

Moquis and Kastiilam: Coronado and the Hopis

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The following document and interview constitute the first chapter in Volume I of *Moquis and Kastiilam: Hopis, Spaniards, and the Trauma of History*. When published, the two volumes will tell, from both Hopi and Spanish points of view, the story of Spanish attempts to conquer and missionize the Hopi Indians of northeastern Arizona between 1540, when the Coronado expedition first breached the Pueblo world, to 1821, when Mexico won its independence from Spain.¹ For nearly five hundred years, the story has been overwhelmingly one-sided. Historians and anthropologists have relied upon documents written by representatives of the Spanish empire. Hopi voices have been silenced, ignored, or relegated to “myth.” Those of us on the Hopi History Project, a formal collaboration between the University of Arizona and the Hopi Tribe, have attempted to restore a balance to the historical record by presenting not only Spanish documents about the “Moquis,” the Spanish term for Hopis, but also Hopi oral traditions about the “Kastiilam,” the Hopi term for Spaniards. Some of those traditions had made their way into print before our project started (Nequatewa 1967 [1936]; James 1974; Courlander 1971; Yava 1978). Others come from interviews with Hopi elders carried out by Stewart B. Koyiyumpteewa of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office (CPO), a three-day meeting with members of the Hopi Tribe’s Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team (CRATT), and discussions between University of Arizona researchers and Hopi CPO staff. We argue that Hopi oral traditions passed down since 1540 are living records of the past that have just as much, if not more, scholarly validity as the letters, court records, and reports of Spanish officials and Franciscan missionaries. Both are lines of evidence—“texts” in the

parlance of literary and cultural criticism—that need to be interrogated. Both have their strengths and limitations that need to be understood.

The primary advantage of Spanish colonial documents is their contemporaneity. Most were written soon after the events they describe, some by eyewitnesses. They are usually chronological, including the dates they were written and the dates events occurred. They usually record the names of at least some of the individuals who participated in those events and give the locations where they occurred as well. And they frequently discuss motivations for the Spanish actors in question. In other words, the documents present the “who,” “where,” “when,” “what,” and “why” enshrined in Western narrative tradition, at least when those factual touchstones involved prominent Spaniards.

But that does not mean they were “objective” records of encounters between Hopis and Spaniards. All history is highly selective. As ethnohistorian Bernard Fontana observes:

What we call “history” is a recitation of events selected from the past, which in its most literal sense is all that has preceded the present: a rock that fell, a dog that barked, an infant who cried, a woman who coughed, a prince who was enthroned king. All historians—and on occasion each of us is a historian—select from this infinity of events those we deem worth telling. The basis of that selection provides the built-in bias of history. History, more than being a debate about the past, is an argument about the present and future. It often tells us less about what was and more about who we are. It is a tool used by all of us either to justify or to condemn the status quo. It is a statement of the world either as we now perceive it to be or as we think it ought to be. The past is immutable, but history, a battleground for the public mind, is ever changing. (Fontana 1994:xi)

Some of the documents translated and edited in *Moquis and Kastuilam: Hopis, Spaniards, and the Trauma of History* deliberately and consciously reflected the intentions of their authors. Authors like Fray Padre Alonso de Benavides exaggerated Franciscan missionary successes to win more royal support for Franciscan missions. Both missionaries and Spanish officials gleefully recounted the misdeeds of one another as they struggled for power on the precarious New Mexican frontier. Authors select, distort, and even lie to further their personal or institutional agendas.

More problematic are the unintentional, even unconscious distortions and omissions. Late-nineteenth- and twentieth-century observers among

the Hopis devoted thousands of words to the description of Hopi religious ceremonies. There are also detailed accounts of Hopi kinship, agriculture, and political organization. We find almost none of those types of information in the Spanish accounts. Such silences are due, in part, to the isolation of the Hopi mesas from the centers of Spanish power and population in New Mexico. More than three hundred miles separated Santa Fe from the Hopi pueblos. Navajos hostile to both Hopis and Spaniards occupied much of that territory. No more than a handful of Spaniards and Franciscan missionaries lived among the Hopis during the half-century of missionization and *encomienda* from 1629 until the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, when the Hopis killed their missionaries and remained independent for the rest of the Spanish colonial period.

Moreover, many of the mission records were destroyed during the revolt. Scholars have searched archives from Santa Fe to Sevilla for more than a century without success. No one has located baptismal, marriage, or death records or the detailed correspondence most missionaries engaged in for the Hopi missions of Awat'ovi, Söongopavi, and Orayvi. Only accounts of major events, such as the investigation of Fray Padre Salvador de Guerra by his fellow missionaries, have survived.

But the vicissitudes of history alone do not explain the omission of certain types of information in the Spanish documentary record. Until the late eighteenth century, when Enlightenment currents stimulated more systematic empirical observation of both natural and cultural phenomena, Spanish observers rarely exhibited much curiosity about the quotidian details of Native life. Those details simply were not considered worthy of recording. When they do worm their way into documents, they are usually asides, not the focus of inquiry themselves.

As for Hopi "voices" in the documentary record, they are limited to court proceedings such as the case against Juan Suñi, where the linguistic frames are Spanish, not Hopi. Occasionally it is plausible to infer Hopi motivations in such cases, as Daughters (2009, 2012) has done, arguing that Juan Suñi's initial offense, impersonating a Franciscan missionary in the Awat'ovi mission church, was an example of Hopi ritual clowning. But the words of Hopis and other Native peoples are always in response to Spanish questions and recorded by Spanish observers. They are, at best, filtered through a Spanish lens.

That is why Hopi oral traditions are so important. They reflect Hopi sensibilities and Hopi histories of the past. Hopis authored them. Hopis framed them. Hopis passed them down. They provide the "why" for Hopi motivations, which are largely ignored or distorted in the Spanish

documentary record. Anthropologist Jan Vansina spent much of his career collecting and analyzing oral traditions. He explored their different genres and argued forcefully that they must be considered historical accounts of the past. “The truly distinctive characteristic of oral tradition is its transmission by word of mouth over a period longer than the contemporary generation,” he explains. “This means that a tradition should be seen as a series of successive historical documents all lost except for the last one and usually interpreted by every link in the chain of transmission” (Vansina 1985:29).

Like written documents, oral traditions are characterized by both selectivity and interpretation. In the case of oral traditions, that selectivity may occur each time the tradition is passed on. “Selectivity . . . occurs mainly for social reasons,” Vansina notes. “Some topics are worthwhile, others are not. Certain individuals or groups of people are interesting, others are not. The effects are loss of information and the creation of a profile of past history which is the historical consciousness of the *present* [italics in original]” (Vansina 1985:190).

Some anthropologists like T. O. Beidelman (1970), Fred Eggan (1967), and Ronald Mason (2002) dismiss oral traditions as “myths” because past events are reshaped by cultural conventions or contemporary concerns. They continue to follow Robert Lowie’s (1915, 1917) lead that oral traditions are not history. Vansina challenges such disregard. “Selectivity implies discarding certain information one has about the past and from that pool of information keeping only what is still significant in the present,” he concedes. “However, the information that is retained still comes from the past.” He goes on to say, “Interpretation means to alter information from the past to give it new meaning and as interpretation is more creative than selection it is also more dangerous, but not to the point that all is to be rejected. This is rather like the cleric in the seventeenth century who held that there never had been a Roman empire at all, since none of the manuscripts about it were contemporary with the supposed Empire” (Vansina 1985:191). In Vansina’s opinion, scholars who dismiss oral traditions as evidence of the past would have to argue “in every generation people invent a brand new past for themselves and believe it to be the past” (Vansina 1985:190–191).

Most of the oral traditions presented in *Moquis and Kastiilam: Hopis, Spaniards, and the Trauma of History* are accounts of events that happened four or five centuries ago. In some cases, such as the destruction of a Hopi village by Coronado’s soldiers presented below, we include multiple versions of the events. In others, such as Leigh Kuwanwisiwma’s narration

of the torture and death of Sitkoyoma at the hands of a Franciscan missionary, we have only one version. Nonetheless, we assume that traditions that have survived into the twenty-first century are amalgams of numerous accounts of an event that have been passed down. Some are what Vansina labels “group accounts”—“oral memories of groups such as villages, chiefdoms, associations, and various kinship groups.” He explains, “I have called them ‘groups’ because they embody something which expresses the identity of the group in which they are told or substantiates rights over land, resources, women, office, and herds” (Vansina 1985:19). Hopi clan migration traditions are “group accounts,” meeting one of Vansina’s criteria: “They are often the property of a group” (Vansina 1985:19).

But many of the traditions in *Moquis and Kastillam: Hopis, Spaniards, and the Trauma of History* seem to be more general collective social memories that transcend clan or even village. Hopi history is multi-layered, consisting of different genres, most of which are dependent upon the context in which accounts of the past are transmitted. Some are the properties of clans or even clan segments. Some may be restricted to those initiated into specific religious societies. Many of those accounts will never be shared. Even after more than a decade of work on this project, we believe that the Hopi traditions recorded are nothing more than waves on a vast ocean of knowledge about the past passed down through many different lines of transmission from one Hopi generation to another.

That ocean will never be plumbed, but we hope to convey some appreciation for the capacity of a people to preserve their pasts without written records. Hopis may have been nonliterate for much of their history, but they were never ahistoric. They never existed in that hoariest of anthropological fictions, the “ethnographic present.” On the contrary, they have continually discussed, recorded, transmitted, and reinterpreted their pasts as they struggle to make sense of their presents. History permeates their landscapes, their ceremonies, their daily lives.

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

The Spaniards called the Hopis “Moquis” or “Moquinos.” When the origin of the term was discussed by the Hopi Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team (CRATT), the group agreed that the term came from the Zunis. “They still call us Moqui,” Elmer Satala Sr. of First Mesa said.

Leigh Kuwanwisiwma elaborated upon the Zuni origins of “Moqui” in an interview with Stewart Koyiyumptewa:

The Zunis in turn called the Hopis *Ammokwe’eh*. Mokwe’eh literally, it’s a clown, mokweh, but when you emphasize it, and qualify it by saying Ammokwe’eh, it means according to some of the Zuni elders, it means a people who were content. A people who had finished their migrations, established their villages, established their ceremonial cycles and now were exercising as stewards. So when the Zunis called Hopis Ammokwe’eh, it’s in honor of what the Hopis in time did to be here on the Hopi mesas. So, Moqui or Moki is literally a clown and so I’m sure the Zunis were trying to tell the Spaniards, well you know there we called them Mokwe’eh, or Ammokwe’eh, so that’s how the term later was written, but it’s a Zuni term for Hopi, meaning people who have fulfilled their covenant and are now happy.

Kastiilam (sing., *Kastiila*), the Hopi term for Spaniards, is clearly borrowed from *Castilla*, the region of Castile where many Spaniards came from. The Hopi language includes a number of such borrowings from Spanish like *mansáana* (*manzana*; apple) or *kawayo* (*caballo*; horse).

SPELLING OF HOPI WORDS

There are three mutually intelligible dialects of Hopi: First Mesa, Second Mesa, and Third Mesa. We generally follow the Third Mesa dialect as standardized in *The Hopi Dictionary* (Hill, Sekaquaptewa, and Black 1998).

CORONADO’S SOLDIERS: INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1540, not long after Francisco Vásquez de Coronado and his soldiers stormed the Zuni pueblo of Háwikuh (Cibola to the Spaniards), Coronado dispatched Pedro de Tovar to discover the seven pueblos of Tusayán northwest of Zuni territory. Tovar was alferez general and one of the best-outfitted officers on the expedition, with “thirteen horses, a coat of mail, some cuirasses, and some native accouterments and weapons” (Bolton 1949 [1990]:134). Accompanying him were “seventeen horsemen and three or four foot soldiers” as well as Franciscan Padre Fray Juan de Padilla.

This first encounter between Moquis and Kastiilam may have occurred outside the pueblo of Kawayka'a² on Antelope Mesa, the easternmost spur of Black Mesa occupied by Hopis in the sixteenth century. Reed (1942) and Montgomery, Smith, and Brew (1949) argue that the probable location was Awat'ovi, not Kawayka'a, and most non-Hopi scholars since then have followed their lead. But Hopi oral traditions, and both the Luxán and Obregón accounts of the Antonio de Espejo expedition forty years later, suggest otherwise.

Both those sources also indicate that the Spaniards acted with greater brutality than Pedro de Castañeda or other narrators of the Coronado expedition recorded. According to Chapter Eleven in Castañeda's account, Tovar's party rode into Hopi territory undetected and hid themselves below the first pueblo they reached. Kawayka'a, the easternmost Hopi pueblo at the time, is located almost directly north of a gap in a range of hills on the other side of Jeddito Wash. A major Hopi salt trail—the one that leads east to the Zuni salt lake—runs through the gap. Zuni guides may have led Tovar along that trail.³

The topography of Kawayka'a provides a good match for the scenario Castañeda describes. Below the mesa is a bench flanked by two arroyos that drain into Jeddito Wash. The Spaniards may have waited on the other side of the gap until dark, and then quietly made their way below the bench, where they would have been able to hear people speaking in Kawayka'a, a large site that wraps around the edge of Antelope Mesa. In the morning, however, Hopis marched out of the pueblo "well-armed with bows and shields and wooden clubs, in file, without breaking line." They also "drew lines, ordering that our people not cross those lines toward their pueblos and [that they] comport themselves [correctly]." This initial encounter must have taken place on the bench below the pueblo, where there would have been plenty of space for the two opposing groups to face one another.

