

We have elsewhere noticed Doctor Fewkes' discovery of facial markings recalling those of a Zuni Hehea katchina doll, ~~upon~~ upon an effigy vase—otherwise of Mexican appearance—from a sacrificial cave of the Nantacks, or rough country of the Natanes plateau, between upper Salt River and the Pueblo Viejo Valley.

The katchina called Hehea by the Hopis corresponds to that called Hehea by the Zunis, although the facial or mask decorations used in personating it are somewhat different in the two nations; the Zuni pattern having, in addition to the zigzag lightning symbol which is seen on the cheek of the Hopi one, several short vertical lines below the eye.\* In connection with the outline of the eye itself, these

\*The number of these lines is not constant. Below the eyes of the Nantacks vase effigy they are apparently 5 and 7. On the small-eyed Zuni masks of Hehea katchinas they have been reduced in number to 3, for lack of space; and they become divergent in those examples in which the eyelets are only small circular perforations. For illustrations of Zuni Hehea masks in color, see Mrs. Stevenson's memoir in Bu. Eth. Ann. XXIII, Pls. LII and LIII.

short ~~vertical~~ lines make a considerable approach to the semicircular rain-cloud symbol of the Patki clan.

Doctor Fewkes regards the Hopi Hehea katchina as perhaps having been brought to Walpi from Awatobi, and <sup>ancient, and</sup> as connected with a very old ritual.\*

\*Bu. Eth. Ann. XXI, p. 74. <sup>part of the constituency of Awatobi is known to have been from the south.</sup> As the larger of the figures which he has published of the Nantacks vase\* shows that the personage represented upon the latter was a female,

\*American Anthropologist, Vol. XI, Pl. III.

the vase effigy <sup>is</sup> doubtless ~~an~~ an ancient <sup>representation</sup> of the Zuni Hehea katchina maiden, and seems to hint that one constituency of the Zuni nation was derived from the direction of Pueblo Viejo.

That the Hehea cult was practiced in ancient times south of Salt River, seems certain; and considering the <sup>character of the</sup> ~~style~~ Nantacks vase as a whole, no surprise need be felt if proof should yet be found that this cult was known in the Casas Grandes region of Chihuahua.

The Hehea katchina among the Hopis is in some ceremonials associated with the Natacka katchina, whose Zuni equivalent is Natackó.\* Both

\*Hehea katchinas are also sometimes associated with Añya katchinas, of supposed Patki derivation. Thus, with Añya katchinas (youths), they attend upon the ceremonial grinding of corn by the Añya katchina maidens in certain Hopi dramatizations. Says Doctor Fewkes, "The being called Añya katchina, while apparently very old among the Hopis, resembles the Zuni Kokokei in both symbolism and general character, which suggests that both may have been derived from a common source. It is not improbable that this source in both instances was the pueblos of the Patki clans, the ruins of which are situated on the Little Colorado river." (Bu. Eth. Ann. XXI, p. 73, 74 and Pl. XXXII.)

names bear a curious resemblance to that of "the Nantacks," in which the Hehea mana vase was found; and this suggests the query whether "Natanes" and "Nantacks" may not be corrupted survivals of an <sup>ancient</sup> aboriginal place-name, meaning "country of the Natackas."

By the Hopi Indians the Natackas are also called Soyoko ("monsters" or "bogies"). Thus, Natacka is called Soyok taka, and Natacka mana

(Natacka maid) is called Soyok mana.

Of the villages of the three Hopi mesas, Oraibi, on West Mesa, has no Natackas; but the latter <sup>generally</sup> are believed to have been introduced from the east by the Tanoan colonists of Hano and Sichomovi, directly and indirectly, to the villages of East Mesa and Middle Mesa, in whose ceremonies, as in those of Zuffi, Natackas play a part. The synonymous name, Soyok, is said by Fewkes to be a Keresan word. As both the Tanoan and Keresan stocks are of eastern derivation, the argument for eastern origin of the Natacka-Soyoko cult seems strong. Nevertheless, the modern Walpi olympus has, besides other Soyoko, kateenas called "Awatobi Soyok taka" and "Awatobi Soyok wúqti," and which in legend, according to Fewkes, are said to have been brought from the long-since-destroyed pueblo of Awatobi by the latter's Pakab people;\*

*Footnote* \*Bu. Am. Eth. Ann. XXI, pp. 70, 71, 74, 75, and Pl. XII.

it remains to be discovered whether they were introduced to that unfortunate pueblo by Tanoan and Keresan emigrants from the east, or were brought thither by Pakab clans from the Pueblo Viejo Valley and the Nantacks country, wherein ~~was~~ seemingly was practiced the cult of the Natackas' quasi associates, the Heheas.

