchase and exchange lands in the states of New Mexico and Arizona.* Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1977.

Mr. Wytsalucy was the head cacique of the Zuni Tribe when he gave this statement to the congressional subcommittee. He commented on his responsibilities to the tribe, one of which was to make sure that the history of the Zuni people was passed down from one generation to the next through religious ceremony and tradition. "Many books have been written," he said, "about the place from where my people came and the stories they told about their migration."

The Zuni people came from the underworld somewhere in the Grand Canyon. They traveled for a distance and they built their homes and lived there for a period of time and then they moved on to another, then to another, and so on for many many years. They traveled through the State of Arizona, through New Mexico, up into the State of Colorado, and back down into the State of Arizona. This migration can be followed by going back and finding the ruins where our people stayed. . . . Once we settled in Zuni Pueblo we retraced our steps very often back to the various shrines that mark the path of our migration. It is necessary in our religion to revisit these sacred places often to offer prayers and ask for blessings.

Young, M. Jane. "The Nature of the Evidence: Archaeoastronomy in the Prehistoric Southwest." In *Astronomy and Ceremony in the Prehistoric Southwest*, John B. Carlson and James W. Judge, eds. Albuquerque: The Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, 1987.

Young's paper emphasized the connectedness of the past and present in Zuni culture. Prehistoric Zuni perceptions of space and time, she stated, were inwardly rather than outwardly directed:

In Zuni mythology, as in the more general Pueblo mythology, which the Puebloans themselves regard as history, the people at the time of the beginning lived in the fourth underworld, below the surface of the earth. There was no beginning to this "time of the beginning"--it simply *was*, before the time of the emergence. . . . In the Zuni origin myth, the search for the Center after the emergence from the underworld involves geographical travels that steadily spiral inward until the Center is reached (p. 186).

Although the Zunis may state that an event happened "a long time ago" or "in the beginning," Young noted, Zunis do not consider the occurrence described as "being over and done with, situated at a single point in a linear flow of time." Instead, it is ever-present, "informing the here and now" (ibid). Time is cyclical and in fact past, present, and future coexist. Indeed, the Origin is very much a part of consciousness and ceremony among Zunis today.

Young, M. Jane. *Signs from the Ancestors: Zuni Cultural Symbolism and Perceptions of Rock Art*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

*Signs from the Ancestors* explored the way in which modern Zunis interpret ancient rock art symbols, and what this suggests about their world view and their sense of time. Events central to Zuni identity, such as the Beginning and the journey to the center, are not in the past but are ever-present in the here and now. Rock art depictions, therefore, "serve as vehicles that bind together past and present" (p. 8).

In a chapter entitled "The Power of Image and Place," Young cited Ruth Bunzel's suggestion that the paint that is used by dancers or on masks has a power of its own. Young added that

Some of the power inherent in the paint may relate to its connection to the myth time. For instance, in painting prayer sticks and kachina masks the Zuni priests sometimes use special paint said to have been brought from the underworld at the time of the emergence. During the pilgrimage every four years, other sacred pigment is collected from the shores of the lake in which Kachina Village is located (pp. 191-192).

Young acknowledged that Zuni religious leaders allowed her to see few shrine areas during her research, but hypothesized that the presence of rock art images may add to the efficacy of shrines. Despite their centrality to the culture, Young cautioned, shrines were not the only areas significant to the Zunis. "In a wider sense they view everything as alive and sacred; their religion is all-encompassing" (p. 193).

Young, M. Jane, and Williamson, Ray A. "Ethnoastronomy: The Zuni Case." In *Archaeoastronomy in the Americas*, Ray A. Williamson, ed. Los Altos, California: Ballena Press, 1981.

These authors analyzed how traditional Pueblo Indians viewed and understood celestial bodies.

Of special interest is the relationship between Zuni Origin tales and the stars and constellations. The Twin War Gods, sons of the Sun who "led the people from the four underworlds to the surface of the earth," were the morning and evening stars (p. 184). In other words, the First People followed the twin stars into the chasm of the Grand Canyon.

