

Moquis and Kastilam: The Hopi History Project

Preliminary Outline 2.10

1. First contact and early explorers, 1540–1605

A. *First contacts*

- 01. Castañeda.XI.1540
- 02. Luxan.1582

B. *Oñate: beginnings of colonization*

- 01. MoquiObedience.1598
- 02. Farfan.1598 (his excerpt only)
- 03. AcomaTrial.1598
- 04. EscobarDiary.1605 (first missionary)

2. Spanish Presence, 1620–1680

A. *Missionization*

- 01. Perea.1633
- 02. Benavides2.12.1634

B. *Missionaries in residence*

- 01. GuerraInvestigation.1655
- 02. Dominguez.6.20.1663
- 03. Peñalosa.7.3.1665

C. *Administration* (civil and court)

- 01. Juan Zuni.1.5.1660

D. *Economy* (encomienda, labor requirements, mantas, tribute)

- 01. Encomienda.6.29.1663
- 02. LopezSambrano.2.20.1664

E. *Katsinas*

- 01. Clemente.11.30.1660
- 02. Aguilar.5.11.1663
- 03. Ruiz.10.19.1663

3. Pueblo Revolt, 1670-1680

A. *Events leading up, such as hunger and scarcity*

- 01. Memoria.OraiviyXongopavi.8.25.1672
- 02. MemorialRelacion.Oraivi.Xongopavi.8.25.1672

B. *Pueblo Revolt*

01. PuebloRevolt.9.4.1680
02. LopezSambrano.1681
03. PedroNaranjo.1682
04. Extractos de Escalante.Pope
05. Extractos de Escalante.Interrogation of Bartolomé.1689

4. Reconquista and Awatovi, 1690-1700

A. Attempts at Reconquest

01. SiguenzayGongora.1693 (Mercurio Volante)
02. Vargas letters (excerpts from Kessell's volume)
03. Extractos de Escalante.Garaicoechea.1700
04. Extractos de Escalante.Garaicoechea.1705

B. Awat'ovi

01. JosephNaranjo.10.15.1701
02. Narbaiz.10.17.1730

5. Rebuffing the Spaniards, 1700-1750

A. Military forays and conflicting strategies

01. CuervoyValdes.6.30.1707 (signs of good will)
02. Yrazabal.1.8.1713
03. Flores Mogollon.1.18-27.1713 (excerpts)
04. Martinez.4-11.1716 (attempts at military reconquest)

B. Franciscans vs. Jesuits

01. Massani.1714
02. Valverde.1718
03. Campos.1723
04. Campos.1725
05. Casafuerte.1725

B. Franciscan resettlements

01. IsletaBaptisms11.9-10.1742 and 6.23.1743
02. Isleta.Peticiones.1745
03. Delgado.4.12.1746
04. Sandia.Resettlement.1748
05. SanzdeLesau.6.30.1749

C. Trail to Californias, 1750-1821

01. RodriguezdelaTorre.6.11.1776
02. Escalante.Diario.6.22.1775
03. GarcesDiario.1.3.1777
04. Mendenueta.11.9.1777
05. Croix.12.31.1779
06. Anza 1780

Annotation

N H P R C
NATIONAL HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS AND RECORDS
COMMISSION

Vol. 31.1

NEWSLETTER

March 2003

The Hopi History Project: WHERE 21ST-CENTURY HOPIS MEET 16TH-CENTURY SPANIARDS

BY THOMAS E. SHERIDAN

In 1541, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado and his force of more than 1,300 Spanish soldiers and Indian allies conquered the Zuni Indians of northwestern New Mexico. Searching in vain for the fabled Seven Cities of Gold, Coronado interrogated the Zunis about "the provinces that fell near its borders." The Zunis told him about Tusayán, "a province of seven pueblos similar to their own." Coronado ordered Don Pedro de Tovar to investigate.

