Hopi-Tewa

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The Hopi-Tewa (ˈhōpē ˈtāwu) are one of the smallest of the Native American societies in the American Southwest, estimated in 1975 to number about 625, approximately 475 of whom were living in their traditional home area on the Hopi Indian Reservation, on or near the easternmost of the Hopi Mesas in northeastern Arizona ("Hopi Social Organization," fig. 1, this vol.). The society includes those people who trace descent through their mother's female lines to immigrant Tano families from the Rio Grande who settled at First Mesa, Arizona, in 1700 and who thus have traditional land rights and houses there (Dozier 1951:57, 1954).

The Hopi-Tewa are often grouped with the Hopi of First Mesa, with whom they have lived for the past 275 years, and with whom they share most cultural patterns. However, even in the late twentieth century the cultures are not identical, and they were even more divergent prior to the beginning of European influences at the end of the nineteenth century (Dozier 1954:259-260, 290-297, 367-371; Eggan 1950:172-175).

Language

The Hopi-Tewa do not speak the Uto-Aztecan language of the Hopi but a variety of Tewa, a Tanoan language.* The Hopi-Tewa dialect is the modern continuation of Tano, or Southern Tewa, and until A.D. 1700 it was spoken in the Rio Grande Valley, where the closely related Northern Tewa is spoken in several dialects in Santa Clara, San Juan, and the other Rio Grande Tewa Pueblos. Because of their modern locations these dialects are usually distinguished as Arizona Tewa and Rio Grande Tewa, respectively. The Hopi-Tewa and Rio Grande Tewa can understand each other's speech, but only with some difficulty and after a short period of adjustment. Hopi-Tewa and Hopi, on the other hand, are mutually unintelligible, and their speakers can communicate only if one has learned the other's language or through a shared third language such as English (Dozier 1951:56-57, 1955; Reed 1943a:75).

Almost all adult Hopi-Tewa are trilingual in Hopi, English, and Tewa. They have no language problems when they intermarry with Hopi, but the reverse is not true (Dozier 1951:58-63, 1954:279-292). Many Hopi-Tewa speak Spanish, which is needed in trading with Rio Grande Pueblo peoples, and many also speak Navajo, which was one of the first languages used by Anglo traders, such as Tom Keam, and by scientists, such as Alexander M. Stephen (1936,1:xxvii-xxviii). Thus, many Hopi-Tewa speak five languages: Tewa, Hopi, English, Navajo, and Spanish (Dozier 1954:281).

It is thus clear why the Tewa were the first "speakers" for First Mesa. They were serving as go-betweens in English, Spanish, Navajo, and other languages as early as 1850 and were the official interpreters by the 1870s-1890s (fig. 1), the period of first major Anglo contacts. In the 1970s Hopi-Tewa interpreters were still requested by Hopi chiefs and tribal council members (Crane 1925:136-137; Dozier 1954:291-297, 1966a:27-28).

Territory and Environment

The society has always had a limited geographical distribution. The two major settlements are mesa-top Tewa Village (Hano) with a 1975 population of 218 (about 200 Hopi-Tewa) and Polacca, the government village founded in 1888 at the east base of First Mesa (shared with the Hopi), which had a 1975 population of 782 (perhaps 650 resident) indicating perhaps 220 Hopi-Tewa ("Hopi Social Organization," figs. 1-3, this vol.). The villages are located in Navajo County, northeastern Arizona, about 80 airline miles northeast of Flagstaff and 55 airline miles north of Winslow. Hopi-Tewa are also settled in Keams Canyon Hopi governmental center, 12 miles to the northeast, whose 1975 population of 252 included 30-40 Hopi-Tewa. In addition, about 20 percent

* As analyzed by Yegerlehner (1959) Hopi-Tewa (Arizona Tewa) has the following phonemes (with his "component combinations" interpreted as units): (voiceless stops and affricate) *p, t, c, kʸ, k, kʷ;* (aspirated stops) *pʰ, tʰ, kʸʰ, kʰ, kʷʰ;* (voiced stops and continuants) *b* ([v] or [*β*]; [b] after *n*), *d, g;* (glottalized stops and affricate) *ṗ, ṭ, ċ, k̇ʸ, k̇, k̇ʷ;* (nasals, liquid, sibilant, and glides) *m, n; l; s* ([s] or [š]); *w, y, ẇ, ẏ; h, hʸ, hʷ, ʔ;* (vowels) *i, e, a, o, u,* and their nasalized *(ą),* long *(a·),* and long nasalized *(ą·)* correspondents; (pitch) high (v́) and low (v). The inventory of sounds given by Dozier (1954:261-262) differs from this in being more similar to that of Rio Grande Tewa as described by Hoijer and Dozier (1949). Arizona Tewa words in italics in the *Handbook* have been written by Paul V. Kroskrity (personal communication 1977) in the orthography used in his doctoral dissertation (Kroskrity 1977), on the basis of information supplied by Albert Yava and Dewey Healing. This orthography differs from Yegerlehner's in recognizing an additional front vowel *(ε),* in the marking of aspiration, and in a few other details. Since it has not been possible to reconcile the differences among the available transcriptions the forms cited doubtless contain inaccuracies.

HP6513

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Fig. 1. Tom Polacca (Polaccaca), brother of Nampeyo, member of the Tewa Corn clan, and owner of a small store around which the town of Polacca grew up. Polacca was a speaker of Tewa and Hopi and an interpreter at First Mesa in the 1880s and 1890s. Photograph by an unknown photographer, probably taken about 1890 when Polacca accompanied a Hopi delegation to Washington, D.C.

(100–125) of the population is probably living off the reservation at any one time in Winslow, Holbrook, and Flagstaff, at the Parker Indian Reservation in southwestern Arizona, or out of state. The Hopi-Tewa form about one-third of the population of First Mesa, and about one-tenth of the total Hopi tribal roll, which numbers about 6,600 (Dozier 1954:288–290; Kunitz 1973, 1974:9; Anonymous 1975).

The principal settlement is known as Hano (to outsiders) and as Tewa Village to the Hopi-Tewa (Dozier 1951:56, 1954:259–263). It was founded in A.D. 1700 on the flat, bare, windswept, sandstone top of First Mesa, the southern and easternmost fingerlike extension of Black Mesa, a diamond-shaped area about 60 miles to a side. The mesa is sculpted by the water of two of the southwest-flowing Tusayan washes, Wepo and Polacca, which rise at 8,000 feet at the north mesa edge. The tip of First Mesa has an area of about 10 acres, measuring about 3,500 feet long by 200–350 feet wide (Hoover 1930:427; Forde 1931:358). Where the villages of Tewa, Sichomovi, and Walpi are located, the altitude is 6,190–6,210 feet.

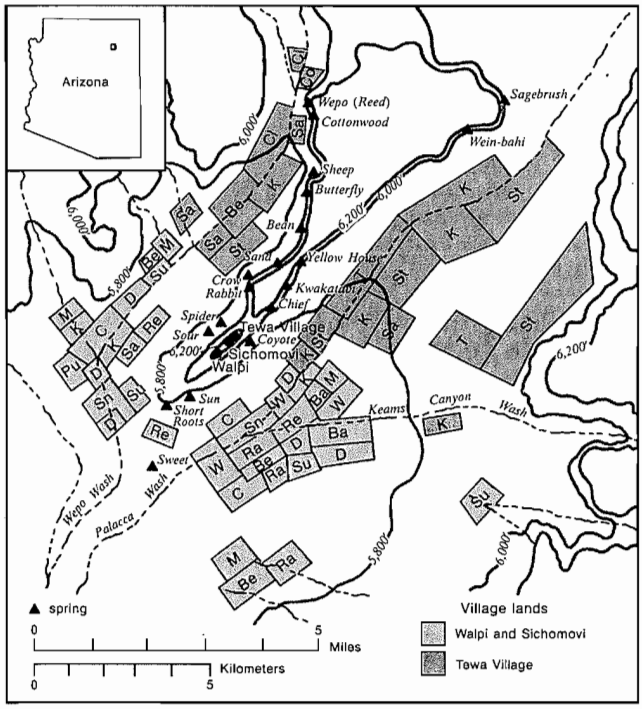
Most of the houses of the new town of Polacca are built on the talus slopes and sand dunes at the eastern base of the mesa at an altitude of about 5,700–5,900 feet. Some new government-built houses are at 5,600–5,700 feet, south of the highway. The vertical face of the mesa near Polacca is about 300 feet high; the talus slope and dunes cover another 200 feet of drop, and finally there is a 150-foot gradual slope to Polacca Wash edge at about 5,650 feet, with water level at about 5,640 feet east of Polacca village.

The smaller settlements and ranches at Bluebird Canyon and at Awatovi on Antelope Mesa (established about 1900) stand at 6,300 feet, and some ranches on the flats below are at 5,600–5,700 feet. The Hopi-Tewa at Keams Canyon numbered about 450 in 1978, with 252 on the Hopi tribal roll. They lived in a government settlement founded about 1887 near a school and trading post at an elevation of 6,200–6,300 feet. There are also a few Hopi-Tewa in Public Health Service housing near the new hospital and at local trailer camps.

