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ACOMA

HISTORY

THE Keres village of Acoma is the oldest continuously occupied settlement in the United States.[1] Perched on the top of a mesa some three hundred and fifty feet above the surrounding valley, accessible by difficult trails partly cut in the solid rock of its precipices, it is no less picturesquely placed than Walpi.

Under the name Acus it was first mentioned by Friar Marcos de Niza, discoverer of the Zuñi towns. He did not visit the place, but in the following year, 1540, Coronado sent one of his officers from Cibola to explore the country eastward.

Captain Alvarado started on this journey and in five days reached a village which was on a rock called Acuco[2] having a population of about 200 men. These people were robbers, feared by the whole country round about. The village was very strong, because it was up on a rock out of reach, having steep sides in every direction, and so high that it was a very good musket that could throw a ball as high. There was only one entrance by a stairway built by hand, which began at the top of a slope which is around the foot of the rock. There was a broad stairway for about 200 steps, then a stretch of about 100 narrower steps, and at the top they had to go up about three times as high as a man by means of holes-in the rock, in which they put the points of their feet, holding on at the same time by their hands. There was a wall of large and small stones at the top, which they could roll down without showing themselves, so that no army could possibly be strong, enough to capture the village. On the top they had room to sow and store a large amount of corn, and cisterns to collect snow and water. These people came down to the plain ready to fight, and would not lis-

1 Sia is believed to occupy a prehistoric site, but the original village was abandoned and destroyed in the period of revolt, 1680-1692. No other pueblo in the Rio Grande country stands just where it stood at the opening of the historical period. Zuñi is situated on a portion of the site of Halona, but was built after 1692. Laguna was established in 1699, and the Hopi villages were not, in the seventeenth century, exactly where they are now.

2 This is the Zuñi name, Hákukya, which is Acoma *Áko* plus Zuñi locative *kya*.

ten to any arguments. They drew lines on the ground and determined to prevent our men from crossing these, but when they saw that they would have to fight they offered to make peace before any harm had been done. They went through their forms of making peace, which is to touch the horses and take their sweat and rub themselves with it,[3] and to make crosses with the fingers of the hands. But to make the most secure peace they put their hands across each other, and they keep this peace inviolably.[4]

In 1598 Juan de Zaldívar, one of Oñate's captains, was attacked by the warriors of Acoma, and about half of his force of thirty men, including the leader himself, were killed. A month later, in January, 1599, Vicente de Zaldívar with seventy men attacked the stronghold and in a three-day siege and assault avenged his brother by slaying, it is said, half of its three thousand inhabitants.

Although Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, who reached New Mexico about 1617, served as missionary to Acoma, the first fraile to become permanently established there was Fray Juan Ramírez, one of the band of Franciscans who accompanied Fray Estevan Perea in 1629. His reception was not of the most hospitable nature, for he was greeted with a shower of arrows. It chanced however that a little girl fell from the cliff, landing unhurt near the Father, who bore her to the summit and restored her to her people, who believed that she had been killed. After this apparent miracle Fray Juan was favorably received. He remained in Acoma many years, erecting a church and building a trail which horses could ascend. This church was doubtless destroyed in the revolt of 1680, when the Acoma murdered their priest, for which they went unpunished. Says Vargas in his journal, date November 3, 1692:

Having passed a bad bit of road and a hill and journeyed about a League, I discovered and they pointed out to me the hill which is called the Peñol de acoma and in a short time we descried the smoke made by those traitors, enemies, treacherous rebels and apostates of

3 The natives thought the horses preternatural, comparable with the animal deities of their shamans, and were taking unto themselves the "life" of these wonderful creatures.

4 Winship, The Coronado Expedition, *Fourteenth Report Bureau of Ethnology,* p.p.490-491.

the queres tribe, and, in order to go there and see the enemies, I drew rein and ordered the military heads and officers of the two Companies to bring up five squadrons, for which purpose I halted in view of the other great rock on the right side of the said Road and slope which appears to be higher, and… before arriving at the said rock at about the distance of a musket-shot I ordered them to follow me in file and as I cried "Hail," they should do the same, and, having reached the said rock, peopled with the said unfriendly people, they said in loud Voices "Hail," and, at the same moment, the said men accompanying me said it and repeated it, and we heard the said enemies say "forever."[5]

But the natives were suspicious of the general's designs, and not until the following day did he succeed in convincing them of his peaceful intention. They permitted him with fifteen men, mostly Indians from the Rio Grande pueblos, to come up and plant the usual cross and absolve the rebels.

They fared little worse after the minor outbreak of 1696, in which year Vargas destroyed some of their growing corn and captured five men. There was no way to take the village from the rear, as he had done with the Cochiti at Potrero Viejo and with the Jemez on their heights, and he was too prudent to attempt a direct assault of the position. Besides, there was wanting the personal element that inspired Vicente de Zaldívar.

As if in bitter memory of the experience with the two Zaldívars, Acoma has always been one of the least tractable pueblos. Visitors used to be tolerated if they made their stay brief, but it was impossible to learn much about their practices. Severe corporal punishment was inflicted upon such of the younger generation as tried to avoid or slight their religious duties, which included bowing to the absolute will of the cacique and his fellows, and contributing to the support of that priest and the shamans. And of course it was well understood that revelations of any sort would call for measures even more drastic.

One of the young men who felt the weight of the cacique's authority and the numbing effect of social ostracism was Edward Hunt. Returning from school resolved to break with the old order (his father,

5 Ralph Emerson Twitchell, Extracts from the journal of General Don Diego de Vargas, etc., in O*ld Santa Fe,* April, 1914.

one of the shamans, having confessed on his death-bed that their supposed magic was only pretense), he found himself so persecuted, physically and mentally, that he yielded, and for some twenty years joined in the activities of the community. Ultimately he gave up his membership in the tribe, was admitted to Santa Ana, and moved thither with his family. He is responsible for the following account of Acoma customs. In consultation with his three adult sons, he decided to assume whatever personal risk might result, in order to have his name recorded as that of the first individual to shed light, to the best of his ability, on the religious practices of Acoma. Excepting Zuñi and Hopi, he is the only Pueblo informant with whom it was not necessary to work in seclusion and under a pledge of secrecy.

ORIGIN AND MIGRATION

The earth existed in its present form, and people lived beneath it in darkness. Nôtsityi, the elder sister, was *íatiku,* the mother-creator, and her younger sister was Ûtstsityi. There were two brothers, Máséewi and Uyúyewi, twins, very brave, and good warriors. They became the leaders and instructors of the people. Badger burrowed upward until he beheld light, and after making the hole large enough he called the people, and they came up the rainbow ladder and emerged. Máséewi stood beside the hole, and as each woman came forth he gave her a name and thus established the clans. When the first woman emerged, the sun was the most conspicuous object, since their eyes were used to darkness; therefore he named her for the sun. This was at Shipáp[u] in the north.

Day by day the people became stronger, until at last they were able to journey, and they moved southward and settled at Kash-ká*ts*uty[a] ["white house"]. But the Kátsina, because they were so pure that they could not endure the earthliness of humans, went westward to Wéñimatsi, a lake beneath the earth.

Íatiku directed the people to begin to purify themselves by drinking each morning a decoction of herbs, and vomiting. After four days of this preparation she called the people to one place and ordered them to the mountains to procure the best wood for prayer-sticks, *há*ts*amoñi*, which were to be offered to the Kátsina; for it was her plan to bring them back and have a dance. While making the prayer-sticks

they sat facing westward and prayed to the Kátsina to come and dance for the good luck of the people, and to bring rain; for the earth was becoming dry.

After four days of making prayer-sticks they buried them in the ground in all directions, and the Kátsina soon appeared. They brought fruit of all kinds, which they miraculously produced on the spot. They could cause growing things and game to spring up instantly, and could bring rain. After a day of dancing for the people they disappeared.

Íatiku then made the chief *ch!aiañi* [shamans] for curing sickness, and showed them everything for their use, especially how to have the help of Cougar, Bear, Wolf, Wildcat, Badger, Porcupine, Eagle. All these animals have powerful hands, which, placed on the body of a sick person, can cure him. They are the real *ch!aiañi.* The human *ch!aiañi* are simply those who call upon them for their power, using the hands of these strong ones in their healing ceremony. The different *ch!aiañi* separated and lived apart.

Íatiku gave them the songs to be used in their ceremonies for calling the powerful ones, and also their altar. She told them that whenever a man became a *ch!aiañi* they should make for him an *íatiku,* a perfect ear of corn with cotton webbing about the base and with the upper part covered with choice feathers. Her spirit, she said, would reside in this. Among the objects to be used in the altar were flints for fighting sorcerers. She told them how to pray to her, their mother, and to the powerful ones. She showed them four different ways of healing, since there were four kinds of *ch!aiañi,* all of whom, however, were united in one society. These four kinds were Histíañi ["flint"], Hákañi ["fire"], Shíi'kami, and Skó'yu ["giant"]. At first they were all together and had only one altar, but afterward when the mother had disappeared under the earth, those next to the leader wished to be the leader, and so after a time they separated and became four societies.

The mother instructed the *ch!aíañi'* that four days before the sun reached his journey's end in the north and in the south they should pray and vomit each morning, and then on the fourth morning they should take out and deposit in a secret place cotton, prayer-sticks, and miniature pots filled with meal, beads, and pollen. This was called "clothing the sun." The raw cotton was spread out in a round mat, in which they wrapped the little pots of meal, pollen, and beads, and also a pair of moccasins made of the skin from the back of a deer's neck,

dance-kilt, belt and arm-bands, all in miniature. These were all prepared during the four days preceding the time they were to be used, at which time they were taken out secretly and buried at the shrine.

Four days before the sun was to be clothed, the war-chiefs ordered a hunt for deer, antelope, rabbits, hares, and rats, and *íatiku* appointed a Shaiaík[a] to sing for game. The night before the hunt the men, not ch!aíañi but the common men who were to hunt, assembled, and the Shaiaík[a] led them in singing the songs for game. They sat in a circle and sang.