Tovar and 20 others headed west across the high desert of the Colorado Plateau, entering "the country [Tusayán] so secretly

that they were not noticed by any man as they arrived." You can almost hear the muffled sounds of the horses as the party hid themselves in a ravine beneath one of Tusayán's "multistoried" villages. Morning dawned. The Spaniards "were discovered." The people "of that land put themselves in order, marching out well armed with bows and shields and wooden clubs, in file, without breaking line." The Spaniards and the Hopi Indians of northern Arizona were about to say hello.

Tovar had one of his Zuni interpreters read the *Requerimiento*. The *Requerimiento* was Spanish legalism at its most sur-

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Emory Sekaquaptewa, research anthropologist at the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology of the University of Arizona, and Chief Justice of the Hopi Tribal Appellate Court, transforms an English translation of a Spanish colonial document into the Hopi language.

real: Indians had an absolute moral obligation to accept the authority of the Pope in Rome and the king in Spain. If they did not submit, Spaniards had a moral obligation to conquer and enslave them.

The leaders of Tusayán responded by drawing lines in the soil, "demanding that our people not cross those lines toward their pueblos and [that they] deport themselves correctly." Tovar and his soldiers spurred their horses forward. One man from Tusayán "hit a horse in the cheek pieces of its bit" with his club. The Spaniards shouted "Santiago!" and attacked.

Hopis had never seen horses before. They had just heard terrifying rumors "that Cíbola [the main settlement of the Zunis] had been conquered by very fierce people who rode on animals that ate people." Thrown into confusion, the Hopis quickly changed strategy. They feigned obedience and offered gifts of cotton cloth, turquoise, tanned skins, parched corn, and "native

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birds." Hopis and Spaniards spent the next several days trading until Tovar returned to New Mexico.

That, at least, is the Spanish side of the story. It was written by Pedro de Castañeda de Nájera, two decades after the encounter. Castañeda was a soldier in the Coronado expedition, but he did not accompany Tovar. His account is secondhand, after-the-fact, drawn from memory, but it is all we have.

At least on paper.

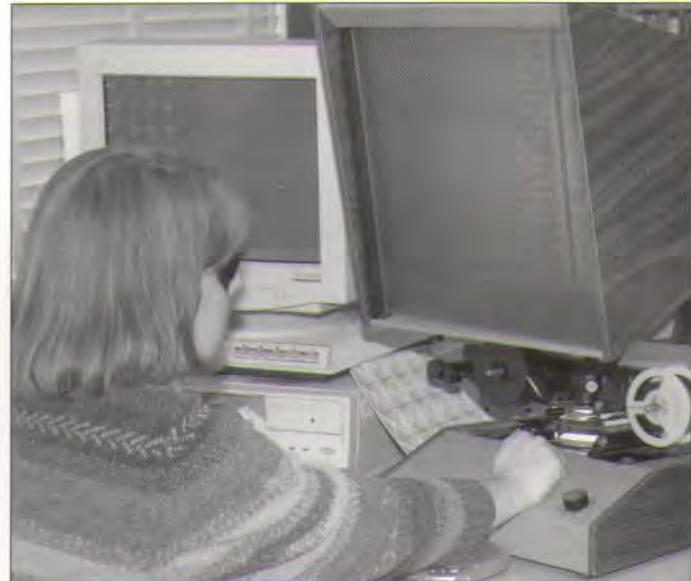
Four centuries later, Heather McMichael, a graduate student in the Spanish Department at the University of Arizona, stares at Castañeda's scrawl and slowly pieces the letters together into a literal, line-by-line transcript. Her fellow graduate students in the Office of Ethnohistorical Research (OER) at the Arizona State Museum—Judith Ca-

Hopi, Isleta Baptisms 6.23.1743
Delgado Aspy Arayam. Tsyawipkier Hopit.
Author Carlos Delgado Peñalat
Transcribed by: Gillian Newell, 2/01
Verified by: Judith Caballero, 4/01
Translated by: Judith Caballero, 4/01

[First page remains just as it is.]