The Spaniards interpreted the drawing of lines as an act of aggression. Hartman Lomawaima, a member of the Bear Clan from Supawlavi on Second Mesa and director of the Arizona State Museum at the time, speculated that the Hopis may have intended to send a more complex message, sprinkling cornmeal in the sand to indicate that all within was sacred, to be treated with respect. Those lines may have been the first stage of a negotiation, not a challenge. After discussing it in a meeting on August 13, 2008, however, the staff of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office concluded that the Hopis "meant to block them off" from entering the village.⁴

Even though Hopis prided themselves on being a peaceful people, they did have formal leaders and institutions to defend themselves. Each pueblo had

a *Qaletaqmongwi* (war chief) as well as a *Kikmongwi* (village chief). The *Qaletaqmongwi* was the leader of the *Momtsit* (Warriors Society). Whiteley (1998:91) believes that “the status of the *Qaletaqmongwi* was complementary to that of the *Kikmongwi*, with the War Chief principally responsible for the protection of the village from external forces.” Eggan (1950) contends that two of the four *Wuwtsim* societies—the *Aa’alt* (Two-Horn) and *Kwaakwant*⁵ (One-Horn)—also played an important role in Hopi defense. He follows Stephen (1940) in seeing the four *Wuwtsim* sodalities as “the concentric walls of a house: the *Kwan* [*Kwaakwant*], ‘the destroyers of the enemy,’ are the outer wall; the *Ahl* [*Aa’alt*], or Horns, the heralds who bring information as to the enemy, are the second wall” (Eggan 1950:93). He adds, “The Hopi theory of defensive warfare placed primary reliance upon the help of various deities, and in time of war the *Kwan* [*Kwaakwant*] and *Al* [*Aa’alt*] groups were relied upon to weaken the enemy.”

Whatever the Hopi intent, Tovar and his soldiers acted aggressively. At least some of the soldiers pushed their horses through the line, prompting one of the Hopi warriors to strike a horse on the cheek piece of its bit. Egged on by Padre Fray Juan de Padilla, their choleric Franciscan chaplain, Spaniards quickly ran roughshod over Hopi resistance by shouting “Santiago!” and charging their horses into the crowd. The horses must have terrified the Hopis, having already heard from the Zunis that *Háwikuh* had been captured by “the most ferocious people who rode on some animals that ate people.” The warriors retreated to their pueblo on the mesa above, perhaps along a trail that snakes up the arroyo on the east side of the bench.

The Hopis then switched tactics, bringing “gifts.” Tovar responded by ordering his soldiers “to withdraw and do no further harm.” After the Spaniards dismounted, Hopis “arrived in peace” and gave Tovar and his men some cotton cloth, dressed hides, and food. “They openly offered their pueblos so that [our people] might enter them to deal, buy, sell, and trade.” Castañeda makes no mention of casualties.

When Tovar returned to report on his visit to *Tusayán*, Coronado was fascinated by the news of a “great river” where there were “very large nations [of people] with large bodies.” Coronado therefore dispatched his second-in-command, *García maestre de campo* López de Cárdenas, and “as many as twelve companions” to investigate. According to Castañeda’s account below, the Hopis greeted López de Cárdenas peacefully and provided him with guides, who led the Spaniards on a twenty-day journey to the Grand Canyon. López de Cárdenas and his men spent three frustrating days on the canyon rim attempting and failing to find a way down to the Colorado River and then returned to Zuni. Castañeda concluded the chapter in his narrative

by stating, "Those pueblos of that province remained peaceful, even though they were never visited again. Nor were other settlements learned of, or [even] searched for, along that route."

Nearly five centuries of Hopi and Zuni oral traditions paint a different picture.

Diego Pérez de Luxán's chronicle of Antonio de Espejo's expedition to New Mexico in 1582, four decades after Coronado, states, "We came to a halt at the province of Moje, at a pueblo that Coronado leveled and demolished because they killed five of the nine companions he sent to discover this province of Mojose," Luxán wrote. "Having remained in the province of Sumi [Zuni], when Coronado learned the news, he came [to the province] with his men and leveled and demolished it. It was and is a league from the pueblo of Aguato [Awat'ovi]". Kawayka'a is located about three miles east of Awat'ovi on the edge of Antelope Mesa, and would have been the first Hopi community the Spaniards encountered as they traveled west.

Baltasar de Obregón, who accompanied Francisco de Ibarra's expedition to Nueva Vizcaya in the 1560s, also mentions a similar story. He notes that four old Hopi men who traveled to Zuni to warn Espejo not to come to their pueblos told the Spaniards that Coronado had destroyed one of their communities in retaliation for the deaths of five Christians (Hammond and Rey 1928:327–328). Archaeologist Eric Reed (1942:120) dismisses this tradition as "unlikely" because there is no account of it in any of the chronicles of the Coronado expedition. Moreover, neither Castañeda nor the other chroniclers mention any loss of lives at Hopi. "And those chronicles are not generally reticent on such matters, particularly when the victims were Spaniards," Montgomery, Smith, and Brew (1949:7) note. Non-Hopi scholars have largely accepted Reed's skepticism about the destruction of Kawayka'a, privileging Castañeda's narrative over Hopi and Zuni accounts.

Those accounts continue to be told. On November 12, 2002, Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa, tribal archivist at the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, interviewed Clark Tenakhongva of Hotvela, who related a story he heard from his grandfather, George Sakhongva. Mr. Tenakhongva is a member of the Rabbit and Tobacco Clan, born and raised in the village of Hotvela. His grandfather was a member of the Badger Clan (Honanwungwa) and came from Orayvi. In Tenakhongva's words, he "held many of the religious priesthoods both in Orayvi and Hotvela," founded by so-called traditionalists after the 1906 Orayvi split. "And I got the fortune to know him probably the last twenty years of his life. He died in 1974 and we believe he was at the age of 112 when he passed away."

Clark Tenakhongva: And, oh yeah, one thing I forgot was one of those times that they [the Spaniards] came out supposedly to map the west, was, and this is what he [George Sakhongva] told me also was that they ended sending a group with them but the agreement between the parties was in Hopi. So, the Hopi men, they decided well let's see what we can do this time.

Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa: Yes.

Clark: Let's go and, let's take them to the Grand Canyon. That's what they wanted to see. They heard about this big gorge or big canyon out here. Yeah, we'll take you down there. We'll show you where it's at. But, the agreement was they were going to take them down and they were going to take them down to where Hopis used to get salt then. We'll take them down in that area, we'll take them as deep as we can and then leave them there and make them die down there because of what they had done to us prior.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: This was already after what they had been doing to them. So, what they did was they took the group of men down there with their horses and all this other stuff they had, you know, mapping the area. They played the game basically along with the, with the Spanish.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: They played the game and, you know, acted like they were all into it with them and took them down into the Grand Canyon, took several days, you know, probably more than a week or something like that. They got down there and they were doing explorations and one night they all had it planned that they were going [to] leave that night. So, all the Hopi men they didn't sleep that night. They all took off from there. The next day the Spanish men probably awoke and found no Hopis there. Now, the story goes is that they probably wandered the canyon for many days and many months, started running out of food and what not down there. And, the Hopis kind of like laughed about it saying, "Alright. We finally got rid of the Spanish. They're not going to come back and do what they did to us before." You know, little to their surprise, I guess, to their knowledge that actually two guys survived out of that whole group. They came back and they went all the way back to Santa Fe and, I guess, reported to the, to the King of Spain, or whoever it was, that this is what the Hopis did to them.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: The next thing you knew, the whole Spanish army came back out here. And, they actually, you know, that did that to them, you know, that

was part of that group and, you know, it was kind of like the crucifixion what took in Rome of, of Jesus. They actually took them to the edge of the village and put up these posts and beat the heck out of them until they were pulp and made examples of them that you don't dare do this to us, you know. We're a powerful nation. And, that's what they did to them. Again examples of the six guys that took them down there. They all ended up paying their ultimate price of getting killed in the end. And, like I said, they, they thought that, you know, they got rid of the Spanish but it didn't happen that way. But, that's another story that what he told me what happened. They took him down that salt trail and, and left him down there to be, to be had by whatever was down there in the canyon.

Hopis knew of numerous routes down into the canyon, including their famous salt trail, which was blazed by the Little War Twins, Pukonghöya and Palungahöya. It led from the Hopi mesas to salt deposits near the junction of the Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers. Only Hopis initiated into the Wuwtsim, the male initiation ceremony carried out in late fall, could safely make the salt pilgrimage, because the trail descended into the home of the dead past a cave where Mâasaw, the deity in charge of the abode of the dead, dwelled (Titiev 1937). If Hopi intentions were peaceful, why did they lead López de Cárdenas and his men to a place where it was dangerous or impossible to descend?

Anthropologist Mischa Titiev (1937) published an account of the salt trail based on the narration of Dan Talayesva, a member of the Sun Clan, who made the pilgrimage in 1912 when he was twenty-two years old. There were several steep descents along the trail, including a "huge rock in which steps were cut in such fashion that it took a good wide stride to pass from one to another. Appropriately enough, this place was called Kurjipyakinpi (Spreading Buttocks)" (Titiev 1937:248–249). Below the rock there was "no well defined path and loose pebbles are often displaced by the climbers" (Titiev 1937:249). Another location—Panktupatca (Mountain-Sheep Upper Story)—perched on "a ridge that goes on to form part of the upper rim of the Grand Canyon" (Titiev 1937:249). Downslope pilgrims had to squeeze down "another chasm where there was a gap that was just about the width that a man can straddle" (Titiev 1937:249). And once they passed the juncture of the Little Colorado and the Colorado, pilgrims had to lower themselves down a rope "from the upper ledge on which they stood to the ridge where they planned to do their gathering" of salt (Titiev 1937:252). In other words, only experienced guides could navigate the salt trail safely and successfully.

Mr. Tenakhongva places the trip to the Grand Canyon after the Hopis had already experienced Spanish abuses, perhaps at the hands of Tovar. The retaliatory strike on Kawayka'a would have represented a third Spanish expedition to Hopi territory. The Hopi and Zuni narratives reported by Luxán four decades after Coronado may corroborate his account. Luxán states that Coronado "leveled and demolished" Kawayka'a because Hopis "killed five of the nine companions he sent to discover this province of MoJose." The small number of Spaniards in the party suggests the expedition of López de Cárdenas, who was accompanied by "as many as twelve companions," rather than Tovar, who brought at least twenty soldiers and Padre Fray Juan de Padilla.

Obregón both confirms and complicates Luxán. According to him, four old Hopi men claimed "Don Pedro de Tovar, captain and alférez mayor of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, had destroyed a city in this province called Tuzayán to avenge the death of five Christians killed by the natives" (Hammond and Rey 1928:327–328). The number of dead Spaniards is the same, but Tovar is the avenger. Did the four old Hopis really identify Tovar by name, or did Obregón himself insert Tovar into their account? Is Obregón conflating the retaliatory foray with Tovar's initial journey to "Tuzayán"?

Archaeological evidence regarding Kawayka'a is, at present, inconclusive. E. Charles Adams and his colleagues argue that between AD 1250 and 1540, Hopi communities were organized into settlement clusters with mother villages surrounded by secondary villages. On Antelope Mesa, Awat'ovi was the oldest and largest settlement, with an estimated 3,000 rooms in 1500. Kawayka'a was second with 1,500 rooms. The smaller villages of Tsa'akpahu, Kookopngyamu, Pink Arrow, Nesuftangu, and Lululongturqi had apparently been abandoned by then as the Hopis, like other Pueblo IV peoples, congregated into fewer but larger communities. By 1500, only Awat'ovi may have remained inhabited, and it had grown to an estimated 4,000 rooms. "It is possible that Kawayka'a on Antelope Mesa and Sikyatki on First Mesa were still occupied after Spanish contact, but if so, only very briefly," Adams, LaMotta, and Dongoske (2004:132) conclude. They acknowledge that "early outbreaks of smallpox or other Old World diseases could have preceded actual Spanish contact, triggering population collapse and village reorganization along the lines of historic Zuni," but also note that "mounting evidence" suggests that "major epidemics of Old World diseases did not strike until the 1600s or later" (Adams, LaMotta, and Dongoske 2004:136).

None of the early ethnologists—Alexander Stephen (1936a,b), Jesse Walter Fewkes (1898, 1900), or Victor Mindeleff (1989 [1891])—who worked among the Hopis in the late nineteenth century mention an assault on Kawayka'a by Coronado's soldiers. But several summaries of Hopi history based upon Hopi oral traditions do discuss the destruction of Kawayka'a. Harry James, who based his *Pages from Hopi History* on conversations with Hopis in the first half of the twentieth century, must have heard tales about Kawayka'a because he begins his chapter "Encounter with Spain" with Tovar's soldiers surprising "the old Hopi Indian pueblo of Kawaioukuk," not Awat'ovi (James 1974:33). He also goes on to state, "Castañeda's brief account of this first meeting of the Hopi with the white man certainly gives scant foundation for the stories, current in Zuñi just a few years later, to the effect that Tovar virtually demolished Kawaioukuk and killed great numbers of its inhabitants. It is possible that he did. Castañeda was certainly in error regarding the cotton cloth, since, according to Hodge, the Hopi even then were the principal cotton-growers and weavers for that entire region" (James 1974:36–37).

Harold Courlander (1971), in *The Fourth World of the Hopis: The Epic Story of the Hopi Indians as Preserved in Their Legends and Traditions*, also describes Kawayka'a's destruction. In his words (175–176):

When the Castillas arrived in Hopi country they came from Zuni in the southeast. The first Hopi villages they saw were on Antelope Mesa, among which were, in addition to Awatovi, Chakpahu, Akokavi, Moesiptanga, and Kawaika. The horses on which the Castillas rode were somewhat frightening, and people did not go out to meet the strangers. The Castillas arrived at Kawaika. They were all in armor except for one priest who rode with them. They announced that all the villages now belonged to the Castillas, but the Kawaikas did not accept them. So the soldiers drove the people out and set on fire everything that would burn. After that they arrived at Awatovi a little farther to the south. Now, the Hopis had been waiting a long time for the special Bahana who was supposed to come in fulfillment of a prophecy, bringing harmony, virtue and good fortune. At first they wondered if these Bahanas were the ones they were expecting. But when they saw the smoke going up from Kawaika and heard what had happened there they said, "No, these cannot be the ones we are waiting for." Across the trail into the village they drew a line with cornmeal, which meant that the strangers were not to enter. Nevertheless, the Castillas crossed the line as though it were not there. Some of the Awatovi men

prepared to fight, but others said, "Wait. Let us have patience. They may go away." And it was decided they would not fight. Instead, they gave presents to the Castillas. When at last the Castillas continued their journey to the other Hopi villages to the west, some Awatovi men went with them as guides, and the people said, "Yes, perhaps now we are done with them."