Mean annual temperature at Tewa Village (6,200 feet) or Polacca (5,700–5,900 feet) is about 50–52°F., with 9.5–11.0 inches of rain. The growing season is 133–135 days, with the last frost averaging May 18–19. Because the rainfall and growing season vary widely from year to year (5–20 inches of rain), dry farming is always precarious. Heavy winds occur in May and June, and in July and August (the hottest months and the early harvest period) the heaviest rains occur, dropping one-half the year's moisture in torrential cloudbursts, which may wash away the topsoil and crops. Evaporation, runoff, and erosion are thus very high, although humidity readings between the rains may be as low as 5 percent (Forde 1931; Beaglehole 1937; Hack 1942; Bradfield 1971; Ellis 1974b).

Settlement in the Southwest is dependent upon the rare water sources. While arid, the Hopi mesa region is particularly blessed in some ways. Washes provide much annual runoff and there are many permanent springs. The collection area for the wash water supply has been stated at 672 square miles for Polacca Wash and 176 square miles for Wepo Wash (Forde 1931:361; Bradfield 1971:2). The washes flow into the flat plains to the south of the mesa at about 5,600 feet altitude (fig. 2), providing floodwater for irrigation and depositing a large load of sand, which is then blown back, north and east, onto the valley edge and the mesa rim, forming dunes (Hack 1942:5–7). The dunes hold the rainwater, which allows dune farming, and also affects the spring water supply. For it is primarily in the dunes that water is held to percolate to the contact area between the permeable sandstone and the impermeable shale layers, at the 5,900–6,000 foot level, forming the 19 permanent First Mesa springs. However, because of the talus slopes and permanent dunes, the water may actually outcrop at the 5,700–5,800 foot level on the valley floor (Forde 1931:360, maps 2–3; Bradfield 1971:11–12; Hack 1942). The catchment basin of the average spring includes a few hundred acres near the northeast tilting mesa edge, and spring flow is rarely more than 5 to 30 gallons a minute (Hack 1942, 1:12–13, 36). The strongest springs, such as

HP6514



after Forde 1931: maps 2-3.

Fig. 2. First Mesa clan lands. Ba: Badger, Be: Bear, C: Coyote, Cl: Cloud, Co: Corn, D: Deer, K: Kachina, M: Mustard, Pu: Pumpkin, Ra: Rabbit, Re: Reed, Sa: Sand, Sn: Snake, St: Stick, Su: Sun, T: Tobacco, W: Water. The clan names given by Forde have been brought into conformity with usage elsewhere in this chapter.

Wepo, are found on the northwest side. The water, which is slightly saline and hard, is high in calcium and has a pH of 8.1 (Bradfield 1971:60). Water is also sometimes trapped in rock tanks, both naturally and artificially formed, in the pitted mesa surface. Some of these tanks, near house blocks, are "owned" by individual Hopi-Tewa and are passed along matriclan lines (Hack 1942, 1:10-14; Beaglehole 1937:13).

Much of the water for Hopi-Tewa agriculture and drinking still comes from these traditional springs, and many springs also figure in annual religious observances. Forde's (1931:360, 404-405, maps 2-3) maps of clan lands near First Mesa show a total of 19 named springs that are owned by Hopi or Hopi-Tewa clans (fig. 2). All are classified for domestic use, irrigation, livestock watering, or vegetable and peach tree gardens (Forde 1931:365-366). Coyote Spring, in particular, is important to the Hopi-Tewa, for it probably was the site of the first Tewa settlement at Hopi in 1700 (Fewkes 1899:257, 1900:610, 615; Mindeleff 1891:30), and later it was the site of the beginning of the new town of Polacca (Stephen 1936, 1:510; Fewkes 1898:580). In the 1970s the Hopi-Tewa prefer Sour Spring on the north scarp, or the large Wepo Spring (Reed Spring) located four miles to the north in Wepo Wash. Spider Spring is also used for drinking, and Cottonwood, Wein-bahi, and Yellow House (Sikyatki) springs are used to irrigate gardens.

Settlements

The day-to-day resident population of Tewa Village is about 165, but 218 individuals claim allegiance. During ceremonial days the population may rise to 400 or more. Hopi-Tewa clan population is about 625 as compared to the 1893 population of 156 (table 1). The majority of the new growth since 1890 has obviously been in new settlements. From 1920 on, the Hopi-Tewa have leased nonclan lands from the tribe for ranches and second homes (Dozier 1954:288, 1966a:22, 1970:122), and it is there at the ranch or "second" home in Keams Canyon or Polacca that they generally live, to take advantage of modern facilities such as piped water and electricity, stores, and schools. Tewa Village is still the "home" settlement for the Hopi-Tewa individual because it is in his mesa home that each person recognizes his primary family relationships and social obligations. This house, generally that of his mother, is the lifelong center of his social life. It may also be the place in which his lineage or clan group's important religious symbols are stored and maintained (Dozier 1954:284-288, 310-312, 1966a:20-22; Eggan 1950:146-147; Titiev 1944:44-58).

Tewa Village in the 1880s was a pyramidal, multistory, hollow-plaza settlement, somewhat atypical of other Hopi mesa villages (Fewkes 1898:642; Mindeleff 1891:61). Early pictures indicate that the north, west, and east house rows all had two- to four-story sections, and there was a 356-foot gap between Tewa and Sichomovi villages, the empty land being on the Tewa side (fig. 3). Today, all Tewa Village houses are one story, and the village has spread out and is contiguous with Sichomovi. Fewkes (1906:90-94, pl. 11) believed that there were three original nuclei of the present Pueblo beginning about 1750-1800: in the middle of the north wing of the main (north) plaza (Corn, Tobacco-Bear clan rooms); east wing (Cloud-Sand-Sun clan rooms); and an early abandoned (pre-1800) room group north of the main plaza (Kachina clan rooms). The west wing began to develop about 1850 when Cloud clan houses were first built there. The continued development of the Pueblo, like that of nearby Hopi towns, has resulted in several hollow plazas and long north-south room lines. Fewkes (1906), Dozier (1954), and Mindeleff (1891:100-225) provide the best maps, descriptions, and architectural details.

In 1975 Tewa Village was still a Hopi-style Pueblo with flat-roofed (earth-covered) adobe material stone houses, but with some new cinder block additions as well. Asphalt and plastic sheeting, board ceilings, and linoleum floors have become common in reconstructed houses. Domed, adobe-plastered, stone-built bread ovens are found by nearly every house. Finally, the modern wage economy has led to familiarity with modern appliances such as radios, televisions, stoves, and refrigerators (Nagata 1970:207-208); but no Tewa Village house yet

HP6515

Table 1. Clan and Village Population, 1700-1975

Date	*Clans*	*Tewa Village*	*Polacca*	*Source*
1700	300?	300[a]		Hargrave 1951:35
1775		550[a]		Fewkes 1899:259
1853		600[a]		Page 1940:15 (Leroux)
1865		250[a]		Page 1940:15 (Ward)
1870		75[a]		Powell 1895:345
1883		175[a]		C. Mindeleff 1900:651
1884		150[a]		Bowman 1884:93
1888			5[a]	Stephen 1936, 1:590
1890		161[b]	10[a]	U.S. Census Office. 11th Census 1893:45; Fewkes 1922:270
1893	156[d]	163[a]		Fewkes 1894a:165-166
1898	151[d]	159[a]		Fewkes 1899:255, 1900:623
1900		160[a]	20[a]	Fewkes 1907:561
1929		308[a,e]		Hoover 1930:426
1932		309[a,e]	787[a,e]	Colton and Baxter 1932:40
1951	405[c]	164[a]		Dozier 1954:288
1964	450[c]			Dozier 1970:122
1966	500[c]	230[a,b]	530[a]	Dozier 1966a:22; Cox 1967
1968	500[c]	150[d]	590[a]	Dozier 1970:122; U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1968
1972		212[a,b]	789[a,b]	Kunitz 1972
1974	615	225[a,b]	850[a,b]	Estimated from Kunitz 1972
1975	625[c]	218[a,b]	782[a]	Estimated from Kunitz 1972; Anonymous 1975:1

NOTE: Figures are sometimes estimated, sometimes by actual count.

[a] All village residents, including non-Hopi-Tewa.

[b] Those who give allegiance to the village as place of birth rather than actual residents.

[c] Total tribal population regardless of habitation.

[d] Only those who were actually counted in the village or on the reservation.

[e] People may be counted in several villages at the same time, i.e., the village of allegiance and the village of residence.

had a telephone in 1974 although a few houses in Polacca and Keams Canyon did. Many houses in Tewa and Polacca have store-bought lamps, chairs, dining tables, dish cabinets, and beds; religious portraits and photographs of relatives cover the walls, side by side with traditional basketry plaques, kachinas, ceremonial rattles, and bows and arrows (Stanislawski 1968-1974:74).

Polacca village, in contrast, is an open, dispersed, single-family-house, grid-pattern, Anglo settlement, with some traditional stone houses, and some multiroom, peaked-roofed Anglo houses, including government-built modern prefabricated ones and trailers near the highway. Several government buildings, including a post office and a modern grade school, are also located there. House and land ownership continue to follow traditional matrilineal inheritance rules (Dozier 1954; Cox 1967).