The Zuni People. *The Zunis: Self-Portrayals*. Translated by Alvina Quam. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972.

In 1965 the major storytellers of the Zuni tribe recorded their oral literature, the legends and history of the Zuni Pueblo. Some of these were reprinted in this volume.

The stories and fables were organized around several themes: society, history, moral instruction, religion, and war and defense. Because it is a principal religious tale, the Zunis included "The Beginning" in the collection, taken from the Origin and Migration narrations.

One of the maps included in the book showed the interconnecting system of roads that stretched between Mt. Taylor to the east of Zuni to the Colorado River at Grand Canyon. This untitled map is attached.



**APPENDIX: Papers and Comments Presented at the Western History  
Association Conference on October 22, 1994, Albuquerque, New Mexico**

A. Chimoni, Harry, Zuni Cultural Resources Advisory Team, and Hart, E. Richard, Institute of the North American West. "Zuni and the Grand Canyon."

The Zunis first emerged out of Mother Earth's fourth womb at a sacred place deep within the Grand Canyon. The Zunis, or *A:shiwí* as we call ourselves, came into the first light of Sun Father at a beautiful spot near Ribbon Falls. Naturally the first things that happened to us and the first things that we saw became prominent in our prayers, ceremonies and religion. The point from which the first ray of sunlight reached us over a spot on the canyon rim; the plants that grew along the stream that flows from Ribbon Falls to the Colorado River; the birds and animals that we saw as we traveled out into the world; the brilliantly-colored minerals in the rock walls of the canyon; all of these things are recounted sacred in our prayers, and have a central place in our ceremonial religious activities and way of life.

After emerging into what non-Indians now call the Grand Canyon, we began a long search for the "Middle Place," a place where equilibrium and stability could be achieved, and where we could sustain ourselves for the foreseeable future. Many stops were made journeying up the Colorado River. Villages were built, and wherever a village was built shrines were built and offerings were made. When ancestral Zunis died, they were buried near these villages with accompanying ceremonies and blessings. At certain places during these travels the *Kokko*, our supernatural beings, delivered sacred information to the Zunis. Many of these villages and sacred places are remembered in our prayers and in the religious narratives that tell the story of our migration to the "Middle Place."

Still searching for the "Middle Place," the *A:shiwí* continued up what is now known as the Little Colorado River, stopping and settling at villages periodically, before moving on in their search. At the junction of the Little Colorado and the Zuni River the migrating *A:shiwí* had important interaction with the *Kokko*, and supernatural beings. This spot came to be the place where all Zunis go after death, and is known in Zuni as *Kolhu/wala:wa*, or "Zuni Heaven."

Eventually the Zunis located the "Middle Place" near the headwaters of the Zuni River and settled there. The current village of Zuni is located at that "Middle Place" and we have been living there ever since, for many hundreds of years. The point of emergence, the place where Zunis go after death, and the village of the living Zunis, are all tied together by the sacred flowing waters of the Zuni River, the Little Colorado River and the Colorado River. The water of these rivers is of central importance to Zunis' prayers and offerings. The history of the *A:shiwí* is not only told in the prayers and religious narratives maintained by Zuni religious societies today, but in the ancestral

ruins, graves, shrines, trails, and sacred places left along these rivers and their tributaries from the time when Zuni was undertaking its great migration.

Zuni religious activity is oriented towards bringing rain, prosperity and stability to Zuni and to the rest of the world. Periodic visits and pilgrimages to locations along the Zuni migration route are necessary in order to carry out the duties of the various Zuni religious societies. At these sacred locations, Zunis say prayers and make offerings. Zuni religious leaders also collect samples of plants, pigments and water, and take those samples back to Zuni where they are used in religious ceremonies. Many ceremonial activities cannot be undertaken without these samples, which must be collected at the precise locations mentioned in the ancient Zuni prayers.

It has been thousands of years since Zunis first emerged into the world in the Grand Canyon; long, long before Europeans ever set foot upon this continent, or on Zuni territory. Zunis, consequently, have been making pilgrimages to shrines and sacred places on the Zuni River and in the Grand Canyon for many centuries.

