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THE EXCAVATION OF HAWIKUH
BY FREDERICK WEBB HODGE
Report of the Hendricks-Hodge Expedition
1917-1923

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some twisted strings" (Burial 886, a child associated with Matsaki Polychrome). These 22 burials can be classified as follows: six with Matsaki Polychrome (two infants, two children, one adult male, one adult of undetermined sex), three with Hawikuh Polychrome (one child, one adult of undetermined sex, one of undetermined age and sex), two with European materials associated (an adult of undetermined sex, wrapped in a *wool* blanket, one of undetermined age and sex), and 11 without chronological placement (three infants, one child, four adult males, one adult female, one adult of undetermined sex, one of undetermined age and sex).

The textile fragments for which some information on location in the grave was recorded occur in a great variety of positions. Most common are the presence of cloth under all or most of the body (17 occurrences), or under the head or the head and shoulders (eight occurrences). The less frequent presence of cloth remains over most or all of the body (13 occurrences) may be due to less favorable conditions of preservation. It is not possible to determine whether some or all of these individuals were originally "wrapped" or "fully clothed." It seems wisest to summarize the field data without risking reconstructions which lack a firm factual basis. Accidents of preservation may also account for most of the special locations at which traces of cloth were found: under the feet, over and under the chest, along right upper arm, along left arm, at neck, and in the pelvic area (this last might, of course, be unidentifiable traces of kilts, belts, or skirts). Burial 900 (a child, with Matsaki Polychrome) is described as having the head wrapped in woven cotton. Burial 595 (an infant, without datable associations) was not only "fully clothed in woven material" but also had "a wad of many folds placed under the head."

There is even less information available for the 23 burials having only "traces" or "fragments" of cloth with them. They are important chiefly in showing how abundantly textiles were used in the Hawikuh burials.

Since nearly any details on prehistoric or contact period Zuñi textiles are of potential importance, we quote details from several burials in which identifiable objects occurred.

ASSOCIATED WITH MATSAKI POLYCHROME:

Burial 216: "Fabric of twisted strings on left arm and shoulder, much decayed" (adult male).

Burial 5: "Skeleton had remains of a fabric kilt from waist to below knees About the waist was later found a cord belt (E) for the kilt, a part of which (F) was saved" (adult of undetermined sex).

Burial 927 A: "Between the lower ribs and the backbone, on the right side was a layer of what may have been feather-cloth. With this piece were a number of turkey and bluebird feathers and fragments of sticks to which they were probably fastened" (adult female).

Burial 596: The details quoted earlier in this chapter include woven cloth, a grass-like woven girdle, and a woven band "of the same material" about the hips, and a "pillow of strings" under the head (adult, sex undetermined).

Burial 949: "Over the pelvis were strands of cord" (infant).

Burial 866: "From waist down to knees, remains of woven cloth and strings which may have been fringe" (child)—most probably a kilt.

ASSOCIATED WITH HAWIKUH POLYCHROME:

Burial 211 A: "Behind head at left was a circular mass of woven material" (adult female).

Burial 904: "The body had been fully clothed and a quantity of fringe-like material was found at the pelvis" (adult female).

Burial 193: The details quoted earlier in this chapter include small rolls of fabric over left cheek, a yellow or white garment from neck to ankles, a twisted black rope from left breast down to and around waist, a similar rope across right breast and down to waist, a kilt of coarser weave than the dress, seven inches wide over pelvis with a hank of yarn extending from its lower edge between the legs half way to the knees, binding of string around upper part of each leg and also just above knee, and from knees to ankles under the long dress a fabric similar to the kilt (adult female).

ASSOCIATED WITH EUROPEAN MATERIALS:

Burial 951: "A wad of woolen strings was at right of neck" (child).

Burial 199: "At the right wrist were traces of fabric upon which were sewn rows of the black barrel-shaped beads, possibly a wrist protector With the black beads on wrist were also

some small animal bones, perforated for attachment and some badly decayed shell beads" (adult male).

