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THE DESTRUCTION OF ELDEN PUEBLO, A HOPI STORY

By EDMUND NEQUATEWA

LONG AGO there lived at the pueblo of Topachovi⁽¹⁾ at Chevez Pass a very pretty maiden named Nagai-si. Many young men proposed marriage with her but she was very particular and refused all who came to her. Finally she said she would marry the man who brought her a live red fox for a pet; no one knew why, only herself. Every boy tried to capture a red fox and all failed. To each boy she would say that she would not speak to him again unless he brought her a red fox, which was, of course, discouraging because they knew that the red fox is timid and swift. In other words she was gambling with the boys, because whoever brings the red fox is the winner.

Right there at this same pueblo was a boy who had not tried or had not yet visited the girl because he looked upon himself as being homely and not respected like the rest of the people. The boy had no other relatives but his grandmother. His name was Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo (Cotton Seed Boy). All this time he had been thinking very hard about how he would try his luck on this girl; so at times he felt very much discouraged because she had been asking for a red fox of everyone that had come to see her. So one day he had gathered up enough courage and spoke to his old grandmother.

"My dear grandmother," he said. "Yes, my dear," answered the old lady. "I have something on my mind which I have been longing to tell you."

"What could it be?" asked his grandmother.

He answered, "I have been wondering about this girl, whom all the boys have visited. She has refused or rejected all the boys."

"My dear child, don't think that she ever will recognize you," said the old lady. "There are boys of better class and more important people. Since she has refused so many, I doubt very much that you will ever have any luck because I know that you and I are not considered like the rest of the people; we are just the common sort; but I guess you can try. So first of all go and look for some things. Go to the west into the canyon; there you will find some arrow material, and be sure and bring plenty of it. When you come back we will work on it; after this work is finished, I will tell you the next thing that you must do."

When the boy came back with the material, they both worked day and night till they had made many arrows.

"Now again, my child," said his grandmother, "go down to the same place and find material to make the bow; for without that, these arrows are useless."

So again the boy went into the canyon where he had been before, gathering several different kinds of wood so as to be sure to have the kind that his grandmother would pick out.

(1) Colton, H. S., *The Sinagua. A Summary of the Archaeology of the Region of Flagstaff, Arizona.* Bulletin 22, Museum of Northern Arizona. 1946. pp. 71-2.

When he got home his grandmother welcomed him very happily, saying, "*As-kwa-li um-pi-tu*, (Thanks, you have arrived), *Pi-tcin-sivos-tiyo*." As he handed her what he had collected, she again said "*As-kwa-li*." Taking the material, she laid them down on the floor and sprinkled the sacred corn meal over them to show that she also had welcomed the materials. She looked over the wood very carefully, then picked out the toughest piece and said that that would be the bow. She went right to work and started whittling on it with her little knife and in a short while the bow was finished. She had done a good job of it.

"Here it is," she said. "It is finished and the next thing we will need is a bow string."

Then she went into her back room, and when she came out she had a bundle of sinew which she put into a little jar of water to soak. When this was well soaked, she got her little spindle out from the same room and carefully stripped the sinew before she started to spin it on her little spindle. While she was working at this she was saying, "*Hu-ru-ni, hu-ru-ni*" (be tough, be tough) by which she meant that it must become tough and strong. This she did and made it very strong and smooth. While it was still drying she put it on the bow just loosely. Every little while she would pull it a little tighter as the string was drying. Finally when the string got very dry, she pulled it very tight and then it was finished.

"My dear grandchild," said the old lady, "you must now listen to what I am going to tell you. Some time tomorrow go to the west, to the foot of the rocky hill where there is a soft flat area of land. There loosen up the ground making foot holes and shoot your arrows around. Make it look as though you were attacked by an enemy. When the sun goes down, after dark just lie down and pretend that you are dead with arrows sticking from your sides or anywhere. Now, it is always like this, that coyotes and foxes of all kinds are hungry and are always looking for something to eat. If any of these animals should happen to discover you, at first they will be very suspicious; so you must lie very still because the animal will go around and around and will bark at you to be sure that you are dead. Another thing, I think it would be best that you go out and collect some drop seed grass out of which we might get some seeds, that look very much like fly eggs or worms."

At once the boy went down to the valley to get some grass. When he came back he had an armful. This they threshed out and sure enough the grass seeds looked very much like fly eggs.

"*As-kwa-li* (thanks)," said his grandmother. "We have enough seeds for what you will need. After you lie down, put these seeds into your hair, around your eyes, in your nose and mouth; by doing so, you will sure make the coyotes believe that you have been dead for some time. The first one that finds anything dead will always call his people. He will bark and bark to all directions and all the coyotes that hear the barking will come. The finder will have thoughts of thankfulness that he has found something to eat, not only for himself, but for the rest

of his people; so be on your way. Remember that you are to catch a very pretty fox."

Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo then picked up bow and arrows, also the seeds, and went to the selected place. There he went to work. He would run and then stop short, shoot his arrows around to all directions. By evening about sundown, the ground was covered with tracks and arrows. After dark he did lie down and did what his grandmother had asked him to do with his arrows and the grass seeds, which made it look as though he had been dead for some time. As he was lying there he was listening very carefully to see if he could hear the coyotes coming.

Long in the night one of them was near and stood afar, having its nose in the air to make sure that it really had smelled something, and before it came close it started barking and pretty soon there were answers from all directions. When the other coyotes were near, he came up closer and circled around the boy several times; but to make very sure he had found something dead, he came up and looked the boy over very carefully and saw it was a human being. He went off for a distance then howled at the very top of his voice. He did that several times till he got the answers from the other coyotes.

In a little while the coyotes and foxes of all kinds came close and were all anxious to know what it was all about. So one of them asked and said, "Who called us here?"

"It is I," said the finder, "I have found someone dead. He has been killed by some enemies; I thought that whoever is near and can hear my call may come and have a share of this feast with me on the brave man. The way the ground looks, and as many arrows are around him, he surely must have put up a good fight. He must have been killed several days ago because the flies have already laid their eggs into his eyes, nose, and mouth; so let us finish him up."

All the animals moved up to him closer and circled around him. In the meantime Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo opened his eyes to see if there was a pretty fox among them that he might select for the pretty maiden at home. Sure enough, there was one, a very pretty red fox, and he kept his eye on this particular one. All at once the animals rushed and piled on top of him. Then Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo grabbed the red fox around its legs and as he did so he yelled at the very top of his voice and jumped up to his feet, which of course scattered all the rest of the coyotes and foxes with a great scare.

The little fox resisted something terrible, but still the boy held on. Then very gently he spoke to the fox and said, "Please be calm, be calm. I am not going to hurt you. Be calm and I shall tell you why I have selected you and I know that you are much scared." With all these nice gentle words the fox quieted down. Then the boy said to the fox, "Indeed, it is hard for me or anyone to chase after you and run you down, or to come anywhere near you animals; so I wondered a long time to figure out this sort of a trick and with my prayers of hope it has worked and my prayers have come true; so here we are

together. The reason why I wanted to catch you is that over at my home town a very pretty maiden who had many proposals from many boys will not give herself to any one of them unless they come to her with what she has been wanting, a pet fox, which of course is a very hard undertaking and discouraging. We shall now go to my home." He picked up the fox and took it home to his grandmother.

When he arrived at home his grandmother was very glad and was very happily saying, "*As-kwa-li*" many times over. The old lady right away went into her back room. As she was hurrying around when she came back out, she had some medicine or herbs of some kind in her mouth which she squirted all over the animal and rubbed it down and soon the little fox was very gentle, for this was her magic medicine to quiet down a wild animal or beast.

The next evening after dark, Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo went up to see the girl, taking the red fox along. When he got there he went right in where the maiden was grinding corn. Seeing the red fox, she did not hesitate but stopped all at once. She jumped to her feet and ran to the boy, saying, "*As-kwa-li*, this is what I have been wanting all the time, and you are the clever boy who got the pet for me. Well, you win and I am yours, so in four days I shall go with you to your house. Now you shall take something to your grandmother tonight." She gave him an armful of piki and some sweet corn meal to take back to his grandmother to show her that he was engaged to the pretty maiden.

With all this his grandmother was glad; but at the same time she thought of their humbleness, for the people had always looked down on them and had not considered them like the rest of the people. What would they say and think of Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo for winning the pretty maiden?

The boy told his grandmother that in four days he would bring the bride home to have the marriage ceremony. Hearing all this news the old lady didn't know what to do. "What shall we do?" she said, "and what have we got? Well, one can always find a way of managing things and we will do our best to get along; so from now on I will attend to the cleaning of my house and be ready to receive the girl."

The house was very nicely put in order so on the night of the fourth day Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo brought the bride home to his grandmother and she was made very happy.

Early in the morning the girl started to grind corn and the people hearing it were very much astonished and were saying that the old lady could not be grinding so early and not that fast. Then somebody said that they have a bride there which was, of course, very unbelievable. "Ngai-si," someone said. "Surely not a common boy or of his kind will ever have her!"

The men in the kiva were all anxious to find out for sure if it was really true that Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo was having a bride, so one of the men went over pretending he was coming after some coals to build

the fire in the kiva. This man saw the girl and it was really true that it was Ngai-si grinding. When he got back into the kiva, he broke the news to the rest and they were made very happy to think that she is now the bride in her own home town. They had all felt very much afraid, because of the way she had been acting, that some boy from some other place might take her away.