Yeg. Tsyawipkier ep. müssasupenon emgen kiuwunqanq Saint Augistine ep. 1743
yazansengay ang junemuyayun sunat paykorumz talmiyatope, no' inpusiyenay ep
as'atnawatmuyangay Hopi Juan Domingo müssasuna (put wimyu'at Antonio the suna pu'
Rosa), pu' piw imuy takwiyatepey Hopismuy: Juan Francisco, put wimyu'at Mathias
Pablo, put wimyu'at hak gachugua: Ezeban, put wimyu'at Antonio; Juan Ramos, put
wimyu'at Joseph the umia: Lucia, put wimyu'at Felipe; Juana Isabel, put wimyu'at Felipe
Maria; Rosa, put wimyu'at Felipe; Maria Angela, put wimyu'at Branda; Branda, put
wimyu'at piw Branda; Antonia, put wimyu'at Isbel; Canilda, put wimyu'at Isabel; Maria
Luisa, put wimyu'at Maria; Juan Florencio, put wimyu'at Antonio; Maria Loretta, put
wimyu'at Regina; Juana Francisca, put wimyu'at Juan Calisto; Maria Guadalupe, put wimyu'at
Rosa.

Damiana, put wimyu'at Maria Rosa; Catalina, put wimyu'at Maria; Juana Matilda, put
wimyu'at Rosa; Maria, put wimyu'at Manuela; Andres, put wimyu'at Juan Antonio; Juan
Ezeban, put wimyu'at Juan Antonio; Alfonso, put wimyu'at Juan Antonio; Lucia, put
wimyu'at Antonio; Francisca, put wimyu'at Juana; Maria Francisca, put wimyu'at Juana;
Antonia Barbara, put wimyu'at Juana. Yan i' hapi yokilisqew asstu (mu') tungsoway peena.
Fray Carlos Delgado (mangmam'at)



Anthropology graduate student Rebecca Waugh reads a reel of microfilm from the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City, searching for documents about the Hopis prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

ballero of the Spanish Department, and Anna Neuzil and Dale Brenneman of Anthropology—verify the transcript against the original, translate 16th-century Spanish into 21st-century English, and annotate the translation. Project director Tom Sheridan, an anthropologist and head of OER, and his colleague Diana Hadley, a historian, edit the translations and annotations for publication. One side of the Hopi History Project—a documentary history of Hopi-Spanish relations—nears completion.

But the process does not end there. The Spanish colonial documentary record, like the records of any imperial power, squints at the lives of Native peoples. Soldiers and missionaries were not privy to whole domains of Native culture, such as religious ceremonies or healing practices. When the Spaniards did observe, they viewed events and people through a myopic lens clouded by their own prejudices and preconceptions. Later generations of scholars who rely on the documentary record alone are limited by what the Spaniards witnessed or did not witness, and how and why they reported it. Native peoples like the Hopis, with a culture as rich and intricate as any on earth, appear as savages, children, two-dimensional foils.

That is why the Hopi History Project is reaching beyond the limits of the documentary record to explore the oral traditions of the Hopis themselves. Emory Sekaquaptewa, an anthropologist in the Bureau

The first page of a Hopi-language version of a 16th-century Spanish document.

of Applied Research in Anthropology and Chief Judge of the Hopi Tribe's Appellate Court, translates as many of the English translations as he can into Hopi. This is part of Sekaquaptewa's life's work, to transform Hopi into a written language and teach Hopis how to write as well as speak it. Sekaquaptewa was cultural editor of the *Hopi Dictionary* (University of Arizona Press, 1998), a massive compendium of 30,000 entries, all with sentences that put Hopi words and phrases into cultural context. He is now senior consultant for the Hopi History Project, working with Sheridan, Hadley, and ASM Interim Director Hartman Lomawaima, a member of the Hopi Bear Clan, to tell both sides of an old and bitter story.

The work shifts from offices at the University of Arizona to the Hopi Mesas northeast of Flagstaff. Stewart Koyiyumptewa, tribal archivist for the Hopi Preservation Office, reads Castañeda's account to Hopi elders like Morgan Saufkie and Valjean Joshevama, Sr. They speak into a tape recorder, recalling stories that have been passed down for 10 or 20 generations about the Hopis and the *Kastilam* (Castilians; Spaniards). This stage of the Hopi History Project has just begun, but already tantalizing glimpses into

the past are emerging—Spanish objects incorporated into religious ceremonies, a missionary who only drinks water from a spring many miles away and forces young Hopis to run back and forth with water jugs every day, a bridegroom who tracks Mexican slavers who stole his bride and successfully negotiates with the governor of New Mexico to get her back.