Burial 26: "Over chest of skeleton a tassel of woolen strings fastened at the top" (adult male).

IN THE CHURCH:

Burial 4 A: "On the skull were fragments of what evidently was commercial cloth of fine texture, and part of what appears to have been a hair-net or lacework" (infant).

WITHOUT CHRONOLOGICAL ASSOCIATIONS:

Burial 184: "The back hair in a coil, with part of woven head-band" (adult male).

Skin Garments. Because of the difficulty of interpreting poorly preserved traces found in a few graves, our information on skin clothing is unavoidably meager. One occurrence is an inhumation lacking chronological placement (Burial 709, adult female), with "what appeared to be skin clothing, under head and pelvis." Two inhumations with Matsaki Polychrome had traces of what may have been skin garments: Burial 141 (adult female) with "what appeared to have been a dressed skin" under the skeleton; Burial 596 (adult, undetermined sex) had "what appeared to be tanned skin" about the hips, as well as woven cloth and a girdle of grass-like material. One inhumation (Burial S2, adult, sex undetermined) with European material (a wool blanket) was recorded with "upper part of body apparently clad at burial in deerskin shirt." Five other burials had traces of deerskin or animal hide of some sort too fragmentary to allow any determination of their original form, whether clothing, containers, or other.

Bark Loin-Cloth. The grave of an adult female, associated with Hawikuh Polychrome, included a "woman's loin-cloth of bark" between the legs, perhaps a cedar-bast menstrual pad (*see* field notes of Burial 230, quoted earlier in this chapter).

Wooden Combs. Mosaic-decorated wooden combs were found with six inhumations; some details of them are provided in the discussion of turquoise, and five of them are illustrated in Hodge, 1921. Two were in graves lacking chronological associations, three were with Matsaki Polychrome, and one with Hawikuh Polychrome. At least three, and possibly all of the burials are female.

Hodge believed that all of the combs had originally been "worn upright in the hair-knot at the back of the head" (Hodge, 1921, p. 21). The combs ranged from $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches to $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, and each consisted of a rectangular panel bearing mosaic decoration, from which the teeth extended. The teeth were from six to twelve in number, and accounted for about three-fourths of the length of the comb.

In addition, two slender, plain combs were found. One of these (Hodge, 1921, Fig. 3) is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, has three teeth, and is decorated with a raised ridge across the rectangular upper part of the comb; it had a bezoar with it when found, perhaps originally attached to the top. It was found in the grave of an adult female, in association with Matsaki Polychrome. The other comb, undecorated, was in Burial 927, that of an adult female (*see* field notes quoted in full earlier in this chapter); it was found in the hair at the left side of the skull.

Hair Dressing. In a few inhumations the hair was sufficiently preserved to permit observations on the way it had been worn by the individual at the time of burial. As in other aspects of the field notes, details are less full than would be wished, but even the information given is of significance.

Burial 184: adult male (age given as 40 by Hrdlička), without chronological association; "the back hair in a coil, with part of a woven head-band.

Burial 91 [A]: adult female, associated with Matsaki Polychrome; "At the left side of the skull and adhering to it, a plain comb of wood, with a head similar to that of the inlaid comb previously found Under the left side of the head a small mass of yarn-like cord, probably the hair-tie."

Burial 234: adult female, associated with Matsaki Polychrome; "at back of head three of the bezoars that often accompany burials and are found at the head, and three more under the left side of skull . . . ; touching one of the hair ornaments [bezoars] at the back of the head, a mosaic hair comb, badly decayed . . . ; under left side of head remains probably of a hair-tie, consisting of a small mass of strings . . . Adjacent to the comb a small painted [pointed?] stick."