Unfortunately, neither James nor Courlander attributes his information to individual Hopis or notes when and how it was recorded. In part, this reflected the wishes of the Hopi consultants themselves, but it also followed the literary conventions of the time. In the mid-twentieth century, only a handful of North American anthropologists were beginning to take oral traditions seriously, unlike their Africanist colleagues like Jan Vansina (1985). As Whiteley (1988, 1998) points out, structural functionalism dominated anthropological interpretations of Hopi society. Hopi accounts of the past were relegated to the genres of legends, folktales, or myths. Nonetheless, Native biographies and "autobiographies" were beginning to be published, among them Dan Talayesva's (1942) *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*. Occasionally, these included historical information from Native points of view. Beginning in 1969, Albert Yava, whose Tewa name was Nuvayoiyava ("Big Falling Snow"), permitted himself to be recorded by Courlander, who edited and published his "life and times" (Yava 1978). Son of a Hopi father and a Tewa mother, Yava grew up in the Tewa village of Hano on First Mesa. He considered himself a Tewa because Tewas, like Hopis, trace descent through their mothers. But he was initiated into the One-Horn Society, one of the four Wuwtsim sodalities, so he was Hopi as well, with access to the knowledge transmitted in the One-Horn Society's kiva.

In his introduction to the volume, Courlander (Yava 1978:ix) comments on the care with which Yava approached the project:

True to the Hopi-Tewa sense of what is fitting, Yava does not tell everything he knows. As an elder of the Stick, or Spruce, Clan, affiliated with the Bear Clan group, he can speak with authority regarding the beliefs of those clans, and as a member of the One Horn Society he speaks with authority regarding its traditions. But of the traditions of other clans and kiva groups he speaks conditionally, noting that what he relates is what he himself has observed or what has come from the mouth of a qualified person. He is always careful not to tell what he is not authorized to tell, either because it is a cer-

emonial secret or because it should properly come from a qualified person of another clan or fraternity. In his final review of the manuscript of this book he deleted certain portions that he knew to be true but which he felt to be beyond the limits of what was permissible for him to say. He does not reveal what his kiva group has pledged him to keep secret. Among some Hopis it is believed that revealing kiva secrets could bring supernatural as well as social punishment.

Yava presents a more detailed account of settlements on Antelope Mesa at the time of Tovar's expedition than either Mr. Tenakhongva or the Spanish chroniclers. "The first place he arrived at was Antelope Mesa," Yava (1978:88–89) states:

At that time there were a number of villages of the mesa and along Jeddito Wash. The main village was Awatovi. The other villages had been settled by Kawaikas—that is, Laguna people—who had been coming in for some time. A number of the Lagunas had come to get away from the Spanish and the Catholic Church in New Mexico. One Laguna village on Antelope Mesa was called Kawaika. Chakpahu, that was another Laguna village. And there was Akokavi, a settlement of Hemis people. The name means Place of Sunflowers. A little to the northeast above Jeddito Wash was Meusiptanga, meaning Place of Wild Gourds. You can see the ruins of all those villages up there today.

Awatovi was originally a Hopi village, according to what the old people told us, but they must have taken in a lot of Kawaikas, Payupkis and other Eastern Pueblos because the ceremonies we inherited from them have a good many songs that are not in the Hopi language. Awatovi was founded by the Bow Clan. Awat means Bow, and Awatovi signifies Bow Place. The name proclaimed the village as under the leadership of the Bow Clan. But of course there were other clans there too—the Tobacco, Blue Horn, Sun, Sand, Parrot, Bluebird, Strap and Corn groups, and some others as well. Well, Tovar arrived on Antelope Mesa, but before he reached Awatovi he came to Kawaika. The Kawaikas didn't accept him, so he attacked that village and destroyed it. I suppose the people scattered to the nearby villages. Tovar and his bunch then went on to Awatovi. The Awatovis were of two minds about him. Some of the people wanted to resist, but they were uncertain about the outcome, so they received him peacefully.

After that, Tovar went west to Keuchaptevela, Shongopovi, Mishongnovi and Oraibi. That was the beginning. The Spanish and their Catholic Church officials began to squeeze the Hopis. They built churches in all those five villages. According to the way it was told to us, some of the big beams for the churches had to be brought from forty to fifty miles away, where there were large trees. Hopi men were conscripted by the Catholic priests to do this work. I suppose the beams were actually pulled to the village by oxen. In Oraibi they can show you some long, worn grooves in the rocks that they say were made by dragging the logs.

Kawayka'a is widely acknowledged to be a name of Keresan origin. Whether Keresans from Ácoma and other Pueblo peoples were moving in large numbers to Hopi country in the early 1500s remains to be determined. The pueblo of Laguna itself was not founded until the late 1690s by Keresan refugees from Jemez, Santo Domingo, Cieneguilla, Cochiti, and Ácoma during the Reconquista (Ellis 1979). It is possible that Yava is conflating Keresan immigrants in the early 1500s with Pueblo refugees who arrived after the Pueblo Revolt in 1680 or during the Spanish Reconquista more than a decade later. It is worth considering, however, that frightening news of the Spaniards reached the Pueblo world before the Coronado expedition, causing some families to flee westward before the conquistadores rode into their communities.

Clearly, then, there are some major discrepancies—or gaps—between and within the different lines of evidence—documentary, archaeological, and oral—presented here. The chronicles of the Coronado expedition make no mention of the destruction of a Hopi village. The Ibarra expedition of the 1560s and the Espejo expedition of the early 1580s, in contrast, report that such an attack had occurred. Awat'ovi was excavated by Harvard University's Peabody Museum in the 1930s (Montgomery, Smith, and Brew 1949), but it is hard to imagine the Hopi Tribe allowing the excavation of Kawayka'a today. Nonetheless, noninvasive techniques may be developed in the future to test the hypothesis that Kawayka'a or another Antelope Mesa site was assaulted by Spaniards.

Hopi oral traditions, in contrast, remain remarkably coherent and consistent over five centuries. Interestingly enough, narratives about the destruction of Kawayka'a do not seem to follow the "mytho-historical" patterns of what linguist Ekkehart Malotki (Lomatuway'ma, Lomatuway'ma, and Namingha 1993) calls "Hopi Ruin Legends." Malotki collected seven accounts in Hopi of the "demise of villages that now lie in ruin": Hisatsongoopavi, Qa'otaqtipu, Pivanhonkyapi, Sikyatki, Huk'ovi,

Hovi'itstuyqa, and Awat'ovi. Awat'ovi is the only community destroyed during the historic period. Among the reasons the seven pueblos were demolished were the presence of powaqa ("witchcraft") and koyaanisqatsi ("social chaos") within them. In other words, their violations of Hopi religious and social norms brought about their own destruction. The few accounts of Kawayka'a's destruction that have been preserved, in contrast, place the blame squarely on the Spaniards, not Kawayka'a's inhabitants. Moreover, they have not been reframed as moral tales or clothed in "myth," with supernatural beings participating in the punishment of the villagers. Whether that difference is more apparent than real can only be determined by the careful recording of additional narratives about Kawayka'a, if any are still being told.

How, then, do we reconcile the discrepancies discussed above? At this point, all our conclusions must be tentative. The only way to directly test the hypothesis of Kawayka'a's destruction would be to excavate the site, but that would violate deep-seated Hopi ethics about disturbing the dead. So that leaves us with two simple and perhaps irreconcilable explanations: Either the Coronado chroniclers failed to record the attack on Kawayka'a or another community on Antelope Mesa, or Hopis and Zunis concocted the story in the sixteenth century and continue to tell it nearly five hundred years later.

Pedro de Castañeda, the narrator of the most detailed account of Coronado's expedition, did not accompany either Tovar or López de Cárdenas to the Hopi villages. He also penned his account "about twenty years and more" after the events (Flint and Flint 2005:379). By then, a strong reform movement led by Dominican Padre Fray Bartolomé de las Casas had arisen to ameliorate the treatment of Indians in New Spain by drawing attention to the cruelties inflicted upon them by the conquistadores. The same year Coronado returned to Mexico City to report to the viceroy about his expedition, the Spanish crown issued the New Laws of 1542–1543 to curb the worst of such abuses. Among other provisions, the New Laws freed Indians who had been illegally enslaved and weakened the encomienda system by stipulating that encomiendas reverted to the crown upon the death of the original encomendero.

Coronado himself was the subject of a formal investigation in 1544. King Carlos I ordered the investigation when he wrote, "It has been reported to us that in the expedition which Francisco Vázquez de Coronado made to the province of Cibola, he and the Spaniards who went with him committed, both in going and returning, great cruelties against the natives of the lands through which they passed, killing large numbers of them and committing

other acts and injustices to the detriment of the service of God and ours” (Flint 2002:3). Perhaps Castañeda deliberately deleted references to Spanish abuses at Hopi.

Reed (1942:120) counters such arguments by stating, “Suppression of the incident in the Coronado documents for political reasons, as a pro-Kawaika-a, so to speak, faction might argue, is extremely unlikely: the burning of all the Tiguex pueblos, largely because of which Coronado and Cardenas were tried and sentenced, is given fully.” It is possible that the Hopi and Zuni tradition was influenced by, and perhaps conflated with, the strategy employed by other Pueblo peoples and El Turko, Coronado’s captive guide, to lure the Spaniards onto the Great Plains with visions of Quivira.

But such an argument begs two important questions. The first and most basic is: Why would Hopis and Zunis invent such a tradition in the first place? Both Luxán’s and Obregón’s accounts reveal that the Hopis tried to dissuade Espejo from visiting their pueblos by telling him the story. If it were simply a strategy designed to make Espejo believe that the Hopis were determined to resist him, it failed. Why, then, continue to tell it, generation after generation, for nearly five centuries in such vivid detail?

The second question concerns the trip to the Grand Canyon. Hopi guides clearly did not lead López de Cárdenas and his companions on the most direct or well-watered route. As Bartlett (1940) points out, the small party—no more than thirteen Spaniards at most—were traveling in late summer and fall, when monsoon rains would have filled waterholes, produced late summer forage for their horses, and made progress relatively rapid. Tree-ring records reveal that 1540 was not an especially dry year; the reconstructed precipitation record for the Southern Colorado Plateau is 30.64 centimeters (Salzer and Kipfmüller 2005a,b), while the Palmer Drought Severity Index is 0.946, indicating mildly positive conditions for agriculture on the Hopi mesas.⁶ Bartlett (1940:44), who based her information on “conversations” with Edmund Nequatewa,⁷ reported that there were two Hopi trails to the Grand Canyon. One leads southwest to the Little Colorado River and west-northwest to Grand View and the South Rim of the Grand Canyon, where the trail continues northwest to the Havasupai community in Cataract Canyon. The other heads northwest to Mungapi and the juncture of the Little Colorado and Colorado to the salt trail described above. Neither would have taken twenty “jornadas” to reach the canyon, especially at that time of year. (A jornada is the length one could travel in a day.)

Since Bartlett's reconstruction, additional Hopi trails to the Grand Canyon have been documented. Hedquist and Ferguson (2010) list five (from east to west and north to south): Orayvi-Lees Ferry Trail, Orayvi-Echo Cliffs Trail, Hopi Salt Pilgrimage Trail (Homvi'kya), Hopi-Havasupai Canyon Trail, and Hopi-Havasupai Trail (Hedquist and Ferguson 2010: Figure 9, Table 10). Two of those converged on Lees Ferry (Neneqpi Wunasivu) and can probably be ruled out because Lees Ferry is the only place for hundreds of miles where the Colorado River can be easily reached and forded. The remaining three correspond to Nequatewa's trails. The excessive length of the trip, the difficulty in finding water, and the failure of the Spaniards to descend to the Colorado River suggest very strongly that the Hopis were indeed trying to wear the Spaniards down and lose them.

Did López de Cárdenas and his men not realize they were being tricked? Or did five of the Spaniards die in Mâasaw's abode of the dead, provoking a third Spanish expedition to Hopi seeking revenge? At the Hopi CRATT Workshop in October 2009, Harold Dawavendewa from Mungapi doubted that Hopis would have taken the Spaniards down the salt trail because only those initiated into the Men's Society could go there. It would have been a desecration to allow the uninitiated to descend. But desperate times may have called for desperate measures.

We believe Reed (1942) and Montgomery, Smith, and Brew (1949) too easily dismiss the Zuni and Hopi oral traditions recorded by Luxán and Obregón. They may not have been aware of twentieth-century Hopi oral traditions that preserved and perpetuated memories of the destruction of Kawayka'a. But those traditions, when juxtaposed against the stories Espejo and Obregón heard from Zunis and Hopis, demonstrate an enduring coherence and continuity. Hopis have been telling variations of the same story for nearly five hundred years. And it was an important story with important implications, not some folktale akin to George Washington chopping down the cherry tree.

The story is not as widely known among Hopis as the accounts of missionary abuses. On the first day of the CRATT Workshop on October 19, 2009, Hopi and Tewa elders discussed Hopi oral traditions about the Coronado expedition. The discussion reveals how pueblo- and clan-specific Hopi historical knowledge is, and how careful Hopis are in evaluating their oral traditions:

Jerry Sekayumtewa Sr. (Musangnuvi): I guess the dilemma that we have is that we or our ancestors, they believed in keeping records of all of these

events and we're, we're trying I guess trying to second-guess what happened or why it might have happened but we don't have an answer for you. If we were gonna give an answer it would be an assumption and I don't think that's good for the record.