The knowledge of Hopi elders steeped in the oral traditions of their clans and religious societies will correct at least some of the inherent biases in the Spanish and Mexican documentary record.

OER is giving the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office translations in chronological order, even though Project personnel have already transcribed and translated some documents from the late 18th century. Sheridan and Hadley are still searching archives in Mexico and Spain for documents about the Franciscan missionization of the Hopis prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, when the Hopis and other Pueblo peoples drove the Spaniards out of New Mexico for 14 years and destroyed many missions and their records.

Now in its third year of funding from the NHPRC, the Hopi History Project follows much of the same methodology established by earlier projects of the Documentary Relations of the Southwest (DRSW), a program founded by Jesuit historian Charles W. Polzer, S.J., at the Arizona State Museum in 1975. Project editors select representative documents to tell the story about important aspects of life in northern New Spain, that vast, shifting frontier of conquest stretching from Louisiana to California. Dr. Tracy Duvall, an anthropologist who also has a master's degree in Latin American history, is finishing the fifth and final volume in DRSW's series on the Presidio and Militia on the northern frontier of New Spain. His volume concerns the Marqués de Rubí's inspection of New Spain's presidios in the 1760s. Earlier volumes, all published by the University of Arizona Press, traced the development of presidios and militias from the Chichimec wars of the 16th century to the growing militarization of the frontier in the mid-18th century.

The Hopi History Project will produce the third volume in a series focusing on relations between Native peoples and Spaniards. The first, *Rarámuri: A Tarahumara Colonial Chronicle, 1607-1791*, edited by Sheridan and Thomas H. Naylor (Northland Press, 1979), explores patterns of missionization and rebellion among the Rarámuri, the Tarahumara Indians of Mexico's Sierra Madre Occidental. The second, *Empire of Sand: The Seri Indians and the Struggle for Spanish Sonora, 1645-1803*, edited by Sheridan (University of Arizona Press, 1999), examines how small bands of Comcáac, or Seris, suc-



Franciscan missionary Carlos Delgado's baptismal entry at the mission of San Agustín de la Ysleta, November 9, 1742 (Archives of the Archdiocese of New Mexico, New Mexico Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, Roll 5). Delgado's entry records only the Christian names of los sigientes parbulos que saque de la Provia de Moqui, hijos de padres Jentiles ("the following children that I removed from the Province of Moqui, children of gentile parents"). Ysleta, now Isleta, is located south of Albuquerque along the Rio Grande, hundreds of miles away from the Hopi mesas. There was a severe drought in Hopi country at the time. Perhaps some of the "Moquis" who migrated to Isleta were descendants of Rio Grande Pueblo peoples who had taken refuge among the Hopis during the Reconquest, or Reconquest, of New Mexico, in the 1690s.

(continued on next page)

cessfully resisted Spanish conquest because of their intimate knowledge of the desert and sea along the Gulf of California.

Beginning with the Hopi volume, however, OER is introducing three major changes. Project personnel used to produce Spanish transcriptions that modernized spelling, spelled out abbreviations, and inserted punctuation. On the Hopi project, OER staff and students are producing literal, line-by-line transcriptions. Translations are also more conservative, as OER struggles to strike a balance between preserving the author's style, even when it is clumsy and convoluted, and making the translation comprehensible to modern readers.