She gave Shaiaík[a] small stone effigies of animals, which he set out in the form of an altar along with the *íatiku* [corn-ears covered with feathers]. In front of the altar lay yucca whips, and after singing the Shaiaík[a] struck each man with the whips, to make him strong and give him good luck in pursuing game. Before dawn they finished singing, and each man took a bit of meal from the bowl in front of the altar, to be used as an offering to the sun before starting on the hunt. He also took a drink from the medicine-bowl. The mother gave the Shaiaík[a] a *ts!ímaityi,* a cotton blanket with a design woven into it, which was to impart to him knowledge of the whereabouts of game.[6]

Four things of a ceremonial nature were taught by the mother: the ceremony for calling the Kátsina to bring fruits and game and rain; the healing ceremony of the *ch!aíañi;* the clothing of the sun when he

6 On the night before a communal hunt two or three Shaiaík[a] and others who wish to do so assemble and sing, and the Shaiaík[a] strike each one with a bunch of yucca-leaves. After the others have departed, about three o'clock in the morning, the Shaiaík[a] remain and make figurines of corn-husks and cast them one by one into a bowl, saying, "You will be a rabbit, you will be a hare, you will be a quail, you will be a rat!"

Early in the morning they take the figurines to the plain and toss them here and there and pray to the mother of the animals, that they become alive and feed the people. They pick up the droppings of rabbits and other game, choosing such as lie directly in the footprints of the animals, and place a small quantity in a bunch of shredded cedar-bark, which they burn. This is intended to render the animals powerless to flee by causing their feet to burn and blister. By this time the hunters are assembling at the fire. Each one brings meal, which he and the women with him throw on the fire while praying for good luck. The war-chief announces loudly that each man is to take some woman other than his own wife, and unmarried girls and boys also are to pair off for this day and night, and nobody is to be angry. This custom obtained in a communal hunt at least once annually up to about the year 1900, and perhaps later.

reached the point farthest north and again farthest south; and the singing by Shaiaík[a] and the ceremonial hunt. After teaching these things she disappeared.

One day the people had a Kátsina dance, and that night the men were in the kiva playing the game *aíawakutyeyi,* which is played only in the spring and in the kivas. Unknown to them a Kátsina had returned and was sitting invisible in the corner. He heard all the talk that was going on, how they were ridiculing the Kátsina and the way they had danced, that one was bow-legged, another held one arm crooked, another was bent over to one side.

The Kátsina who was listening was Mástiuktsa*ts*atyi. He had a crescent horn rising at the right side of his head.[7] He revealed himself to the men and told them he was going to report their conduct to Ts!íts!ûnûts!, father of the Kátsina.[8] To placate him, they offered him a smoke, but he refused it and went back to Wéñimatsi with his report. The Kátsina were very angry, and decided to kill the people. The Kómaiyawashi, scouts of the Kátsina, were sent to Káshká*ts*uty[a] to inform the people that there would be a war between them and the Kátsina. The scouts summoned the war-chiefs to the plaza and told them that on a certain day the Kátsina would come and kill the people, because they had not observed the rules made by the mother. The war-chiefs begged that the Kómaiyawashi return to Wéñimatsi and seek pardon for them, and all the people were called to the plaza to make prayer-sticks to be sent to the Kátsina. But the scouts dashed the offerings to the ground and broke them in pieces, pulled the feathers off and hurled the pieces at the war-chiefs. The people then talked among themselves and tried to capture the scouts and kill them, but they simply disappeared.

On a certain day the Kátsina came flying to Káshká*ts*uty[a]. The chief of the Antelope clan, the head-man of the pueblo, assembled his clansmen and advanced with them to meet the Kátsina. They prayed and begged and offered prayer-sticks, but the Kátsina pressed forward, killing men, women, and children. When the day ended, the pueblo

7 This is reminiscent of Zuñi Saíatasha ("horn long").

8 This personage is represented by the masked man who whips children as a part of their initiation into the Kátsina order.

was filled with dead, many of whom were disemboweled, ladders had been pulled down, many houses destroyed. The war-chiefs and the Antelope chief with whatever people were left alive came once more with prayer-sticks and were forgiven. The Kátsina said they would never come back in person, but would be present in spirit if the people would make masks and pray.[9]

The Kátsina then disappeared and were never seen again.

Some blamed others for having caused this catastrophe.[10] They tried in many ways to call the Kátsina back, but after a year of failure they decided to do as the Kátsina had told them to do. They made masks representing the gods, and painted their bodies the same colors as the bodies of the Kátsina. The *ch!aiañi* made the masks and warned the people to treat the dancers like real spirits, for when these masks were put on, the men became like real gods. Each dancer was to eat no meat for four days, and to avoid women. From midnight of the fourth day they ate and drank nothing at all until noon of the next day, the day of dancing. On the four nights preceding the dance the men all met and practised songs and made new ones. Each man who had a mask was regarded as its owner, and would bequeath it to his son; but all masks were kept carefully wrapped in a rear room of the kiva, in the custody of Kátsina-ch!aiáñi, who represented the Kátsina Ts!íts!ûnûts!. When the dance was over the spirits of the Kátsina went back to Wéñimatsi, but the masks remained for future use.

Dissension arose, and the people left Káshká*ts*uty[a] in various groups. The mother gave them different languages at this time. Those who understood one another went apart from the others, and thus the different pueblos were established. From Káshká*ts*uty[a] one group came to Wáspasháka ["sage pond"]. Thence they moved successively to Yôni-kó*ts*oti*s*a ["rock window"], to Ts!iyáma ["wide," "gap"], to

9 This incident may be an ancient myth-maker's explanation of the ravages of a tornado. Many touches in the narrative suggest this: the Kátsina come flying through the air, ladders are thrown to the ground, houses destroyed.

10 That is, in the fashion still prevalent, some were accused of having neglected the ceremonial observances and so having brought this natural catastrophe to pass.

Tyápi-ts!iyáma[11] [near Acoma], to Katsíma.[12]

The rock Katsíma had once been much lower. Some wished to stop there, and others wanted to go on. There were spirits living beneath the rock, hence human beings were not capable of living on the mesa. Therefore those who settled there became Kópishtaia.

Those who did not remain at Katsíma went on and stopped at the eastern base of Acoma mesa. Their leader, the chief shaman, gazed up at the cliff and called in a loud voice, "*Áko!*" A voice [the echo] answered, and the shaman asked the people what they had heard. Some thought the voice said Áko, others *yóko* ["go away"], and their disputation could not be silenced. Thereupon the shaman and the war-chief laid on the ground a blue and a gray egg, and told their followers to choose which was a parrot's egg and which a crow's. Many chose the blue egg as that of a parrot, thinking so brilliant a bird could not lay a dull-colored egg. The shaman thereupon tested it by hurling it against the cliff, and crows flew from the crevices. Then those who had so chosen went on southward with the gray egg, which is the reason parrots are found in the south. The others remained, moving to the point of Acoma mesa, which they realized to be the centre of the earth. Still they felt insecure. They wished to live on the elevation.

The next morning the war-chief and the shaman arose early and searched for a way to climb up. On the top they found numerous snakes, much timber, and crevices so wide that they could not cross. They reported that it was rather a bad place and required a great amount of work before it would be fit for habitation. The people at once began making a stairway by cutting steps in the rock. The Rattlesnake shaman called the snakes, carried them to the valley, and released them, and the Ant shaman removed the ants in baskets. Then the people cleared away the timber and filled the crevices, and when all was ready they moved their possessions up from the valley.

11 *Tyápi* is a small mountain tree with very hard wood sometimes used for war-clubs when knots occur underground, and by the Navaho for loom-battens.

12 The Enchanted Mesa. The word appears to be connected with Kátsina, a supposition borne out by the tradition that some of the people from the north settled on the rock and after a few years became Kópishtaia and as spirits departed eastward, which legend is probably responsible for the name "Enchanted" Mesa.

They had a priest whose duty was to observe the sun, and to pray when it reached the southern and the northern end of its journey.[13] The only officers were the war-chief and his two assistants. They had a lodge-room, and they chose two men to be their cooks. The war-chief was *tsátyôhóchañi* ["country chief"], and represented Máséewi. His assistants were *shúuti-mû*ty ["wren boy"], who represented Uyúyewi, and *ó*s*a*ts[a]*paíyatyama* ["sun youth"].[14] These held office for life, except that when one of the first two died, the officer or officers below him moved up one grade and the Shíi'kami-ch!aiañi appointed a new Sun Youth, whose name was publicly announced by the head-man of the Antelope clan.

THE KIVAS AND THE KÁTSINA

The five kivas of Acoma are primarily the ceremonial chambers of as many male groups who personate the Kátsina, the deified ancestors who appear on various occasions in the guise of rain-gods. Normally a boy joins the kiva of his father, or, if the father is dead, of some other male relative, who takes him in charge and instructs him.

A kiva group, whenever its turn comes to perform the July dance, always personates the same kind of Kátsina.

The five kivas, all of which are merely rooms in the communal houses and not, as in most pueblos, isolated, circular, and partially subterranean, bear the following names, and the five ceremonial groups personate the indicated deities:

Shûtyûní-tsi ("squash-seed room"), Hámish ("Jemez") Kátsina.

Haímata-tsi, Mo'ts ("Hopi") Kátsina.

Sho*s*ká-tsi ("dust room"), Hoápichañi Kátsina a personage with one side of the face yellow, the other side red.

Kóshkasí-tsi ("cold [Navaho language] room"), Koáshisho*ts* Kátsina. The name of this personage refers to the two upright eagle-feathers, one at each side of the head. Mo'ts Kátsina differs from him only in having, in addition to the two eagle-feathers, a parrot-feather at one

13 The last sun priest died before the informant was born, that is, prior to about 1870.

14 The Sun Youth is now known as *spátyi-mû*ty, mockingbird boy.

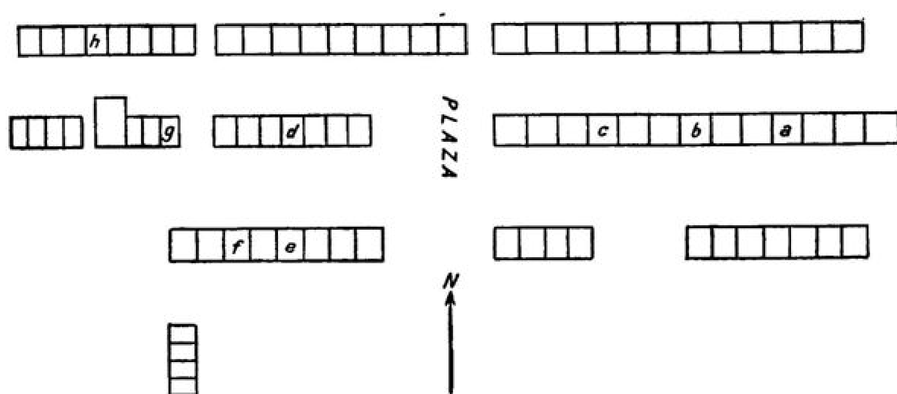
side, and at the other a wand surmounted by a carved bird (in recent years a flower).