The night before the wedding ceremony, people came who were not known in this place. They were the relatives of Pi-tcin-si-vo-s-tiyo and his grandmother, who were the Spider People. They brought all the wedding robes and other things complete so it was only a few days that the bride would return back to her home.

The people there at the village did not know that these two people had so many relatives. This was the first time that they found out that the grandmother was a wise old Spider Woman and the grandson was not a poor little boy but was just as wise as his grandmother.

After the bride got home it took her and her relatives only four days to get ready and return some corn meal to the boy's home in payment for the wedding gifts. That very night the bride took her husband home with her so he was then a member of the family.

And indeed the wife was very fond of her pet, the red fox, and every morning she would take her pet out to the shrine to ask for her blessings.

In her maiden days Ngai-si had heard about a handsome boy by the name of Sikya-tayo, who was living at the Elden pueblo. She longed and wished to meet him, so that she might get him for her husband, for the girl was not telling the truth when she told the boys that she wanted a red fox for a pet, just to gamble with them at her own town, and the clever boy, Pi-tcin-si-vo-s-tiyo won her.

The boy at Ho-vi-itci-tu-qua (Elden pueblo)⁽²⁾ heard about this, but he thought and felt that it was too late. Anyhow he started visiting this Chavez Pass pueblo and was always sneaking around trying to see if he could meet the young bride. Finally he found out that she went out to the shrine in the mornings; so out there one day he assaulted her. After doing that he told her who he was. Seeing what was happening, the pet fox cried and howled so that Pi-tcin-si-vo-s-tiyo heard it but did not make a move, only waited for his wife to return, and when she did return, he saw that she was not herself. He noticed at once that she was not the same. Without saying a word to his wife, he made a motion to the fox to follow him and they both walked out of the house. When they got to the outskirts of the town, Pi-tcin-si-vo-s-tiyo asked the little pet about what had happened and the fox cried aloud. To his surprise, his little pet spoke to him in plain Hopi, then told the story which of course hurt the boy through and through to the bottom of his heart.

"From this day our happy home shall be no more," said the boy. "We must leave her; so you can go back to your own people."

(2) Colton, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-4.

"I would hate to go," said the fox, "but you are my master; you carried me here. I see now who this girl has been wanting, not me but this boy who came to us this morning. There is one thing I would like to ask you to do; remember me and my people and make us some pahos (prayer offerings) every year by which we shall ask for our blessings."

"Yes," said the boy. "Those are my very thoughts that I shall always remember you and your people."

The fox was then set free and went back to the other animals of its kind.

From that time on Sikyatai-tiyo (red fox boy) kept on visiting Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo's wife, till he took her home to the Elden pueblo.

This made Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo very angry so he broke the news to his grandmother which of course made her very angry too.

"The only thing we can do," said the old lady, "is to declare war on those people, so you go and look for help. Farther to the west in the valley some people are living who are very warlike and they like to kill other people. They are Kisipaiyam (Yavapais) and to the south of them are Yotce-em, (Apaches); either one of these people you can ask to help us."

The wise old Spider Woman, his grandmother, had given him all the directions of how and where to go, so then he started out westward. When he got to the edge of the plateau he looked down into the valley and it was full of smoke and he wondered how many people would be living down there. It was quite late in the evening when he got down to the bottom, and, as night came on, there were many camp fires lighted here and there. He decided not to go to any of them till sunrise in the morning; so he spent the night away from these camps.

At daylight he was ready to move on and as he came nearer to the chief's camp, the sun was just coming over the horizon. When the chief saw him, he did not give him the welcome notice but yelled out his war whoop at the top of his voice, which was the signal to the rest of his people that some visitor had come. The boy was not even spoken to and stood there where he had stopped till all the war whoops were quieted down. Then the chief spoke and asked him to come and sit down. At first he was very much discouraged, thinking that he was not welcome. The men began to gather and soon there was a big crowd. The chief spoke and asked if every male member of his tribe had come and they all said "yes."

All this time Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo was repeating some words in the Kisipaiya language which his grandmother had taught him to say to the chief. A big crowd had gathered and he was right in the center of them. Finally the chief turned around to the boy and asked, "You must be doing something in this country or have you come for something?"

"Yes," said the young man, "but for nothing good. Over to the east at my home, I had a wife but I was made a cuckold by a boy from Ho-vi-itci-tu-qa and just a few days ago he took her home over there

to his pueblo which has made me hurt and angry . It is for this reason that I am here to ask you if you would be willing to come and help me revenge on the Ho-vi-itci-tu-qa pueblo (Elden)."