Mike Yeatts (Hopi Cultural Preservation Office): *Because the first contact seems to have occurred at Antelope Mesa, would there be certain clans that would be much better to talk to that may have more in the clan history of the encounter?*

Leon Korub (Musangnuvi): *You know you're right because everything in Hopi is oral, passed on down but then you also have all those people who came from Awat'ovi that are both in First Mesa and Second Mesa and those people actually came from that area. So those might be the people who would actually tell you about what really happened there. Maybe but then you know I think that whatever we hear it might be second-guessing—you know but it's like I said it's all oral history that is just passed on down. That what we know a little bit about we can share with you.*

Elmer Satala Sr. (First Mesa): *What he's saying is true that it's all oral and they heard of it at Wälpi. It's similar to what you said but not as in depth as you're saying that they did try to stop them with that cornmeal, hooma, that's a sign not to cross . . . you're not welcome. And then they attacked. But they didn't go about with the horses and things but that they attacked and their weapons were superior so they had to give in or else be killed. But that's just stories like he said, oral, and the people that would really know [about these events] would be Awat'ovi people. Because that's where that took place and there are some descendants like he said too. We have some at First Mesa, descendants of Awat'ovi.*

T. J. Ferguson (University of Arizona): *Who tells these stories, is that something you hear from your grandfather or your—?*

Elmer Satala Sr.: *In the kivas. We go in the kivas and they talk about different things that they know about.⁸*

As the comments above suggest, the story of Kawayka'a's destruction has probably been passed down by descendants of the people from Awat'ovi who were distributed among the pueblos of Wälpi, Musangnuvi, and Orayvi after Awat'ovi was destroyed in 1700. In that sense, it qualifies as a "group account" in anthropologist Jan Vansina's typology of oral traditions (Vansina 1985:19–21). Mr. Tenakhongva was a member of the Rabbit-Tobacco Clan, which came from Awat'ovi. Taapolo, the Awat'ovi leader who asked other Hopis to destroy his village because of corruption and disorder there, belonged

to the Tobacco Clan. Some Hopi narratives state that Taapalo sacrificed himself when Awat'ovi was destroyed in 1700 (Voth 1905:258; Lomatuway'ma, Lomatuway'ma, and Namingha 1993:406–409), while others claim that he and other members of the Tobacco Clan were spared so they could share their ritual knowledge with other Hopi communities, especially Wälpi and Orayvi (Curtis 1922:89; Whiteley 2002:154).

Mr. Tenakhonva's grandfather, George Sakhongva, belonged to the Badger Clan. Badger Clan members in both Orayvi and Musangnuvi trace their origins to Awat'ovi, and there are close ritual relationships and high rates of intermarriage between Badger Clan and Rabbit-Tobacco Clan members in both communities (Whiteley 2002:154). Mr. Sakhongva also "held many of the religious priesthoods both in Orayvi and Hotvela." Whiteley (2002) contends that the Wuwtsim male initiation societies were only found at Awat'ovi in 1700. One of the reasons for the destruction of Awat'ovi may have been to seize control of those societies and implant them in other Hopi villages, especially Orayvi, to keep their ritual power from being degraded and misused. In Whiteley's (2002:150) words, these societies were "utterly central to the Hopi social system: indeed, one older consultant referred to the Wuwtsim societies as 'the Hopis' government.'" Mr. Sakhongva would have heard many stories about Awat'ovi and the other communities of Antelope Mesa, including the destruction of Kaway'ka, in the kivas of Orayvi and Hotvela as he fulfilled his religious duties and interacted with his fellow Badger Clan members.

To privilege the Coronado documentary record, with its biases and lacunae, then, is, in our opinion, simply not defensible. At the very least, the question needs to remain open until other lines of evidence can be explored. At this point, two weaknesses in that documentary record—one hermeneutical, the other substantive—need to be pointed out. In the Flints' magisterial Documents of the Coronado Expedition, 1539–1542, they state:

Among the many factors that must be considered in judging trustworthiness, we point out that virtually all of the documents included in this volume were drafted by escribanos [paid scribes], even when other persons are recorded as the nominal authors, placing at least one filter between the "authors" and modern readers. Furthermore, many of the surviving versions of the documents are second- and even third-generation copies, increasing the possibilities of introduced copying errors and unnoted revisions made by the copyists. Four documents in this edition, though originally written in Spanish, survive only in sixteenth-century Italian translations, setting yet another interpretive

layer between author and reader. As with historical sources of all sorts—documentary, visual, audio—there is always the possibility of deliberate distortion or obfuscation on the part of the original author. And subtlest of all are the cultural assumptions of author and reader alike, which can frustrate comprehension. Our message is certainly not that the documents are to be discounted or distrusted but that they must not be used uncritically. Verification, contextualization, and cross checking are always necessary. (Flint and Flint 2005:10)

We contacted the Flints, who have devoted much of their careers to the study of the Coronado expedition, about the discrepancy between Castañeda's narrative and Hopi oral tradition. Richard Flint had this to say:

With regard to the Hopis' tradition of significant fighting between them and the Coronado expedition, we see no reason to dismiss that out of hand. We know that the information recorded in the sixteenth-century documentation of the expedition is selective and incomplete. For example, fighting is mentioned only at two Tiguex pueblos on the Rio Grande, yet a full-blown war occurred during the winter of 1540–41, followed by a low-grade guerrilla war the next winter. Recent archaeological work, which has identified a Coronado expedition battle site at Piedras Marcadas Pueblo on Albuquerque's near west side, seems to confirm our expectation that violence during the course of the expedition was much more widespread than the surviving documents would lead one to believe. (Richard Flint, personal communication, 9/20/2009)

The Flints' published work supports this contention (Flint 2002, 2008; Flint and Flint 2005). In his history of the Coronado expedition, Flint (2008:xiv) wrote, "They left behind in Tierra Nueva dislocation and destruction in most places where the expedition had spent more than a few days." And in the personal communication cited above, Flint concludes, "Certainly we would not credit an argument against violence at Hopi based on its absence in the documentary record."

Interestingly enough, the only Spaniard punished for abuses investigated by Lorenzo de Tejada, oidor (judge) of the Royal Audiencia of Nueva España, was none other than López de Cárdenas himself. On March 11, 1545, Tejada concluded his investigation into mistreatment of Indians by Coronado and his soldiers. "Investigation was made into the burnings, setting on of dogs, and other brutality and outrages they committed against the natives of Tierra Nueva. As a result, blame was fixed on don García

López de Cárdenas, *maestre de campo* of the army” (Tejada, March 11, 1545, in Flint 2002:340).

López de Cárdenas had returned to Spain by then, but the records of the investigation were forwarded to the fiscal of the Council of the Indies. On December 20, 1549, the council found him guilty of all charges, which involved cruelties to the Indians at Tiguex and the burnings of Indians who surrendered at Pueblo de Arenal. No mention was made of abuses among the Hopis. López de Cárdenas was sentenced to thirty months of military service in North Africa and fined 800 ducats. He appealed; his sentence was reduced to banishment from the Indies for ten years, a 200-ducat fine, and twelve months of service on the Navarra frontier. He appealed again, and ended up fulfilling his service at Vélez Málaga on the Mediterranean coast (Flint 2002).

Regardless of what happened, the different accounts manifest the range of resistance strategies Hopis employed to keep the Spaniards at bay. The line of cornmeal in the sand may have been a ritual warning. When symbolism failed, the Hopis briefly resorted to military defense before being overwhelmed by the mounted Spaniards and their weapons. They then turned to diplomacy and played upon the desire of the Spaniards to explore new territory and discover new sources of wealth. Hopi creativity and flexibility can be seen in full play in this first recorded encounter between the Moquis and Kastillam.

THE ACCOUNT OF PEDRO DE CASTAÑEDA DE NÁJERA (1560s)⁹

Chapter Eleven

HOW DON PEDRO DE TOVAR¹⁰ DISCOVERED TUSAYÁN¹¹ OR TUTAHACO,¹² AND DON GARCÍA LÓPEZ DE CÁRDENAS¹³ SAW THE RIVER OF TIZÓN¹⁴ AND THE REST THAT OCCURRED.

While the aforementioned things took place, General Francisco Vázquez [de Coronado], being at peace in Cíbola, tried to find out from [the people] of that land which provinces fell near its borders. [He asked] them to tell their friends and neighbors that Christians had come to their

land, and that they wanted nothing except to be their friends and get information about good lands to populate, and [he asked them to tell their friends] to come see them and communicate [with them]; thus they [the people of Cíbola] spread the word in those regions with which they communicate and trade. [The people of Cíbola] told [Vásquez de Coronado] about a province of seven pueblos similar to their own. [The two provinces] were on somewhat bad terms, however, and did not have dealings with each other. This province is called Tusayán [and] it is twenty-five leagues from Cíbola. The pueblos [of Tusayán] are multi-storied¹⁵ and the people [living] among them are bellicose.

The general had sent don Pedro de Tovar to [the people of Tusayán] with seventeen horsemen and three or four foot soldiers. With them went Fray Juan de Padilla,¹⁶ a Franciscan friar, who in his youth had been a bellicose man. They entered the country so secretly that they were not noticed by any man as they arrived. The reason for this was that between the [two] provinces there are no towns or groups of houses,¹⁷ nor do the people go out of their pueblos beyond their own cultivated fields¹⁸—especially at that time, when they had received news that Cíbola had been conquered by the most ferocious people who rode on some animals that ate people. Among those who had not seen horses, this news [of these animals] was so impressive that they were amazed, so much so that our people, [who] arrived at night, were able to hide themselves at the bottom of the pueblo's precipice and from there listen to the natives talk in their houses.

But when morning came, they were discovered. [The natives] of that land arrayed themselves [for battle and] came out well armed with bows and shields and wooden clubs, in file, without breaking line. There was opportunity for the interpreters to speak with them and to read *requerimientos*¹⁹ to them, since they were very perceptive people. Despite everything, however, they drew lines,²⁰ ordering²¹ that our people not cross those lines toward their pueblos and [that they] comport themselves [correctly]. [Our people] crossed some lines while walking and talking to them. It went so far that one of [the natives] lost control of himself,²² and with a club gave a blow to a horse on the cheekpieces of its bit.

Friar Juan [de Padilla], angry about the time that was being badly wasted with them, said to the captain, "Truly, I don't know why we came here." At this, [the soldiers] cried, "Santiago!"²³ [Their attack] was so unexpected that they knocked down many Indians, [who] were quickly routed and fled to the pueblo. Others were not given that

opportunity, such was the haste with which the people came out of their pueblo in peace with gifts. [Our] people were immediately ordered to withdraw and to do no further harm.

The captain and those who were with him looked for a site to establish their camp [*real*] near the pueblo. And there they were—I mean [to say] they were dismounted—when the people arrived in peace, saying that they came to render obedience on behalf of the entire province. [They said] that they wanted to be considered friends, [and] that [the Spaniards] should accept the present that they were giving them, which was some cotton cloth, although only a small amount since there is no [cotton] in that land.²⁴ They gave them some dressed hides, and much flour and *pino*²⁵ and maize and native birds.²⁶ After that, they gave some turquoises, although [only] a few. That day the people of that land gathered together and came to render their obedience. They openly offered their pueblos so that [our people] might enter them to deal, buy, sell, and trade.

[The province of Hopi] is governed like Cibola by a council²⁷ of the eldest people. They have their appointed governors and captains. Here²⁸ information was obtained about a great river, and that some *jornadas* downstream, there were very large nations [of people] with large bodies.²⁹

As Don Pedro de Tovar carried no further commission, he returned from there and gave this information to the general, who immediately dispatched Don García López de Cárdenas with as many as twelve companions to see this river. When he reached Tusayán, [he was] well received and lodged by the natives, who gave him guides to proceed with his *jornadas*. [López de Cárdenas and his men] left there loaded with provisions because they had to go through uninhabited land until [reaching] the settlement, which the Indians said was more than twenty *jornadas* away.

So [after] they had walked for twenty *jornadas*, they reached the gorges of the river.³⁰ Placing themselves at the edge,³¹ it seemed to [the Spaniards] that it was more than three or four leagues by air to the other side. This land was high and full of short, twisted pines. [It was] extremely cold, being exposed to the north,³² so that even during the warm season, it was impossible to live at this canyon because of the cold.

[Don García López de Cárdenas and his people] spent three days looking for the way down to the river. From above, it seemed that the water would be a *brazada*³³ across, yet according to the information of the Indians, [the river] would be half a league wide. The descent was an impossible task. At the end of these three days, finding what seemed to

be a less difficult part [of the gorge], the most agile among them—Captain Melgosa³⁴ and a Juan Galeras³⁵ and another companion—set themselves to go down. They spent a long time descending within view of those above until the figures were lost from sight. Because of the height, it was not possible to take [them] in.³⁶

They returned at the hour of four o'clock in the afternoon, for they were unable to complete the descent because of great difficulties they encountered. What looked easy from up above was not; on the contrary, [the terrain] was very rough and harsh. [The three who went down] said they had descended a third of the way, and from where they reached, the river appeared to be very large. According to what they saw, it truly did have the width that the Indians told of. From above, [the Spaniards] distinguished some small rock outcrops torn from the [cliffs of the] gorge that appeared to be the size of a man.³⁷ The ones who descended swear that [when] they reached [the outcrops], they were bigger than *la torre mayor* of Seville.³⁸

They did not travel closer to the canyon of the river because there was no water. Up to that point, every afternoon they were detouring one or two leagues inland in search of water. Inasmuch as they might travel another four jornadas, the [Indian] guides said that it was not possible to go further, because there was no water for three or four jornadas. When they traveled through there, [the Indians] brought along women carrying water in gourds, and that on those journeys they buried the gourds of water for the way back. [They also said] that what our people traveled in two days, they traveled in one.