Tôtako*r*i-tsi ("turkey-call room"), Wáyo*s*a ("duck") Kátsina. This kiva received its name from the discovery of a flock of turkeys roosting in the rafters during its construction.

Besides the kivas there are the ceremonial chambers of the two surviving shaman societies: Môha*r*o-kaiya ("— inside") for the Flint shamans and for the occasional ceremony of the Kapína-ch!aiañi, a society of warriors, and Hákañi-ch!aiañi-kóa*ts*û ("fire shaman kiva") for the Fire shamans.

Môharo is used also by Kûts-hano ("antelope person"), the cacique, who, as Kátsina Kanais*ty*iash ("Kátsina their-father"), erects there the Kátsina altar preceding a ceremony of these deities. The cacique, head of the Antelope clan, is called "father of the Kátsina" because of the intervention of the Antelope and the Deer clan at the time of the mythic battle of the people with the Kátsina.

Every boy joins one of the kiva groups. Before doing so, however, he must be initiated as a Kátsina by the ordeal of whipping. Girls also receive this treatment, but at that point their progress in the ceremonial organization usually ceases. The initiation occurs approximately quinquennially in February, and the initiates are from about five to eight or nine years of age. This ordeal enrolls them in the religious order known as Maína-ch!aiañi, or Kátsina-ch!aiañi, the nominal head



House Groups of Acoma showing Relative Position of Ceremonial Chambers

a, Haímatatsi; *b*, Móharo; *c*, Shoskátsi; *d*, Kóshkasítsi; *e*, Shûtyûnítsi; *f*, Kúts-hano's residence; *g*, Tótakoritsi; *h*, Hákañi.

of which is the cacique, but the active, life-head is an individual who personates Ts!íts!ûnûts!, the mythic custodian of the Kátsina masks.

Eight days in advance of the ceremony the war-chief makes his usual public announcement, and in due time the men of the Antelope clan erect an altar in Môharo. On the evening of the eighth day each child to be initiated is led to the ceremonial room by a man selected by its parents to be its ceremonial godfather. The entire population of the pueblo attends.

In front of the altar is a ball of oak ashes mixed with cornmeal. The Antelope men sing, and at the end of the song the Antelope chief, that is, the cacique, throws the ball upward and strikes the bear-skin that covers the hatch. As soon as this sound is heard, men on the roof throw aside the skin and Ts!íts!ûnûts! quickly descends the ladder. He wears cotton leggings, a spruce kilt partially covered by a cotton sash, and spruce armbands. He is masked. Uttering grunting sounds, *Hu! hu!* he dances on a hewn plank resting flush with the floor on two other planks set on edge, stamping forcibly on it and producing a thumping sound. Then one by one each godfather brings his child forward and Ts!íts!ûnûts! strikes it four times with a bundle of yucca-leaves, across the shoulders, the back, the hips, and the legs. The godfather is similarly whipped, and the masker gives each one, both child and godfather, a bit of medicine to rub on the body. As each child is led away, a male relative of the godfather opens a corn-husk containing a small eagle-feather and some meal, and ties the feather to a lock of the child's hair, where it remains four days. If in that time it comes off, the same man is called upon to replace it. At the end of four days he leads the child to the edge of the cliff and prays to the rising sun, removes the feather, and throws it into a crevice.

After this initiation a male child is competent to participate in Kátsina dancing and is eligible to instruction in the origin of the people and their customs. He is enjoined not to discuss these matters with others. He is to believe that the dancers are actually Kátsina, though wearing masks. He is particularly warned never to utter a word as to the human character of the persons wearing the masks. Of course this last revelation is not made to very young children, even though they have been initiated.

After the feather has been removed from the child's hair, he is brought to the godfather's house, where his head is washed by the

women of the family and he receives new clothing. A feast is held, and the child is told that the dry fruits, prickly-pears, corn, and even commercial products, are gifts of the Kátsina.

All children who have been whipped in the February ceremony are Kwí*r*aina-ch!aiáñi, or Sûts-ch!aiáñi, in distinction to those who have made further progress in the ceremonial system and also to those who have not yet started. After wearing a Kátsina or a Kómaiyawashi mask a male person becomes Maína-ch!aiáñi, and if he wears Kómaiyawashi first he avoids a ceremonial whipping when he first performs as Kátsina in July. Except in case of initiation of young boys by trespass a man must be Maína-ch!aiáñi before joining one of the shaman societies. Women may join these last societies (though they take part only as food-providers, cooks, and housekeepers), but not Maína-ch!aiáñi (that is, females have nothing to do with the Kátsina).

Summer Kátsina Dance

For the purpose of determining the arrival of the time for the July Kátsina dances, or any other ceremony, the cacique, Kûts-hano ("antelope person"), head of the Antelope society, standing or sitting at a certain rock on the eastern side of the mesa, observes the rising sun, and when it reaches a certain place on the horizon he informs the war-chief that the time is at hand. The war-chiefs then meet and discuss the question, whether to announce the ceremony immediately or a little later, the decision depending on whether or not the present time is occupied in other ceremonial activities. The war-chief notifies the headmen of the kiva whose turn it is to furnish Kómaiyawashi actors, and these call a meeting of their members for that night, at which time it is decided who shall perform as Kómaiyawashi. The service is voluntary.

The Kómaiyawashi are the messengers of the Kátsina, and hence are to be regarded as a kind of Kátsina. Four days before any masked dance they appear and inform the people that the Kátsina are coming. They all wear masks of the same kind, completely covering the head, with round openings for mouth and eyes, and on the top four round balls, each with a feather attached to it. They paint the entire body white, and wear blue loincloths, moccasins, and deerskin robes. They are the equivalent of the Zuñi Kóyemashi.

Preceding a Kátsina dance a shaman from each participating kiva

goes about until he finds a number of young men in a room, and drawing a line of ashes across the door to prevent escape, he touches a bit of paint on the top of the head of one or more, and informs him, or them, that he must be Ka*s*á*r*i for his kiva. Such young men, numbering from two to a dozen or more, dress like Ka*s*á*r*i and act as guards to see that the people do not come too close to the masked dancers. They make jokes and perform generally as clowns. They are not really Ka*s*á*r*i, that is, they are not members of the society.

On the second day following the selection of the Kómaiyawashi, the volunteers, usually five or six, take their bundles containing the masks and proceed to a mesa south of the pueblo, where at a certain place on the western slope they paint themselves and put on the masks, without however pulling them down over the face. They go up on the mesa, and standing on the west side pray to the real Kómaiyawashi, asking their help, and each throws down into the crevice a *wapáñi,* that is, a long turkey-feather to which are attached other small feathers, one each of an eagle, a redtail hawk, a duck, a bluebird, and a wren. Then at once they begin to speak with the high-pitched voice peculiar to the Kómaiyawashi.

On the way to the pueblo they offer meal and prayers at two shrines known as Tyámi-kôwatse*s*uma ("eagle alighted-there") and Sówi-káma ("rattlesnake home"). On the east side of the mesa they pray to the sun for rain and help in personating the Kómaiyawashi, and proceed thence toward the pueblo. When they arrive on Acoma mesa, they pull the masks down, being careful that no strand of hair remains in sight.

The principal war-chief, representing Máséewi, is in Môharo, and the other two war-chiefs are waiting in the plaza. These latter greet the Kómaiyawashi and embrace them, expressing their pleasure that their visitors, whom for so long they have not seen, have come again. They sit on a low wall along the side of the houses on the west side of the plaza and smoke. The visitors inform the war-chiefs that they wish to see "our father Antelope Person" and Maséewi.

The war-chiefs answer, "They are awaiting you in a place with four ladders."

"Oh, a place with four ladders? How is that?"

"A place with four ladders. And on the top is the rainbow and at each end of the rainbow is a parrot." The place referred to is Môharo,

which represents Wéñimatsi, the underground home of the Kátsina in the west; and the "four ladders" are the four ladder poles with two sets of rungs, which formerly led into this ceremonial chamber. At the top was a carved piece of wood painted to represent the rainbow, and at each end of the rainbow was a painted parrot. This fell into decay a long time ago, but is said to have been recently renewed.

The spokesman of the Kómaiyawashi replies, "Very well, we will look for such a place." He despatches two scouts to find the place with four ladders, and carefully repeats the directions to them. They depart, holding up four fingers; but after going about the streets for a time, they fall into an argument as to the number of ladders, and return to their leader for a repetition of his instructions. At last after much wandering and many arguments they find the place and go up to the roof of Môharo.

"*Chíma* ['within']?"

"*Hai* ['Yes']!"

"Are Kûts-hano and Máséewi there?"

"*Kaa-chó* ['they-two here']. Come in."

They go down the ladder and find the cacique and the war-chief sitting there. The two hosts grasp the hands of the visitors and taking a pinch of meal from their small bags cast it upward toward the hatch, making a trail. Then one Kómaiyawashi climbs the ladder, the war-chief, Antelope Person, and the other Kómaiyawashi follow. When they stand on the ground, each Kómaiyawashi stoops and takes on his back one of the two priests, and bending forward starts slowly toward the plaza. They chant: *"Ámasíya, síya, ámasíya, síya, katapína* ['I have a load, load, I have a load, load, here we go down']!" The syllable *pi* is strongly accented, and simultaneously the Kómaiyawashi suddenly bend forward, so that the men on their backs are almost precipitated over their heads. This causes great amusement. They proceed toward the plaza, repeating the song.

In the plaza meantime the Kómaiyawashi chief has been singing while his men dance. As soon as the two scouts appear, the others remove their deerskin robes and spread them on the ground. They now wear only moccasins and blue loin-cloths. Antelope Person and the war-chief are deposited sitting on the deerskins.