Zunis do not make the same distinctions concerning "living" and "non-living" that many non-Indians make. To Zunis, the earth is alive. The walls of the Grand Canyon, the rocks, the minerals and pigments there, and the water that flows between the walls of the canyon are all alive. Like any other living being, the earth can be harmed, injured and hurt when it is cut, gouged, or in other ways mistreated. So, we believe that the Grand Canyon itself is alive and sacred. The minerals used for pigments, the native plants and animals mentioned in our prayers and religious narratives, and the water of the river and its tributaries are sacred to us and should be protected. The Zuni Tribe's participation in the GCES and GCDEIS processes are aimed at helping to provide protection and appropriate management for these vital cultural and natural resources, and in the hope that we can encourage non-Indians to treat the Canyon with respect and reverence.

B. Jenkins, Leigh, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, and Ferguson, T. J., Institute of the North American West. "*Öngtupka*: Hopi Sacred Geography of the Grand Canyon."

### The Place of Beginning

The Hopi people emerged into this, the Fourth World, by climbing up a reed which pierced the sky of the underworld at the *Sipapuni*. The *Sipapuni* is not a legendary place. It actually exists in the Little Colorado River Gorge near the confluence of the *Paayu* (Little Colorado River) and *Pisisvayu* (Colorado River) in the Grand Canyon. After the Hopis emerged they encountered *Ma'saw*, the deity who owns the Fourth World. The Hopis entered into a sacred pact with *Ma'saw* in which it was agreed that the Hopis would serve as earth stewards. *Ma'saw* instructed the Hopis to travel to the distant corners of the land in search of their destiny at the center of the universe on the Hopi Mesas. On this migration the Hopis were told to leave their "footprints" as evidence they are fulfilling the pact. These footprints take the form of ancestral ruins, petroglyphs, potsherds, stone tools, and other artifacts.

### Clan Migrations

Each Hopi clan received a *wuuya* or totemic symbol after they emerged from the *Sipapuni*. After the Hopi people emerged at *Sipapuni*, some left on their migrations immediately, while other clans traveled extensively through the Grand Canyon. The clans in the Grand Canyon left their mark in the form of petroglyphs that can still be seen today. These clans include the *Tsopngyam* (Antelope), *Honanngyam* (Badger), *Honngyam* (Bear), *Piqösngyam* (Bearstrap), *Awatngyam* (Bow), *Kookopngyam* (Fire), *Leengyam* (Flute), *Tepngyam* (Greasewood), *Katsinngyam* (Katsina), *Kuukutsngyam* (Lizard), *Kyarungyam* (Parrot), *Tsungyam* (Rattlesnake), *Paaqapngyam* (Reed), *Tuuwangyam* (Sand), *Kokyangngyam* (Spider), *Taawangyam* (Sun), *Pipngyam* (Tobacco), Turkey, *Patkingyam* (Water), and *Paangqwkokyangngyam* (Water Spider).

### Salt Woman

The Hopi people call the Grand Canyon *Öngtupka* "Salt Canyon," since an important source of salt is located near the confluence of the Colorado and Little Colorado Rivers. The non-Indians call this the Hopi Salt Mine. At Hopi this salt is personified as *Öngawuti* (Salt Woman). When Salt Woman took her place in the Grand Canyon, a series of shrines were established along the trail from the Hopi Mesas to *Öngtupka* and the Hopis were instructed on the prayers and offerings that need

to be made at these places when they visit the canyon to partake of her. This Salt Trail continues to provide a physical link between the Hopi Villages and *Öngtupka*.

### **Maski**

As *Öngtupka* is the place of beginning, so too is it the ending place. The spirits of the Hopi's ancestors return to and inhabit the Grand Canyon. The deity *Ma'saw* also resides in the Grand Canyon and his awesome presence can be felt there. The geography of the Grand Canyon is consequently imbued with an extremely powerful spiritual character. *Öngtupka* is not a place where Hopis go casually. One must be spiritually, emotionally, and mentally prepared for the hardships and tests that are faced when visiting such a powerful and potentially dangerous area.