Hopi-Tewa religious architecture continues in traditional style. There have been at least three partly subterranean kivas (or men's houses and ceremonial chambers)

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Fig. 3. Main plaza at Tewa Village in 1875, viewed from a north house row rooftop, looking south toward the Hopi First Mesa villages of Sichomovi and Walpi. (For a view from the opposite end of the plaza, see Mindeleff 1891:pl. 17.) At right are Nampeyo and members of her family seated on the roof of their Corn clan house, located at the northeastern corner of the main plaza. (For a map of Tewa Village in 1883 showing settlement pattern by clan, see C. Mindeleff 1900:pl. 25.) Photograph by William H. Jackson.

in use since the 1880s, all in Tewa Village ("Hopi Social Organization," fig. 3, this vol.). Chief kiva (also known as Central Plaza kiva) is found at the northeast edge of the main plaza, where Kachina clan houses were built in the 1800-1850 period (Fewkes 1900:607). Outside kiva is located northeast of the plaza rooms near the entrance road, and the remains of at least one earlier kiva are found there, too (Mindeleff 1891:61; Stephen 1936, 1:483-484). Kiva construction and architectural details are described by Mindeleff (1891:135-137) and Fewkes (1899:265). In general, they are rectangular, semisubterranean, roof-entered rooms with a raised stone platform at one end; they are oriented northwest-southeast (north 44° west). Built by ceremonial societies, clan groups, or individuals, these are used by many different groups of people in different societies and clans as ceremonies are performed, or for the men's leisure activities such as weaving and stone chipping (Stephen 1936; Parsons 1940; Fewkes 1899:265).

Demography and Health

In 1893 Fewkes (1894a:165-167) found that there were 54 adults and only six families and six living children claiming to be of unmixed Tewa ancestry. Rules against intermarriage with Tewa were strictly enforced by the Hopi during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Dozier 1954:289-291, 1966a:23-26), but the First Mesa community as a whole is now known to be the least homogeneous, least inbred, and most "mixed" of all of the Hopi areas (Woolf and Dukepoo 1969:34).

By the 1950-1970 period, two-thirds of Hopi-Tewa over 16 were married; 15 to 17 percent were widowed,

HP6516

and 10 to 19 percent were divorced. There has been a very even (±3%) male-female sex ratio at all times (Dozier 1954; U.S. Census Office. 11th Census 1893; U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1968). Age studies show a generally young population, with 15 percent under 6, 48 percent under 20, and only about 17 percent over 55 (U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1968). In the 1890s there were fewer people aged 6 to 19, and in Tewa Village, many less children under 6 (U.S. Census Office. 11th Census 1893). Hopi-Tewa longevity is slightly greater than that of the Hopi, and the population is a slightly older one. The population expanded at an average of 2.1% a year in the 1940-1970 period (Kunitz 1973:3-4, 1974; Thompson and Joseph 1944:30-31). Average family size is about five persons (Kunitz 1974).

Hrdlička (1908, 1935) studied Hopi and Hopi-Tewa anatomy and physiology in the early 1900s; Thompson (1950) summarizes medical, nutritional, psychological, and anatomical data; Kunitz (1973, 1974), Levy and Kunitz (1971), and Kunitz and Euler (1972) discuss health, mental health, fertility, and birth and death ratios. Woolf and Dukepoo (1969) provide general demographic discussions and a detailed analysis of one unusual genetic disease of the area, albinism, which is 100 times more common among Hopis than among Anglos. (Because of the relatively low rate of inbreeding at First Mesa, no Hopi-Tewa albino is known, although local people are carriers.)

Culture

Subsistence

The most complete descriptions of the floral environment and the more than 200 plants used by mesa area peoples are found in Bradfield (1971), Hack (1942), Forde (1931), and Whiting (1939). Beaglehole (1936), Page (1940), and L.D. Mason (1965) discuss domestic animals and the fauna; Willey (1969), Beaglehole (1937), and Ellis (1974b) give general ecological surveys. Bradfield, Forde, and Hack discuss traditional farming methods, and Forde mainly used Hopi-Tewa informants.

• ANNUAL CYCLE Traditional dates of subsistence activities and ceremonials are entrusted to officials called Sunwatchers who observe the position of the sun at dawn

Table 2. Traditional Annual Cycle

Month	*Agriculture*	*Hunting and Herding*	*Wages and Crafts*
January		Hunting, sheep breeding	Pottery making, jewelry, moccasins, tools, games
February	Breaking ground, clearing fields 3-4	Sheep breeding	Crafts
March	Preparing seed, terracing/breaks, some green corn 4	Lambing	Crafts taper off, housebuilding
April	Green spring corn 1-2, onions/chili (irrigation) 2-3, early beans and melons 3-4, squash 3-4	Lambing	
May	Musk and watermelons 1, main squash and melons 1-3, beans and sunflowers 3-4, major corn 3-4	Sheep shearing 3-4	
June	Major corn 1-2, late plants (irrigation) in flood fields and sand dunes. Last plants June 22	Rabbit hunts, eagle collecting, turtle hunts	Pottery and kachina making, housebuilding
July	Weeding and hoeing, harvest first apricots, harvest green corn 3-4	Eagles killed	Pottery, weaving
August	Early peaches picked and dried, weed plants collected	Sheep dipped; cattle branded; deer, antelope, mountain sheep hunting	Pottery
September	Melons, beans, squash harvested 1-2; main peaches 4; main corn harvests 3-4		Salt trips to Zuni, trading
October	Peaches harvested 1-3, peach seeds planted, fruit trees pruned, main corn harvests 1-2 (town chief harvest)	Cattle sold	Salt trips to Zuni, trading
November	Final late harvests 1-2	Sheep herding	Weaving, moccasins, tools, pottery
December		Sheep breeding	Games

SOURCES: Titiev 1938; Forde 1931; Beaglehole 1937; Ellis 1974b; Parsons 1926; L.D. Mason 1965.
NOTE: Weeks are numbered 1-4.

HP6517

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Fig. 4. Lesho or Lesou, cutting mutton. Meat, cut into thin slices against the grain, was preserved by hanging to dry in the sun; eventually it was boiled, after first soaking to soften it (Underhill 1946:74). Among the Hopi, this meat cutting task was generally performed by the women (Beaglehole 1937:18). Pottery on the ledge is by Lesho's wife, Nampeyo. Photograph by Adam C. Vroman, 1901.

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Fig. 5. Nampeyo, one of the most famous Pueblo potters, is credited with the resurgence of a declining Hopi pottery tradition through the Sikyatki revival (Collins 1974; Ashton 1976). This style was inspired by pottery excavated at Sikyatki (Fewkes 1898:631ff.; Frisbie 1973), a site at which Nampeyo's husband, Lesho, was a fieldworker. The coil method of constructing pottery, which entails the progressive addition of coiled pieces of clay, is common to all of the Pueblos (see Douglas 1930). Nampeyo is shown here in her Corn clan house in Tewa Village, seated in front of the traditional graduated grinding bins. Photograph by Adam C. Vroman, 1901.

as it appears above or between selected geographical features on opposite mesas. Dates and months of such appearances are fixed from solstice to solstice (Ellis 1973; Parsons 1925a:74-75). Leslie Agayo, of the Hopi-Tewa Corn clan, drew a Sun chart in 1913 for Tewa Village. There appears to be a 13-month cycle—a dual division of the year in which there are two six-month periods with repeated names, and one unnamed segment (Ellis 1973). Since the 1920s dates have been similar for the Hopi and Hopi-Tewa calendars, varying but a few days from year to year (Parsons 1925a:120), and since 1930, the Tewa have often used a Hopi Sunwatcher (Dozier 1954:345; Forde 1931:385). The traditional annual work cycle as practiced in the 1930s is summarized in table 2. Excellent descriptions of a typical winter and summer work day are given by Beaglehole (1937:17-26).

• DIVISION OF LABOR During the annual cycle, there is a traditionally strict division of labor by age and sex for both Hopi and Hopi-Tewa peoples, although this is slowly changing due to modern wage work requirements, transportation, and machinery. In general, the Hopi-Tewa male: farms; gathers plants; herds cattle, sheep, horses, and burros; hunts deer, turtles, eagles; builds the houses; spins cotton and wool and weaves all native cloth; makes leather objects, principally leggings, moccasins, and riding gear; makes most jewelry and most kachina carvings; does some pottery decoration; makes most tools, ceremonial objects, and masks; cuts and stacks wood supplies; collects clay for pottery, paint minerals, and salt; carries water in trucks; trades for shells, turtles, and parrots. In addition, males are generally the shamans or medical specialists, and they do wage work on road crews and fire fighting crews, for instance. They play the active roles in public religious ceremonies, dances, and sings; in politics, language, and political interpretation; as policemen and judges, and in tribal council activities.

Women: also gather plants; gather raw materials for basketry and pottery; make pots (figs. 5-8) and carve some kachinas; prepare foods for eating and storage; cook; care for children; plaster and clean houses and kivas annually; construct and repair bread ovens. They also carry water by hand from springs or pumps. Women also do wage work in the hospital at Keams Canyon and as nurses and secretaries, school cooks, teachers, and maintenance personnel. They conduct trading parties in winter; they organize weddings and funerals. Pregnant women avoid dyeing of clothes, tanning of leather, or preparation of basketry materials, but there are few, if any, menstruation taboos (Beaglehole 1937:18-19; Ellis 1974b:137).