This river was the Tizón, much closer to its source than [the place] where Melchior Díaz³⁹ and his people had crossed it. These Indians were of the same status,⁴⁰ as it appeared later. From there they turned around, [and] that jornada had no further result. From the trail, they saw a waterfall that fell from a cliff. They learned from the guides that some clusters hanging like long tapers⁴¹ of crystal were [actually] salt. They went there and collected a quantity of it, which they brought and distributed when they arrived at Cíbola.

There they gave an account to their general of what they saw, in writing since one Pedro de Sotomayor,⁴² who served as chronicler of the force, had gone with don García López. Those pueblos of that province remained peaceful, even though they were never visited again. Nor were other settlements learned of, or [even] searched for, along that route.

INTERVIEW WITH CLARK TENAKHONGVA,⁴³
 NOVEMBER 21, 2002

In his interview with Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa, Clark Tenakhongva covers a wide range of subjects in addition to his version of the first encounters between Moquis and Kastillam discussed above. Much of the historical information came from his grandfather, George Sakhongva, who was believed to be 112 when he died in 1974.

Mr. Tenakhongva begins by discussing the abuses of the Franciscan priests. He then jumps from the mission period of the seventeenth century to Kit Carson and the Buffalo Soldiers, after Arizona and New Mexico became a part of the United States following the Mexican War and the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848). This is understandable. We found very few Spanish documents about the Hopis after the 1770s, when the Spaniards attempted to establish a route between Santa Fe and the new Spanish communities of Alta California, particularly Monterey and San Francisco (Weber 1992). After that effort faltered, official Spanish interest in the Hopis waned. And once Mexico achieved its independence from Spain in 1821, officials in Santa Fe apparently were far too preoccupied with internal conflicts—and with Ute, Navajo, Apache, and Comanche raids—to pay any attention to the Hopis (Weber 1982). We were unable to locate any documents about the Hopis in the Mexican Archives of New Mexico,⁴⁴ although a few may be lurking there.

From the 1780s until the arrival of U.S. troops in the 1840s, then, the only contacts Hopis had with New Mexicans must have been with occasional traders, trappers, or slavers. According to historian James Brooks (2002:348), baptismal records list thirty-seven Hopis baptized in New Mexico during the nineteenth century. Navajos, who appear to have raided Hopi and Zuni pueblos every two or three years at harvest time to seize corn and captives, may have bartered or sold many of those captives, who became household “servants” in communities like Santa Fe (Brugge 1985; Brooks 2002). Nonetheless, unscrupulous New Mexicans mounted their own raids on surrounding Native peoples as well, including the Hopis.

Slavers left little if any documentation in the official archives of Mexico, but narratives of what may be the same raid have made their way into Hopi oral traditions. The first version of the story to appear in print was that of a sixteen-year-old Hopi boy, Robert Ermatewa, who told it to Mrs. Isis L. Harrington (1931) of the U.S. Indian School in Albuquerque. Ermatewa had heard the story from his great-grandfather “Loma-Week-Va-Yah”

(Lomawikvaya), who died at Orayvi in 1926. According to Lomawikvaya, some bearded men arrived in Orayvi, ostensibly to trade for “baskets, sheep, and other things.” That evening, they robbed the village at gunpoint, loading some women and children into carts and driving off sheep. One of the women was Lomawikvaya’s young wife. Lomawikvaya ran to the house of a white man whom he knew was a “good man” and told him what happened. The white man wrote something on a piece of paper and told Lomawikvaya to give it to the governor in Santa Fe. Lomawikvaya crossed the desert alone, fording the Rio Grande, and slipped into Santa Fe. There he crept up to the back wall of a “long, low building that stood on the north of the square”⁴⁵ and found another “kind looking man with large dark eyes and white hair” sleeping in bed. The man fed him and gave him a place to sleep, and the next morning ordered “every Indian from Oraibi” returned, including Lomawikvaya’s wife. “Not one of those carried away was missing” (Harrington 1931:227–230).

Edmund Nequatewa (1944) heard another version of the quest from Masavema, one of the kidnapped children, and published a more detailed account that James (1974) summarized in his *Pages from Hopi History*. According to Nequatewa (1944:45), a party of Mexicans arrived “about 1846.” “The Hopis always feared these visits because they were never sure but that the Mexicans were coming to take revenge on them for killing the Spanish priests in 1680,” Nequatewa observed. The Mexicans were peaceful until some Hopis “who had more troubles than they could bear” secretly persuaded the Mexicans to kill them because they could not kill themselves without losing their reputations (Nequatewa 1944:45). But after the Mexicans shot several of them outside a kiva during the Soyal ceremony, another Hopi unaware of the suicide pact wounded one of the Mexicans. “The Mexicans started to run for their lives,” Nequatewa (1944:46) wrote, grabbing “a number of children and a young woman, who were the rewards offered the Mexicans by the Hopi victims.” As they were fleeing, they also killed some Hopi men and drove off their sheep.

In Masavema’s narrative, two male relatives of the young woman from the Badger Clan pursued the raiders but gave up after three days because of danger from “warlike tribes” (Nequatewa 1944:48). So Wikvaya,⁴⁶ the young woman’s husband who presumably was the same individual as Lomawikvaya and the one who gave Voth (1905) an account of missionary abuses, set off alone to Santa Fe. “After many hardships,” he finally reached the Rio Grande and found another Hopi named Paati, who helped him contact an “officer” in Albuquerque. The officer wrote a letter on his behalf

to the "Governor" in Santa Fe, who instructed his "guardsmen" to find the Hopi captives and return them to their homes. The raiders were rounded up, "nailed to poles," and "given a good hard lashing across their backs." Then they were dragged to death by horses or stoned to death up in the mountains (Nequatewa 1944:50–51).

Unlike the account published by Nequatewa, the first account is undated. Harrington (1931:227) concludes "it can only be estimated that the affair occurred about a hundred years ago." Ermatewa's version does not identify the ethnicity of the raiders either except to say that they "were not Indians" (Harrington 1931:227). But the narrative does state that Lomawikvaya had made fifty-eight marks on a tall cliff "every rainy season since I was a boy" when he told his great-grandson the story. Piecing the chronology together, Aitken (1931:376) argues that the raid must have happened "about 1867," not 1846, which meant that Lomawikvaya appealed "not to the Mexican authorities but to the American governor of the territory—possibly Governor Robert Mitchell."

Aitken also provides another undated account of what was probably the same raid at Orayvi, given to her by a Hopi named Danachnemtiwa, who was a boy at the time. In Danachnemtiwa's account, the slavers, whom he identifies as "Castila," arrive during the "Suyala"⁴⁷ and kill six Hopi men, stealing children and sheep but no women. The men from Orayvi then take "a corn clan man, Patangsi, to interpret for them in English" and go to "Alaviya (Santa Fe)," where the "chief" gives them a piece of paper to show to the "Castila" who abducted their children. "The Castila weren't all living in the same place, they were scattered all about the place, and our poor children with them, but they gathered them all up and brought them to Patangsi and the superintendent," Danachnemtiwa recalls. Aitken gives no date for when Danachnemtiwa related the story, but she does note, "The Hopi, being administered by the Indian school superintendent at Keams Canyon, used 'superintendent,' in 1913, as an English title for any white official."

Mr. Tenakhongva offers his own version of the raid, but he gives it a darker and more poignant personal dimension. In his account, the young woman who is abducted is his great-grandmother. Her husband tracks her down to Santa Fe and brings her back to Hopi, but by then, she is pregnant. He corroborates Masavema's searing memory of the raiders' flight to New Mexico: "On this journey the Mexicans used the one woman. She was obliged to take them all every night whether she wanted to or not, but she did not dare cry out. Some of the children were old enough to know that this was being done to her against her will and they would cry about it" (Nequatewa 1944:48).

“So from there on, when she gave birth, that’s where our grandmother came from [so] she was half Spanish and half Hopi,” Mr. Tenakhongva states. “So up to today, you know, somewhere along the line it, it comes out very distinctly within our family. We get this wavy hair, this natural wave, like, you know, my oldest son he’s got one like that. The other thing I notice in my family is the second son; he’s got very hairy facial features. He’s got to shave every day just like a Spanish guy when he’s got a beard, basically.” Gang rape, which may have been a regular feature of slave raids, was yet another trauma experienced by Hopi women—one that left its mark among Hopis for generations to come.

Mr. Tenakhongva goes on to speculate about personality traits. “And, also within my own self, and this came from my father’s side is that I’m a very temperamental person. It doesn’t take me much to get upset with anything. And that’s the way Spanish people are.”

Stewart: *Yes.*

Clark: *They’re very aggressive, very temperamental. I guess I don’t have to be drunk to be temperamental in that way. That’s where all this temperament came into Hopi because a lot of it was Spanish influence.”*

But as Mr. Tenakhongva points out, the Hopis also use humor to deal with these chapters in their history as well. “And, I think up to today, we kind of make a mockery out of it, you know. We do have what we call a Mexican Dance, a social dance, but it’s in a way of a humorous way, you know, that we do those dances.” He goes on to say, “A lot of those songs that we put in there is, got nothing to really do with Hopi, because Hopi not, normally don’t sing anything about alcohol or having celebrations or stuff like that in that way, partying.” Later in the interview, he adds, “I look at it is, yeah, it’s not really patronizing them, it’s not really honoring them, but in a lot of ways it’s kind of like the humorous way we still remember, you know, what the Spanish did to us.” Like the Western Apaches in anthropologist Keith Basso’s Portraits of “The Whiteman,” Hopis play at being “Castilas” in order to “define and characterize what ‘the Indian’ is not” (Basso 1979:5).

Stewart B. Koyiyumtewa: Today’s date is November 21, 2002. We’re here at Clark Tenakhongva’s residence in Polacca. My name is Stewart Koyiyumtewa. I’m here for the Hopi Documentary Project. Along with me are Joel Nicholas and April Honanie, both from the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office.

Clark Tenakhongva: Yeah. My name is Clark Tenakhongva. I come

from the lineage of what we refer to as the Rabbit and Tobacco Clan from one of the last villages inhabited by, or incorporated on the Hopi Reservation after the split of 1906 from Orayvi. So I come from the village of Hotvela but reside in First Mesa with my wife traditionally and customarily that's supposed to happen. My wife comes from First Mesa. So a lot of the information that I will provide here is from the testimony of my grandfather George Sakhongva. He came, he was, he was born and raised in Orayvi and comes from the clan of the Badger from there, from Orayvi and held many of the religious priesthoods both in Orayvi and after the establishment of the village of Hotvela. And, I got the fortune to know him probably the last 20 years of his life. He died in 1974 and we believe he was at the age of 112 when he passed away. The other part about him is later on I guess he got the name of "George" as an English name. He was born in the village of Orayvi back in eighteen something, I don't know what it was, but he died in 1974 and we approximated his date of the time he died was around 112 years old.

So, his encounter with what information that was prior to his birth probably in the 16 and 1700s and then what he saw during the 1800s was what he revealed to me. A lot of it is known to Hopi of what the Spanish did, or people of the Spanish descent that came out here, you know, right around the 1680s and that era during the construction and erection of the churches, the Catholic missions that were constructed out here. And, his recollection is that, you know, one of the biggest things that was told to him when during the mission that was being built there in Orayvi was that many men who lost of their lives, you know, just to the cruelty and treatment of how they were being treated, especially during the part of where they were sent to Flagstaff ⁴⁸ to get the poles, I guess what you would call "beams" at this point. But, in, in Spanish that would be the "vegas" [*vigas*].⁴⁹ And, that's what I recollect was that he said that it wasn't, even though at that time the introduction of mules had already come about, burros and what not, but yet, at the same time, it was manual labor which they more or less relied to, and so what they did was they would gather up the youngest, strongest men and then influence, I guess the governmental system there in Orayvi, meaning the traditional governmental system all the way from the chief, the kikmongwi all the way down. At first it was to the point where they thought it was for the benefit of everybody.

Stewart: Yes.⁵⁰

Clark: So, with that, buying them out basically, they . . . they ended up having to volunteer these people, I guess, like into semi-soldier army-like type deal. And, so with this, they took the young men and then would take them over to Flag [Flagstaff] and actually, he said that you know on the south side of Orayvi what you see today, the village itself is where it's evident where they were pulling the logs through the, through the sandstone where it's grooved in there. And, that's where that came about. They, people don't, at this point, they don't know why, why the grooves are there. But that's what came about was these men actually pulling all these logs, you know, anywhere from five to a thousand-pound log all the way from Flagstaff. And, it got to the point where if somebody refused, that's one, one point what he told me was that he know of one time, I guess they made the trip over there, and the water was pretty high over where they call Leupp,⁵¹ in that area.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: In the Little Colorado River. And, it's, it must have been like around maybe five, six feet deep and when men refused and at that point, from his recollection was that they were basically pistol-whipped. And, what they called pistol-whipped. At that time they took the butt of the pistol, hit, hit the guys on the head. And, also whipped them with the whips. And, later on they died and were thrown into where the areas called the Little . . . Little, at the, what they call that falls over there.

Stewart: Grand Falls?