The Kómaiyawashi chief says: "I am the head-man of the Kómaiyawashi at Wéñimatsi. I have been ordered by the father of the Kátsina

to bring a message to this pueblo. The Kátsina will be here eight days from tomorrow. They want the people of this village to be ready for that day when the Kátsina will arrive. They want me to tell you that your village must be clean and the plaza swept. There must be no rubbish, no bad smells. You must rise early in the morning and pray for good luck and cleanse yourselves in your hearts with herbs. You must be kind to one another and be waiting for the Kátsina with great pleasure. Keep yourselves clean, take a good bath, wash yourselves in the morning. All your clothing must be clean, so that there will be no bad smell, for the Kátsina are pure. If you do this they will bring many presents. Whoever has good luck will receive more presents than the others. They will bring deer, antelope, hares, rabbits, and all other game; bows and arrows, pottery, rabbit-sticks, dolls, baskets, all kinds of fruits. Last of all, they will bring rain to make your crops increase. Let us all join together and make a strong prayer to the Kátsina and to the clouds, that there may be rain. Let us all join in thinking of this, our powerful prayer to the Kátsina. Let everyone be here at home, waiting for them, so that they will be satisfied. This is my order. You may go and tell all the people."

Máséewi stands up and calls out: "All the people on the north building, on the west building, on the south building, on the east building, you must listen to me, to the order I have received from the head-man of the Kómaiyawashi!" Then he repeats the message; the Kómaiyawashi thank him and depart.

That night the war-chief goes to the head-men of two kivas (neither of which is the one from which the Kómaiyawashi messengers were selected) and bids them choose their dancers. That same night the members of these two kivas assemble in obedience to the orders of the three assistants of the head-man of each kiva, who go about the village to notify their members individually. The head-man informs the assemblage: "It is our turn to be the dancers for the Kátsina. We must do our part. For we are poor people who do not know how to make rain. But I hope our fathers Kátsina will help us bring rain. Let us all join in and get ready. Tomorrow is the first day. We have only eight days in which to make all our preparations." He then asks each one directly, "Now, my son, are you going to dance?" In spite of all objections each man must participate.

Each night the men of the chosen kivas practise songs, some of

which are newly composed, until about midnight. They sleep in the kiva, for they are not permitted to touch a woman. However, they eat at home. During the day they are busy in the kiva, for the ceremonial costumes must be carefully cleaned, and there must be new moccasins and numerous articles to be given to the people by the dancers, such as bows, arrows, baskets,[15] rabbit-sticks, dolls. The women of the dancers prepare food and make pottery, or, if they are not potters, must buy some vessels.

On the fourth day strong, brave young men are selected to procure in the mountains wood for making prayer-sticks: Douglas spruce, maple, willow, and pine. Most of the material for these offerings is willow and maple. These youths start early in the morning and return at evening. They go about ten miles westward, that is, toward Wéñimatsi, home of the Kátsina, and when they return they find their fellows assembled in the two kivas, singing, that the wands secured may bring power and good luck. The wands, wrapped in deerskins, are placed in front of the head-man, who lays the bundle aside.

The next morning, the fifth day, immediately after breakfast, each man brings feathers wrapped in a piece of deerskin. Eagle, hawk, duck, turkey, and smaller birds of many kinds, furnish the feathers used in making prayer-sticks. They seat themselves and proceed with the work. Each man wraps his sticks in corn-husk bundles of four — a different color for each direction — and lays the packets in a common basket. Each individual has his own method of tying the packet, so that he can identify it. No prescribed number of sticks is made. Having finished, they return to the making of gift articles.

That night they bring out the masks from the rear room of the kiva. In the kiva to which the informant formerly belonged there were about forty-eight masks, including those of the Kómaiyawashi. All, including even the Kómaiyawashi masks, though these are not going to be used, are brought out. As a rule each man is regarded as the owner of a certain mask that was used by his father or by an earlier ancestor. The informant, on coming of responsible age, found that most of his relatives were in a kiva different from that to which his recently deceased father had belonged, therefore he changed his membership,

15 Acoma baskets are woven by the men.

and asked permission to take his father's mask with him, but it was not permitted. He had then to take his choice of various masks that no longer had any owner.[16]

The masks are made of deer rawhide and are quite stiff. They completely enclose the head. The back, as far forward as the ears' and the top down to the forehead are painted red-brown. The lower edge is decorated with fringe, which is used for the attachment of Douglas spruce tips. By the peculiarities of this fringe the masks are identified by the individual owners; and the arrangement of various feathers and other accessories, and the painting on the face of the mask, determine the kind of Kátsina it represents. The basis of all Kátsina masks is the same, a rawhide cylinder with openings for eyes and mouth.

Each man, having claimed his mask (or, if he should own none, having selected from the unclaimed masks one that fits his head), proceeds to clean it, brushing and dusting it off with a rag and scraping off the old paint. This work is begun on the fifth night and resumed the following morning.

On the sixth day, while the masks are being cleaned, the four headmen are preparing the paint. A blue-green stone, which the informant thinks is copper ore, is crushed in a mortar and ground very fine on a metate. A quantity of piñon-gum, obtained by cutting a notch near the base of a leaning tree and hewing off the upper side so that the pitch will run down into it, is heated, the powder is stirred into it, and the mass is poured out on a flat stone. It quickly hardens, but while it is still somewhat viscous they make it into twists, like tobacco, and pile them in a basket. The mixture is then pulverized on the metate. Having finished the cleaning of his mask, each man prepares a protective mask cut out of cloth so as to cover the sides of the Kátsina mask but leave the face exposed. Then the headmen paint the faces by spraying them with the powder, which they blow out of their mouths. The ordinary members meantime have been chewing up the meats of squash-seeds and spitting the mass into a dish. This is strained through a cloth into another dish, and the liquid is then blown by the four head-men

16 It has been stated heretofore that each kiva group personates only one kind of deity. The informant would have found no difficulty on this score, had he been permitted to take his father's mask to his new kiva, for all masks except the Kómaiya-washi are basically alike, differing only in painting and ornamentation.

on the painted masks. This is to make the surface bright and fresh. The masks are laid where the sun coming through the hatch will quickly dry them, and when this has been accomplished some of the ordinary members mix soot with the albumen of eggs and a little water and paint black around the eye-openings.

On the seventh morning they begin to attach the feathers and other ornaments which give the mask its distinctive appearance and name. A wreath of Douglas spruce is attached to the fringe at the edge of the opening, so that when the mask is worn the green sprigs will encircle the neck of the wearer.

Final preparations of the dance-costumes and careful checking to see that nothing is missing occupy the seventh night. The costume includes moccasins, yarn bands below the knee, a turtle-shell with sheep-hoof rattlers[17] behind one knee, a white kilt with colored strings hanging at the side, a white cotton sash, an entire fox-skin hanging behind, tail downward, and yarn arm-bands.

About two o'clock on the eighth morning they take their bundles and proceed about a mile to the mesa south of the pueblo, halting at the place where the Kómaiyawashi dress, a spot called Koiyá-pûtyûty-itya and regarded as the "gate of Wéñimatsi." They wear no clothing, and carry their costumes in blankets. Three of the kiva head-men accompany the performers, but either the kiva chief or his first assistant remains at home. Usually it is the chief himself who remains behind, because, being an old man, he is exhausted by the burden of preparation. The other aged men of the kiva also remain behind, because they have not the strength to dance, and in the practice songs they sit apart in the kiva and encourage the younger men.

From midnight of the seventh night until noon of the following day, when an intermission in the dancing occurs, the participants neither eat nor drink.

Under the direction of the head-men the dancers assist one another to paint their bodies. The method of painting varies with the kind of Kátsina to be represented. Like the Kómaiyawashi they go up to the mesa and stand on the west side and pray to the Kátsina to be with them and bring good luck and rain and a cloudy day so that they

17 No doubt these rattlers were originally deer dew-claws.

may not suffer with heat in the dancing. They throw out meal and the feather offerings called *wapáñi.* The feeling in this prayer is that the dancers, after donning their masks and costumes, will actually become Kátsina. They raise the masks then from the ground, hold them to the west, and put them on. At once they begin to utter the characteristic cry of the Kátsina, a thin, high-pitched "*Hu, hu, hu!*" and set out for the village. After proceeding a short distance they raise the masks so that the face is exposed, in order to breath better.

In the village the children and young people gather at the highest points to watch. To be the first one to catch sight of the Kátsina is a sign of good luck.

The Kátsina stop like the Kómaiyawashi and pray at the two shrines and on the east side of the mesa. At the foot of Acoma mesa they pull the masks down and look one another over finally to see that everything is in order, that nothing will be exposed to show that they are only men. Behind a high wall before entering the pueblo they stop, remove the masks, and practise the dance and the song on a long flat expanse of rock. They then replace the masks and march into the village, where they dance, shoulder to shoulder, stamping the right foot, first outside Antelope Person's house, then at seven other places. They return to the space behind the protecting wall, rest, and practise the second song, which they repeat as before at eight different places. Thus they use four songs before stopping for the noon meal, dancing thirty-two times in all. The performance is very fatiguing, because little air can enter through the tiny openings representing eyes and mouth. After the fourth withdrawal they remove not only the masks but the rest of their costumes, and a woman from each family in the village brings food. Young girls of twelve or thirteen bring water, but children younger than that are not supposed to know that the dancers are really men.

Many shamans, especially the head-man of the societies, and the heads of the other kivas, assist the dancers by fasting from the preceding midnight, and from place to place they follow the dancers and sit facing them on the opposite side of whatever space or street they are dancing in, smoking, thinking good thoughts, and talking in a way calculated to have good effect in bringing rain. They are dressed carefully, but not ceremonially. This service is entirely voluntary. At the noon meal they join the dancers in breaking their fast. Before beginning the

meal the dancers drink, and induce vomiting by inserting the finger in the throat. The quantity of food prepared is enormous, and the dancers do justice to it.

In the afternoon they dance two songs at the eight places, and a third song in the plaza only. Then the leader makes signs with his rattle, and they pass through a narrow passage into another open space, where all the people are sitting in a crowd. One by one women come to them and give them the food which they have prepared, and designate the persons for whom the dishes and bundles are intended. The Kátsina go about, find the proper persons, and give them the food, which consists only of products of the field. All these things were placed in the inner plaza early in the morning, along with the pottery, baskets, and other articles that have been made by the dancers, each family setting its own objects separate from the others. The deputies of the war-chiefs and some old women keep guard to protect these things from pigs and dogs. Bows and arrows are given to boys so that these gifts from the Kátsina will bring them good luck in hunting. Girls receive dolls, which represent Kátsina, so that they will have children. All this keeps the dancers busy until nearly sunset. After this individual distribution the people crowd together and the maskers toss out various things, such as pottery, green corn, and various fruits. Then they gather up what is left and proceed eastward and dance in another place, and after that in three other places, distributing presents on each occasion. The last dance is in front of Môharo, where they throw out all the articles that remain. Antelope Person leads them into Môharo, where they remove their costumes. The war-chief invites the people to bring food. Water has previously been provided in the kiva, and when the food is brought they feast. By this time it is dark, and they come out and dance again without masks and wrapped in blankets, in order to remind the people that the Kátsina are still present, that they must remain indoors and not come near Môharo.

