

JESSE WALTER FEWKES

THE WINTER SOLSTICE
ALTARS AT HANO PUEBLO

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Introduction

The fetishes displayed in their kivas by different phratries during the Winter Solstice ceremony at the Hopi pueblo of Walpi, in northeastern Arizona, have been described in a previous article,¹ in which the altar made in the *Moñkiva*, or "chief" ceremonial chamber, by the *Patki* and related people has been given special attention. The author had hoped in 1898² to supplement this description by an exhaustive study of the Winter Solstice ceremonies of all the families of the East Mesa, but was prevented from so doing by the breaking out of an epidemic. This study was begun with fair results, and before withdrawing from the kivas he was able to make a few observations on certain altars at Hano which had escaped him in the preceding year.

Walpi, commonly called by the natives *Hopiki*, "Hopi pueblo," began its history as a settlement of Snake clans which had united with the Bear phratry. From time to time this settlement grew in size by the addition of the *Ala*, *Pakab*, *Patki*, and other phratries of lesser importance. Among important increments in modern times may be mentioned several clans of Tanoan ancestry, as the *Asa*, *Honani*, and the like. These have all been assimilated, having lost their identity as distinct peoples and become an integral part of the population of Walpi, or of its colony, Sitcomovi.³ Among the most recent arrivals in Tusayan was another group of Tanoan clans which will be considered in this article. The last mentioned are now domiciled in a pueblo of their own called Hano; they have not yet, as the others, lost their language nor been merged into the Hopi people, but still preserve intact many of their ancient customs.

The present relations of Hano to Walpi are in some respects not unlike those which have existed in the past between incoming clans and Walpi as each new colony entered the Tusayan territory. Thus, after the *Patki* people settled at the pueblo called Pakatcomo,⁴ within sight of Old Walpi, they lived there for some time, observing their own rites and possibly speaking a different language much as the people of Hano do today. In the course of time, however, the population of the *Patki* pueblo was united with the preëpre Walpi families, Pakatcomo was abandoned, and its speech and ritual merged into those of Walpi. Could we have studied the *Patki* people when they lived at their former homes, Pakatcomo or Homolobi, we would be able to arrive at more exact ideas of their peculiar rites and altars than is now possible. Hano has never been absorbed by Walpi as the *Patki* pueblos were, and the altars herein described still preserve their true Tanoan characteristics. These altars are interesting because made in a Tanoan pueblo by Tewa clans which are intrusive in the Hopi country, and are especially instructive because it is held by their priests that like altars are or were made in midwinter rites by their kindred now dwelling along the Rio Grande in New Mexico.

The midwinter rite in which the altars are employed is called *Tûñtai* by the Tewa, who likewise designate it by the Hopi name *Soyaluña*. This latter term may be regarded as a general one applied to the assemblages of different families in all the kivas of the East Mesa at that time. The name of the Tewa rite is a special one, and possibly the other families who assemble at this time once had or still retain their own names for their celebrations. The *Tûñtai* altars were brought by the ancestors of the

¹ *The Winter Solstice Ceremony at Walpi* (*American Anthropologist*, vol. XI).

² These studies were made under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

³ Most of the people of Sitcomovi are of the *Asa* and *Honani* clans, of Tanoan ancestry, but they long ago lost the Tewa language and their Tanoan identity.

⁴ The site of this last settlement of the *Patki* people, before they joined those of Walpi, is in the plain about four miles south of the East Mesa. The ruins of the pueblo are still visible, and the foundation walls can readily be traced.

present people of Hano from their old eastern home, and the rites about them are distinctly Tewan, although celebrated at the same time as the Winter Solstice ceremonies of the Hopi families.