The view that both the Awatobi Soyok and the Hehea cult may have been brought to ancient Awatobi by Pakabs from ~~the~~ Pueblo Viejo, is not necessarily inconsistent with an original introduction of these kateenas to Pueblo Viejo Valley, and even to the Casas Grandes region of Chihuahua, from the east;\* for there are reasons for believing that

\*The probability of such introduction from the east does not seem to be increased by the statement of Lomavantiwa, a principal man of the Hopi pueblo of Shupaulovi, <sup>migrating</sup> who in story 8 of Voth's Traditions of the Hopi, says of the Bears from near Phoenix, "When they stopped and planted anywhere they would perform the Blue Plute ceremony and sing the songs, and their crop would then grow and mature very quickly, so that they would have something to eat. They also brought [to Tusayan] with them the Hú Kateena, the Bear (Hon) Kateena, the Kototo Natacka, his wife Coooyok Wuhti, and finally the Coooyoko Tahaam." For ~~it seems~~ ~~that~~ Coooyok <sup>Wuhti</sup> and Coooyoko <sup>Tahaam are evidently</sup> ~~of the group of Natacka kateenas~~ and ~~are~~ not distinct from Soyok <sup>Wuhti</sup> and Soyok <sup>Taka</sup>. Says Mr. Voth: "Lomavantiwa claims that he has no information as to whether these Kateenas performed any dances or rites while the clan was still migrating. He says that his information about Kateenas, dances, etc., only dates back to the time when they ~~arrived~~ <sup>the Bear folk</sup> already lived in the [Hopi] villages and the Kateena clans came." This seems to imply that most of the Kateenas, at least, came after the Bears ~~had~~ arrived at the villages; but Lomavantiwa doubtless recited the tradition as it was currently told, and its words themselves tell us that the Bears from near Phoenix "brought" these Kateenas. On the face of the story the presumption would be that they brought them to Tusayan from near Phoenix; but of course it may be that they brought them only from some late way-station at which they may have acquired them, near the Little Colorado River. The Hehea Kateena plays a part in "The Revenge of the Kateenas," (story 13 of Voth's Traditions of the Hopi,) the scene of which is laid on the eastern border of the Pueblo country, from which the Hehea cult may have reached the Gila country even earlier than it did Tusayan, if its origin be indeed eastern.

*Footnote*

the partly Pakab population of the Gila's northeastern tributary, San Francisco, if not partly also Keresan or Tanoan, was at least strongly influenced by eastern culture.\*

*Footnote*  
\*The strongest evidence of eastern influence upon the ancient culture of San Francisco and Blue valleys is found in the form of the kivas, or underground chambers, some of which, as described by Hough, in Bulletin 35 of the Bureau of Am. Ethnology, are circular.

If the people who dwelt on the Pueblo Viejo-Chichilticalli section of the Gila and who made use of the ~~mountain~~ caves in the mountains north and south of it <sup>for votive offerings,</sup> were in part of the Pakab, or Reed, phratry, what would have been more natural than that ~~the~~ the clan for which the phratry is named should have taken its own name from a plant which formerly grew there so abundantly that Captain Jaramillo, who in 1540 with Coronado's advance army crossed the Gila within the limits of that section, called the stream "a deep and reedy river"?

The Flute people, now a division of the Horn-Flute Hopis, were once a distinct phratry. They claim to have ~~originally~~ emigrated from Palatkwabi,\* and there are many indications that their early home was

Footnote \*See Fewkes, Bu. Eth. Ann. XIX, pp. 583 and 590.

in the South. But they ~~also~~ claim to have lived <sup>also</sup> far north of the present Hopi country, in a canon region near Navaho Mountain, and again at Lengyanobi ("Flute Place"), about 30 miles northeast of Walpi, and thence—after ~~having~~ joining their fortunes with the Horn people, who in the north it seems had dwelt not far distant from them—~~had~~