### **Prayers and Shrines**

Many prayers and offerings are made at villages on the Hopi Mesas and spiritually sent to *Öngtupka*. Out of the Grand Canyon come the ancestors in the form of the life-giving rain needed for Hopi crops. Shrines on the rim of the Grand Canyon are visited in a pilgrimage that pays homage to *Tutsqwa*, the sacred land of the Hopis.

### **Resource Procurement from the Grand Canyon**

Many resources important in Hopi culture are located in the Grand Canyon, including red and yellow pigment, salt, and plants of many kinds. The collection of these resources entails reciprocity in that something is left for everything that is taken. Prayers and offerings associated with the collection of natural resources maintain the spiritual balance and harmony of the canyon.

### **The Need for Hopi Participation in Monitoring and Management**

For the Hopi people, the spiritual essence of the Grand Canyon is as awesome as the physical form of the beautiful and deeply stratified rocks that form the canyon walls. The Grand Canyon is alive with spiritual meaning and Hopi ancestors. The religious shrines at the place of beginning and elsewhere along the pilgrimage trail, the sacred springs, the presence of Hopi ancestors, and the abodes of many Hopi deities provide a vital cultural connection between the Hopi people and the Grand Canyon.

The Hopis still maintain their sacred pact with *Ma'saw* to serve as stewards of this land. The Hopis are therefore concerned about the continuing existence of endangered species, the protection of their ancestor's graves, and many other aspects of land management. The Hopis think a long-term perspective is needed in environmental monitoring, and, since the Hopis have been there since the beginning, they are committed to participating in an adaptive management program to protect the Grand Canyon. The Hopis are obligated to do this out of respect for their ancestors and their pact with *Ma'saw*.

C. McKinley, Laura, Institute of the North American West. "European Perceptions of the Grand Canyon."

Europeans and non-Indian Americans have long held conflicting views of the Grand Canyon. Even single individuals have alternately portrayed the Canyon as both "sublime" and "terrible." In a social context, goals of power production or tourism have collided with wilderness values, a competition which has influenced the Canyon's image. Since soon after American conquest of the Southwest, some people have eagerly suggested "improving" the desert by impounding the Colorado River. Thus, although most Americans have experienced the Canyon or seen pictures of it from the rim, it is primarily the river and its uses that have made the Grand Canyon controversial in American society. But, in spite of commodification of the river--and the Grand Canyon itself--popular media have helped redefine the chasm as a near-sacred icon, a symbol of national prestige.

In preparing this paper I am indebted to Stephen J. Pyne's intellectual history of the Grand Canyon and his information about pre-20th century perceptions of the Canyon. As Pyne has explained, the Grand Canyon was one of the first natural landmarks visited by Europeans, but one of the last to be discovered by non-Indian Americans. Not until the 1850s was it explored--or for that matter described--in a systematic way.

The first Europeans to see the Grand Canyon were also among the first to come to North America, and these were members of Coronado's expedition into the American Southwest. They came to search for the seven golden cities of Cibola in 1540. In that year García López de Cárdenas recruited Hopi guides to lead him to the rim of a great canyon he had heard about. Having come for gold he saw the Grand Canyon in negative terms; he and his companions left terse statements for posterity complaining about the cold canyon winds, dismissing the chasm as a hindrance to travel and an obstacle to exploring the Colorado River.

More than two hundred years lapsed before the Spanish government renewed its interest in the area. As Spain attempted to secure its northern borders in North America, Franciscan missionaries--in particular Fathers Escalante, Dominguez, and Garces--traversed the region in the 1770s. As single-minded as Cárdenas had been, they too regarded the Grand Canyon as an impediment to conversion of natives and the extension of the Spanish empire.<sup>1</sup>

After the United States' conquest of the Southwest in 1848, the great surveys in the Southwest began. At the start of this geopolitical realignment many eastern Americans understood

the Southwest to be a barrier and an undesirable place to visit. The men of the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers were trained in natural history and familiar with Romantic European cross-currents in art and philosophy. The Corps penetrated into the Grand Canyon and their publications led to the Canyon's assimilation into American political institutions and intellectual traditions.<sup>2</sup> Their reports and accompanying illustrations did much to render comprehensible a landscape far beyond the average American experience. As exploration advanced, they helped incorporate the region into the national psyche.<sup>3</sup>