Clan Composition of Hano

The pueblo called Hano is one of three villages on the East Mesa of Tusayan and contained, according to the writer's census of 1893, a population of 163 persons. It was settled between the years 1700 and 1710 by people from Tcewadi, a pueblo situated near Peña Blanca on the Rio Grande in New Mexico. Although only six persons of pure Tanoan ancestry are now living at Hano, the inhabitants still speak the Tewa dialect and claim as kindred the peoples of San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Nambe, and Tesuque.⁵ The best traditionists declare that their ancestors were invited to leave their old home, Tcewadi, by the Snake chief of Walpi, who was then pueblo chief of that village. They claim that they made their long journey to give aid against the Ute Indians who were raiding the Hopi, and that they responded after four consecutive invitations. The Walpi Snake chief sent them an embassy bearing prayer-sticks as offerings, and although they had refused three invitations they accepted the fourth.

According to traditions the following clans have lived in Hano, but it is not stated that all went to the East Mesa together from Tcewadi: *Okuwuñ*, Rain-cloud; *Sa*, Tobacco; *Kolon*, Corn; *Tenyük*, Pine; *Katcina*, Katcina; *Nañ*, Sand; *Kopeeli*, Pink Shell; *Koyanwi*, Turquoise; *Kapolo*, Crane; *Tuñ*, Sun; *Ke*, Bear; *Te*, Cottonwood; *Tayek* (?); *Pe*, Firewood; and *Tceta*, Bivalve shell.

The early chiefs whose names have been obtained are Mapibi of the *Nañ-towa*, Potañ of the *Ke-towa*, and Talekweñ and Kepo of the *Kolon-towa*. The present village chief is Anote of the *Sa-towa* or Tobacco clan.⁶

Of the original clans which at some time have been with the Hano people, the following have now become extinct: *Kopeeli*, *Koyanwi*, *Kapolo*, *Tuñ*, *Tayek*, *Pe*,⁷ and *Tceta*. The last member of the *Tuñ* or Sun people was old chief Kalacai who died about four years ago. It is quite probable that several of these extinct clans did not start from Tcewadi with the others. There were several waves of Tanoan emigrants from the Rio Grande region which went to Tusayan about the same time, among which may be mentioned the *Asa*, which took a more southerly route, via Zuñi. The route of the *Asa* people will be considered in another article, and the evidences that some of the *Asa* clans joined their kindred on their advent into Tusayan will be developed later. Probably certain members of the *Katcina* clan accompanied the *Asa* people as far as the Awatobi mesa and then affiliated with the early Hano clans.⁸

The census of Hano in December, 1898, was as follows:

⁵ The Hano names of these pueblos are – San Juan, – ; Santa Clara, *Kap'a*; San Ildefonso, *Pocunwe*; Pojoaque, *P'okwode*; Nambe, *Núme*; Tesuque, *Tetsogi*. They also claim Taos (*Tawile*) and Picuris (*Ohke*), but say that another speech is mixed with theirs in these pueblos.

⁶ The Tewa of Hano call the Hopi *Koso*, and the Hopi speak of the Hano people as the *Towa* or the *Hanum-nyûmû*. The word "Moki," so constantly used by white people to designate the Hopi, is never applied by the Hopi to themselves, and they strongly object to it. The dead are said to be *moki*, which enters into the formation of verbs, as *tconmoki*, to starve; *tcinmoki*, to be very lonesome, etc. The name *Hano* or *Hanoki* is, I believe, simply a combination of the words *Hano* and *ki*, "eastern pueblo." The element *hano* appears also in the designation for American, *Pahano*, "eastern water"; *pahanoki*, "American house." Both the *Asa* and the Tewa peoples are called *Hanum* clans.

⁷ Remains of old reservoirs, elaborately walled, from which water was drawn by means of a gourd tied to a long pole, are still pointed out near Tukinovi and are said to have belonged to the *Pe-towa*. Old Tcasra claims that they were in use in his mother's grandmother's time.

⁸ The troubles following the great rebellion of 1680 drove many Tewa from the Rio Grande valley to Tusayan.

<i>Clans</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>
Okuwuñ	12	8	20
Sa	8	5	13
Kolon	11	12	23
Tenyük	12	16	28
Ke	5	10	15
Katcina	8	9	17
Te	5	4	9
Nañ	4	7	11
			—
Total native to Hano domiciled at home			136

The above enumeration of Hano population does not include Walpi and Sitcomovi men married to Hano women (23), nor Tewa men living in the neighboring pueblos (15).⁹ Adding these, the population is increased to 174, which may be called the actual enumeration at the close of 1898. Subsequent mortality due to smallpox and whooping-cough will reduce the number below 160.