The dancers sleep in Môharo, and about three o'clock in the morning they light open-dish lamps and remove their body-painting. Before dawn young men return from the hills, having gone out the night before, bringing aspen branches, flowers, and cornstalks, all of which the dancers put under their arm-bands and on their backs. A few hours after sunrise they come out again, and the war-chiefs and their deputies bring up more dolls, bows and arrows, and rabbit-sticks, and place the

baskets containing them in a row at the foot of Môharo. They dance again at Antelope House, at two other places, and finally in the plaza as on the preceding afternoon, and then distribute the presents, including more pottery and food brought by the women. The Kátsina leader then sends the war-chief to call to the plaza Antelope Person, his wife or daughter (or other female of his family, if he have neither wife nor daughter), Máséewi and a woman of his family, and the two men who cook for the war-chiefs. These sit down in a row, and the Kátsina chief embraces Antelope Person and blows his breath on his face, saying, "*Koátsi, nais*tyí*a* ['greeting, father']*!*" To the Antelope woman he does the same, then to the war-chief and his woman, and to the two cooks. Thus he greets them and receives their thanks. While this is being done the others are still dancing.

When this dance ends the Kátsina bring out numerous gifts for these principal persons, and then throw the remainder among the people. Dancing at four other places in the same way, at the last place they remove the green things they have been wearing and drop them in the plaza. Here Antelope Person brings the basket of prayer-sticks, and each Kátsina takes the bundles bearing his individual mark and gives signs of pleasure. They depart without any prescribed order, uttering their cries, and at the edge of the mesa in a secluded place they remove the masks, cast the wreaths and prayer-sticks into the crevice, and ask for good luck and freedom from sickness. They remove the feathers from the masks for future use, and return to Môharo by twos and threes, don their ordinary clothing, and go home. In the evening they secretly bring the masks back to their kiva. The Kátsina leader warns them to avoid women for four days.

Meantime the other kiva has been preparing for its dance, which begins on the following day and observes the same sequence, but represents a different kind of Kotsina.

Fire Kátsina Ceremony of the Corn Clans

The Acoma origin myth relates that when the people came from Shipáp^{u} certain members of the Corn clans were Kátsina. At Sage Pond they disappeared. One of them, Sho*r*ácha, settled at Pûñi-tsinôk^{a} ("westpeak"), west of Áko; Shumá'*s*ka remained at Sage Pond; Kôpát^{a}, who was blind, went on southeastward from Áko; and Shónata took

up his abodesouthwest of Áko.

Every fifth year about the first of August occurs a ceremony of the Corn clans in which these Hákañi ("fire") Kátsina are impersonated. The chief of the Corn clan summons all the people of his clan and of the Blue, Red, White, and Yellow Corn clans, to make plans for the ceremony. The war-chief has nothing to do with initiating this rite, but as it progresses he gives his help. It therefore seems to be a ceremony brought in by alien clans, one which, when first performed at Acoma, was unfamiliar to the war-chief.

The usual purification by vomiting takes place, and even children of the Corn clans, that is, children of Corn men, as well as the husbands of Corn women, participate throughout the rites. Continence is strictly enjoined. On the fourth day four young boys are sent for prayer-stick wood, and prayer-sticks are made in Corn House. This apartment is occupied as a residence, but not necessarily by the Corn chief. It is, however, regarded as clan property, and when it is to be repaired all Corn people must assist. After making the prayer-sticks, they prepare the masks of the Fire Kátsina.

Those who are to perform as Kátsina depart about midnight of the fourth day, proceeding at such a pace as to reach their respective stations shortly before dawn. A little boy, Shorácha, accompanied by fifteen to twenty men, goes a few miles westward. Two young men, the blind Kôpát[a] and his wife, go ten or twelve miles southeastward, two Shumá'ska about the same distance northward, and two Shónata several miles southwestward. Arriving at their stations, each party except that of Shorácha kindles a fire by means of a drill; and having descried these signals, Shorácha and his party proceed several miles farther westward to a spring, where they fill a small jug and kindle a signal fire. They return to their first station, stopping frequently to light fires by means of a smoldering mass of shredded juniper-bark carried in a roll of bark. They move slowly, in order to give the others sufficient time to arrive at the rendezvous from their more distant locations. These others also build fires along the way.

Shortly before noon all the Kátsina assemble where Shorácha is waiting with his party, guarding the masks which some of the Corn women, barefoot, have brought thither early in the morning. Returning from the journey, the women sometimes weep with the pain of blistered feet. The actors put on the masks and dance in the plain,

where they can be seen from the pueblo.

After a long dance the Kátsina start toward the mesa, bearing melons, beans, and perhaps peaches if any are nearly ripe, to present to the Corn people. Shorácha carries a few rabbits and has a small stick of charred wood protecting from the water-jar on his back. Arriving in the village they dance in eight places, and at each place the boy Shorácha starts a fire from his torch, shaking and blowing the ember to life. This usually takes a long time, but the dance may not begin before the fire burns. Everything is done very deliberately. After they leave a place the women of adjacent houses run out to secure fire from this lucky source. Finally they dance at the home of the Shorácha personator, the ninth dance, and all the Corn women come out to receive their presents of fruits and fire from the Kátsina. They remove all the clothing of the dancers except their loincloths and masks, and take the torches from their hands, and the actors depart; and southwest of the village, behind the cliff, they remove their masks and dress themselves. It is now midafternoon, and they have had neither food nor water since midnight. They are said to suffer considerably, and the little boy sometimes becomes so faint that he must be led by the hand.

In addition to the idea, ever present in Pueblo ceremonial, of exerting a beneficent influence on crops and health, this rite of the Corn clans is performed for the specific purpose of supplying lucky new fire to the households of the village.

Ceremonial Battle with the Kátsina

About the middle of February in each fifth year occurs a mock battle in memory of the mythic conflict with the Kátsina at Káshká*ts*uty[a]. A celebration took place in 1923.

When the time approaches, Antelope Person notifies the war-chief: "My son, you, a good man, have been appointed war-chief. Now, this year it is time to remind the people regarding the happenings at Káshká*ts*uty[a]. I want you to be a man, make prayers, and carry this on in such fashion that nothing bad will happen." The war-chief knows then that there is to be a battle with the Kátsina. He thanks Kûts-hano for this advice, goes to his officers and says, "We are going to have a hard time."

"Well," they respond, "we must do our best. We cannot refuse."

Next day he calls the two head-men of each kiva to Môharo and repeats the instructions of Antelope Person. Though he says nothing about fighting, speaking of "a good dance of the Kátsina," they understand him and respond, "All right, let us have a good dance of our Kátsina."

Then the war-chief publicly announces that the people must be ready, must make their stomachs and hearts clean for the time when the Kátsina will come eight days later. "Let us all wish to bring everything good to eat, and good luck, and good health."

On the second night the various kiva parties meet, and volunteers are sought for participation as the Kátsina warriors from Wéñimatsi. Once having performed in this capacity, a man is bound to continue from time to time; but the initial service is entirely voluntary. The Flint and Fire societies also meet in their own quarters for the same purpose, and the Ópi assemble in the room where the scalps are kept.[18]

As always happens before a ceremony, all the people vomit each morning for four days. The Kapína-ch!aiáñi, a warrior society, are notified to have Môharo ready, and on the third day they bring thither the effigies of Tsamáhiya and Yúmahiya and prepare a dry-painting and other ceremonial objects in their usual manner.

During the next two or three days those who are going to act as Kátsina are busy preparing their masks. In each kiva four headmen are charged with the duty of seeing that each mask is kept concealed from all except the man who will wear it. Thus, a man who is going to perform takes his brother or other close relative with him to the kiva and prepares his mask, wraps it up, and lays it aside. After they have gone out, but not before, another is admitted and he in the same way prepares his mask. The reason for this secrecy is said to be the fear that if an individual could be identified by his mask, a personal enemy might actually kill him in the fight. They try to make the masks look angry and fierce.

18 This is a room in the house of the Ópi-ch!aiáñi ("warrior shaman") chief, and is reserved for this special purpose of keeping the scalps and for the meetings of the scalpers' society. An Ópi was one who had killed and scalped an enemy, provided that the enemy fell against him, actually touching him. If the enemy were killed at a short distance, or even at close quarters and yet fell away from the killer, the latter did not become Ópi. About the year 1880 there was a membership of thirty-one.

On the fifth day all the performers go to Môharo and are whipped by the Kapína-ch!aiáñi, in order to acquire strength and good luck in the fight. There may be as many as a hundred men. They act fierce and gruff. While this is going on, two white-painted Kómaiyawashi appear in the village, going about and calling: "Now, friends, we are going to have a good time. We are going to have a good Kátsina dance."

They go into Môharo and urge the whippers to lay on heavily. It appears that they wish to start a quarrel. After a time they join in a dance, and they also are whipped. Then after all have been beaten, they seize the whips and say: "Now let us whip you. See how you like it. Why are you hurting these poor people?" And they whip the Kapína-ch!aiáñi. They kick at the objects on the floor, that is, the dry-painting and other ceremonial objects, and demand, "What are these foolish things?"

The Kapína-ch!aiañi protest: "You seem to be very rough. You seem to be wanting to fight."

"No, we are happy because we are going to have such a pleasant dance."

They go to the altar and roughly take the medicine-bowl and drink. They pick up various weapons of the Kapína-ch!aiáñi and say: "May we take these things? You do not need them. Perhaps we can kill a deer." These two are the scouts of the Kátsina, come to deceive the people as to the intent of the hostile spirits and if possible to deprive them of their weapons.