These explorers pursued scientific as well as imperial interests. The Canyon helped turn the West into a laboratory for the study of earth's creation; entrance into the Southwest was timely for the field of geology, which advanced as the region was explored. Along with the ruins of ancient southwestern civilizations, the Canyon became a "centerpiece" of the government-sponsored surveys of western lands.<sup>4</sup>

The first team to enter the Canyon--the Joseph Christmas Ives expedition of 1857/58--had a relatively brief impact on American perceptions. The explorers were there to test the navigability of the Colorado River and seek a route for steamboats to supply territorial military posts. Although his report was not widely circulated, it was Ives and his companions who introduced the Canyon to American society. His steamboat wrecked near what is now the site of Hoover Dam, but it is his evaluation of the Grand Canyon for which he is notorious. Ives viewed the Canyon in "wondering delight," but compared parts of it to "the portals of the infernal regions."<sup>5</sup> Like Cárdenas three centuries earlier, Ives perceived the Grand Canyon as a "profitless locality," adding that nature intended that it "shall be forever unvisited and undisturbed."<sup>6</sup>

Ives' official report reflected both the Romantic's appreciation of nature's power and the utilitarian sentiment of many Americans toward wilderness. He underestimated the Canyon's appeal as a landscape, perhaps because of the tendency of educated people to favor European standards. Ives' official artist was Heinrich Möllhausen, and his cartographer Baron Egloffstein. Both men created works that bore little resemblance to the actual Canyon. In an effort to convey a sense of place and express the emotional impact of the Canyon, they exaggerated and distorted its most obvious features. Steeped in German artistic traditions, they lent mystique to (and misinformation about) the Grand Canyon by modelling it on the gloomy spires of gothic fantasies. Ives, Möllhausen, and Egloffstein's interest in the Canyon scenery and its uses made them the first

travelers of the modern scientific era--in which scenery became a dominant interest--but their conventional style introduced a wide audience to a Grand Canyon with a European slant.<sup>7</sup>

Another member of the expedition, the naturalist John Strong Newberry, provided a different perspective. Newberry established the geologic foundation of the Grand Canyon. He produced a stratigraphic column of the Canyon and was the first to surmise the magnitude of the erosion that had carved the region. He recognized that European geomorphic theories, such as Lyell's erosional terraces or Hopkin's structural catastrophes, were insufficient to describe the Colorado Plateau<sup>8</sup>. Newberry incorporated the Colorado River into the American scientific tradition of fluvialism (which recognized the power of rivers to carve landscapes). The growing realization, confirmed by Darwin's success, that the Earth was immensely older than previously thought, found proof in the erosional forms of the Colorado Plateau. This was not only a landscape of time, as Pyne has written; "it was a landscape whose time had come."<sup>9</sup>

Subsequent explorations and surveys after the Civil War built on Newberry's work and furthered the evolutionary debate. Geologist Clarence Dutton viewed the Canyon from the rim and "not only taught geologists how to explain the chasm, but taught all sorts of visitors how to see it" without making European or eastern comparisons.<sup>10</sup> Dutton was a member of the Powell Survey, which most effectively brought the Colorado Plateau into the realm of American art, geopolitics, and formal science. Much of this occurred before many living outside the region were able to visit the Grand Canyon.<sup>11</sup> The surveys helped establish modern scientific studies of the Canyon, but also opened the country to non-Indian Americans and excited nationalistic pride.<sup>12</sup>

It was John Wesley Powell and his artist Thomas Moran who initially consecrated the Grand Canyon as an icon. In 1869 Powell became the first explorer to raft the full length of the Grand Canyon, and he initiated a systematic accumulation of information about the Colorado River and the Canyon.<sup>13</sup> Powell attempted to adapt American political, social and economic institutions to the arid conditions of the West.<sup>14</sup> But in what has been called the "geo-pious tradition",<sup>15</sup> Powell used the ancient metaphor of Genesis--the story of creation--to describe Grand Canyon geology. He wrote that one could read the Canyon as a "great book," a "rock-leaved Bible of geology."<sup>16</sup> Powell and his associates portrayed it as a unique American representation of the forces of nature and provided clear images for the public of the Canyon at the river level. Their adventures were chronicled in the *New York Times*, *Scribner's* and other popular media, stimulating curiosity about the Colorado Plateau and preconditioning readers for a reverential experience.