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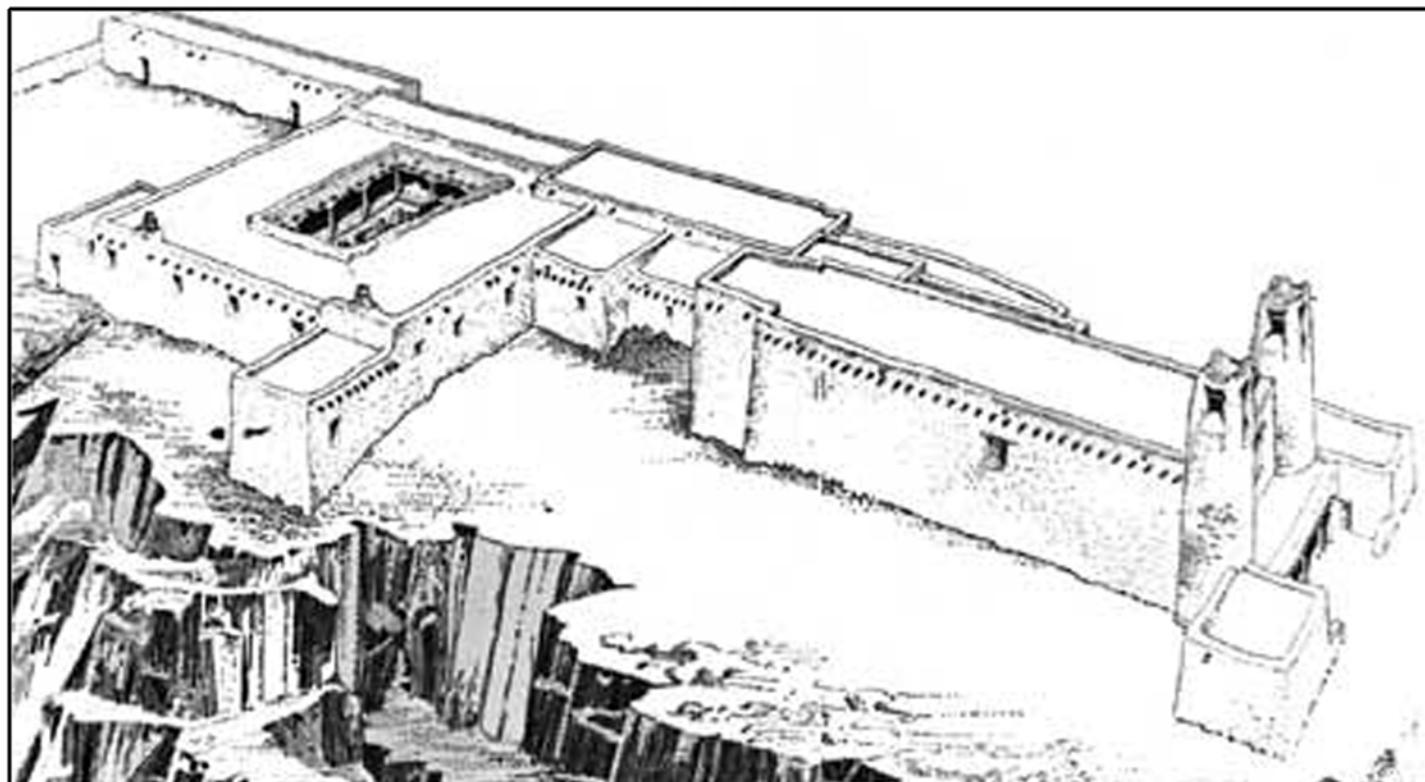
The third and most radical innovation is the incorporation of modern Hopi commentary. The knowledge of Hopi elders steeped in the oral traditions of their clans and religious societies will correct at least some of the inherent biases in the Spanish and Mexican documentary record. They may also illuminate aspects of Hopi history about which the documents are

mute. Did the leaders of Tusayán draw the line in the sand by sprinkling sacred corn meal? Was it a challenge to the Spaniards or an indication that all inside the line was sacred and not to be despoiled?

"For their part, the Hopi Tribe hopes to glean information on a wide variety of subjects including Hopi trading networks and trail systems, Hopi cultural affiliation with other tribal groups, Hopi tribal sovereignty, and the Spanish perception of Hopi land occupation at contact," co-project director Lomawaima explains. "Hopi people also want to learn more about how the Spanish empire functioned and why it was unable to reconquer and reincorporate the Hopi into the imperial system after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680."