• WILD PLANTS AND ANIMALS Hopi mesa people still collect about 100 wild plant species in their local area (Whiting 1939:48-50; Beaglehole 1937:50), and an addi-

HP6518

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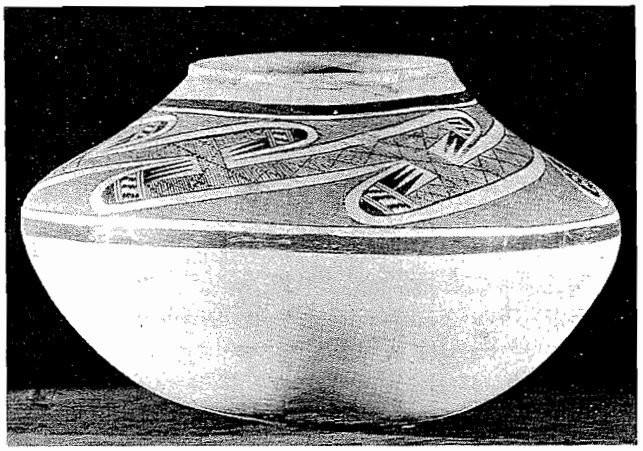
Fig. 6. Four generations of Hopi-Tewa Corn clan women. From right to left, Nampeyo (at age 43), her mother, Kochaka, and Nampeyo's daughter, Annie Nampeyo Healing holding her daughter, Rachel Nampeyo (who became a renowned potter in her own right). Photographer unknown, 1901.

Fig. 8. Joy Navasie, famous modern Hopi-Tewa potter of the Kachina clan. She continues the fine whiteware pottery styles her mother, Paqua Naha, helped originate, and uses her mother's frog identification mark on the bottom of her pots. She appears here in social dance costume in her husband's cornfield on Antelope Mesa, east of First Mesa. Photograph by Ray Manley, 1973.



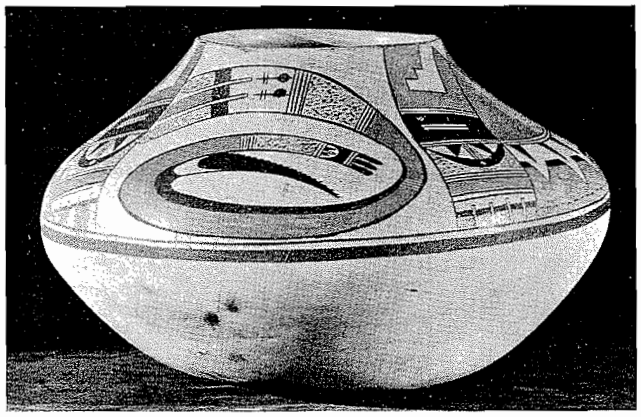


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Fig. 7. Hopi First Mesa pottery jars made by Nampeyo in her famous Sikyatki revival style. Diameter of top about 36 cm, bottom about same scale; both collected 1912.

tional 100 plant species are collected or traded for from distances as great as 200 miles. Whiting states that 65 plants are used for medicine, 37 for ceremonial purposes, 47 for construction or decoration (agriculture, hunting, crafts, housing), 54 for food staples, seasonings, and beverages. Wild-plant collecting is thus still an important activity, but while communal work parties used to collect such plants (Beaglehole 1937:51-52), in 1974 individual Tewa families were more often seen (before the harvest is in) collecting weed plants by the roadside (Stanislawski 1968-1974).

Rabbits, mice, rats, prairie dogs, and other rodents, as well as coyote, turtles, small birds, lizards, and snakes have been hunted since the 1890s. In the 1850s and before, badger, porcupine, deer, antelope, mountain sheep, mountain lions, grizzly bear, and gray wolf were also hunted (Beaglehole 1936:3). Animals were important both for food and for raw materials (fig. 9), and in 1974 rabbit was still a critical resource in times of poor harvests and for ceremonial purposes. Turtles are also collected and their shells used in dance ceremonies as leg rattles. Hopi-Tewa do not have eagle-collecting rights, although they do use Hopi eagles in ceremonial ways. Fish were not caught or eaten (Ellis 1974b:147-153).

• AGRICULTURE Horticultural work is still the traditional center of Hopi-Tewa activity; their lives revolve around problems and ceremonies concerned with farming. Among cultivated plants used by First Mesa peoples Whiting (1939:12) lists as possibly native plants: corn, squash, kidney and tepary beans, sunflower, gourd, and

HP6519

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Fig. 9. Hopi-Tewa women preparing a rabbit-fur blanket (see "Nambe Pueblo," fig. 6, this vol.) on a Tewa Village rooftop. They are probably cutting the skins into long strips. These are twisted together to form a rope, which is arranged on a simple upright loom as a continuous warp, then formed into a blanket by twining across with weft cords (Tanner 1968:43, 58). These blankets are one of the few garments traditionally woven by women as well as men. Photograph by J.H. Bratley, about 1902-1903.

cotton. Spanish introductions, from about 1630, include onions, chili, watermelons, peaches, and wheat. Anglo introductions (1870 on) have been: safflower, sorghum, turban squash, peanut, beet, turnip, cabbage, carrot, tomato, peas, apples, apricots, pears, and cherries. By the 1950s flour corn varieties were preferred to hard flint types because of their ability to store well, and few Anglo hybrid types are used. But all major traditional corn varieties are still grown, because seed is inherited. Vegetables, which take much water, are now more often purchased at the store.

In 1890 First Mesa people planted 3.3 to 3.6 acres per person, about 80 percent in corn. Fifty percent of the corn was used, 25 percent stored, and 25 percent traded (Bradfield 1971:21). Dozier's (1954) 1950 figures seem to indicate an average plot of 1.5 acres per person; thus the average modern farm would be about eight acres for a family of five. By 1950 the population of resident Hopi-Tewa was 400, living on 50 farmers' work, that is, an actual average of little more than one acre a person. Obviously, wage work, herding, and crafts are required to support a modern family, and subsistence farming, while culturally vital, is no longer economically possible for the Hopi-Tewa.

Excellent descriptions of traditional Hopi-Tewa hand tools and planting and harvesting techniques appear in Forde (1931), Hack (1942), and Ellis (1974b). Traditional planting and harvesting dates and schedules are seen in table 2.

• LAND OWNERSHIP Hopi-Tewa lands are traditionally upstream or north of lines drawn through the gap north of Tewa Village (fig. 2). Plats have been allocated in order of the traditional arrival of each Tewa clan, but the amount of land does not correspond to clan size; for example, the Corn clan, one of the largest, has the least land. Boundary stones with engraved clan symbols are used to delineate plat borders (Dozier 1954:355; Forde 1931:367-368, map 3). Women are considered the actual owners of land and houses, the rights descending within the matrilineage; however, lands are received in trust, for use only. Thus each matrilineage of each clan has long-term control of lands averaging about 40 to 60 acres (Bradfield 1971:21), and some additional waste lands are held in common by the clans for general use during emergencies (Forde 1931:370-371).

In the 1950s-1970s a new trend emerged. Men moved off clan lands to tribal council-leased, nonclan lands in Hopi territory at Awatovi, north on Antelope Mesa, and near Keams Canyon (Cox 1967:146-147; Stanislawski 1968-1974). Such leased lands may be passed on to a man's own daughters or sons, rather than the nieces in his sister's line; that is, bilateral inheritance may be involved. Tewa men have also received sisters' clan lands when other clan members were few, and some men have given lands to their sons or daughters, who are in different clans (Forde 1931:378-379); however, such lands usually revert to the original clan in the next generation. Finally, if a clan is near extinction, the last members may adopt a woman of another clan to care for houses and fields, as Kosha (*k̓osa*), the last Hopi-Tewa Sun clan man, adopted a Kachina/Cottonwood girl in the 1890s (Parsons 1925a:91). Land may also be lent, as the land-wealthy Hopi Snake clan did in the 1920s, helping out Hopi-Tewa related by marriage (Forde 1931:382).

• DOMESTIC ANIMALS Hopi-Tewa had large numbers of black sheep and goats by 1840; large herds of horses, cattle, and sheep are noted by the 1870s to 1890s. Burros became important after 1870; the pig, chicken, and turkey were reintroduced in 1891-1892, according to Fewkes (1900, 1922). Cattle were not generally economically important, with the exception of two Hopi families (Page 1940:29-47).

By 1880 herding was the first major cash industry for First Mesa (Page 1940:29-47, 1940a:29-36; Bradfield 1971:29, 42; U.S. Census Office. 11th Census 1893), and many Hopi-Tewa households were still supported by herding in the 1970s. This is because the Hopi-Tewa were among the first to hire Navajo shepherds and thus go into the herding business (Page 1940:38-39). The men do the work and own their flocks individually, thus giving men a new independence. Hopi-Tewa women may only own shares in flocks (Dozier 1954:356). Range lands are generally nonclan lands held by the villages in common.

HP6520

Page (1940) provides excellent maps of the locations of corrals and grazing areas on the Hopi Reservation, including Hopi-Tewa areas in Polacca Wash. Ranges may be 10 to 15 miles from the villages, and Hopi-Tewa men often stay for extended periods at the sheep camps and ranches.

In the postwar period, there has been a shift from sheep to cattle raising. Although cattle are more expensive to buy, feed, and care for, they take less continuous care and bring a much higher sales price, vital items in an emerging wage economy. In 1950, 43 Tewa men were livestock owners, about one-half owning sheep (1,602 head) and one-half owning cattle (658 head). About one-quarter were sold each year (Dozier 1954:357). By 1963, nearly half the reservation cattle were at First Mesa (L.D. Mason 1965), and the First Mesa Hopi-Tewa and Hopi were the major cattle ranchers of the reservation.

Some Hopi-Tewa also have a few chickens and one or two pigs; horses or burros are commonly seen in corrals along the mesa edges. Dogs are common in the village, but cats are rare (L.D. Mason 1965).

