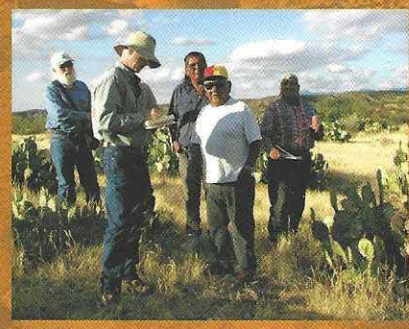


# HISTORY IS IN THE LAND

Multivocal Tribal Traditions in Arizona's San Pedro Valley



T. J. Ferguson and Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh





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*With a Foreword by Robert W. Preucel*

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» » » » » » » » "ANG KUKTOTA"—"ALONG THERE, make footprints." The Hopi were thus instructed by Mâasaw, the owner of the Fourth World, when they entered into a covenant wherein they would endure hardship and seek Tuuwanasavi, the Earth Center, to act as stewards of the world. In return Mâasaw gave them the use of his land. On their long journey to Tuuwanasavi, located on the Hopi Mesas, Mâasaw told the ancestors of the Hopi to leave behind *itaakuku* (our footprints) as evidence they had fulfilled their spiritual responsibilities. These footprints today comprise the ruins, potsherds, petroglyphs, and other remains that many people now call archaeological sites (Kuwanwisiwma and Ferguson 2004). The Hopi men who visited the San Pedro Valley in 2002 recognized many of the archaeological sites in the valley as the footprints of the Hisatsinom, the ancient people venerated as Hopi ancestors.

The concept of *itaakuku*, or footprints, constitutes the historical metaphor by which the Hopi people comprehend the past and give meaning to the archaeological record. These footprints are associated with Hopi accounts of origin and migration that are carried in the oral traditions of clans, the groups of matrilineal kinfolk that traveled together on the long journey from the place of emergence to the Hopi Mesas. Each clan has a *wuuya*, a symbol or totem derived from some event that happened along the way. One group of people encountered a bear, and

ELDON KEWANYAMA, WATER CLAN,  
SONGÖOPAVI

« They then met with Mâasaw, who told them, "I've been waiting for you. You put your feet on this land, it's yours." I don't know where this was, maybe Tucson or Yuma. . . . There they met and they agreed. Mâasaw was dressed in just a loincloth and had a planting stick, seeds, and a gourd with water. Mâasaw gave it to the people and said, "If you want to live like me, this is what I'm giving to you. I'll call you Hopi." So the people took it, and he gave it to them. Before, the people had nothing, they were just naked. Mâasaw said, "Look up there," and up there was a mesa. "That's where you're going," he said.

they became the Honngyam (Bear Clan); another group saw the sunrise, and they became the Qalngyam (Sun Forehead Clan). So, in turn, each of a multitude of Hopi clans was named. Clan histories, primarily intended for the spiritual education of clan members, are closely guarded at Hopi. The full history of a clan, with many variants to account for the specific travels of clan segments that settled in different Hopi villages, would take days to recount, and these narratives are reserved for the exclusive use of the Hopi Tribe. Consequently, only abstracts and fragments of clan histories deemed relevant to the project were provided for use in research. This information, incomplete as it is, still offers valuable insight into the history the Hopi people apprehend in the landscape of the San Pedro Valley.

### We Emerged from Below

People who have taken an introductory anthropology course in college or read one of the many popular books about the Hopi people may have heard that the Hopi entered the Fourth World by climbing up a reed at the Sípàapuni, the "Place of Emergence" in the Grand Canyon. The Sípàapuni is a real place, one that is still revered as a shrine by Hopi men traveling to Öngtupqa (Salt Canyon), which is what the Hopi call the Grand Canyon (Ferguson 1998; Simmons 1942:232-246; Titiev 1937). While accounts of the Sípàapuni are imbued with deeply symbolic religious significance, the traditional history of the Hopi is far more complex than the simplified version of tribal emergence that is commonly shared with Hopi children and inquiring anthropologists.