The Office of Ethnohistorical Research hopes to collaborate with the Hopi Tribe in making these documents available to the Hopi community for cultural and educational purposes. Sheridan and Hadley have participated in Hopi Culture and History Week for the past 3 years and in the Hopi commemoration of the 1680 Pueblo Revolt in August 2001. OER hopes that the Hopi History Project will serve as a model of collaboration between Native peoples and ethnohistorians. We also hope it will be the first in a series of documentary histories that include the oral traditions of the peoples themselves. ♦

THOMAS E. SHERIDAN, PROJECT DIRECTOR OF DOCUMENTARY RELATIONS OF THE SOUTHWEST, IS ALSO DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF ETHNOHISTORICAL RESEARCH, ARIZONA STATE MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA.



Conjectural Reconstruction of the Avatovi Mission by Montgomery

2

Nosicias del Alzamiento general de los Indios que
tuvieron el Nuevo Mexico nacida de los autores, q. el P. Fr.
D. Antonio de Otermin fundo sobre el, y conf. dio guerra
al Apóstol q. de Nuevos.

El dia mero del mes de Agosto el año de mil seiscientos,
nocherna recibiose el P. Fr. D. Antonio de Otermin caras
del P. Currodo Fr. Juan Betancur, del P. Fr. Fernando L-
lalco, y de el Alc. Mayor de Taos Marcos de Serratos, en que
todos decian q. los Indios Chiricahos de todo el Reyno
estaban ya confederados, y convocados q. al amanecer mataran
a todos los Religiosos, y Españoles, y apoderarse del Reyno
y dar sobre los Com. y lugarez de Españoles en la noche
de el dia trece d' dicho mes. año. Supuesto el P. Currodo
por los Indios Lorenzana, y Capitanes de Galizos San Manos
y Cienega. todos los quales pararon q. la loma de P. Ll., diciendo
q. esto lo sabian por dos Indios del Pueblo de
Tenuque de nación Tchuan, nombrados uno Nicolas Garcia, y
el otro Pedro Orueta, que fueron de orden a los Tenuques a conse-
clar, q. pertenía a largante de Galizos, q. Tenuque, Fr. Llano,
y Cienega p. q. congregada cooperase a la sublevacion, que
ya generalmente harian admitido todos los Pueblos q. el Reyno
tenia q. montar la sedicion del triste campo Sancho
Ponzo q. el Pueblo q. el Pueblo q. no tiene en esto lo anunciaran
gente preso atenta Capital a los diez Indios; y a todos los
Alcaldes del Reyno atodos, q. pertenezcan al caso.

Llegaron encuadrados los dos mencionados Indios
a presencia q. q. tenia, y concertar declararon con
verdad lo q. se decia, q. que ellos como gobernadores ignoraban
el motivo, y solo harian oido decir q. de hacia la pena q.
dice mai haber havia servido un orden de un jefe tenuense
de P. Llano, q. que todos los de este Pueblo de alzaren contra los
Tenuques, q. a el Pueblo q. no tiene en esto lo anunciaran
manando a todos sus habitantes q. este Tenuense de P. Llano
mu exagerado, riesgo, de ojos grandes, y amanillas q. que los
Indios q. havian ido a los dichos medios enviados por dos Indios
Tchuan de Tenuque, cuyos nombres eran: Pedro Vicente, Diego
Vilande, q. que los Indios q. el Pueblo q. San Chiricahua no ha-
rían admitido la embajada, q. convenido en el cabildo
q. por cuatro motivo havia llegado a noticia de su señorias: y fi-
nalmente q. el motivo solo habian los hijos, entre quienes
habia havido muchas contiendas en cuenta, q. molestar
con los Indios q. Fr. Juan, Fr. Clara, Nante, Piquique,
Temes, y otros de nación.

Lo q. dia q. por la mañana llego a presencia de su seño-
ria Pedro Maldonado P. Fr. q. diciendo q. q. romper el dia



Final Remnant of Awatovi Mission - Photograph by Thomas Sheridan.