It is clear that the herding of animals has changed the Hopi-Tewa culture in many ways: wool clothing replaced cotton by 1900; male ownership of herds changed family life; settlement patterns changed as second homes or ranches, 10 to 15 miles from the villages, were built. First Mesa Tewa have done better than most economically; the early First Mesa sheep herding economy has turned into a cattle raising business economy, with Tewas in the lead (L.D. Mason 1965:58-77; Kennard 1965; Nagata 1970:153-175).

• CRAFTS Dozier (1954:359) noted 25 craftsmen in 1950. A minimum of 24 men at First Mesa wove belts, women's wedding robes and ceremonial kilts, sashes, stockings, and other objects in 1970 (Hopi Tribe 1970). Only two or three men in the 1970s still made moccasins, drums, and other leather objects. Special piki cooking stones are collected at Awatovi. Grinding stones, pottery polishing stones, yucca paint brushes, and paint mortars are collected from archeological ruins nearby or are made from local materials. Chipped-stone manufacturing has not been seen in recent years. Almost all local men made kachina dolls, rattles, and bows and arrows to use as gifts at kachina dances (Stanislawski 1968-1974).

Many Tewa women (a minimum of 60 to 65) produced pottery in the 1970s (Stanislawski, Hitchcock, and Stanislawski 1976). A few earned as much as $5,000 to $10,000 a year by ceramic sales. Much of the pottery was sold directly to tourists from Hopi-Tewa homes, but some particularly well-known Tewa potters produced much of their pottery for sale and exhibit at fairs or for specific traders. Specific pottery forms such as mutton stew bowls, ladles, piki mixing bowls, ceremonial jars, and pipes were still widely used by the Hopi and Hopi-Tewa in ceremonies.

• PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION The family had been the primary production unit for all Hopi and Tewa reservation people until World War II (Beaglehole 1937:72-81; Kennard 1965; Nagata 1970:181-186, 200-222). Wage work was scarce, even with the start of Works Progress Administration projects during the 1930s; and traditional horticulture, herding, and craft activities were thus the primary economic occupations. Only one Tewa wage earner was noted in 1890 (U.S. Census Office. 11th Census 1893:45), and only six men over 18 on the entire reservation earned wages in 1890.

Quantities of food (particularly bread and fruit), baskets, kachina dolls, and pottery are still produced in Tewa Village for ceremonies, such as initiations, weddings, and kachina dances, and are then recirculated by ceremonial gift giving, producing a leveling effect. The total may approach 15 percent of the foodstuffs, particularly corn (Ford 1972; Nagata 1970:148-149). Thus the traditional annual ceremonial cycle of the Hopi-Tewa and Hopi has a major economic impact on the communities. In the 1970s there were more dances, and they were held more frequently, than in the past; they are longer and more costly and tend to be held on weekends so that off-reservation people may attend (Kennard 1965:29; Dozier 1954:363). Clan and phratry sharing is still vital; Dozier (1954) discusses in detail the traditional cooperative sharing among the Tewa and all peoples of First Mesa.

• MODERN ECONOMY In 1950, 22 percent of the adults were wage earners; 57 percent were still mainly self-employed in farming and crafts (Dozier 1954:356-369). By 1970 population had outstripped the production, and less than 40 percent of the basic requirement of food per person was produced. The majority of income in 1975 must come, therefore, from wage earnings, cash herding, social security payments, and other government funds. Because of reservation status, there is no rent for lands or houses, no property tax, no medical or educational costs for most families (Nagata 1970:116-117, 123-126). The Hopi tribal government also provides facilities such as social service centers, the Cultural Center, schools; U.S. governmental activities and services have created nearby reservation community or agency towns such as Polacca and Keams Canyon, which provide jobs and nontraditional opportunities. The new wage work, well discussed by Dozier (1954, 1966a) and Nagata (1970:176-194, 1971), has caused serious economic and social changes. Hopi-Tewa can choose to stay on underdeveloped reservation areas and remain poor with a semblance of traditional life; or they may migrate to the cities, as encouraged by the government, and have the problems of "city exiles" (Nagata 1971:116). About 20 to 25 percent of the Hopi-Tewa lived off-reservation, but they generally returned to their home villages to take part in local activities (Nagata 1971:144-147; Dozier 1954:353). In addition, the husband's increasing control of his own money and leased lands (neither tied to his wife's hold-

HP6521

ings) have freed him from some social responsibilities, thus changing relationships in Tewa Village.

Ellis (1974b) noted that the pre-World War II income of the reservation family was about $300, with a per capita mean of about $80. Dozier's (1954:357) figures indicate Hopi-Tewa income of about $350 per capita, and a 1968 census of the Hopi Reservation shows that 45 percent of all reservation Hopis over 16 earned less than $1,000 per year, 65 percent earned less than $3,000, 32 percent earned $5,000 to $10,000, and only 1 percent earned more than $10,000 per year (U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1968:62). The average family income in 1970 was about $2,000, or $400 per person (Dutton 1975:41).

Clothing and Adornment

In the 1970s Hopi-Tewa wore store-bought Anglo clothes, except during ceremonies and traditional dances. Blue jeans, cotton work shirts, wool jackets, and store-bought shoes were common for men, although long hair (often braided) was still worn. Older men might occasionally wear calico pants and traditional cotton shirts. Older women wore Mother Hubbard dresses with walking shoes. Some men and women still wore their hair in the traditional Dutch bob. Comparisons with the dress and material culture of the 1890s and 1920s may be seen in Fewkes (1922:270-272), Ten Kate (1885:255), and Harshberger (1926).

Social Organization

The Hopi-Tewa social system is almost identical to the matrilineal, matrilocal, extended-family, exogamous clan system of the Hopi (Dozier 1954, 1955, 1970; Eggan 1950, 1966; Titiev 1944, 1972). The female-oriented household is the important group. It is usually an extended family, composed of several siblings, the mother, her sisters, their children, and also the attached spouses (including father) of different clans. Next in importance are the father's household and clan; linked clans in the mother's line (her phratry group); the father's phratry group; the clans and households of one's sponsors in the kachina initiation rite, kiva group rites, or curing ceremonies. Rules of exogamy are followed. Marriage is forbidden with the mother's or father's linked clans; and also unlike the Hopi case, Hopi-Tewa marriage is traditionally forbidden between cross-cousins (Freire-Marreco 1914:286). There is a joking relationship with father's sisters' husbands. The household group is unnamed, but the matriclan units are named in similar fashion to those of the Hopi (Bradfield 1973). The clans are generally composed of multiple lineages—for example, in 1974 there were two Corn clan lineages and three in the Kachina clan—and are generally connected through a grandmother or great-grandmother, although the relationship may be so vague as to be possibly fictional (Forde 1931:372; Eggan 1950:166). Residence is matrilocal. The married daughters come to live next to or with the mother, or on her clan lands in her village. Only 11 instances of violation of this rule were found in 1950, and accounts of the 1890s reveal no such violations (Dozier 1954:289-290). This system has helped to preserve Hopi-Tewa independence from the Hopi (Eggan 1966:124).

A few Hopi-Tewa clans are also linked into weak phratries similar to those at Hopi. For example, Bear, Fir/Stick, and a Spider lineage seem to be linked; a Parrot lineage is linked with Kachina/Cottonwood (Dozier 1954:335; Stanislawski 1968-1974). In addition, the two Hopi-Tewa kiva groups are formed of linked clans that "go together" for ceremonies. Bear, Corn, Tobacco, and Fir/Stick (replacing the extinct Sun clan) are linked in the Central Plaza kiva and in the Outer kiva, Earth/Sand, Kachina/Cottonwood, and Cloud (in 1975 almost extinct) "go together." The presence of two kivas suggests the Rio Grande pattern of dual moieties, but Parsons (1926:211) gives objections to this concept. Members of linked clans share ceremonial privileges, extend kin terms to each other, and accept marriage restrictions; and the Hopi-Tewa can also extend their relationships to clans of the Rio Grande Tewa, Navajo, and Hopi in the same way.

Each clan has a senior female head who "feeds" and protects the clan religious symbols and who lives in the clan house. She also controls assigned clan lands. The clan house is the center of religious and economic activity for the clan members, and the eldest woman owns the house, stored food, and its furnishings (Dozier 1954:333). A man has primary authority in his mother's house, not his wife's house. The relative size of these clans has waxed and waned at Tewa Village over the centuries, and since 1870-1880 at least two clans have become extinct. In the 1890s there were eight clans ranging in size from 9 to 28, and six others were claimed to have once existed (Hodge 1896:349-350; Fewkes 1899:253-254). In 1974 there were only six clans (and one remaining Cloud man), but these same units were up to 300 percent larger than in the 1890s. As clan sizes change, so do people's relationships to allocated lands, ceremonies, and housing.