ELDON KEWANYAMA, WATER CLAN, SONGÖOPAVI

« He then said, "So you go to the woods where there are trees, and there will be a dead bear in front of you. See it, then skin it, and get the meat. That will be your food." So they did this, and while doing it Mâasaw came and said, "You will be the Bear Clan." And so they went on. Later, another group came up, and they got to the dead bear, and the skin was there. Mâasaw said, "Cut it up into strings; I know you will make houses on cliffs, and you will need rope to go up and down. Your clan will be the Bearstrap. Go follow those people up there. Go up to the cliffs." . . . A third group came up and saw the same dead bear. Mâasaw was waiting and said, "I was waiting for you." Right there a spider made a web on the bear. Mâasaw said, "That's your clan, the Spider Clan." A fourth came, and the bear was nothing but bones and a little meat. But a bluebird was eating the bone. "Your clan is going to be the Bluebird," said Mâasaw.

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Hopi elders believe their ancestors came from *atkyaqw* (from below), a multilayered concept that refers geographically to the south and metaphysically to the underworld. One set of Hopi clans, sometimes referred to as the North American clans or the Motisinom (First People), has long resided in the region now known as the Southwest. Another set of clans has traditions that identify the place of beginning of current life as Yayniwpu, believed to be near the Valley of Mexico. After leaving Yayniwpu Hopi clans traveled to Palatkwapi (Red Land of the South), a place that was dominated by ritual power (Ferguson and Loma'omvaya 2003:110). Eventually, social unrest beset Palatkwapi, and it was destroyed by a tremendous flood, forcing the Hopi to continue their migration (Nequatewa 1967:70-85). While all Hopis agree that Palatkwapi is located to the south of the Hopi Mesas, its precise location is a matter of ongoing discussion. Some Hopi intellectuals caution that Palatkwapi may be an epoch as much as a specific place, a representational time as much as an absolute space. After leaving Palatkwapi more than 30 clans began a long migration that eventually culminated at the three Hopi Mesas, where they joined the Motisinom clans that had established villages there (table 2; fig. 34). The clans that migrated from the south are sometimes called the Hoopoq'yaqam (Those Who Went to the Northeast). The Hoopoq'yaqam and Motisinom are both considered to be the Hisatsinom (Ancient People), ancestors of the Hopi.

The San Pedro Valley lies between Palatkwapi and the Hopi Mesas and is thus drawn into Hopi migration history. As migration traditions

KUWANWISIWMA, GREASEWOOD CLAN, PAAQAVI

The tradition is that we emerged "from below," which the Hopi word also means "from the south." In contrast, Hopi also say "from up," meaning "from the north." We also said that Palatkwapi is not just a place, a village, but an era, a time period in which things occurred; it climaxed with the end of a village and lifeways, but it was a village that was a center of others and a way of life. . . . I use caution in speaking of Palatkwapi and about what caused it to collapse. These things shouldn't be repeated. Palatkwapi was dominated by ritual, and its ritual power came to dominate others. There are different types of ritual behavior. Some is negative, and there it began to explode. It had to end. Other groups called in the sea serpent to awaken the other clans. It churned four times for water to come flood the land, and the people fled. They began to migrate north.

» » » » » » » » "THESE ARE THE A:ŁASHSHINA:KWE," Zuni cultural advisors explained after visiting archaeological sites along the San Pedro River, affirming their affiliation with the ancestors they believe resided in the Hohokam and Puebloan villages in the valley. This historical connection is expressed in the traditional history of Zuni and through affinities of material culture and language. The distinctive character of Zuni culture and history is evident in the fact that Zuni is a linguistic isolate, not related to any other language spoken in the Southwest. Today the A:shiwi, which is what the Zuni call themselves, reside in the Middle Place at Zuni Pueblo, but the epic saga of their ancestors recounts that they arrived there after a long and arduous period of migration.