About this time two red-painted Kómaiyawashi appear in the village,the scouts of the friendly Kátsina who are "neighbors of Áko," with the information that the hostile Kátsina are coming tomorrow to fight, not to dance. In Môharo a dispute is in progress between the Kapína-ch!aiáñi and the white Kómaiyawashi over the weapons, and it ends in the latter being pushed up the ladder. They show great anger, and declare, "Tomorrow you will receive the best fruits." This is their ambiguous threat. When the red Kómaiyawashi appear on the scene, they are heard in conversation about two liars they have been tracking, two who have been deceiving the people with lies about the Kátsina coming to dance. They catch sight of the two white scouts on the roof of Môharo, and challenge them as being unfriendly; but the others deny the charge and show that they are not armed. Then they come down and, seeing the bows of the red scouts, exclaim: "Why,

those are fine bows! Let us see them." They take hold of the bows, the owners resist, and the bows are broken. Little by little the two pairs of Kómaiyawashi come to a quarrel and then to actual conflict, the red scouts retreating backward and the white — ones pressing them. They end by hurling stones at one another, and disappear from the village.

This night all the Ópi come to Môharo with all their scalps and costumes, including flints, bows, and arrows, to sing their war-songs. The Kapína society is still in charge at Môharo, and the Flint shamans also are present. If a member of either society happens to have become Ópi by scalping an enemy, he must on this occasion fraternize with the latter group; and if he has previously personated a Kátsina in the mock combat, he must again take part in that capacity instead of meeting with his society. In the course of the night the men who are going to play the part of hostile Kátsina come singing to Môharo, and one of them calls out the name ofone of the Ópi. When the latter comes forth, the other addresses him: "My dear father, the time is here for renewing the war and getting long life and benefit and good luck to the world, to the sun, to the moon. I will be one of the Kátsina from Wéñimatsi, and I depend on you. I wish you to be the one to get the best blood of my friend Kátsina, to give new life and strength to the world."

"Good, my son," replies the Ópi. "Be a man. Be brave and I hope it will come right. We will do the best we can on both sides."

All this means that the Kátsina performer wishes one of his friends to be the one to engage him in combat, and not one who is perhaps unfriendly to him, for the latter might, as if by accident, slash his throat. Therefore, when the fight occurs, the actor, who is masked and not recognizable tothe Ópi, will rush up to the one whom he has chosen and begin to fight.Each Ópi will thus accommodate several of his friends, for the Kátsina greatly outnumber the warriors.

While the Ópi are singing in Môharo, the men of the Antelope clan, and formerly of the now extinct Deer clan, and their grown male children (both the actual offspring of Antelope men and their godchildren in the whipping initiation) meet in the house of Antelope Person. These young men "children" of the clan have already brought from the mountains long wands of maple, oak, and willow, which they now paint and to which they attach feather *wapáñi' at* two points about equidistant from the ends and the middle. They also make prayer-

sticks. The Antelope men and their "children" meet again on the following morning, the day of the battle.

The following Kátsina are "friends" of the Antelope people and live at different places on the edge of the mesa: Máséewi and Uyúyewi at the east,two Kotyicháñisûme at the northwest, Ñéñeka at the west, two Kakwípeme at the south. These are the friends of the people because they are neighbors.

Among the hostile Kátsina of Wéñimatsi are three who deplore the conflict and try to prevent it: Ts!íts!ûnûts!, father of the Kátsina (there are two personators of this character in the drama), Kawáchkaiya ("long tongue"), and Tyaíts-kotyume ("piñon mountain-dweller"). From the five kivas there have been appointed eleven men to enact the parts of these friendly spirits.

Each man who is to play the role of a hostile Kátsina has killed the best sheep in his flock, and carefully cleaned a length of intestine and filled it with blood. This he will place around his neck, concealed beneath thefringe at the bottom of the mask, so that when the Ópi attacks him and pretends to cut his throat the blood will stream down over his body.

At various times during the night before the combat the two red Kómaiyawashi, scouts of the friendly Kátsina, return to the village, and uttering a long-drawn cry, a note of warning, they call: "We are now in danger, my dear people! Get everything in readiness. Tomorrow the Kátsina are coming to fight. There will be a great war!" They repeat the warning in various parts of the village and then come to Môharo to report: "These Kátsina are very angry with us. Let us get ready with bows and clubs and whatever we can use for defense." From inside Môharo the Kapína-ch!aiañi and the Flint shamans respond, "Yes, let us do our best."

About midnight each Kátsina actor goes home, and his wife or his mother prepares food for him to take along. Invariably the woman

weeps.[19]

From their homes the Kátsina personators go to their kivas and procure their masks. Usually two relatives or friends accompany each other for mutual assistance, just as if they were in an expedition of war. All proceed about two miles southwestward to a certain place on another mesa, where they conceal themselves behind a mass of rocks. It is perhaps two in the morning, and they lie down to sleep after eating their food.

In their several kivas the seven "neighbor" Kátsina are waiting, and at the proper time they go with their masks to dress in the different places where they are supposed to dwell. Just before dawn they appear on the edge of the mesa in various places, uttering the characteristic cry, "*Hu, hu, hu!*" and enter the village. At all the corners of the buildings they lean flint points and painted wands, to support the houses against the power of the enemy Kátsina. The people, old and young, come out on the housetops and beg the Kátsina for some of their medicine, which the latter hand to them, to make them brave. Then the masked figures go to Môharo.

On the previous day the governor has appointed some young men to stand guard in pairs at various places: at the foot of Enchanted mesa, on the top of Acoma mesa at the north side, on the west side at the head of the trail, and at other points of vantage. These guards now depart for their stations, where they collect piles of brush. If any American or Mexican appears, they light the brush and send up a column of smoke as a signal to the Kátsina of Wéñimatsi, who then await a second signal indicating that the intruders have been sent away.

Early in the morning the two white Kómaiyawashi, scouts of the enemy, appear, walking toward the village. The people take to the housetops to watch them. They arrive, and report: "All the Kátsina will be here this afternoon. They will bring fruits of all kinds and good

19 The informant, when a young boy, awoke one night and heard his father bidding goodbye to his mother, who was weeping. The father said "I hope I will come back safely, and we will see each other again." She repeated the sentiment. After his father was gone the boy asked, "Mother, why are you crying?"
"I am just crying."
"But what are you crying about?"
"Your father is going away to herd sheep at Acomita."

things to eat."

"We are glad to hear that," reply the elders. "We will be waiting for them."

They go on through the village and repeat their false news. In the plaza the war-chiefs are sitting, smoking. When the two scouts arrive there, and repeat their words, the first war-chief answers: "Good! We have our village clean, and we will be waiting. We will be glad to have their presents. It is well if it be so. Here is a cigarette. Smoke."

"No, we will not smoke. Smoking makes a man lazy. We would not be good runners."

"Why not? All Kómaiyawashi like to smoke."

"Not we. We are runners. Smoking would make our knees and backs ache."

Still the war-chief urges them to smoke: "Come, my friend, let us take a smoke. It is a good way to call the Shíwanna [cloud Kátsina]."

"Well, I am Shíwanna myself. I myself can make rain. But we came to tell you that the Kátsina will be here this afternoon." They continue to refuse to smoke: "We are hunters." They draw their bows and point arrows at the war-chiefs. "We can shoot any kind of game."

"But do not shoot us!"

"We are only showing you how we shoot game. We are your friends who have come with good news, for you have always treated us kindly."

Then the two red Kómaiyawashi appear and try to make the white ones smoke, but fail. They ask, "Is it true that the Kátsina are coming to fight?"

"No, no, you must not think such a thing. Did you not hear us say that they will bring presents? You must announce it to the people."

"No, we will not until you smoke. Then we will know it is true." But still refusing, the white scouts leave the war-chiefs.

The two pairs of Kómaiyawashi move about, and finally enter Môharo without asking permission. The Kapína-ch!aiáñi, the Flint society,and the Ópi, are still there. Again the white scouts refuse to smoke, and the red Kómaiyawashi declare: "These two are liars. Why are they telling you these things? The Kátsina are angry."

"No, they are practising nice songs to bring to this pueblo today." "No, they are angry; they are coming to destroy the village. Why are you carrying bows? Why do you not give them to us?"

"Why, we cannot do that. This is my bow for hunting. But I have many presents at home for you."

"What are you going to do with that club?"

"Oh, I can use this to kill a deer after I have shot him. Well, we must go now. If you do not believe the message I have brought from the Kátsina, do as you please. If you are not going to await them, do as you please." They go out, and the red pair follow them wherever they go in the village and even out into the open country on the mesa. At a small hillock within sight of the village they engage in a quarrel, each white against a red Kómaiyawashi. Suddenly the two white ones run to a clump of small trees, and each seizes a tree (previously cut off and propped up) and wields it on the head and body of his opponent. The red Kómaiyawashi fall to the ground, and the others run away to the place where the Kátsina are waiting. The red Kómaiyawashi stagger to their feet and return to the village. The watching people whisper to one another: "Oh, they are nearly killed! It is a bad fight. Those white Kómaiyawashi are strong."

Meantime at intervals during the morning the seven "neighbor" Kátsina emerge from Môharo and go about strengthening the buildings and the ladders, and distributing medicine.

About the middle of the morning the two white Kómaiyawashi return and repeat their actions as before. In the plaza they again refuse to smoke, and the war-chiefs offer them food. They demur that they have had breakfast.

"Take some food home," urges the war-chief.

"Oh, there is abundant food at home. Why should we take it from here?" To every suggestion of eating and smoking they make objection. They sit down, and one says, "Why, that tobacco smells good."

"Why not smoke, then?"

"Oh, the smell is just as good as the smoke." Finally, however, one of them tries it. "That is good. Come, brother, smoke." They both smoke, and one says: "What are we going to do when we return? The Kátsina will smell this smoke." The other replies, "Oh, we can beat those Kátsina."

Now the women, in response to a message from the war-chief, bring food, and the war-chief says, "Take a bag of tobacco for the Kátsina."

"Oh, they do not want tobacco."

"Yes, take some, so that they will not be angry with you."

"Why do you keep talking about the Kátsina being angry? Did you not hear us say that they are coming with good hearts and with presents?" After a time the scouts go away with bundles of food, which the two red Kómaiyawashi offer to carry. They whisper to the war-chief that now they will get the better of the white Kómaiyawashi, for their strength must have departed since they ate food and smoked. They carry the bundles a short distance, and then the white Kómaiyawashi take the food to the place where the Kátsina performers are waiting.

About noon the white scouts come again to the plaza and announce that the Kátsina will soon appear. This time they do not smoke. They report: "This food and tobacco you sent the Kátsina, they did not use. It smells bad to them. They have their own food and tobacco. Yours is not good. Your mouths smell bad, your knees ache, your backs hurt from your tobacco."