• KINSHIP Hopi-Tewa kinship terminology is classified as a Crow type and, though different in phonemes, is very similar in meaning to that of the Hopi (Dozier 1954:305-311, 1955; Eggan 1950; Freire-Marreco 1914). Only a few words have been borrowed from Hopi. The terms are descriptive, use many reciprocals, and are cognate with Rio Grande Tewa kinship terms; thus, as in the Rio Grande Tewa area, age is a major factor in Hopi-Tewa terminology, and older brothers and sisters are separated from their younger siblings. But while the words used are the same as the Rio Grande Tewa terms, the principles and behaviors associated are mainly those of the Hopi. In short, behavior has changed, but the terminology has stayed the same (Eggan 1950:153; Do-

HP6522

zier 1954:310, 1955). Kinship terms are extended to other members of one's linked clans, to Rio Grande Tewa, and to other Indian groups. They are also extended to ceremonial clan relatives such as those godparents taken at kachina initiation ceremonies, who are considered substitute fathers and mothers. The ideal and real kinship behaviors (Dozier 1954:313-325, 1955) are similar to Hopi practices (Eggan 1950; Titiev 1944); but the Hopi-Tewa, in contrast, still do always distinguish between real father and father's brother, and real mother and mother's sister, and seniority rules also apply. Hopi-Tewa behavior is thus partly controlled by relative age, as in the Rio Grande area.

• SOCIAL CONTROL The Hopi-Tewa connect migration legends with the two kiva groups. The Central Plaza kiva is given priority, and one of its Bear clansmen was village leader in 1950, followed by an associated Corn clansman in the 1960s; however, the early leaders of the late 1800s were Sand, Bear, Tobacco, and Corn clansmen, thus including members of both kiva groups (Dozier 1954: 338; Fewkes 1900:615-616; Parsons 1926:210-211).

The men generally play the official and public political and religious roles, but in their mothers' rather than their wives' clans. Fathers more often discipline their sister's children than their own. The strongest relationships in the family are mother-daughter, aunt-niece in clan, and sibling-sibling, for in these are the continuation of the clan group. Thus, the matrilineal household, including mother's brothers, still provides the authority and training, although affection comes from the father and father's clan. The Hopi-Tewa system also encourages mock fighting and insults with the father's relatives, thus providing a tension release. No witchcraft trials or public accusations seem to occur, although after an unexplained illness a relative with a "bad heart" may be suspect.

The modern wage economy, schooling, and the automobile have deflected younger Hopi-Tewa from traditional patterns. Both men and women are now more protected from gossip and ridicule from the clowns and ogres at dances; ostracism is not so effective in the 1970s. However, officials still warn people of the consequences of bad habits during major ceremonies; and the war chief, traditionally of the Kachina/Cottonwood clan, may still attempt to maintain order (Parsons 1922a:293). The town is generally under very loose ceremonial control; in the past, the winter solstice chief was town head for part of the year, starting in November, and the summer solstice chief was leader for the other part, starting in March (Parsons 1922a:292, 1926:225-226). The Hopi-Tewa are, in part, also governed by the Hopi tribal council, established in 1936 with Hopi-Tewa aid. Polacca, in particular, has supported the council (Nagata 1970:97), and the Tewa group is well represented on the council. The fact that all of First Mesa now acts as one political unit (rare in the Hopi area) may be a result of such Hopi-Tewa influence (Cox 1967, 1968; Dozier 1954:342, 360).

Religion

The First Mesa villages cooperate ceremonially, as they do politically. For example, they share most Kachina, Initiation, Snake-Antelope, Flute, and Niman ceremonies (table 3). Kachina dancers often visit all First Mesa kivas during one dance, including Tewa Central Plaza kiva (Fewkes 1903:36). The Hopi-Tewa cooperate with the Hopi religious societies, if asked, and prepare foods, provide transportation, or take part in official religious duties. However, there are differences in ceremonial activity, and before 1900 these differences were even more pronounced (Fewkes 1899:260). Hopi-Tewa may still exclude Hopi from some ceremonies, such as the Tewa Winter Solstice ceremony (*tán-tay*); the Hopi, in turn, may exclude Hopi-Tewa from parts of their Winter Solstice ceremony, the Soyal (Fewkes 1899:273; Parsons 1926:218). They did not borrow each others' ceremonies in the past for fear that the ceremony would be "polluted" (Dozier 1951:61); this practice has only gradually changed in the twentieth century (Dozier 1954:344; Fewkes 1899:260; Parsons 1926; Eggan 1950:161).

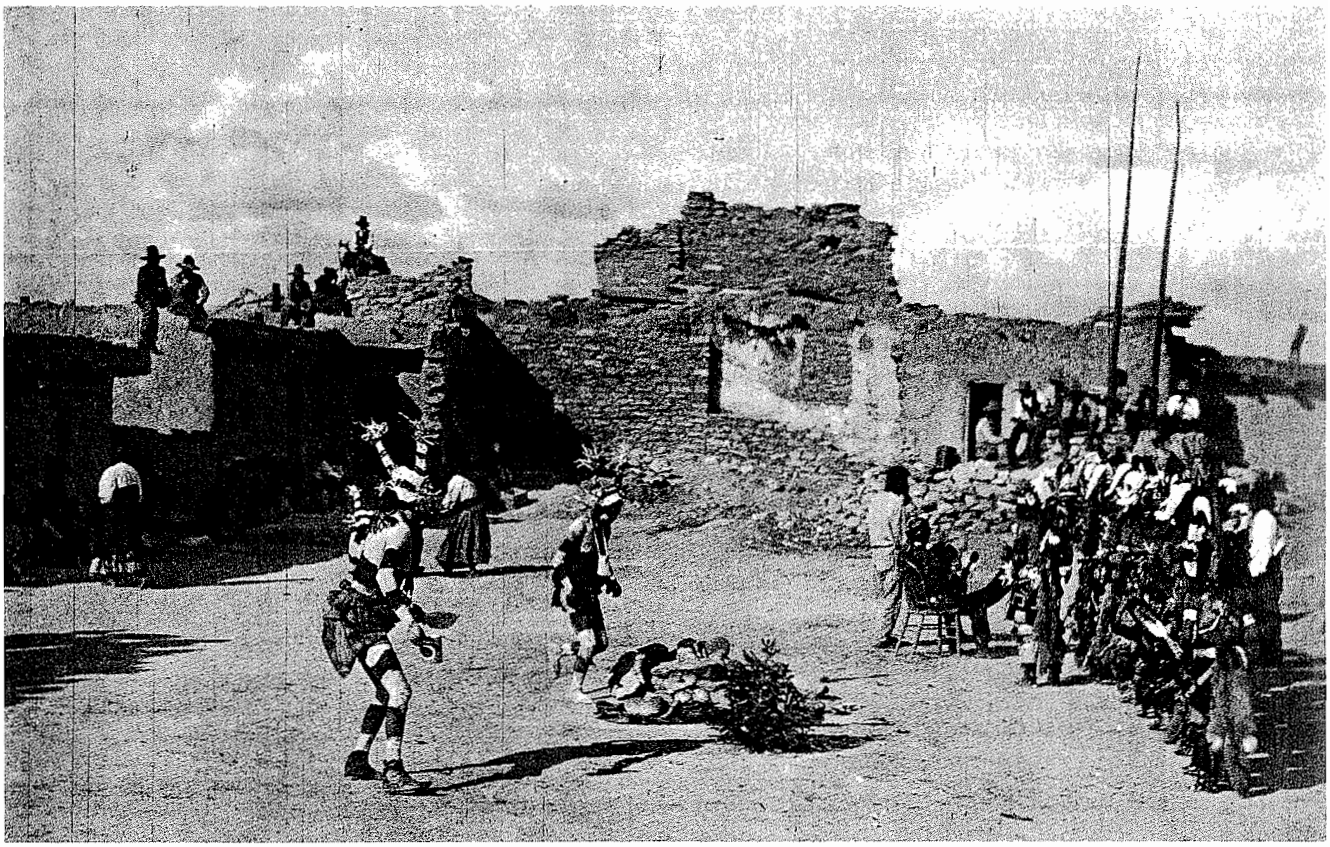
The Central Plaza kiva group is clearly the most powerful and important leadership unit in the village, but the Outer kiva group has its own duties, responsibilities, and powers. For example, the Sunwatcher traditionally was from the Sun clan, and after its extinction, the Cloud clan took over its responsibilities. In 1975 the Cloud clan also controlled the important *sumako·le* curing ceremony. The war chief, traditionally of the Cottonwood/Kachina clan, punished wrongs, prayed for village health, and maintained warrior groups. Finally, Outer kiva members performed the vital initiation ceremony at the winter solstice, during which 14 to 18 year old boys are taken into kiva groups.

Table 3. Traditional Ceremonial Round

January	Kachina dances; War ceremony
February	Hopi Powamu; Ground Freezing ceremony
March	Horned Serpent Dance; seasonal transfer ceremony; hockey games and races
April–June	Kachina dances; Summer Solstice ceremony
July	Sun Stick making
August	*sumako·le* curing ceremony
September–October	Harvesting for Tewa Village town chief
November–December	Winter Solstice ceremony *(tán-tay)*

SOURCES: Fewkes 1900:623; Parsons 1926:209-210; Fewkes 1903.

HP6523



Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., New York.

Fig. 10. Tewa clowns performing during a kachina dance (possibly a Niman kachina dance) in the central plaza at Tewa Village, viewed from the south. The men sitting on the roof may be Navajo spectators. Photograph by Robert H. Lowie, 1916.