Clark: Grand Falls.⁵²

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, that's where the bodies were washed out down the Colorado River, about, about 10 of them, 10 of these guys. And, just to show the others that this can be done to you, and that's what took place. And, from there on, he was telling me that it was, it was pretty easy to I guess pull . . . pull the logs to where the terrain was a lot more compact, meaning the clay-type areas. Then once he got to certain areas like Sand Springs⁵³ area, then it was really difficult because of all the sand that you had to fight with. Coming up this way and then when you got to Orayvi, that was the other part that you had to maneuver those logs because it got to the point where they said they were no longer, they were no less than 20 feet that had these logs cut at.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, pulling those. And, they were very picky about it, very particular about what kind of wood they were going to use. And, that's where I found out the, I, I guess looking into my own research is that pine does not last that long. Comparable to what we call Doug fir, Douglas fir. And, there were, so a lot of these logs that were being cut there in Flagstaff were cut around where they would see where the current Snow Bowl area is, on the, I guess, the west face of the Peaks.⁵⁴

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, that's where these logs were being pulled out from, and pulled out in this direction to Orayvi. And, I guess finally with that, the mission was built. And, once the mission was done there, then it got to the point again of forced labor to the point where they wanted to do it in the style of how the Spanish built their churches back even in Spain, Mexico, and now into what is called North America. And, with that, it went to the point of carving into the logs themselves, decorating remembering how they, you know, hand-carved all these different designs that, that you see in many of the churches nowadays in Santa Fe, especially, or in the New Mexico area. And, that's what they, they became expert craftsman, I guess, I guess at that point. Some of the carvers that were, actually carving these big logs to be used as the vegas [*vigas*] inside the church. That I do not know. I, as far as how big the church, I mean he showed me the dimension of the church, how big it was. And, there is a house that's built on top of it now there in Orayvi. After the, I guess the Revolt in 1680, that, that church was torn down. Some of the stones that were used back from the church to re, re, resurrect some of the houses and even to the point now that there is a kiva there in Orayvi. I don't know if it's still there yet, but the logs that came from that church is what was used to build another kiva there in Orayvi after that. But, from what he told me was that church itself had a lot of underground chambers and that's where a lot of the torture took place, meaning that when it got to the point where they call the *tota'tsi*.⁵⁵

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: In Hopi meaning the Catholic priest or the father. He's the one that I guess was what you would sodomizing and also what, what you could call child abuse at this, at this point in life what we refer to as in, in, in this point of life is that all the young ladies that were pretty, anywhere from 12 to 16 years old, that's who he was abusing. Or,

him and his colleagues there and even to the point where also if a young lady that may have been married but was pretty, he somehow you know, manipulated those people to bring the girl or the lady over to the church and a lot of times they were never seen after that. Or, what would happen is they would send some guy out on, on some kind of a mission and after that the lady would be abducted and that guy would never see his wife again from that point on. But, these are some of the horror stories that they tell us what, what happened when Spanish actually came out here.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, then during later on in his life, in his life 1800s when Kit Carson came out here with his group of people supposedly being on an expedition at that time it was under the Federal Government but he still had a lot of Spanish soldiers⁵⁶ with him. And, one of the things that he told that I distinctly remember is that when he came out, he tried to show his again excessive power in that way and I guess they had a bunch of mule trains that were going along with them and pulling these cannons with them. And, so they, he said there were about six of them that they set up first to the south side of the village and they were shooting these cannons off. And once one of them would land like around the what is called Orayvi Wash at this, nowadays.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, you could see that big old cloud of dust come about. And, that was from another deal where they were again trying to enforce their powers upon the Hopi people telling them if you don't turn this way or that way then, or don't join our group, meaning the Federal Government at that time, it's always been to the point where they were trying to make us lose our religion and our, and our traditions and custom out here.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: It's always been that way, you know. Spain is after that as far as prestige, power and gold. That was their main, ultimate goal. It didn't matter what kind of land. It was as long as there was wealth within the land itself, and that was their ultimate mission from Spain. Now on the other hand when the White Man came about, so-called White Man, the Anglo people, and that was the other thing is that to, I guess, to gather as much land as they could without, you know, you look at it realistically nowadays. You know, who, whose land was it

to begin with but yet, you know, we never sold the land but yet, you know, we don't have no land.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, that was another force of power that they were trying to do with the Spanish soldiers with Kit Carson. And, then later on in the afternoon I guess they had a, a big sort of like a celebration. After that happened they were shooting that off and then that afternoon they turned to the east side of the village and did the same thing, aimed the cannons up towards what they call, a lot of people get this wrong too, is that they, they call it Pumpkin Seed Point but it's really not. It's Backwards Fall Point, *Patangvostuyqa*.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: Because somebody at one time, you know, was standing at, at the edge of the cliff there and fell backwards and that's why it's, you know, it has the name. But you see many books and what not written on it but it's not Pumpkin Seed Point. So, but anyway it was, it was to that area east of the village, another side of the mesa that they were shooting around again and when once the ball itself, the lead ball would hit on, on that side, a bunch of boulders would, would shoot up in the air and what not, and my grandfather said, "Yeah, I got the fortune to pull the lanyard at that time," you know, which is that little string that they pulled and the cannon would go off. And, doing the gunpowder and what not, they were, I guess, showing them demonstrations right there in the village, in the plaza, what was going on.

But, going back to again the part about the church itself, it got to the point, you know, where he became very greedy, the priest or the father. Whatever they refer to him as? Like I said I'm not a church person so I don't really know what their proper names are or identities are. But he got to the point where he was telling people that he needed a specific kind of water. I guess, you know, what he referred to as purification water or the, the blessing water, or whatever they use within the church.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: Within the Catholic religion. And, it got to the point where he was sending people all the way up to Page [Arizona], what is Page⁵⁷ now. Hopi call it *Paasisvayu*. And, that's where all the young men that were strongest within the village, they had to like make a two-day trek; one day going up, one day coming back. And, it was like in a,

probably what I'm assuming is he said it's just in a gourd that they fill this canteen of water, bring it back, and ah, and if you didn't make it back in a certain time, he had his soldiers basically go out and look for you, and if they found you somewhere out there, you never came back but the water did come back.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: Because, you know, they basically beheaded you out there. And, in one instance, it got to the point he was being very I guess demanding on the people. They started catching on to what he was doing there. They started rebelling at that point. So, at one point, somebody, I guess at that time, by that time must have been that people were all around about in the, this region of the area what we call Hopiland, and north of Hotvela, what is presently Hotvela there was a spring somewhere around in there, around Dinnebito Wash area, somewhere in there. There was a spring in there. And, I guess, they kept kind of like going, the word, the word was let's try to find a source of water somewhere else that's closer by that we don't have to make that trek. So, what they would do, they finally found, I guess they were tasting the water as they were doing that, and they found a match to it somewhere around there in one of the springs. So what they did was they, they, they knew that was there so what they would do they would end up, the first group, I mean the first couple men they did that and they would go out there and take the water. They would actually just rest out there all day then come back at like noontime the next day, starting to get back to Orayvi. So they weren't really tired and burned out like, I guess, the people that went all the way to Page and back.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, somehow, you know, again, you know, we within our own selves as Hopis some are, some of us are, are quick learners, some of us are people that never give in to any kind of other foreign intrusions or we're people that are just there to be takers along with some of them. In this case some of these people were true faith believers within the church. And, somehow the rumor started rumbling around that that water that was being brought to the priest at that time really wasn't coming from Page. So, what he did, again being a smart Spanish person, he sent, he let the guy go. I mean okay, you know, you're going to go get me some water and, you know, probably about five, six hours later he sent another guy out after him, two or three guys after him. And, I guess somewhere along the line they were hiding

behind him and finally they found out where he was sleeping at that night. They watched him that whole night, the next day until that time he came back. Finally, this, this thing happened like to about three different guys. But the fourth guy, you know, they, that went out there and did the same thing. Came back and he looked like he was very tired, you know, after running for so many, a couple of days trying to get that water and come back. The minute that he came back to the village, they got that guy and took him to the middle of the plaza and that's where they beheaded him. Right there because they were making another example out of him.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: What, what wrong he was doing. So, again, they went back to the point where they start having to go back all the way to Page. At that time, by that time I guess the horses were introduced. The guy had to go on his foot as far as getting the water. But the guy that was watching him was going on horseback going behind him all the way.

So, those are some of the things that Hopi people have encountered all the way up to here as far as the, what we call the Catholic religion, up to this point. Because I can't say if it's an Anglo religion or what, you know, because a lot of it derived from Spain, a lot of it came from Rome. So, we as Hopi generally refer to as a white person, or an Anglo person as a *Pahaana*.⁵⁸

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: As a Pahaana but I come to my, you know, and this is what was told to me. A Pahaana does not really reveal that's a, a person that's got, maybe Caucasian meaning a, a white person with white skin. It refers to a person that basically came across the large body or mass of water and then came to this land, Pahaana, meaning, you know, somebody going over water.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, in this case that's what happened. A lot of these, like again, so we probably referred to the Pahaana also as Spanish at one point. But, the distinction between them was that, you know, we, they referred to themselves as "*Castillas*." And, so from that word itself, the Spanish word "*Kastiila*," is what we call these Spanish people, "*Kastiilas*" because they were *Castillas*. That's the way they referred to themselves. Then, also about that time, during Kit Carson's time is when the Buffalo Soldiers also came out here with him. They came

about him, out here with him what they called the Buffalo Soldiers or the Negroes.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, that was about the first time that Hopi got introduced to Negro people so the other part of it, that form came about was a Castilla is still a form of Spanish, but the only thing that we added on the Hopi side is “Suugom Kastiila,” and the reason why is that they are black in color but got the same kind of wavy, you know, hair.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: So, that’s why you got the Suugom Kastiila and the Castilla.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: So, that, that word itself is something that is Spanish. That’s not Hopi.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, so but that’s where he said that we, I, I first time I observed somebody, you know, we’re, we’re dark skinned anyway. We’re not really that dark but the only difference between us and the Negroes was that our hair wasn’t wavy at that time.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: Then in the later 1800s, you know, this is where the abduction started taking place.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: A lot of the Spanish were coming out here trying to gather information about this area to see how much minerals it had under the ground, meaning gold and silver, that’s primarily what the maps that probably back from the 16, 17, 1800s would somewhat match up with what the mesas are out here.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, again, “mesa” is not an English word. It’s a Spanish word. You know, you go back into that. So, that’s where the, the Black Mesa, I guess, Plateau or what the, this area what is now the three fingers of it . . .

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: . . . comes out. And, so by that time some of the words Hopi has up to this point like *tsiili*,⁵⁹ for instance. That’s not a Hopi vegetable. That came from the Spanish. Same thing with a lot of the different varieties of peaches.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: That came out from there, that, that came from the Spanish also. The different varieties of beans, that came from the Spanish. Then the sheep was introduced because Hopi never had no sheep at that point. But, a lot of it was at the cost of the, again the parents of a young girl because a lot of it was trading like say five head for one, one daughter, you know. This is the way the trading went upon.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, at first it was legitimate. I guess the trading was okay. Trading your daughter or your son across for a certain amount of sheep or amount of food or what not, they, it was okay. And, then later on they became greedy again.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: So what did they do instead of bartering or trading, they just abduct these, these young ladies and took them all the way to Santa Fe again to their headquarters there in Santa Fe, New Mexico. And, from that point on, that's where a lot of these rapes, the rape and the killing of, continually did, did happen here on Hopi in all the villages. And, you go back into our bloodline; a lot of us have those Spanish in us here and there. I come to find out that that's what happened with three generations with my grandmother. Her mother was taken to Santa Fe but, her husband, a young guy, and I, I don't know how he did this not knowing how to speak Spanish, but yet went over there and picked up, you know, his wife. Somehow he got his wife but that by the time he brought her out here, she was already pregnant. So, from there on, when she gave birth, that's where our grandmother came from [so] she was half Spanish and half Hopi. So up to today, you know, somewhere along the line it, it comes out very distinctly within our family. We get this wavy hair, this natural wave, like, you know, my oldest son he's got one like that. The other thing that I notice in my family is the second son; he's got very hairy facial features. He's got to shave every day just like a Spanish guy when he's got a beard, basically.

That's what I come to find out. And, also within my own self, and this came from my father's side is that I'm a very temperamental person. It doesn't take me much to get upset with anything. And that's the way Spanish people are.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: They're very aggressive, very temperamental. I guess I don't have to be drunk to be temperamental in that way. That's where all this temperament came into Hopi because a lot of it was Spanish influence and, you know, there's, I know of another family in Hotvela that's like that, you know, that comes from the Nutumya family. They're all like that. They're really wavy hair and so all their offspring; they're still getting a little bit of that. And, then somewhere along the line, you know, you, your wife or yourself may be dark complected. All of a sudden you get this real fair skinned individual.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, like out of my whole family, my brothers and sisters, my oldest brother is like that. He's fair skinned than all of us but yet he has the same mother and father.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: So, this is what, you know, what happened, I guess, you know. A lot of things that were told to me by my grandfather that took place during Orayvi especially that I, I look back on and, you know, the amount of labor that these guys took to constructing that church over there, you know. How many, how much blood was spilled over that. Just for something in the name of religion, I guess, and it's always been in the name of dominance trying to overpower Hopis, you know, try to forget of who we are. But, that's one thing that's been told to us that, I guess, in the way if we are to continue as a tribe, the way we are right now and the trend we are on, we speak, you know, 80% English now days . . .

Stewart: Uh-huh.

Clark: . . . is that, you know, one thing is that try not to forget your language and your culture because that's one thing that is dominant within our . . . our, I guess, religion out here, that other tribes aren't fortunate enough to have. Because of that, Spanish came in, dominated them and overtook their, I guess, identity. And, you know, it was because a lot of things came good out of the Spanish. It's not all that bad as far as what we see out here; the introduction of cattle.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: The introduction of livestock, I guess, in general you would say.

Stewart: Uh-huh.