In the following lists there are arranged, under their respective clans, the names of all the known inhabitants of Hano. There have been several deaths since the lists were made (December 1, 1898), and several births which also are not included. It will be noted that the majority have Tanoan names, but there are several with names of Hopi origin, for in these latter instances I was unable to obtain any other.¹⁰

Census of Hano by Clans

Okuwuñ-towa, or Rain-cloud clan. – Men and boys: Kalakwai, Kala, Tcüa, Wiwela, Kahe, Yane, Solo, Yunci, Pade, Klee, Kochayna, Këe (12). Women and girls: Sikyumka, Kwentce, Talitsche, Yoyowaiolo, Pobitcanwû, Yoanuche, Asou, Tawamana (8). Total, 20.

Sa-towa, or Tobacco clan. – Men and boys: Anote, Asena, Tem[de], Ipwantiwa, Howila, Nuci, Yauma, Satee (8). Women and girls: Okañ, Heli, Kotu, Kwañ, Mota (5). Total, 13.

Kolon-towa, or Corn clan. – Men and boys: Polakka, Patuñtupi, Akoñtcowu, Komaletiwä, Agaiyo, Tcid[de], Oba, Toto, Peke, Kelo, Tasce (11). Women and girls: Kotcaka, Talikwia, Nampio, Kweñtcowû, Heele, Pelé, Kontce, Koompipi, Chaiwû, Kweckatcañwû, Awatcomwû, Antce (12). Total, 23.

Tenyük-towa, or Pine clan. – Men and boys: Tawa, Nato, Wako, Paoba, Topi, Yota, Pobinelli, Yeva, Tañe, Lelo, Sennele, Poctce (12). Women and girls: Toñilo, Hokona, Kode(?), Sakpede, Nebenne, Tabowüqti, Poh[ve], Saliko, Eye, Porkuñ, Pehta, Hekpobi, Setale, Naici, Katcine, Tcenlapobi (16). Total, 28.

Ke-towa, or Bear clan. – Men and boys: Mepi, Tae, Tcakwaina, Poliella, Tegi (5). Women and girls: Kauñ, Kalaie, Pene, Tcetcuñ, Kala, Katcinmana, Selapi, Tolo, Pokona, Kode (10). Total 15. Tcaper ("Tom Sawyer") may be enrolled in this or the preceding family. He is a Paiute, without kin in Hano, and was sold when a boy as a slave by his father. His sisters were sold to the Navaho at the same time. Tcaper became the property of an Oraibi, later of a Tewa man, now dead, and so far as can be learned is the only Paiute now living at Hano.

⁹ It is impossible to make this enumeration accurate, hence these numbers must be regarded as approximations.

¹⁰ It is not unusual to find several names applied to the same person. Thus, Hani, the chief of the *Piba* clans at Walpi, is called Lesma in the Snake kiva. The Walpi call the author Nakwipi, but the Flute chief at Cipaulovi insists that his name is Yoyowaiamû, which appellation was given when the author was inducted into the Flute rites at that pueblo in 1891.

Katcina-towa.— Men and boys: Kwevehoya, Taci, Avaiyo, Poya, Oyi, Wehe, Sibentima, Tawahonima (8). Women and girls: Okotce, Kwenka, Awe, Peñaiyo, Peñ, Poñ, Tcao, Poschawû, Sawiyû (9). Total, 17.

Te-towa, or Cottonwood clan. Men and boys: Sania, Kuyapi, Okuapin, Ponyin, Pebihoya (5). Women and girls: Yunne, Pobitche, Poitzuñ, Kalazañ (4). Total, 9.

Nañ-towa, or Sand clan. — Men and boys: Puñsauwi, Pocine, Talumtiwa, Cia (4). Women and girls: Pocilipobi, Talabensi, Humhebuima, Kae, Avatca, "Nancy," Simana (7). Total, 11.