Thomas Moran, acting as official artist for the USGS, accompanied Powell on his second trip down the Canyon in 1873. As time passed, Moran and other southwestern artists would introduce Americans to a new "palette" of natural colors.<sup>17</sup> Like Powell, Moran, whose *Chasm of the Colorado* hung in the U. S. Capitol, employed traditional cultural metaphors to elevate the Canyon as a distinctive American scene. What Möllhausen and Egloffstein had portrayed as infernal and alien, Moran interpreted as sublime and spectacular. Moran's monumental painting employed symbols from the Bible, such as the tower, the serpent and the rainbow. At the same time, his painting gave visual expression to the forces governing the Southwest. *Chasm of the Colorado* captured the grandeur of the American West, and, like Powell's writings, offered the magnificent western landscapes as a means to distinguish America from Europe. Both men helped to create a sense of place and link the Grand Canyon with national identity.<sup>18</sup>

After the surveys wound down in the 1870s, the main focus of southwestern activity shifted from exploration to commercial exploitation. At first, prospectors, railway engineers, lumbermen and ranchers swarmed through the region. Despite their optimism, mining, homesteading, and industrial pursuits in the Grand Canyon proved impractical, although some locals maintained pressure to keep the area open to resource exploitation. Frustrated by its difficult conditions, entrepreneurs turned to the tourist industry. Fred Harvey and Santa Fe Railroad promotional literature compared the Canyon to esteemed monuments in American popular culture, including the Statue of Liberty and Niagara Falls. Writer Owen Wister celebrated the Grand Canyon with biblical references; other writers represented it as a physical challenge that affirmed American character.<sup>19</sup>

By the 1890s the Canyon had entered the American popular culture and tourism began in earnest. As the West opened to travelers, the Victorian era's "infatuation with travel to exotic places"<sup>20</sup> was partially withdrawn from Europe and redirected toward the West. Many Americans were developing a sense of cultural identity based on the "splendors of the country," or so the ad men hoped, and "nature tourism" was becoming an American pastime.<sup>21</sup>

In the early 20th century such travel increased, especially as more people sought the outdoors as an antidote to urban pressures. With railroads and roads in the Southwest, the "See America First" movement and the Canyon's ubiquity in the popular media were making it a fixture in American iconography, perhaps the best known image of the region. Travel writers strained to describe the "inexpressible," perpetuating the Canyon's image as not just a place but a concept, a spiritual, eternal, natural masterpiece.<sup>22</sup>

It was an era when the definition of resources was changing. The Grand Canyon entered the debate of the Progressive era regarding federal stewardship of public lands, the limits of free enterprise, and the emerging wilderness protection movement. President Theodore Roosevelt, who addressed all of these issues, placed a premium on Grand Canyon's beauty and ruggedness. He adopted a protectionist stance toward the Grand Canyon proper, excluding the valuable timberlands surrounding the rim. In 1903 Roosevelt advised Americans to leave the Grand Canyon "as it is. You cannot improve upon it." He declared the Canyon a national monument in 1908, and it became a national park in 1919.<sup>23</sup>

As visitation to the Canyon swelled, aesthetics, nationalism and economics merged. The Grand Canyon became a stock image to lend grandeur to advertisements, which later on would include Ford autos, Kodak film, and the Marlboro Man. The tourist industry, as well as the National Park Service, recognized scenery as the most profitable resource they had. In turn, national park status legitimated the Grand Canyon as a national treasure.<sup>24</sup>

This prestige did not preclude commercial exploitation of the Grand Canyon, particularly of the river, which was less well understood by the American public. Water conservationists urged a number of dam projects in the Canyon as the century advanced. Within the Department of the Interior the interests of the Bureau of Reclamation clashed with those of the National Park Service. In the 1940s, when the Grand Canyon was one of the top ten most visited parks, an Interior Department report recommended reining in the Colorado River, which it called a "natural menace."<sup>25</sup> The Bureau of Reclamation proposed a number of dams on the Colorado, "cash register" dams<sup>26</sup> intended to generate revenues from electrical power (as opposed to irrigation uses).