The Tewa lack Hopi rites such as Niman and most kachina dances, the Snake-Antelope and Flute ceremonies, and nearly all the women's rituals. The War ceremony, Ground Freezing ceremony, Sun Stick making, *sumako·le* curing ceremony, Tewa Horned Serpent ceremony, and Winter Solstice kiva group initiation ceremonies were uniquely and traditionally Tewa (table 3). The Tewa also have one habit irritating to the Hopi: they like to continue kachina dances after the Hopi Niman ceremony, when in Hopi belief the kachinas return home for half the year (Stanislawski 1968-1974). In general, the Hopi ceremonies are basically water and fertility ceremonies, while the Hopi-Tewa ceremonies are curing and village-aid ceremonies. Kachina dances are sponsored by the ill person or his family to help in the curing (Parsons 1925a:75, 104, 107); such a dance to cure a Hopi-Tewa woman of cancer was held during the summer of 1970 (Stanislawski 1968-1974). Members of sacred societies, such as the *sumako·le* society, recruit members from those they cure (Stephen 1936, 1:xl; Parsons 1926:214-215; Dozier 1954:348). Whipper kachinas and shamans may also be used in curing. Hopi-Tewa shamans are widely respected and have a large clientele among Hopi and Navajo, perhaps due to their Rio Grande origins.

Exact observance of ritual in dances, prayers, and ceremonials, and strict obedience to the village chief and senior clansmen, are required to prevent such diseases and accidents from occurring in the first place.

Finally, while the Tewa, like the Hopi, make prayer sticks for all ceremonies, their sticks have always been slightly different in shape (Stephen 1936, 1:392), and the Tewa clowns, similar to Hopi mudheads in function, are quite different in appearance, being dressed in broad black and white horizontal stripes, with painted double horns. They are recruited in the same way as the Hopi clowns, that is, after curing for illness or by trespass (Parsons 1926:215, 223-224). A few Hopi kachinas are thought to be derived from Tewa, such as the Nuvakchina (snow kachina), Chaveyo, Hano mana (Tewa maiden), and Chakwaina warrior maiden (Wright 1973). Good discussions of traditional Tewa Village altars appear in Fewkes (1899, 1903) and Parsons (1926).

It is in the shared Hopi-style kachina ceremonies that the two groups are most similar (Dozier 1951:61, 1954:350-351; Parsons 1926:214-215, 228). Many dances are exchanged with Hopi from other villages and mesas (Parsons 1925a:24, 49, 83-85) as well as games and races such as the hidden ball game, stickball (connected with the war god), and kickball (connected with fertility). Both groups also have extramural ceremonial shrines,

HP6524

central plaza shrines, and four or more shrines marking the boundaries of the villages (Edward P. Dozier, personal communication 1968; Fewkes 1906:357-370), and they each plant prayer sticks in appropriate springs near the mesa (Parsons 1925a:13, 119; Ellis 1974b:172-187).

Acceptance of modern Anglo religions is still slight. The first missionaries arrived in Keams Canyon in 1870, and a Baptist mission was founded at Polacca in 1893. Since that time, the Hopi-Tewa have been in constant contact with Anglo churchmen, and many homes in 1975 had some Christian pictures on the walls; however, few Hopi-Tewa are really serious about Anglo religion, and Dozier (1954:298-300) cites some fascinating anecdotes showing the courteous but casual treatment of missionaries. Missionaries do give food, clothing, transportation, and other material benefits; as long as they do not seriously attempt to stop Tewa ceremonies, they are tolerated. Polacca and Keams Canyon have five churches: a Baptist and a Roman Catholic mission in Keams, and two Baptist missions and an Assembly of God church in Polacca. Mormon missionaries also commonly work at First Mesa (Hopi Tribe 1970:13).

Life Cycle

There is a traditional series of life events that most Hopi-Tewa still consider to be important. These ceremonies make one a Tewa rather than an Anglo or Navajo.

• BIRTH Birth takes place in a darkened room with only women, generally aunts or sisters, present. A male shaman is called in case of serious trouble. The woman's husband's mother cuts the cord with an arrowshaft for a male, a corn-stirring stick for a female. She puts ashes on the navel and then washes the baby. The husband's clan women care for the mother and child until the naming ceremony, washing the infant every four days and keeping an ear of fresh white corn by it. On the twentieth day, a naming ceremony occurs, the husband's clan women naming the child with a series of names related to their clan. The parents hold the child up to the sun and choose the "best" name of those given. This is typical also of Hopi practice (Dozier 1954:325; Eggan 1950). The infant then joins his mother's household until he is ready for the local nursery or day school at Polacca.

• PUBERTY At about age 8 to 10, the male child is given a nonclan ceremonial mother or father and goes through a kachina initiation and whipping rite four days before the Hopi Powamu ceremonies. A new name is given and male children can play kachina roles (such as the Avachhoya) after this time. At about age 14, boys get a new ceremonial father from their proper clan kiva group and are initiated at the Tewa Winter Solstice ceremony. From that point on, they may take part in ceremonial societies and religious and political events. The stories in this ceremony, closed to Hopi, detail the differences between Hopi and Hopi-Tewa and emphasize the Tewa migration legends.

A similar girls' initiation ceremony occurs at the time of first menstruation. It involves seclusion and corn grinding for four days and dressing of the hair into the maiden's traditional "butterfly" whorls.

• MARRIAGE Weddings usually occur when boys and girls reach 20 to 25 years of age. Courtship is left to the individuals; many children are born shortly before, or after, wedding ceremonies. Weddings are generally planned for January and August in order to avoid the kachina season, during which the weekends are already filled with parties and ceremonies. Relatively elaborate ceremonies are carried on in traditional homes. Clothes are woven by the husband's relatives for the girl's wedding, and in turn the girl grinds corn to be given to the husband's family. Ceremonial mud fights may be held to symbolize the loss of the boy from his family. The girl is then dressed in her new clothing and moved into her new home (generally near her mother). Her hair is dressed in the distinctive Hopi-Tewa married woman's style.

• DEATH Early death is traditionally thought to result from witchcraft, unkind thoughts, and the failure to maintain proper ceremonial and sacred rules. Natural death is another transition, another rebirth. As in all ceremonies, the washing of the hair is critical, this time with a corn ear. Feathers are tied over the head, and a cotton mask is formed over the face, with a string feather also tied on. The face is painted partly black. These activities make the body "light," like a cloud, and give breath for the other world. The face and body may then be washed, like that of a baby, with cornmeal. A prayer stick is made and the individual is given a new name, because he is now considered a baby in the other world. He will probably be buried in the burial ground near the entrance road east of the mesa, near Coyote Spring. Water and piki bread are placed on, or near, his chest; he is placed in a sitting position with pottery bowls of water nearby. Other pottery bowls, sometimes broken ("killed"), a basket with prayer sticks, and a planting stick are placed on the grave mound. Women traditionally wail throughout the entire ceremony. Shroud clothes and a corn cob are kept at the house for four days, after which the dead person is considered to have finally departed (Parsons 1925a:75-77; Stephen 1936, 2: 824-828). These traditional descriptions do not hold for all recent "Christian" burials, which of course follow normal Anglo procedures.

Prehistory

The prehistory of the Rio Grande Valley, the original home of the Hopi-Tewa, is still a matter of controversy (Dozier 1954:263-275, 1966a:3-19; Ellis 1967b; Ford,

HP6525

Schroeder, and Peckham 1972). The Tewa-speaking people probably came from the upper San Juan River area about A.D. 1000-1200 and moved into the Pajarito Plateau or Nambe district, then into the Galisteo Basin (Ellis 1967b:38-42; Ford, Schroeder, and Peckham 1972:31-32). The Galisteo Basin Tewa may then have separated from the Northern Tewa speakers (about 1200-1300), leading to the linguistic and cultural differences that distinguished the two groups by the 1680-1700 period.

History

Dozier (1954, 1966a), Ellis (1974b), and Montgomery, Smith, and Brew (1949) survey the early history of the Tewa speakers and their contacts with the Spanish invaders and discuss Spanish contacts in the Hopi mesa area. The Tewa groups on the Rio Grande and the Hopi were involved in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, and according to their traditional oral history the Hopi-Tewa moved as a single village unit to First Mesa at the request of Walpi village chiefs, following the revolts (Fewkes 1899:253, 1900:614-616). They are said to have been asked to guard the mesa trail to Walpi from Utes and Paiutes. The Hopi Asa clans, thought to be related to the Tewa (traditionally the founders of Sichomovi), may also have come at the same time, or shortly before. The Asa clans were said to have come from the Santa Fe or Abiquiu region and to have traveled first to Zuni Pueblo, then to Hopi First Mesa (Ellis 1974b:81-84; Stephen 1936, 2:1085-1086). However, the Hopi-Tewa were in origin definitely Tanos from the Southern Tewa area in the Galisteo Basin, probably from the towns of San Cristóbal and San Lázaro. They moved north of Santa Fe to the town of Tsawarii (Harrington 1916:253) near Santa Cruz, following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. After continuing pressure from the Spaniards, they left in 1696, traveling through Jemez, Fort Wingate, Fort Defiance, Ganado, and Keams Canyon on their way to First Mesa (Reed 1943a, 1952; Dozier 1951:56-58; Fewkes 1899:257). They may have first built a village near Coyote Spring at the south foot of the present entrance road to Tewa Village, but after defeating the Utes in a battle north of the gap, they were granted permanent farmlands by the Hopi, and their present mesa-top village site (Fewkes 1899:256-259, 1900:614-616; Mindeleff 1891:36).