When the war-chief offers them a cigarette they strike it aside, and when he tries to touch them in a friendly manner they push him away, saying: "No, no, do not touch us! You are trying to put some medicine on me, so that I will not be a good hunter, so that I cannot run fast. We must keep away from this place, so that nobody can put anything bad on us." They go to Môharo, and looking about at the weapons piled there around the altar of the Kapína-ch!aiáñi, they inquire: "What are all these bows and arrows and clubs? What are you going to do? Are you going to have a war?"

"You carry bows," they are reminded.

"Yes, we are hunters."

The Ópi try to take away their bows, and are resisted. The Kómaiyawashi will not let anybody touch their bodies. After a time the Ópi rush upon them and take away the bows by force, and even break the weapons. The Kómaiyawashi resist, and after a lively scuffle the two scouts run up the ladder and down into the street with the red scouts in pursuit. The latter throw down the outer ladder while the others are still on it, and then leap after them and give chase. The white scouts stop occasionally and throw stones back at the red ones, and finally run to the place where the Kátsina are waiting with masks on and bodies painted entirely white. They wear blue loin-cloths. The Kómaiyawashi approach in haste and give the war-cry, and the Kátsina start up in

excitement. "See how these people have treated us! Let us destroy the houses and kill the people!" The Kátsina scatter in bands here and there over the mesa, still unseen by the people. The two personators of Ts!íts!ûnûts!, as well as Long Tongue and Piñon Mountain-dweller, remain near the place where they have been waiting. The personators of the hostile Kátsina are now uttering prayers and offering meal to the spirit Kátsina, asking their assistance. They adjust the masks, give the Kátsina cry, and immediately rush wildly hither and thither. They break off saplings for clubs, and in small groups they run toward the pueblo, gradually coming together in a single group. They usually number at least a hundred. But Ts!íts!ûnûts!! and his companions, at an open place where the others must pass, scratch a deep line in the ground with flints, and when the Kátsina arrive there they stop and turn back and run about, unable to pass over the line. While they are thus engaged, Ts!íts!ûnûts!! and the others with him obliterate the mark and run forward a short distance and make another mark. The Kátsina rush ahead, but are stopped by the new line and by Ts!íts!ûnûts!! and his companions, who stand there, each with a long wand raised horizontally. Thus the friendly spirits stop them a number of times, but when the last mark has been obliterated, the enemy swarm across and make for the village in a wild mob, crying *"Hu, hu, hu!"* with thin, high-pitched voices.

Meanwhile in their house all the Antelope men and women and the "children" of the clan have prepared themselves, the men by painting the body red[20] and the lower half of the face brown, the women by painting the arms red and the face with two brown lines across each cheek. Powdered manganite is dusted over the face paint. The men wear moccasins and blue loin-cloths, the women mantas and leggings. Each person has a long, red wand, *yápi*, with two *wapáñi* dangling from it.

The Antelope people file out of their house, and in an open space outside the village, south of a large waterhole and west of the church, they stand in line, shoulder to shoulder, men in front and women behind, all facing south, the direction from which the Kátsina are ap-

20 The red is made by chewing dry corn-husk, spitting the mass on pulverized gypsum, and adding certain masticated berries, which produces a viscous mass. The color is maroon, like that of ripe Opuntia fruit. The men are not armed.

proaching, and pray. Some young men, "children of the clan," and Antelope Person himself with his assistant, descend from the mesa at the south end and await the coming of the Kátsina. When they arrive, Antelope Person deprives them of their heavy clubs and forces into their hands lighter sticks and wands; for if they were permitted to carry these heavy cudgels many persons might be injured.

Meantime during the morning four men, who perform this service whenever the mock battle occurs, have brought out four untanned oxhides cut square and punched with round holes at convenient intervals along the edge, and have lashed them with thongs to a framework consisting of four vertical and two horizontal poles. To the projecting tips of the four uprights are lashed the tips of four sloping poles, which are used to brace this *ichûñi* ("wall") against the assault of the enemy. While they work at this, the seven "neighbor" Kátsina from time to time come and lay flint points on it to make it strong.

From below, as soon as light sticks have been substituted for the heavy cudgels, the Kátsina rush up the trail at the south end of the mesa. Antelope Person and the others with him run up by another path and join the other Antelopes, and all the men of the clan, and the "neighbor" Kátsina, stand in an arc of a circle, holding up their wands and praying, and the Kátsina run hither and thither like wild animals held in check by a barrier. If any Kátsina should break one of the wands in trying to get through, the other Kátsina would beat him. Now Ts!íts!ûnûts! and his companions address the Antelopes and the other people: "My dear fathers and friends, we are in great danger. My dear sons will not obey me. I try to keep them from fighting against you. Now do your best to hold them back. Let us get the better of them by your power." He then leaves the Antelopes to hold back the Kátsina, and runs with his companions to *ichûñi*, which has been raised and now stands like a wall. He presses his hands against it from behind, and with bowed heads he and his companions pray for some little time.

The Ópi meanwhile have come trooping out of Môharo, and gather behind *ichûñi*, as if defending a wall. Like Máséewi, the war-chief, they have the torso and the legs below the knee black, the face black with a horizontal white streak below the mouth from ear to ear and with two vertical lines made by removing the white paint with the scratch of a finger. Fine white eagle-down is stuck on the hair and the forehead by means of an adhesive vegetal substance. The thighs are

white, the lower part of the legs is black. They wear moccasins and fringed deerskin kilts having tin rattlers on the ends of the fringe and having snakes, eagles, frogs, or hawks painted in white. A sheathed flint knife is worn in the belt. Across the right shoulder is a baldric, to which are fastened numerous flints and shells, and this supports at the left side a bag made of some article of apparel taken from a slain enemy. This is not a practical bag; it has no opening, and is said to contain the soul of the enemy from whom it was taken. Nobody but the owner himself may touch it, except that in certain Kátsina dances a performer wears one of these bags, which is put on him and taken off bythe Ópi himself. A deerskin cap, either skull-shape or with two peaksrepresenting mountains and indicating that the Ópi is a hardened man capable of arduous travel among the mountains, completes the striking costume of the scalpers.

The Antelope men and the friendly "neighbor" Kátsina now retreat to the line of the Antelope women, and again hold up their wands along with the females, who however soon run back and form another curving line from *ichûñi* to the adjacent house wall on either side. Ts!íts!ûnûts! and his companions now stand slightly behind and at one side of *ichûñi*. After holding the second line of defense for a time, the Antelope men quickly run back and stand in line again with the women, and the Kátsina pursue them, some of them dashing straight across the waterhole. All this time the four men who made ichûñi stand behind it, grasping the four braces. After defending this line for a time, the Antelope men spread their ranks somewhat so as to protect the space occupied by the shield, and the fourmen in charge, assisted by some young Antelope men and by the Ópi, carry it back through an opening in the second line of houses and set it up again. Thereupon the Antelopes retreat again and form their lines in the new location. From there the wall is carried to the plaza, and the Antelopes retreat once more and stand in lines which fill the gaps between *ichûñi* land the adjacent houses, and also a gap between two tiers of houses. The enemy Kátsina pursue them into the open space, the friendly Kátsina follow the enemy and stand in a line so as to block the entrance behind them in order that they may not escape and leap over the cliff; for if this should happen, the escaped individual would at once become a spirit, an actual Kátsina. At once the Ópi rush forward from behind *ichûñi* and engage in battle with the hostile Kátsina, while the two

white Kómaiyawashi run from group to group encouraging the Kátsina. Each Kátsina who has arrangedwith an Ópi to be "killed" at this place rushes to him, and the Ópi wrestles with him, throws him to the ground, kneels on his chest, draws his flint knife, grasps for the throat, and bursts the blood-filled gut. He quickly smears his hands and knife with blood, so as to make it appear that he has actually thrust his knife into the throat of the Kátsina.

Not all the Kátsina are "killed" here, and the Ópi withdraw behind *ichûñi,* while the Antelopes still stand in line, holding up their wands and praying.

Now various Kátsina suddenly become aware that their companions are missing. Finding them prostrate, they encourage them to rise, and after some time and with a great deal of assistance the "slain" warriors rise one by one, staggering and crying. The women on the housetops wail and weep with great sincerity. *Ichûñi* is now moved again, the battle is resumed, and more Kátsina are "killed." The masked warriors by this time are furious. When one of them raises his hand and discovers himself to be all bloody, he rages. The wall is erected five times in all, each time in a space where not more than three or four lines of defenders can guard every exit; and some of the enemy are killed in each place until all have been laid low. At the fifth place of combat the two white Kómaiyawashi, stillunharmed, attack the Antelopes and the Ópi more fiercely than ever, all the time reviling the fighting ability of the Kátsina. The Ópi finally seize them, throw them down, and pretend to castrate them, bursting a piece of gut concealed under the loin-cloth.

The Kátsina now simulate great sadness, some crying, others standing with bowed heads, or sitting as if exhausted, or supporting their weary companions. An Antelope man is then sent to Antelope House for a basket of prayer-sticks, which he sets on the ground, and each Antelope takes up the bundle of sticks made by himself and presents it to one of the Kátsina. At the same time other individuals come down from the houses with prayer-sticks they have made, each person with one bundle of four sticks, and gives them to the masked warriors, including the friendly ones. One Kátsina may receive a large number of bundles, but each must receive at least one. In presenting the sticks, each person says: "Now, we have been having a hard time, but let us forget it. Let us have good thoughts. We are sorry. But we will need

your help in the future, and we hope you will not be angry with us."

The Kómaiyawashi respond: "My sons, we are beaten. We are not good at fighting, but we did our best. Let these people have their strength." They depart sadly with the Kátsina, no longer uttering their "*Hu, hu, hu!*" The people, though victorious, are depressed.

Ichûñi is laid down, and the four men take it apart. The villagers return to their homes, the Ópi go back to Môharo and resume their ordinary garments and go home, the Kapína-ch!aiáñi and the Flint shamans dismantle their altars, and soon Môharo is deserted. It is now evening.

For a period of one month after the battle the Kátsina in Wéñimatsi are supposed to be dead. During this time the people must not speak of them nor sing any Kátsina song. At the end of the month the war-chiefs inform the populace that they must make prayer-sticks for the Kátsina. At night the women of every household place food outside the door, and in the morning when the young children find it and inform their parents, they are told that the Kátsina must have come to life again, for "these are presents from them."