Jan Balsom will discuss the Echo Park and Glen Canyon Dam controversy of the 1950s, but it must be stressed that the Glen Canyon Dam, completed in 1963, rapidly became a mark of the huge gulf growing between utilitarian and wilderness values. Once Glen Canyon began to fill, it represented to environmentalists the nightmare awaiting other coveted and vulnerable wild places. Between the closing of the gates of Glen Canyon Dam in 1963 and the next controversy that arose that same year, the Grand Canyon became a repository for wilderness ideas, and its image as a quasi-sacred space widely accepted.

As the Glen Canyon Dam neared completion in 1963 the Bureau of Reclamation announced the Pacific Southwest Water Plan, which required that two dams in or adjacent to the Grand Canyon

be built to produce electrical power to pay for the rest of this massive project. From 1965 - 68 Congress considered dams in Marble and Bridge (or Hualapai) Canyons, adjacent to the park (it is now part of the park).

The Bureau of Reclamation's director, Floyd Dominy, believed that Americans could make great improvements upon the Colorado River. Referring to the Glen Canyon Dam, he remarked that "We're gonna turn that mean, dirty, maverick Colorado into a beautiful blue trout stream." The Bureau's goals for the Colorado River had strong support from some powerful southwestern politicians.<sup>27</sup>

The public response to these proposals is a story in itself. The outcry against the dams, while in part orchestrated by David Brower and the Sierra Club, reflected a growing distaste for those aspects of American culture that seemed careless and wasteful, as well as disgust for the "Coney Island" atmosphere marring the more popular parks.<sup>28</sup> The environmental movement emerged from the Grand Canyon controversy strengthened, but in the mid-60s its vehemence caught the Bureau of Reclamation by surprise. Thrown on the defensive, Dominy claimed that Lake Powell, which was created by the Glen Canyon Dam, democratized the outdoors and improved it for recreation. Such reservoirs, he said, brought people "a little closer to God." He defended the proposed dams in the Grand Canyon in part because they would create "another extraordinary manmade lake which . . . will rival the beauty of Lake Powell."<sup>29</sup>

The controversy, as a researcher from the RAND Corporation explained, probably represented the first time that a federal water resource agency had to make a serious public defense of a project prior to its authorization.<sup>30</sup> Admiration for the agency, as historian Mark Harvey has noted, waned as opposition to the dam enlarged.<sup>31</sup>

It was in this context that David Brower, director of the Sierra Club, ran his famous newspaper ads in 1966 and 1967, including a response to Dominy's "closer-to-God" scenario of Lake Powell, asking "Should We Also Flood the Sistine Chapel So Tourists Can Get Nearer To The Ceiling?" The *Saturday Evening Post* enlisted in the battle, as did *The Reader's Digest*, which in April 1966 reprinted a professional paper highly critical of the dam proposals.<sup>32</sup> As the larger environmental movement kicked into high gear nationally, the era of huge dams was coming to an end<sup>33</sup>.

The Sierra Club campaign was unprecedented and remarkably successful. This was in part because many Americans had already traveled to the Canyon "vicariously by way of popular culture," if not by first-hand encounter.<sup>34</sup> The conceptual imagery of Powell and Moran had endured; in the rhetoric of its defenders the chasm was a temple in which to experience aesthetic harmony or spiritual wholeness.<sup>35</sup> It transcended the immediate boundaries of the here and now;<sup>36</sup> it was a place where "[y]ou start to learn your place in the world;"<sup>37</sup> it embodied permanence.<sup>38</sup> It did not matter to everyone if they even visited the Grand Canyon; it was psychologically important to know that the Canyon remained untouched and that the river still ran through it. Of course, as the ecology of the post-dam river becomes better understood, even this is not enough.