Clark: Cattle, sheep, horses came about in that area. But, you know, on the other hand, you can always replace a cow but you can't replace a person.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: Look at it that way. A lot of history was lost all in the name of religion. In, at that time, you know back in the 16, 1700s, population was around like 15,000 over there just in the village or Orayvi because it was like a mini city as you would see like New York City, for instance. It got to the point where the village was supposed to be only confined to a certain area, so what did they do? They built like five, six story houses on top of one another. You see in the old pictures back from the early or late 1800s. That is something similar to what it was because that's how my grandfather said when the conquistadors came out, they thought they were looking at something else like a big city because, you know, when the sun reflected on it, I guess, in a certain direction when they were coming from the east to the west, that's what they saw. They were coming into a city. The same thing in Zuni when they approached that over there. The same thing was here, in Orayvi.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, oh yeah, one thing I forgot was one of those times that they came out supposedly to map the west, was, and this is what he told me also was that they ended sending a group with them but the agreement between the parties was in Hopi. So, the Hopi men, they decided well let's see what we can do this time.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: Let's go and, let's take them to the Grand Canyon. That's what they wanted to see. They heard about this big gorge or big canyon out here. Yeah, we'll take you down there. We'll show you where it's at. But, the agreement was they were going to take them down and they were going to take them down to where Hopis used to get salt then. We'll take them down in that area, we'll take them as deep as we can and then leave them there and make them die down there because of what they had done to us prior.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: This was already after what they had been doing to them. So, what they did was they took the group of men down there with their horses and all this other stuff they had, you know, mapping the area. They played the game basically along with the, with the Spanish.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: They played the game and, you know, acted like they were all into it with them and took them down into the Grand Canyon, took

several days, you know, probably more than a week or something like that. They got down there and they were doing explorations and one night they all had it planned that they were going [to] leave that night. So, all the Hopi men they didn't sleep that night. They all took off from there. The next day the Spanish men probably awoke and found no Hopis there. Now, the story goes is that they probably wandered the canyon for many days and many months, started running out of food and what not down there. And, the Hopis kind of like laughed about it saying, "Alright. We finally got rid of the Spanish. They're not going to come back and do what they did to us before." You know, little to their surprise, I guess, to their knowledge that actually two guys survived out of that whole group. They came back and they went all the way back to Santa Fe and, I guess, reported to the, to the King of Spain, or whoever it was, that this is what the Hopis did to them.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: The next thing you knew, the whole Spanish army came back out here. And, they actually, you know, that did that to them, you know, that was part of that group and, you know, it was kind of like the crucifixion what took in Rome of, of Jesus. They actually took them to the edge of the village and put up these posts and beat the heck out of them until they were pulp and made examples of them that you don't dare do this to us, you know. We're a powerful nation. And, that's what they did to them. Again examples of the six guys that took them down there. They all ended up paying their ultimate price of getting killed in the end. And, like I said, they, they thought that, you know, they got rid of the Spanish but it didn't happen that way. But, that's another story that what he told me what happened. They took him down that salt trail and, and left him down there to be, to be had by whatever was down there in the canyon.

So, but some of these are some of the stories that he told me, you know, so up to this point, the only thing that we have that's in, I guess, the family that's a heirloom that my brother holds to is a rifle that our grandfather traded this .22 rifle from one of the soldiers from Kit Carson's army. It's still got the date carved on the butt of the rifle, and it's got these inscriptions of something in Spanish, and it's got the carvings of these little flowers like what they carved all that time on the butts of those rifles. It's an octagon barrel. They're manufacturing them now but that one, it's in its original state, you

know, so nobody uses that anymore, but that's something that we have. And, then the other part, you know, which reverts to back to our real religious part is that, I guess, a lot of the bells that the One-Horn Society used actually came out from here from Awat'ovi and then from Orayvi during that time that the Revolt, so some of those bells go all the way back during the time when it happened. But those are the true occurrences of what, I guess, was told to him what happened in Orayvi because he wasn't born during the time of the revolt that took place at Awat'ovi and Orayvi, but after the fact of what happened and what still took place after that. The Spanish to keep on continuing coming out here, I guess, to conquer us in that way.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: But, today, you know, we have many influence, influences other than the Spanish that we have out here, that I, I look at and, I guess, in a way, we'll be conquered but I don't know when.

Stewart: According to your own knowledge, what, what was the cause of the Spanish not, you know, regaining power out here.

Clark: The thing that I look back at is, what my grandfather told me was that this, again I . . . I state the same thing, it was religion.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: For one thing, they didn't lose faith in who and what they were, even though maybe 40 to 50 percent of the people had been converted into Christianity.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: But, yet the few, what they call in Hopi, the handful that was left there, they continued to hold on to the ways. And, then what was the big significant factor that was what my grandfather saw there, in Orayvi, what they thought was a big impact was that people were starting to practice Christianity more and more.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: They got into the form of drought, next thing famine set in, and that's where it converted a lot of the people back into, I guess, we aren't supposed to be doing this. Maybe we aren't supposed to be practicing this White Man's religion. So they went back into the Hopi religion and started, he said there were some 15 kivas in Orayvi.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: Half of them were abandoned. Very few were being occupied.

Finally they started building what they call the fires back in, their religion revived and then from that point on rain started coming back and with that they had food for the families.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: With that, that's when it made a true believer of a lot of the Hopis that had again converted into Christianity, they went back to what they really believed in, and so I guess with, in my own opinion is that I look at it, one way is that I was born a Hopi.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: You know, I wasn't born an Anglo person. I do speak the Anglo language but no matter where I go, no matter what I do in this world, I'm always going to be looked upon as a minority.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: It's never going to be acceptance as a whole even though if I go to the University of Arizona, I may be the brightest student in the class, but yet you're still a minority no matter where you go. And that's one thing that my grandfather said; you were born a Hopi. You were born with black hair; you were born with brown skin. You are born with this language. You can change your language. You can change your lifestyle, but nothing's going to try change the lifeline in you meaning the blood and your heart. You're always going to be that same person. Because you can speak the best English and what not, but wherever you go out in that world . . .

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: . . . they're not going to accept you for who you are. So, you might as well accept the fact that, you know, that you're a minority in accordance to the Anglo religion. But in, my thing is, I think I'm an equal person or maybe a greater person just like the next-door neighbor, as they would refer to it in the English language. So, that's what I see out here is that I, I see a lot of it is that yes, we did have the influence from the Spanish. And, I think up to today, we kind of make a mockery out of it, you know. We do have what we call a Mexican Dance, a social dance,⁶⁰ but it's in a way of a humorous way, you know, that we do those dances.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: A lot of those songs that we put in there is, got nothing to really do with Hopi, because Hopi not, normally don't sing anything about alcohol or having celebrations or stuff like that in that way, partying.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: But, you know, in those songs, if you really listen to those songs, you know, you know, they got, they got a lot of like you're talking about beer, talking about whiskey and all that stuff in the songs like that, so I, I look at those. And, the same thing that happened, you know here. I guess, this is a story that was told to me by another guy here in First Mesa was that he, this guy was sold off to, by his parents over in Winslow because they needed food.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: So, what he did was he, he ended leaving from Winslow to some place eventually finding his way back, you know, a full-blooded Hopi guy. And, some guys, I guess, were in Winslow maybe 15 to 20 years down the road. They were there and they saw this guy and, you know, he stuck out like a sore thumb out of all the Mexicans that were there. And, they started talking amongst each others in Hopi says, "Isn't that that Wuupa?" I guess that used to be his Hopi name, Wuupa, or it is still his Hopi name. They started talking and they came up to him and they asked him, "Is that you, Wuupa?" And, by that time he had lost a lot of his language.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: But, he still kind of like responded to them in a way. And, somehow they, I guess, swindled him out of there and swiped him away from the group that was there from Winslow, brought him out here. So that's what his name was when he came out here to First Mesa was "Wuupa Kastiila."

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: Because he was part of the, raised by the Castillas. And, then ended up, he's the one that, I guess, back in I guess the 1800s introduced what we do at the social dance of the Mexicans.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, he made a lot of the songs of what they did, you know. And, he said, this guy was telling me that the first time that they danced up here was that those actually, the two main dancers, they were actually carrying rifles on their shoulders. Not the way they dance them now. So, some of these things, you know, go all the way back in the 1800s but I look at it is, yeah, it's not really patronizing them, it's not really honoring them, but in a lot of ways it's kind of like the humorous way we still remember, you know, what the Spanish did to us.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: And, how they, I guess, showed themselves to us. So, when we do that dance, it's not normally in the tone of what we do our religious like say a buffalo or a butterfly dance, a social dance. It's kind of hooping and hollering and partying like all the Mexicans do. They go all out and get all crazy and what not. That's the way I see that dance to be. So it's a little different from some of the other, the folk dances that we do out here.

Stewart: Yes.

Clark: But, some of those things, like I said, you go back and you think about it, that I look at myself as saying that, you know, I am part Spanish. I guess in a way maybe my toenail or whatever is, my body, but, you know, I, I reflect and say just think, what kind of I guess blood was spilled over for something just in the name of religion out here in Hopi. I guess it was already been told that this was going to happen and it happened, but yet I'm glad to be here yet. You know, as a Hopi knowing some of my religion and the language, you know, that was given to us. And, I guess, every one of us are here, are here for a purpose but, you know, a lot of times in the name of greed, money and power, that's what happens. We try to take dominance over other people just like what's happening today.

Stewart: Yes. Okay. That's good enough. Thank you for your time.

Clark: Okay. Well, thank you for coming by. And, I never introduced myself, who I was. ❖

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NOTES

¹ Moquis and Kastillam: The Hopi History Project is a formal collaboration between the University of Arizona and the Hopi Tribe. Research has been supported by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).

² Kawayka'a is a term of Keresan, not Hopi, origin. The word means "lake" and is spelled Ka'waika by the pueblo of Laguna, which was founded in the late 1690s, and is called Ka'waika by the people themselves. Frederick Hodge, who helped annotate the translation of Padre Fray Alonso de Benavides's *Memorial* of 1630, had "a strong suspicion that the nucleus of the Laguna population consisted of Queres who had fled to the Hopi country (Tusayán) during the great revolt or earlier. This is based on the fact that Kawaika, the native name of Laguna, is identical with that of a village, now in ruins, not far from Awátobi, a former pueblo of the Hopi in northeastern Arizona. Investigation has not yet reached a stage that will warrant the identification of the ruins of Kawaika as those of a Queres pueblo, nor does the town appear to have been mentioned in history" (Ayer 1916:251).

³ On August 13, 2008, Tom Sheridan met with members of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office including Stewart Koyiyumptewa, tribal archivist; Marvin Lalo, Hopilavayi program manager; Donald Dawahongnewa, coordinator/

community educator; LeeWayne Lomayestewa, repatriation coordinator; and Elgean Joshevama, former vice-chairman of the Hopi Tribe. They said Kawayka'a was being settled, "probably afterwards, maybe later, by people from Laguna," after the Pueblo Revolt. That afternoon, Sheridan accompanied Koyiyumptewa, Lalo, Lomayestewa, and Dawahongnewa to Kawayka'a, where Lalo and Lomayestewa discovered a trail running up an arroyo to the pueblo from the valley below.

⁴ Recording of meeting, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, Kykotsmovi, AZ, August 13, 2008, 1:01.

⁵ Our spellings follow *The Hopi Dictionary* (Hill, Sekaquaptewa, and Black 1998), not those in Eggan (1950).

⁶ Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research Paleoclimate Project. Figures provided by Dr. Jeff Dean.

⁷ Edmund Nequatewa was from the Second Mesa pueblo of Songòopavi (Shungopavi). He belonged to the Sun Forehead Clan and was a member of the One-Horn Society, a powerful fraternity whose priests assist the spirits of the dead in their journey from the world of the living to Muski, the underworld (Nequatewa 1967 [1936]).

⁸ Video recording of Hopi CRATT Workshop, October 19, 2009. M-T3: 07:53-11:12.

⁹ Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera was born in Baeza in Andalucía, Spain, around 1515. He was living in Guadalajara when he joined Coronado's expedition, bringing two horses and a jacket of chain mail. He rode with the main body of the expedition and did not accompany either Pedro de Tovar or García López de Cárdenas to the Hopi mesas or the Grand Canyon. His is therefore not an eyewitness account of those forays. Moreover, he wrote *Relación de la Jornada de Cibola*, the longest and most complete narrative of the Coronado expedition, in the 1560s, "about twenty years and more ago that the expedition was made" (Flint and Flint 2005:379). Previous English translations include Winship (1896), who also published the Spanish text; Hammond and Rey (1940); and Flint and Flint (2005), who published a line-by-line Spanish transcription. All three are based on a copy of Castañeda's original transcribed by Bartolomé Niño Velázquez in Sevilla in 1596. The original has never been located. In 1838, a French collector named Henri Ternaux-Compans published a French translation of the *Relación*; Obadiah Rich, a Massachusetts bookseller, purchased his manuscripts, including the Niño Velázquez copy, in 1844. James Lenox, who obtained the Rich Collection four years later, donated it to the New York Public Library. The 1596 copy remains there in the Manuscripts and Archives Section, catalogued as Rich Collection No. 63 (Flint and Flint 2005).

¹⁰ Of noble birth (*caballero*), Pedro de Tovar was born in Villamartín, León, the son of Don Fernando de Tovar, the *mayordomo mayor* (palace boss) of Queen Juana. He reached Mexico City by 1529 and Guadalajara by 1531 while participating in Nuño de Guzmán's notorious conquest of western Mexico (Flint and Flint 2005:672 n.102). One of the founders of San Miguel de Culiacán, he succeeded Melchior Díaz as *encomendero* after Díaz's death on the Coronado expedition. Coronado appointed Tovar as *alférez general* of the expe-

dition. He later served as *alcalde mayor* of Nuevo Galicia from 1549 to 1551. Castañeda used some of Tovar's documents to write his *Relación* (Hammond and Rey 1940:88).

¹¹ According to historian Herbert Bolton (1949 [1990]:134), the Hopi province was called Tusayán because its first pueblo was named Tu[c]ano. Riley (1995:120) states that the name may have been taken from the Navajo term *tasaun* (country of isolated buttes). Flint and Flint (2005:604) simply point out that Tusayán and its variants “either dropped out of use after the 1540s or had been misunderstood in the first place. At any rate, the names were not used again until the late 1800s when Tusayán, in particular, was resurrected by anthropologists who had become familiar with some of the sixteenth-century Spanish documents.”