~~had~~ \*Still earlier, the Horn people seem to have dwelt on the ~~western~~ eastern border of the northern part of the Pueblo country, as was first learned from legends collected by Mr. A. M. Stephen. Says Cosmos Mindeleff in his discussion of those legends, ~~in~~ (Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pages 18 and 19,) "The Horn people... have a legend of coming from a mountain range in the east. 'Its peaks were always ~~always~~ snow covered, and the trees were always green. From the hillside the plains were seen, over which roamed the deer, the antelope, and the bison, feeding on never-failing grasses. Twining through these plains were streams of bright water, beautiful to look upon. A place where none but those who were of our people ever gained access.' <sup>The perpetually snow-capped peaks, bison, and view of the plains, seem rather to suggest a region north and west of Rio Grande's sources.—F.W.C.</sup>

"This description suggests some region of the headwaters of the Rio Grande. Like the Snake people, they tell of protracted migration, not of continuous travel, for they remained for many seasons in one place, where they would plant and build permanent houses. One of those halting places is described as a canyon with high, steep walls, in which was flowing stream; this, it is said, was the Tségi (the Navajo name for Canyon de Chelly). [But Tségi is also, as Fewkes has recently observed, applied by the Navaho to Laguna Canyon, "likewise bordered by high cliffs," north of the Hopi Reservation.—F.W.C.] Here they built a large house in a cavernous recess, high up in the canyon wall. They tell of devoting two years to ladder making and cutting, and pecking shallow holes up the steep rocky side by which to mount to the cavern, and three years more were employed in building the house. While this work was in progress part of the men were planting gardens, and the women and children were gathering stones. But no adequate reason is given for thus toiling to fit this impracticable site for occupation; the footprints of Masauwu, which they were following, led them there. [The Wood phratry, a Tanoan people believed to have come to Tusayan from the Rio Grande Valley, have a clan named after the apparently half mythical and half historical personage, Masauwu, meaning "Ruler of the Dead," and translated sometimes also "Skeleton." In Voth's "Traditions of the Hopi," this personage, doubtless meaning the Masauwu clan, is represented as having been farming in a small way at Oraibi before the arrival of the first emigrants from the Gila-Salado; and the highly developed and apparently autochthonous ceramic art, typified in the beautiful pottery for which Fewkes has made ancient Sikyatki famous, seems to indicate that clans of the Kokop phratry had a long prehistoric residence in Tusayan, and may well have been ~~the~~ the latter's first town-building settlers; so that the Horn people, coming also from the Rio Grande region—perhaps keeping to the north of Keresan territory and passing westward through the San Juan region—may indeed have been following "the footprints of Masauwu."—F.W.C.]

"The legend goes on to tell that after they had lived there for a long time a stranger happened to stray in their vicinity, who proved to be a Hopi... and said that he lived in the south. After some stay he left and was accompanied by a party of the 'Horn,' who were to visit the land occupied by their kindred Hopituh and return with an account of them; but they never came back. After waiting a long time another band was sent, who returned and said that the first emissaries had found wives and had built houses on the brink of a beautiful

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(cont. of p. 1)

canyon, not far from the other Hopituh dwellings. After this many of the Horns grew dissatisfied with their cavern home, dissensions arose, they left their home, and finally ~~they reached Tusayan~~ [after having joined the Flute people at Lengyanobi] ~~they reached~~ they reached Tusayan."

to have removed to Tusayan, where their descendants are now seen in Walpi; and it is next to a certainty that in their circuitous migration from Palatkwabi they wandered far northward, and once dwelt at least so far north as Betatakin, recently made well known through Doctor Fewkes' ~~series of~~ reconnaissances of the Navaho National Monument. \* Betatakin—so called by the Navahos—is a large ruined pueblo, posed like a cliff palace; although not ~~typical~~ of the typical cliff palace order, \* in a recess of the canyon wall of a small

Directly to the east of the site of the ruins of the Navaho National Monument, near the mouth of the Colorado River, is a large cliff dwelling, the site of which is known as "Betatakin" by the Navahos. It is situated on a high cliff, and is a very interesting and well preserved ruin.

Footnote

\* See Bulletin 50, Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 1894, p. 10. ~~Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 1894, p. 10.~~

Footnote

\* Having "no towers or round rooms such as those that lend picturesqueness" to the noted Cliff Palace and certain other ~~cliff-dwellings~~ cliff-dwellings of Mesa Verde.

branch of Laguna Creek, about 5 miles northwest of Marsh Pass, 27 southeast of Navaho Mountain, and 22 south of the Utah-Arizona line. ~~One feature noticed by~~ <sup>observes</sup> Doctor Fewkes that this pueblo has no round subterranean kivas, but only what he suggests should be called kihus, or rectangular chambers above-ground, for ceremonial rooms, such as are seen in <sup>Tusayan and Cibola, and in ones southward</sup> pueblos once occupied by ~~the~~ Patki and other clans from Palatkwabi. <sup>This fact,</sup> taken in connection with legends as to former Flute residence in the region of Navaho Mountain and Tokonabi, leaves ~~no~~ room to doubt that Flute people once lived at Betatakin.