In 1974 a survey listed the Grand Canyon as the number one natural attraction in the country.<sup>39</sup> UNESCO added it to the World Heritage Site list in 1979.<sup>40</sup> Ironically, one of the threats to its condition today is the tourist trade. It can be assumed that international prestige has contributed to park managers' problems, which include noise, crowding, and general overuse.

It is also ironic that people perceive the Grand Canyon as the epitome of wilderness when in fact it is carefully managed, its fate tied to the Colorado River. Those aware of this situation complain today that "the river in Grand Canyon is what the Glen Canyon Dam makes it." Decisions about its flows happen in far-away places like Los Angeles and Washington, D. C. People, not nature, control the flow, although it can quickly go out of control.<sup>41</sup> The dam and the Grand Canyon are now inextricable, and decisions affecting one ultimately affect the other. Yet many in the public still take an interest which transcends environmental concern alone. Protecting the park clearly means salvation for more than just the Grand Canyon.

ENDNOTES

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16. Kinsey, pp. 317 - 318.
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28. For Coney Island remark, see letter to the editors from Frank L. Griffin, Jr., *Sierra Club Bulletin* 50 (Sept. 1965), p. 19.
29. Floyd Dominy remarks before the Outdoor Recreation Congress for the Greater Pacific Northwest, Wenatchee, Washington, April 1, 1965. Reprinted in *Sierra Club Bulletin* 50 (May 1965): pp. 12 - 17.
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The Grand Canyon landscape is a perfect illustration of a fundamental difference between Indian and non-Indian perceptions of how the physical world and the stories of its formation are categorized and compartmentalized. Loretta Jackson's paper mirrors common elements with stories that we heard from Navajo traditional historians when Richard Begay and I conducted a preliminary study of Navajo history in the Grand Canyon for the Navajo Nation.

To traditional Navajo historians, the "Grand Canyon" is an integral part of an immense landscape made up of the major rivers and smaller tributaries that flow into the Colorado River and the surrounding mountains and plateaus extending into four states. This landscape is the context for stories of the journeys of Holy People as they ordered the world that would eventually be inhabited by the contemporary Navajo people. The Grand Canyon can not be separated from the landscape of Navajoland as a whole, just as the contemporary Navajo people that inhabit the landscape can not be separated from the history of their creation. When a knowledgeable Navajo person looks at the Grand Canyon, he or she is seeing the physical and historical whole of which the canyon is one element.

This is a much different perception from the European and Euro-American perception discussed by Laura McKinley, in which the Grand Canyon has always been and continues to be an isolated chasm -- a unit that extends from rim to rim. Even within the unit are distinct sub-units; for example, the Colorado River is seen as a zone within the canyon. This kind of compartmentalization is evident in non-Indian reconstructions of history and prehistory in the Grand Canyon: geologic time is reconstructed in bounded, stratified units; we divide human "prehistory" and "history" into temporal and spatial units, each with its own time frames and each with its own labels and names. In keeping with non-Indian perceptions of the natural world, the Grand Canyon landscape has even been carved over time into arbitrarily defined management zones, administered by various branches of the federal government including the National Park Service, the U. S. Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management.

How, then, does the federal government, inherently bound in the compartmentalized tradition but with a responsibility to American Indians as a trustee of their interests, manage something like the Grand Canyon? As Jan Balsom discussed, it has been a complex and sometimes contentious effort, but one that is itself evolving into a more cooperative partnership. American Indian

interpretations of their own histories are being incorporated into non-Indian reconstructions of human prehistory in the Grand Canyon, natural and cultural resources management is beginning to be approached from a more integrated, ecosystemic perspective, and Indian tribal governments are finding that they can play a role in the management of un-naturally divided and bounded administrative units of land. In the grand scheme of things, perhaps the Grand Canyon is becoming a place where we are finding the common ground beneath our varied perceptions of the landscape and the history of its creation.