¹² The Spaniards referred to Tutahaco as a *provincia* of eight to twelve pueblos along the Rio Grande. Schroeder (1979:236) identifies Tutahaco as the southernmost pueblos and identifies them as Piro-speaking. He places them south of the juncture of the Rio Grande and Rio Puerco, while Flint and Flint (2005:676 n.227) locate them north of that juncture.

¹³ García López de Cárdenas sailed for the Indies in 1535 to seek his fortune because, as one of Spain's “second sons,” the laws of primogeniture left him with no inheritance. Nevertheless, his wife was Doña Ana de Mendoza, daughter of Don Lorenzo de Mendoza, Count of Coruña and a member of one of Spain's most influential families. Through this marriage, he was distantly related to Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, who may have left for the Indies on the same fleet. While in New Mexico with Coronado, he was notified of his oldest brother's death. After the expedition returned to Mexico in 1542, López de Cárdenas went back to Spain to claim the family estate. But Lorenzo de Tejada's investigation of the expedition's mistreatment of Indians, completed in March 1545, leveled serious charges against him, and Tejada's report was forwarded to the Council of the Indies. On December 20, 1549, the Council of the Indies found him guilty on all charges. He was the only member of the Coronado expedition convicted of mistreating the Indians (Hammond and Rey 1940; Flint 2002).

¹⁴ This name refers to the present-day Colorado River (Bancroft 1962 [1889]:39, Gerhard 1982:290). Winship (1904:32) translates this name as the “Firebrand River” and notes that it was named for the firebrands the Hopis carried. In Chapter Ten of Castañeda's account, however, Castañeda notes that while visiting the lower Colorado River, Melchior Díaz saw Indians—likely Yuman-speaking peoples—carrying firebrands with them to keep themselves warm when they traveled during colder periods of the year (Hammond and Rey 1940:210–211).

¹⁵ Transcribed as *pueblos de altos*.

¹⁶ Juan de Padilla, O.F.M., was from Andalusia, arriving in Nuevo Galicia in 1529. While with Coronado, Padilla joined many of the smaller side expeditions. In addition to accompanying Tovar to the Hopi pueblos, he traveled with Hernando de Alvarado to Cicuye (Pecos) and with Coronado to Quivira. When the Coronado expedition returned to Mexico, Padilla chose to return to Quivira with five companions but was soon killed (Hammond and Rey 1940:10; Flint and Flint 2005:595).

¹⁷ Transcribed as *poblados ni caserías*. *Casería* is defined as a group of houses removed from large or dense settlements that do not form a pueblo (Moliner 1977:543).

¹⁸ Transcribed as *heredades*.

¹⁹ The *requerimiento* was a formal decree claiming title and control over newly discovered lands. In the Americas, it announced the divine authority of the Pope in Rome over all nations, the donation of the islands and mainlands of the Americas by the Pope to the Spanish crown, the absolute moral obligation of the Indians to accept the authority of the Roman Catholic Church and the Spanish crown, and the right of Spaniards to wage war against and enslave the Indians if they did not submit. As an instrument of conquest, it was supposed to be read to Indians before battle, thereby placing the blame on the Indians if they resisted. The *requerimiento* was an extreme example of Spanish legalism; even if it were read to Indians in a language they understood, it is difficult to believe that the complicated concepts of authority it embodied would have been comprehended (Gibson 1968:58–60).

²⁰ Transcribed as *hacian rrayas*. Usually translated as “drew lines,” this ambiguous phrase could also mean that the Hopis marked a boundary in some other fashion, perhaps by sprinkling sacred cornmeal.

²¹ Transcribed as *requiriendo*. This can also be translated as “requesting” or “requiring,” but “ordering” was chosen because, considering the context above, it is more forceful.

²² Transcribed as *uno de ellos se desmesuro*. Winship (1896:428) transcribes this phrase as *uno se ellos de desmesuro*.

²³ “Santiago” refers to “the war cry or ‘loud invocation’ addressed to St. James the Greater before engaging in battle with the Infidels” (Hodge and Lewis 1990 [1907]:300). One of the Twelve Apostles, St. James the Greater reportedly evangelized the Iberian peninsula in the first century AD. What is believed to be his tomb was discovered in Galicia in northwestern Spain between AD 810 and 830. The tomb at Compostela de Santiago became one of the major pilgrimage sites in Western Europe during the Middle Ages. Santiago, or St. James, became patron saint of the *Reconquista*—the ultimately successful struggle of Christians to reconquer the Iberian peninsula from Muslim invaders that culminated with the fall of the last independent Muslim kingdom of Granada in 1492.

²⁴ Transcribed as *era alguna ropa de algodón aunque poca por no lo haber por aquella tierra*. Published interpretations of this statement differ. Winship (1904:34) and Hammond and Rey (1940:215) agree with the interpretation presented here, but Montgomery et al. (1940:39) point out that cotton was cultivated extensively at Hopi. Webster (1997:89) corroborates this in her study of Puebloan textiles. Another account of the Coronado expedition, the anonymous *Relación de Suceso*, states that cotton was raised at the Hopi pueblos (Hammond and Rey 1940:286). The discrepancy among these accounts might be explained by the fact that Castañeda himself never visited the Hopi pueblos, and that Coronado’s men simply may not have seen cotton plants during their visit. Tovar visited the Hopi pueblos in late July and August of 1540, a time when cotton, if it was being cultivated, would still have been growing on the plant prior to harvest (Winship 1896:343). Tovar may not have had the oppor-

tunity to see any cotton fields, however, because he does not appear to have traveled beyond Antelope Mesa, the first of four mesas occupied by the Hopis when approaching from the east. Moreover, the largest Hopi cotton fields were located along the Little Colorado River near the Homol'ovi pueblos to the south.

²⁵ Parched and ground corn.

²⁶ Transcribed as *aves de la tierra*. This phrase could also be translated as “groundbirds,” referring perhaps to quail or turkeys.

²⁷ Transcribed as *ayuntamiento*. Ayuntamientos were the governing bodies of Spanish towns. They were more commonly called *cabildos* in the Americas.

²⁸ It is unclear whether “here” belongs at the end of the second sentence or the beginning of the third sentence.

²⁹ Transcribed *ge[n?]tes muy grandes de cuerpo grande*, which could also be translated as “very large people with large bodies.” Yuman-speaking Mojaves, Maricopas, Quechans, and Cócopas lived along the Colorado River. These River Yumans were known for their large stature among Indians of the region. Hopis were particularly afraid of Mojaves, and there are numerous oral traditions about their size and their ferocity. In a three-day meeting between Hopi CPO staff and UA researchers in March 2010, Leigh Kuwanwisiwma talked about how Mojaves raided Wupatki and decapitated people there. Hopis feared them more than Navajos or Apaches. They did not have a lot of contact with them, but those contacts were “certainly very memorable” (Hopi CPO 3/23/10 AM:1:42).

³⁰ The Colorado River and the Grand Canyon.

³¹ Castañeda uses the term *bado* (*vado*), which is usually translated as a crossing or ford of a river (Real Academia Española (RAE). 1963. *Diccionario de Autoridades*, 3 vol. Madrid: Editorial Gredos. Originally published as *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*. Madrid. 1726). Flint and Flint (2005:689 n.608) argue that the scribe made a mistake and the word should be *bordo*.

³² Transcribed as “*frigidísima debajo del norte . . .*”

³³ The Spanish *brazada* or *braza* was a unit of measure equal to approximately 6 feet (Barnes et al. 1981:68–71).

³⁴ Pablo de Melgosa was born in Burgos about 1516 and served as captain of the foot soldiers on the Coronado expedition. Like López de Cárdenas, he returned to Spain after the expedition and testified in his behalf in 1546 (Flint and Flint 2005:672 n.107).

³⁵ Juan Galeras was a native of Almendralejo, Extremadura. He served as *alguacil mayor* (chief constable) and *apostentador* (billeting officer) of the Coronado expedition (Flint and Flint 2005:667 n.61). He later testified on behalf of Coronado when Coronado attempted to recover towns taken from him in 1552 (Hammond and Rey 1940:95).

³⁶ This difficult passage has been transcribed as *quell viso* (Mora 1992:83) and as *que el Viso* (Flint and Flint 2005:675 n.196). Citing the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, Mora contends that *viso* is an archaic form of *vista*. The Flints counter that one of its standard meanings is “height” or “eminence.”

³⁷ Another possible translation of this sentence is: “From above [the Spaniards] estimated that some small boulders torn from the cliff appeared to be the size of a man.” Winship (1896:429) transcribes “peñolsillos” as “peñol sillas.”

³⁸ This refers to the Giralda, the famous bell tower of the Cathedral of Seville,

which was 248 feet high at that time. Remodeling completed in 1568 raised its height to 298 feet (Flint and Flint 2005:675 n.198).

³⁹ Melchior Díaz was captain and *alcalde mayor* of Culiacán when Cabeza de Vaca and his companions arrived in 1536. With Juan de Zaldivar, Díaz was assigned the task of leading an advance scouting party north to confirm the report of Fray Marcos de Niza. Setting out from Culiacán on November 17, 1539, the scouts managed to travel more than 100 leagues north before the extreme cold forced them to turn back. Díaz was a member of the select group that traveled with Coronado ahead of the main army. He apparently traveled all the way to Zuni with Coronado, but returned to the town of Corazones in October 1540, to take charge of the Spaniards who remained there. While stationed at Corazones, Díaz led an expedition to the Gulf of California to find the ships commanded by Hernando de Alarcón. During his return journey, he attempted to run off a dog that was bothering the expedition's sheep, impaling himself on his own lance. He died some twenty days later, before the party made it back to Corazones (Hammond and Rey 1940:21, 231–232). It was on this journey that he discovered the Tizón (Colorado) River.

⁴⁰ *Calidad*, referring to their level of organization or civilization.

⁴¹ Transcribed as “*sirios*.” *Cirios* can be defined as a “wax candle with a wick; the candle is longer and thicker than a regular candle” (Real Academia Española (RAE). 1963. *Diccionario de Autoridades*, 3 vol. Madrid: Editorial Gredos. Originally published as *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*. Madrid. 1726). Winship (1896:430) transcribed this as “*sinos*.”

⁴² Listed on the expedition's muster roll as Pedro Méndez de Sotomayor (Hammond and Rey 1940:90), Sotomayor was the official chronicler of the Coronado expedition, but no copy of his report, if he wrote one, has ever been found. His wife, Catalina de Sotomayor, was listed as a widow by 1546, so it is possible that Sotomayor never had time to compile such a chronicle (Flint and Flint 2005:675 n.201).

⁴³ The interview was conducted in Hopi. It was translated from Hopi to English by Emory Sekaquaptewa and Stewart Koyiyumtewa.

⁴⁴ The Spanish Archives of New Mexico (Series I and II) and Mexican Archives of New Mexico (1821–1846) are part of the New Mexico State Archives in Santa Fe. Microfilm copies of these documents are available at the Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, and the Office of Ethnohistorical Research, Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona.

⁴⁵ Probably the Palace of the Governors.

⁴⁶ According to Whiteley (1998), Wikvaya was head of the Lizard Clan and *Marawmongwi*, the male head of the *Mamrawt* women's society, in Orayvi before the split in 1906. Three years later, Wikvaya converted to Christianity. In a footnote, Whiteley (1998:228 n.20) states that his trip to Santa Fe to recover his wife took place in 1866–1867, citing Aitken (1931), Harrington (1931), and Bailey (1966). Aitken identifies him as Lomawikvaya.

⁴⁷ The *Soyalangw*, the Soyal or Winter Solstice ceremony, when the katsinom return to Hopi communities to remain until the Niman (Home Dance) ceremonies in the summer.

⁴⁸ The city of Flagstaff did not exist until the late 1800s; Mr. Tenakhongva is referring to the forested area on and around the San Francisco Peaks, which are nearly 100 miles away to the southwest as the crow flies from Orayvi on Third Mesa.

⁴⁹ The trees near the Hopi pueblos—primarily pinyon pines and junipers—would not have been tall enough or straight enough to provide roof beams for the mission churches.

⁵⁰ Periodically, Stewart responds with *owí*, the Hopi affirmative, as a sign of attentiveness. To remain silent would be impolite.

⁵¹ Leupp is a modern community on the Navajo Nation located on a ford of the Little Colorado River south of the Hopi mesas.

⁵² The Grand Falls of the Little Colorado River are northwest and downstream of Leupp and about thirty miles northeast of Flagstaff. The falls are 185 feet tall when the Little Colorado is flowing, and are currently located on the Navajo Nation.

⁵³ Sand Springs is about fifteen miles southwest of Orayvi.

⁵⁴ Douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*). Even though the Colorado Plateau hosts one of the largest ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) forests in the world, the missionaries apparently preferred Douglas firs, which grow at higher elevations (8,000–10,000 feet) and are not as abundant as ponderosas.

⁵⁵ *Tota'tsi* means “tyrant” in Hopi. The term was applied to Franciscan priests at the Hopi missions.

⁵⁶ Mr. Tenakhongva is conflating Spaniards and Mexicans here, even though Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821, 42 years before Kit Carson’s campaign against the Navajos in 1863.

⁵⁷ The modern town of Page, Arizona, created when Glen Canyon Dam was built across the Colorado River beginning in 1956, is more than one hundred miles as the crow flies from the Hopi mesas.

⁵⁸ *Pabaana* is the Hopi term for Anglo other than Spaniard/Mexican (*Kas-tiila*) or Mormon (*Moomona*).

⁵⁹ Chile.

⁶⁰ “Social dances” are less formal and not carried out by initiated members of religious societies (Whiteley 1988:58).

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