### From Emergence to the Middle Place

Zuni traditions of the A:łashshina:kwe (Ancestors) are predominately retained and transmitted in the sacred chants of priests and religious societies, although storytellers also relate secular accounts of tribal history in Zuni homes. There are numerous levels of meaning inherent in these oral traditions, but many of these are entrusted to the initiates of religious societies only when they demonstrate they are ready to receive esoteric knowledge. Zuni oral traditions include the *chimb'yana kona bena:we*, "from the beginning talk," that describes Zuni emergence and the subsequent migration to Zuni Pueblo, the Middle Place (Benedict 1935; Bunzel 1932a, 1932b; Cushing 1896; Parsons 1923; Stevenson 1904). The *chimb'yana kona bena:we* is differentiated in Zuni thought from *telapna:we*, simple folktales or legends (e.g., Boas 1922; Cushing 1901; Nusbaum 1926; Parsons 1918). The origin talk carries a highly respected veracity that is steeped in the

OCTAVIUS SEOWTEWA, ZUNI PUEBLO

« We learn our history through our religion. It's through this we understand what we're involved in. I've read Cushing, but even he wasn't given full knowledge.



ritual history of the tribe, and it provides the means by which the Zuni people make sense of their past.

A full recital of the Zuni origin and migration talk would take twelve hours or more to narrate, and this is done only in a ritual context during initiation ceremonies held in the kivas of the pueblo. We know the outline of the origin talk, however, because several scholars have published abridged versions (Benedict 1935; Bunzel 1932a, 1932b, 1932c; Curtis 1926:113–123; Cushing 1896; Parsons 1923; Stevenson 1904:73–88, 407–569; Tedlock 1972). In addition, the Zuni Tribe has released information about Zuni origin and migration during the litigation of land claims (Ferguson 1995; Hart 1995a) and in research conducted in the Grand Canyon (Hart 1995b). While the published information about Zuni origin is far from complete, it is sufficient to provide a Native perspective on the broad patterns of migration that culminated in the consolidation of the entire tribe at Zuni Pueblo.

The Zuni people say they emerged at Chimk'yana'kya deya'a, a deep canyon along the Colorado River. Prior to their emergence, under divine instruction, they had learned many prayers, rituals, and sacred talks. They were thus guided by religious societies, including the A:shi-wani (Rain Priests), Newekwe (Galaxy Society), Sa'nik'ya:kwe (Hunter Society), Le'wekwe (Sword Swallower Society), and Make:łanna:kwe (Big Fire Society). From Chimk'yana'kya deya'a the people began a long journey to the Middle Place. They traveled together for much of this passage, sending out scouts to search the land as the A:łashshina:kwe sought the center of the universe.

After leaving the Grand Canyon the Zuni migrated up the valley of K'yawan:na Ahonnane (Red River), the Little Colorado River. As they traveled, the people stopped and built villages and stayed in them for "four days and four nights," a ritual phrase that Zuni exegetes explain denotes a longer period of time—variously interpreted

as four years, four centuries, or four millennia.

At one of the first springs the Zunis came to slime was washed off their bodies, their webbed hands and feet were cut, and their genitals, originally placed on their foreheads, were rearranged so that people came to appear as they do today. The migration continued, and the springs, stopping places, and mountains that were encountered

JEROME ZUNIE, ZUNI PUEBLO

« They moved every four days and nights. We're not sure if this is four years or 400 years.

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became sacred shrines remembered in prayers, with the people returning to them for ritual pilgrimages after they moved on.