Burial 838: adult of undetermined sex, associated with Matsaki Polychrome. "There was a small quantity of hair adhering to the left [lower] side of the skull, and coarse strings at each side of the head that possibly had served for tying the hair."

with combs was not understood by them. Bezoars were found also at other parts of the skeletons, in two cases near the pelvis; but these were exceptional, and in a number of cases they were observed at the back of the head without the presence of combs, as if used alone as hair ornaments... At the back of the skull [of Burial 234] there were three bezoars, and three others lay under the left side. Touching one of them at the occiput was the mosaic hair-comb shown in plate I b. There were other instances in which two or three bezoars projected upward from the skull like horns. A bezoar found in association with the mosaic comb from Burial 102... [adult, sex unrecorded, undated] is shown in the accompanying figure 2 (p. 20).

The field notes fail to mention a bezoar with Burial 102, but Hodge's remarkable memory, legendary among his friends and colleagues, can undoubtedly be relied on for such details. Hodge also wrote briefly on bezoars in *Masterkey* in 1936, stating, "Sometimes attached to the top of plainer hair combs... was a bezoar, a concretion found in the stomach of certain ruminants, but in the cases in which these occurred in Hawikuh the bezoars were indurated flattened balls of hair that had been taken from the stomachs of deer. In no case was the bezoar of stony consistency." Hodge then mentions that apparently, "the Pima learned from the Spaniards of the reputed efficacy of bezoars as a preventive of hydrophobia," although his Zuñi informants said they had no knowledge of this. Since none of the bezoars in Hawikuh graves have ceramic associations earlier than Matsaki Polychrome, which was probably in use from the late 1400's to the middle of the 1600's it is possible, though unprovable, that all of these burials are within the historic period and the bezoars reflect the temporary adoption of this European belief by the Zuñis. More probable would be their explanation as one of the many oddities from the natural world (concretions, crystals, petrified wood, etc.) collected and valued by the Zuñis.

The field notes report bezoars in seven burials which lack datable ceramic associations and eight burials with Matsaki Polychrome associations. Three of these were adult males, nine adult females, and three adults of unknown sex. In nine instances bezoars were at the head (a pair at each ear, a pair at the neck, six at the back of the head and under the left side of the skull,

and six single occurrences), twice with males, four times with females, three times with adults of unknown sex. Two burials had a single bezoar near the right hip, and in one burial it was near the left hip. Three burials had bezoars in the chest area or under the back. Except for the bezoars which Hodge describes as associated with wooden comb in Burials 102 and 234, none is associated with specific objects such as containers or pieces of clothing, although it is possible that they were worn in some fashion rather than merely placed in the grave separately.

✓ *Glass Beads.* Seven graves contained necklaces or wrist ornaments which included one or more glass beads of European origin. Although it is possible that these were acquired by the Zuñis at the time of the visits of Cabeza de Vaca (1536), Estevan (1539), or Coronado (1540), it is far more likely that they date from the decades of missionary contact in the 1600's. Hodge's field notes record four graves of children in each of which was a necklace made up of beads of several materials, including glass. For two it is specified that there was a single glass bead, with beads of shell and seeds in one instance and of stone and shell in the other. The other two included an unspecified number of glass beads, along with others of shell, bone, and seeds. Another child's grave contained a single glass bead at the neck. An adult male had an ornament on his left wrist made up of one glass and 14 turquoise beads, probably in a single strand. And at the right wrist of a young adult of undetermined sex was an ornament comprising two glass and 14 turquoise beads.

Porcelain (?) Pendant. With the inhumation of a child was a pendant presumably made of a piece of European or oriental porcelain, described as follows: "At right side of neck, as if they had been worn as ear-ornaments at the right ear, two shell pendants, also a pendant made of a piece of china."

Copper Ornaments (?). It is impossible to determine from the field notes whether the few pieces of copper found were of pre-Columbian Mexican or of European origin. The inhumation of a child, not associated with any chronologically diagnostic material, contained a copper object near the left side of the head, which is recorded as a "tinkler" such as was worn on dance costumes. There is no clue in the field notes to the original form or purpose of "a small bit of sheet copper" found in the grave of an adult of undetermined sex, in which the latest pottery was Hawikuh Polychrome; it is mentioned here to keep the record as complete as