"We agree; we will be with you," said the Kisipaiya chief. All the rest of his men agreed with a big war whoop and they said, "We are ready to join you any day."

"Very well," said Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo, "do not delay; I will be looking for you and will meet you somewhere before you get there and will give you directions of how we will go about it."

The agreement was understood on both sides and Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo started back to his own country. When he got home he told his grandmother of all the good luck he had on his trip.

He was very anxious to see what would happen when all his invited ones came; so he went on up to the Elden pueblo to scout around. He got there just about dark and went to the house where his wife might be. He climbed up the ladder then looked down through the hatchway into the kiva and in there he saw his wife with her new husband side by side sitting up against the north wall. Seeing all this, it made him madder than ever. The next day he went out to see if his invited war party was near and sure enough they were not very far from the place. When he met them he asked them to camp and rest till the next day.

After a good night's rest they were ready to go on. Before starting, Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo called them to attention saying, "My friends, now since you are here, I would like you to listen to what I want to tell you as you all know that tonight is the time we make our attack. All I want is to get my rival. When I get him I am through; but you can do what you like with the rest of the people. If you wish to kill them or want to make captives of the women folks, do so, and any belongings or food stuffs are yours. May the good luck be with you all."

When the party started, they were moving along the base of Mt. Elden where trees and brush were the thickest. They got opposite to the pueblo on the west side and stopped and waited for the darkness to come. While at the pueblo the poor people did not know that this was their last day.

As the night came on Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo was scouting around and spying from house to house. Seeing that all the people and everything else was quiet, he went back over to his war party.

"Come," he said. "You must now surround the town and be quiet till I give you the signal by yelling at the top of my voice. Then you can all rush up and do what you want to while I will do my part."

When the whole town was encircled by the party, Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo went to his rival's house and looked in again, finding the couple in the same position. With his bow and arrow he shot the man and killed him, then signalled to his war party and jumped off the house.

Being many, there were several to every house. All the inhabitants were killed except the young women and girls who were taken captives; no others escaped.

This is how Elden pueblo was destroyed, not by Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo himself, but by his invited war party of Yavapais from the Verde Valley.

After thinking the matter over Pi-tcin-si-vos-tiyo saw that he had done wrong, taking revenge not only on his rival, but of killing many innocent souls. So one day he brought this up with his grandmother and said that they themselves must live no longer in this country. They must leave because he realized that they were guilty. Not letting anyone know, they left and went down south somewhere. After they left there was always a cotton crop failure and cotton would not grow high any more and soon no more cotton was cultivated.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF HO-VI-ITCI-TU-QUA PUEBLO

By MALCOLM F. FARMER

To identify the pueblo of Ho-vi-itci-tu-qua of the foregoing story with a particular village site is very difficult. There are few features of the village itself mentioned in the story and the various ruins are not well enough known to be given positive locations. Mr. Nequatewa decided on Elden Pueblo, but it may have been one of the other villages which have been shown archaeologically to have been occupied in late prehistoric times. Three areas must be considered: the vicinity of Flagstaff, the region near Anderson Mesa, southeast of Flagstaff, and the Verde Valley.

In the Flagstaff area there are three sites. Elden Pueblo (NA 142), about seven miles east of Flagstaff, dates from about 1150 to 1200 A.D. on the basis of the ceramics found there.⁽¹⁾ Turkey Hill Pueblo (NA 660), about nine miles east of Flagstaff, was occupied from about 1150 to 1300 A.D.⁽²⁾ Old Caves Pueblo (NA 72), near Doney Park northeast of Flagstaff, has been dated from 1250 to 1300 A.D.⁽³⁾ Old Caves Pueblo seems to have been the only village in the area to survive the great drought of 1276-1299 A.D., but lasted only for a short period after the drought.⁽⁴⁾

In the Anderson Mesa area there are a number of pueblo ruins which have been dated after 1300 A.D. Kinnikinick Pueblo (NA 1629), located about thirty miles southeast of Flagstaff, was inhabited from about 1200 to 1325 A.D. Tree-ring dates for the site range from 1093 to 1311 A.D.⁽⁵⁾ Grape Vine Pueblo (NA 2803), near Kinnikinick, has ceramic dates of 1300 to 1400 A.D.⁽⁶⁾ The Pollock Site (NA 4317), east of Anderson Mesa, may date from 1250 to 1325 A.D.⁽⁷⁾

(1) Colton, 1946, pp. 43-45; Hargrave, 1929.

(2) Colton, 1946, pp. 72-74; Cummings, 1930, p. 6.

(3) Colton, 1946, pp. 37-39.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 39.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 123; Connor, 1943, pp. 376-379.

(6) Colton, 1946, p. 213.

(7) McGregor, 1955, p. 11.