As the Zuni moved eastward they traveled to Sunha:kwin K'yabachu Yala:we (San Francisco Peaks), Kumanchan A'lakkwe'a (Canyon Diablo), and Denatsali Im'a (Woodruff Butte). At one point in the Little Colorado River valley the Zuni were given a choice of eggs that led to their splitting into several groups. One egg was dull and plain; the other egg was brightly colored. One group chose the plain egg, from which hatched a brightly colored parrot. This group is referred to as Ino:dekwe isha'malde dek'ya'nakwe awakona, Ancient Ones Who Journeyed to the Land of the Everlasting Sun, or the "Lost Others." This group was told, "A'lahonakwin da'na don a:wanuwa"—"To the south direction you shall go"—and they left to travel southward, never to return. The Zuni believe this group now resides somewhere in Mexico.

The other group chose a brightly colored blue egg, from which hatched a black raven. This group was destined to continue toward the Middle Place. As they traveled east they split again. One group continued eastward, arriving at a spot near the confluence of the Little Colorado and Zuni rivers, a location associated with the creation of the Koyemshi (Mudheads), born as the result of an incestuous act between a brother and sister who had been sent ahead to scout the trail. As the Zuni began to cross the river the children turned into water creatures, biting their mothers, who were carrying them, and causing the mothers to drop their children into the stream. The remainder of the mothers were instructed not to let their children go, and after they crossed to the other side the water creatures turned back into children. The Koyemshi and the water creatures who had been dropped entered a lake at Kofuwala:wa, where they were transformed into *kokko* (good kachina). The *kokko* continue to reside in Kachina Village, sometimes referred to in English as Zuni Heaven

because this is where Zuni go after death. During their migration the Zuni received instructions about ritual use of Kofuwala:wa, and this sacred site continues to be visited during a quadrennial pilgrimage.

From Kofuwala:wa the Zuni traveled to the canyon of Hanhībinkya, where the Zuni clans received their names, an

OCTAVIUS SEOWTEWA, ZUNI PUEBLO

« The leaders, the Rain Priest, would be the one who should decide where to move in a certain number of days. They were looking for the Middle Place. He would make the decision when and where to move. It was common for them to move.

and turquoise and buffalo hides were among the coveted trade items the Zunis are known to have exchanged with other tribes (Riley 1975). The reference to "digging in the ground" probably means that the Sobaipuri exchanged their labor in agricultural activities like planting or harvesting for trade goods.

When the Zuni advisors were asked how long it would take to get from the San Pedro Valley to Hawikku before the advent of horses or cars, Leland Kaamasee said it would depend on which trail was taken but that it would take weeks of travel. The advisors thought people on a trading expedition could probably travel 32–48 km (20–30 mi) a day. While there is a well-defined trail from the Little Colorado River to Hawikku, there are several alternative routes that could be taken between the San Pedro Valley and the Little Colorado River.

In discussing trade between the Western Pueblos and the Sobaipuri, Bandelier (1892:476) notes that archaeologists should expect to find Puebloan items in villages along the San Pedro River. It is clear that there is still much to learn about the historical relationships between the Zuni, Hohokam, and Piman peoples and that the archaeology of the San Pedro Valley can play a key role in research that needs to be done.

### Memory Pieces

In our discourse with Zuni advisors they used the artifacts and architecture encountered at archaeological sites to convey what these places mean to them. This was made explicit when Perry Tsadiasi pointed to a metate visible on the surface of the Sobaipuri site of Gaybanipitea and explained that this is a "memory piece," intentionally left behind so contemporary people will know the ancient ones had lived there (fig. 56). He described how experiencing these grinding stones—and the other artifacts at the site—provided a personal connection with the "people of before." Octavius Seowtewa amplified this, explaining that seeing places and things reveals the meaning of archaeological sites. He said the Zuni advisors have heard of places like this, and now they experience them. They found the sites in the San Pedro Valley to be like ancient sites at Zuni, and after seeing these sites the advisors understood traditions they heard from their grandfathers.

When the Zuni advisors visited a Hohokam village at Alder Wash in the San Pedro Valley they told us the Zuni word for pithouse is *k'yakwebalonne* (house beneath the ground). These pithouses were