Narváez (Reed 1943a:74) noted that the "Janos" or "Teguas" were at First Mesa in 1701. Wilson (1972:127-129) cites new evidence to show that in June and July of that year, Spanish soldiers attacked at First Mesa to avenge the previous attacks at Awatovi. Fewkes (1893:368, 1898:633) and Mindeleff (1891:31) state that the Tewa were not at First Mesa until 1700 and were probably not there at the time of the destruction of Awatovi, which took place in November 1700. The month is known because the attackers came early in the morning during part of Wuwuchim, the tribal initiation ceremony held by the Hopi in November. There is archeological evidence of destruction and burning of Awatovi Pueblo (Fewkes 1893, 1898:601-608) and evidence of a massacred and possibly cannibalized group of 30 victims some 10 miles south of Polacca (Turner and Morris 1970). Thus it appears that Awatovi was destroyed in November 1700 by men from First and Second Mesa Hopi Pueblos as well as some clansmen from Oraibi, before the time of the Tewa arrival. The Hopi-Tewa may have been contacted by a mission of Hopi who visited Santa Fe in October 1700 and thus may have come to First Mesa a few months later (Montgomery, Smith, and Brew 1949:21-24, 222; Mindeleff 1891; Fewkes 1893, 1894a).

The Hopi would presumably have been delighted to have a new guard village at the head of the trail, particularly after their attack on Awatovi, which they no doubt expected would be avenged. In fact, following the Awatovi attack and the migration of the Hopi-Tewa in 1700-1701, the Spaniards did attempt to counterattack in 1701 at First Mesa, and again in 1706 at Payupki at Second Mesa against another Tewa group, and finally in 1716, again at Walpi and Tewa Village. At this time, the Hopi offered to give the Tewas back to the Spaniards, but the Tewa Village military position was too good, and the Spaniards retreated after burning some nearby Polacca Wash farm fields (Dozier 1954:277-283; Montgomery, Smith, and Brew 1949:24-26). Priests attempted to visit the villages several other times in the 1700s, but no military expeditions came again to the mesas, and the Spaniards were no longer to be an influence in the region.

The Navajos and Utes again began to attack the mesas in the late 1700s and early 1800s, and Mexican government officials who took over the territory from Spain in 1823 had neither time nor opportunity to consider the Hopi problems. Anglo trappers reached the mesas in the 1830s, and a few other United States citizens visited in the 1840s. The U.S. control of the territory began in 1848, following the Mexican-American War, and military expeditions and civilian visitors began to visit First Mesa in increasing numbers from 1850 on, particularly after the Civil War. A Hopi agent was appointed in 1869; missionaries and traders settled in Keams Canyon in 1870; a small missionary school was built there in 1875; the Keam trading post was founded in 1878. Anthropologists began to settle and study the First Mesa Hopi and Hopi-Tewa from 1880 on. The reservation was established in 1882, the same year the railroad reached Winslow, and this last was perhaps the most important event of all, for even though 75 miles south of the mesas, the railroad opened the area to tourists, a boom that has continued throughout the twentieth century.

HP6526

Education

Most Hopi-Tewa under 80 years of age have had some formal education. They were the first group to support the new government reservation school, founded in 1887; 18 Hopi-Tewa were enrolled by 1890, 12 speaking English by then (U.S. Census Office. 11th Census 1893:45; Dozier 1951:64; Fewkes 1922:273; Thompson and Joseph 1944:28-29).

Thompson (1950:92-93, 96-97) showed that First Mesa children, as a group, were more aggressive, more spontaneous, and had less anxiety than other Hopi groups. Their language ability and their "outsider" status have also encouraged them to deal more frequently with Anglos (Dozier 1954:326). As they are going to school, they continue to work either with their fathers in the fields or their mothers and aunts at home. They learn a great deal of traditional and ceremonial life from their grandparents. Most children learn such tasks by doing, or by demonstration, rarely by instruction, in contrast to Anglo education (Bunzel 1929; Dozier 1954:311-325; Stanislawski 1968-1974; Stanislawski, Hitchcock, and Stanislawski 1976).

In 1968 most adults over 25 (68%) had attended at least nine years of school, and more than one-half (54%) had attended high school, with nearly 32 percent graduating (U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs 1968:56). Median years of education in 1968 were 10.5 (Kunitz 1974:12).

Synonymy†

The designations Hopi-Tewa and Arizona Tewa are references to the location of this group since 1700. Their original name was what was written in Spanish as Tano, applied to their ancestors while they were still in the Galisteo Basin east of the Rio Grande. In the early 1950s this name was still used by elderly Hopi-Tewas in the self-designation *tʰá·nu té·wa* (Dozier 1951:57, 1954:263), and Curtis (1907-1930, 16:260, 262-263) recorded the Rio Grande Tewa form as táno (probably for tʰáno), with the locative tánoge for 'Tewa Village'. What is probably the same name, recorded as tʰanuge, is also applied to the Galisteo Basin and a prominent abandoned Pueblo there (Harrington 1916:104, 481); the exact form in Rio Grande Tewa is uncertain, but translations include 'lower settlement' (assuming *θa(·)-* 'dwell') and 'near the sun, on the sunny side' (with *θan* 'sun'). Arizona Tewa *tʰá·nu* was borrowed into Hopi as *há·no, há·nòwɨ* (Whorf 1936:1215) 'Hopi-Tewa Indian' (Third Mesa *ha·no,* pl. *ha·nomɨ;* Voegelin and Voegelin 1957:49); from this comes the English name Hano for Tewa Village and its inhabitants (Reed 1943a:74-75, 1952:17; Curtis 1907-1930, 12:6, 18; Fewkes 1894a; Dozier 1951:56-57). Spanish spellings are Tagnos, 1680 (Hackett 1942, 1:3, 11, 22); Janos, 1760 (Tamarón y Romeral 1937:355, 1954:74); Thanos, 1779 (Miera y Pacheco map, Auerbach 1943:24); and Tanos, 1782 (Fewkes 1898:579).

When the Hopi constitution was drawn up in 1936 the Hopi-Tewa asked that the name of their Pueblo be changed officially from Hano to Tewa (Dozier 1951:56), and Tewa is now their preferred self-designation. (For the name Tewa and its variants, see the synonymy in "Pueblos: Introduction," this vol.)

The Zuni at one time called the Hopi-Tewa *te·wa* or *te·wa·kʷe* (Kroeber 1916:275, phonemicized), and their village *te·wanʔa*, but they now group them with the Hopi and use these names especially for the Rio Grande Tewa (Dennis Tedlock, personal communication 1977). The Navajo call them *Naashashí* or *'Anaashashí* 'bear enemies', a name also applied to the Santa Clara Tewa (Robert W. Young, personal communication 1977).

The Rio Grande Tewa use *téwa* 'Tewa' or *xosóʔon* 'Hopi' or combinations of these: *téwa xosóʔon* or *xosóʔon téwa* (Harrington 1916:569, phonemicized). Jemez has *tǽwa-hɨ́pé* 'Tewa Hopi' (Joe Sando, personal communication 1978). Other forms are given by Hodge (1907b: 531-532) and Harrington (1916:569-570).

Sources

The only major account of the Hopi-Tewa was published by the anthropologist Edward P. Dozier (1954), himself a Tewa from Santa Clara. He also published several preliminary reports (1951, 1955) and a good popular monograph on Tewa Village (1966a). His emphasis was on the social and religious organization of the society and its mechanisms for preserving separate identity in a longstanding culture-contact situation.

A number of early anthropologists wrote brief accounts of the group. Mindeleff (1891) did the best and most detailed study of architecture and settlement of the Hopi mesas. Stephen (1936), who lived at Keams Canyon and on First Mesa in the 1880s until his death at Walpi in 1894, left journals that have some revealing details on Tewa Village and its relations with its Hopi neighbors. A diary by a Hopi-Tewa man, Crow Wing, was edited by Parsons (1925a). Fewkes provided very detailed census counts, clan discussions, religious descriptions, and details of mythology and tradition in Tewa Village in the 1890s, as well as the best early archeological reports of the Hopi area (1894a, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1906). Freire-Marreco did fieldwork at Tewa Village in 1913 and published a detailed and accurate kinship discussion (1914). Parsons, who visited in the 1920s, wrote several fine works on social organization and religion and gave the best picture of the differences in Hopi and Hopi-Tewa ceremonial schedules (1925a, 1926). Bunzel (1929) used Tewa potters as major informants on Pueblo pottery making. Forde's (1931) agricultural study mainly used

† This synonymy was prepared by Ives Goddard, incorporating material from Michael B. Stanislawski and Albert H. Schroeder (personal communication 1978).

HP6527

Hopi-Tewa informants. He also included maps of land ownership rights, which are also discussed by Cox (1967). Reed (1943a, 1952) discussed the basic historical evidence, and the first attempt to summarize the social organization was by Eggan (1950).

Robert Black (1975) has worked with Hopi-Tewa informants on folklore and ethnomusicology and has prepared a biography of Irving Pabanale, a Hopi-Tewa judge. Stanislawski (1969, 1969a, 1969b, 1973, 1974, 1975; Stanislawski and Stanislawski 1975) has done ethno-archeology studies in Tewa Village and Polacca, concentrating on pottery and its relationship to culture in Pueblo society. Yegerlehner (1959, 1959a) has described aspects of the Hopi-Tewa dialect.

Good collections of Hopi-Tewa pottery may be found at the Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff, and at the Smithsonian Institution, among others. The Museum of Northern Arizona also has detailed records and photographs of craft exhibits since 1930, including many Hopi-Tewa craft items. The work of Nampeyo and other Hopi-Tewa potters is exhibited worldwide (Collins 1974; Maxwell Museum of Anthropology 1974).

HP6528