A curious coincidence reported by ~~Doctor Fewkes~~ Doctor Fewkes ~~is that a~~ is that a flute was found in one of the rooms of this ancient pueblo of Flute folk; as if indeed Betatakin ~~was~~ or this particular room had been the home of red lovers of music, <sup>and especially of lengya, the flute</sup> This, in a degree, no doubt it was; and the motto ~~was~~ of its "musical union" may well have been, ~~as~~ if we may adapt Tennyson's familiar couplet,

Blow, lengya, blow, set the wild echoes flying,  
Blow, lengya; answer echoes, dying, dying, dying;

for beautiful and weird indeed must have been the consonance produced from the stage of this natural theater, where every note of the flutist was multiplied by the fine echo on account of which Doctor Fewkes would fain change the name, "Betatakin," to "Echo House." \* The find is not necessarily significant, for flutes have been found in the ruins of various phratral and clan homes; but it is <sup>very likely</sup> ~~so~~ since <sup>this flute was identical with those used at the present day by Flute priests at Walpi</sup> it may have been left by the departing inhabitants as a clan totem index of the room or quarter in which <sup>it</sup> was discovered, just as

In describing one of the Zuni ceremonies of the Shaloko, Mr. Stevenson has written of the "blowing of the first Cibola, and his partner, who participate in this occasion are first the blowing of the flute of a 'lengya' (god of music), then in number, most those of the little fire probably. Each man blows upon his 'lengya' (flute) which is as long as the muzzle of a gun. The noise from these instruments is deafening."

\* Bull. cit., p. 30.

the pictographs on the neighboring canyon wall ~~may~~ may publish, so to speak, "the obituary" of the pueblo itself, it being an alleged custom of the town-builders, on deserting a pueblo, to indicate by totem signs the clans that inhabited it. According to the latter supposition, Betatakin would seem to have been inhabited not only by Flute people but also by the Rainbow(?), Sun(?), and perhaps other clans from Palatkwabi, and by the Mountain Sheep clan of the Horn phratry; indicating that the union of the Flute and Horn people which took place at Lengyanobi had been preceded by some degree of association of those people farther north. The segregation of <sup>only</sup> a single clan or phratry in a pueblo of large size, would be an anomaly today; ~~and~~ and while the tendency to it <sup>may have been</sup> ~~is~~ greater in former times, the present writer believes that ~~such~~ <sup>such</sup> segregation ~~was~~ was even then far from being the rule.

We may note here a curious bit of Ashiwi legendary history,\* the

*Footnote* \*The Ashiwi are the western constituency of the Zuñi nation.

exact interpretation of whose geographical data is <sup>puzzling</sup> ~~obscure~~, and the question of whose <sup>relationship to the Flute People of Hopi tradition, and to other southern clans,</sup> ~~relationship to the Zuñi~~ is equally so.

In connection with a temporary <sup>southern</sup> migration of "the people of Corn and Seeds" by way of the source of the Colorado Chiquito ("River of Red Flowing Waters"), <sup>a</sup> Zuñi tradition indicates that those people came to a southern and somewhat eastern valley of "Flute-canes," which seems to have been ~~in~~ within the area occupied—although not exclusively—by the Reed clans. "Far south they fared until they came to the great valley of Shóhkoniman (home, or place of nativity, of the Flute-canes) beneath the Mountain of Flutes (Shóhko yálaná—La Sierra Escudilla), whence they turned them eastward," and, as farther appears, northward, to Inscription Rock (El Moro), and thence westward to Zuñi Valley.\*

*Footnote* \*Cushing, Bu. Eth. Ann. XIII, 426.

Now, although there have been flutes of bone, yucca, wood, and pottery <sup>in use</sup> among ~~many~~ divers of the Pueblos, the particular sort of flute from which the Flute clans and fraternities have taken name, seems to have been the reed flute. A legend which Mr. A. M. Stephen obtained in Tusayan some thirty years since from the eldest member of the Snake phratry, and which is presented by Mr. Cosmos Mindeleff in the Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, (page 18,) describes how the Flute people, <sup>returning from the north,</sup> came to the Snake village of Walpi;