The present families in Hano are so distributed that the oldest part of the pueblo is situated at the head of the trail east of the *Moñkiva*. This is still owned and inhabited by the *Sa*, *Kolon*, and *Ke* clans, all of which probably came from Tcewadi. The *Katcina* and related *Tenyik*, as well as the *Okuwuñ* and related *Nañ* clans, are said, by some traditions, to have joined the Tewa colonists after they reached the Hopi mesas, and the position of their houses in respect to the main house-cluster favors that theory. Other traditions say that the first pueblo chief of the Tewa was chief of the *Nañ-towa*. Too much faith should not be put in this statement, notwithstanding the chief of the *Tewakiva* belongs to the *Nañ-towa*. It seems more probable that the *Ke* or Bear clan was the leading one in early times, and that its chief was also *kimoñwi* or governor of the first settlement at the foot of the mesa.

Tewa Legends

According to one authority (Kalakwai) the route of migration of the Hano clans from their ancient home, Tcewadi, led them first to Jemesi (Jemez), where they rested a year. From Jemesi they went to Orpinpo or Pawikpa ("Duck water"). Thence they proceeded to Kepo, or Bear spring, the present Fort Wingate, and from this place they continued to the site of Fort Defiance, thence to Wukopakabi or Pueblo Ganado. Continuing their migration they entered Puñci, or Keam's canyon, and traversing its entire length, arrived at Isba, or Coyote spring, near the present trail of the East Mesa, where they built their pueblo. This settlement (Kohti) was along the foot-hills to the left of the spring, near a large yellow rock or cliff called Sikyaowatcomo ("Yellow-rock mound"). There they lived for some time, as the debris and ground-plan of their building attest. Their pueblo was a large one, and it was conveniently near a spring called Uñba, now filled up, and Isba, still used by the Hano people.

Shortly after their arrival Ute warriors made a new foray on the Hopi pueblos, and swarmed into the valley north of Wala,¹¹ capturing many sheep which they drove to the hills north of the mesa.¹² The Tewa attacked them at that place, and the Ute warriors killed all the sheep which they had captured, making a protecting rampart of their carcasses. On this account the place is now called Sikwitukwi ("Meat pinnacle"). The Tewa killed all but two of their opponents who were taken captives and sent home with the message that the Bears had come, and if any of their tribe ever returned as hostiles they would all be killed. From that time Ute invasions ceased.

According to another good authority in Tewa lore, the *Asa* people left "Kaëkibi," near Abiquiu, in northern New Mexico, about the time the other Tewa left Tcewadi. They traveled together rapidly for some time, but separated at Laguna, the *Asa* taking the southern route, via Zuñi. The Tewa clans arrived first (?) at Tusayan and waited for the *Asa* in the sand-hills near Isba. Both groups, according to this authority, took part in the Ute fight at Sikwitukwi, and when they returned the village chief of Walpi gave the *Asa* people for their habitation that portion of the mesa top northeast of the *Tewakiva*, while the present site of Hano was assigned to the Tewa clans. During a famine the *Asa* moved to Tübka (Canyon Tsegi, or "Chelly"), where they planted the peach trees that are still to be seen. The ruined walls east of Hano are a remnant of the pueblo abandoned by them. The *Asa* intermarried with the Navaho and lost their language. When they returned to the East Mesa the Hopi assigned to them for their houses that part of Walpi at the head of the stairway trail on condition that they would defend it.¹³

¹¹ The gap in the East Mesa just at the head of the trail before one enters Hano. The pueblo of Walpi derived its name from this gap.

¹² Their nomadic enemies raided so near the pueblo of the East Mesa that the priests were unable to visit their shrines without danger. The idol of *Talatumsi*, used in the New-fire ceremony, was removed from its shrine north of Wala on that account.

¹³ Later, as the outcome of a petty quarrel near the middle of the eighteenth century, the *Asa* women moved to Sitcomovi which they founded. At present there is only one woman of this clan in Walpi, and no women of the *Honani*, both of which clans are strong in Sitcomovi.

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