It is sometimes said that men are actually killed in the mock battle of the Kátsina. The informant has observed the battle four times, but has seen nobody killed. He once saw a man carried from place to place as the fight progressed, as if he were dead or seriously injured. The masked warrior was carried out of the village, but later returned unharmed. The parents of this informant however have told him of specific instances of men being actually stain, and buried away from the village. Such killings were the result, they said, of personal enmity over women, or were a form of punishment by the shamans for disbelief in their practices. At a certain place on the way to attack the village the Kátsina must leap across a profound crevice about four feet wide. With their vision cut off at the sides by their masks, two men once collided in the air and fell to their death at the bottom. On another occasion a dislodged bowlder rolled down the steep trail and killed a man.

Kópishtaia Ceremony at the Winter Solstice

Koámishûk[u] ("south corner") is the season of the winter solstice. The war-chief, informed by Kûts-hano, the cacique, that the solstice is approaching, notifies the populace that the time is at hand for the coming of the Kópishtaia.[21] These are the Kátsina who, not wishing to fight the people at Káshká*ts*uty[a], as related in the origin myth, changed their nature and went away to the southeast. The people who settled on Katsíma, the Enchanted Mesa, also suddenly in the night changed into Kópishtaia and joined the others.

The members of each kiva meet on the night of the day when the war-chief makes his announcement, and certain men volunteer to perform as Kópishtaia, in the belief that they will thus have good crops and health for themselves and their families during the coming year. On the fourth day begins the usual quadriduum of purification by vomiting, sleeping in the kiva, and refraining from meat, salt, and cohabitation. This is obligatory on all members of the kivas, that is, on all men of the pueblo. The first and the second day they go about their ordinary affairs, but the third day they spend in the kivas, where the masks are brought out, and those that will be used are cleaned, while the others are returned to their inner room. These are the same masks that are used by personators of the Kátsina.

On the second or the third day the two societies of shamans set up their altars, and these remain in place four days. The shamans are going to "dress the sun." On the fourth night the Fire society sing in their lodge-room, and the Flint society in Môharo, where Kûts-hano is in charge. All the dancers, having already prepared their prayer-sticks in bundles of four each, attend one or another of these "sings," while a few men remain in the kivas to guard the masks. The shamans give a brief version of the general healing ceremony, brushing off disease from the spectators. This ends about two in the morning, and the dancers go back to their kivas.

Immediately the dancers begin to paint with the assistance of fellow kiva members. Some paint all black, some all white, some have the symmetrical halves of the body of two different colors. A certain

21 Actually the ceremony occurs at the end of November, several weeks before the solstice.

root is chewed, the viscous liquid is smeared on the body, and short turkey-feathers are thus stuck to the skin here and there four or five inches apart for the professed purpose of protection from cold. Except for their paint and feathers the Kópishtaia go naked.

Such shamans as are going to represent Kópishtaia either return after the singing and the healing ceremony to their respective kivas to paint and put on their masks, or they have brought their masks to the inner room of their society quarters, and after the others have been dismissed they bring out the masks and prepare themselves.

About three o'clock in the morning or a little later the performers go out carrying their masks wrapped in blankets. They wear moccasins, loincloths, and black blankets, the last so that if anyone should be abroad they will not be easily seen. The various kiva groups and the two shaman groups (that is, Flint men who are going to perform as Kópishtaia and have dressed in Môharo, and Fire men who have dressed in Hákañi lodge-room) go separately to different places in the valley, some north, some south, others at all points between in the eastern half of the horizon. Novices are assigned to elder men for instruction, and call them father. Very young children perform as Kópishtaia, for this service is held to mean very good luck and long life.[22] Sometimes children of five or six years are painted as Kópishtaia, and at the edge of the mesa where the people congregate waiting for the Kópishtaia they sit concealed under a blanket beneath their fathers' knees. When the maskers appear they run out and join them without being noted, and it appears that they have come from below with the Kópishtaia.[23]

After the head-man of each group has prayed, and all have buried their prayer-sticks, the Kópishtaia start toward the village. Soon they pull down their masks and run swiftly, — partly because of the extreme cold, — shouting wildly, singing war-songs. They go in pairs, "father" and son, running toward the village in sinistral circles. Thus

22 The informant at the age of seven or eight years was kicked in the head by a horse, and was expected to die. In fact they were about to prepare him for burial when he recovered consciousness. His father about four months later made him join in the Kópishtaia ceremony, and the lightning-lines on the mask were held in brief contact with the depression in his skull in order to cure him.

23 A good instance of the prevailing inconsistency of Indian rules. Young children are not supposed to know that masked performers are only humans.

parties of Kópishtaia, numbering perhaps sixty to seventy in all, are seen approaching the village from all directions visible from the east end of the mesa. There the people congregate, each individual holding a bundle of prayer-sticks and praying very rapidly: "This is the last day when the sun rises on the south side of the world. May you, Sun, turn around and come back, and give us long life. We wish to have good luck with our crops and game. We wish not to have sickness. Let us have plenty of rain." They cast their prayer-sticks over the edge of the cliff into various crevices. When the Kópishtaia reach the foot of the mesa, the war-chief orders the people back from the edge of the cliff: for the Kópishtaia still wear blankets to protect them from the cold, and the people must not see them in this condition. The sun is still below the horizon.

The Kópishtaia come up to the mesa on the south side. On the way up, and whenever on the top they come to a place where a point of rock projects, they address the rock, imploring it to stand firm and not fall down. They lean flint arrow-points under such rocks to support them. At the edge of the cliff where the people cannot see them is piled a quantity of green boughs of various kinds, stalks of Opuntia cactus with the thorns carefully removed from one side of the pads, cornstalks with ripe ears cut at harvest time, buried in moist sand, and now dug up and soaked, with the result that they appear to be freshly plucked. Here the Kópishtaia stop, remove their blankets, moccasins, and loin-cloths, and take up some of the green stalks, carrying them on the back over the shoulder. The head-men of the kivas are there to see that everything is in order, that nothing shall give the children a clue to the human character of the Kópishtaia. The war-chief inquires if all are ready, and when they assent he directs them to proceed.

Either the Kapína-ch!aiáñi chief or, if he is performing as Kópishtaia, the Flint chief, leads them into and through the village. This leader wears a single feather on the head, ordinary cotton drawers, a cotton shirt, a white manta, and a woman's belt. They proceed walking in single file through the village, uttering high, yelping cries, and east of the pueblo they thrust their green stalks upright in a crack in the rock. Afterward the war-chiefs come and set them more firmly in place. The people are all grouped at one side of the plaza.

Some of the Kópishtaia have live rabbits concealed in the fox-skin bags which they all carry, and now secretly one by one they take

them out and set them on the ground. These rabbits have cattail-down pressed over their eyes, so that, unable to see, they sit quietly, probably thinking themselves concealed. A Kópishtaia takes a handful of corn or other seeds and hurls it at a rabbit, which, startled, leaps away, and the down scatters in the air, floating like the summer clouds that are so much desired. Those who do not understand the nature of this trick think that when the Kópishtaia hurls seeds on the ground a rabbit leaps out of the earth.

Again, a child Kópishtaia lies on the ground above a narrow crack in the rock, concealed by the blanket of a man sitting there and watching the performers. The "father" of the young Kópishtaia comes up, throws cattail-down on the ground near the man, then reaches down and lifts up the little Kópishtaia, making it appear that he pulled him out of the narrow crack.

Meantime the Kópishtaia have been scattering seeds from their fox-skin bags, which the people eagerly collect and save for the spring planting to bring good luck to all their crops. Finally the leader takes them to the south side of the houses, the people still following, and the kiva chiefs come and call, "Come this way!" Each group follows its kiva father, still scattering seeds, and disappears into the ceremonial chamber. It is now about an hour after sunrise.

In the kivas they remove their masks, placing them on the east side of the room in a row, which, if there are many performers, extends around on the north. They take off their feathers, pile them on the floor, and put on their ordinary clothing over the paint. Some females of each individual's paternal clan (the individual being called the child of his father's clan) now come to the kivas, and standing outside call: "Is so-and-so here? He is wanted." The man thus named goes out, and the women lead their clan child to their home. They take him into a private room, undress him, wash his hair with yucca-root, pour water over his body, wash him thoroughly with their hands from head to foot, dry and clothe him. Then they lead him out, and everybody in the house lays hands on him and thanks him, expressing gratitude that he has come back safely. Even little children do this, but they are given to understand that the man has been absent herding sheep or hunting: for the fact that the Kópishtaia are represented by human actors is concealed. After breakfast the mother of the family gives him a few ears of roasted, dried corn, which he takes home, where his relatives

embrace him and thank him.

After a short time he returns to his kiva, where his mask, which he habitually calls *sókiñi* ("my friend"), is waiting for a smoke. He lights a cigarette and places it in the small mouth of the mask, saying: "Now, I give you a smoke. Give me good luck and long life. Do not be angry that I have been absent a little while."

Each day the female relatives of the actors and of the other kiva members bring food to the ceremonial chambers. The head-man places all the dishes and packages of food in front of the masks, gives thanks, and offers it all to the Kópishtaia. Then the individuals take a bit of food of each kind and lay the morsels before the masks, each actor thus feeding his own "friend." This continues during four days. At frequent intervals they pray to the masks and give them cigarettes. Before leaving the kiva for any purpose a Kópishtaia actor offers a bit of meal to his mask, saying: "Now, my friend, I am going out for a short time. Please excuse me. You must not think I am a bad man. I will not leave you long." On returning he offers meal again and says: "Here I am again, my friend. Thank you, that you have not been angry."

On the second, the third, and the fourth day the members of the five kivas may dance Kátsina if they will. In all the kivas on any day, but usually in two on one day and two others another day, this may occur. The Kópishtaia performers and the other members participate, the former with their Kópishtaia masks, the latter as the Kátsina pertaining to that particular kiva, or, what is more favored at this time, as "mixed Kátsina," various kinds of animals, as well as Ts!íts!ûnûts!, Héya, and others, being represented. A given group dances only once a day.

On the fourth night some of the Kópishtaia go to the Fire society house and dance a song or two before the assembled populace, and then to Môharo, the Flint quarters. They scatter seeds and depart, and a little later another group from another kiva appears. With the conclusion of this phase of the ceremony, the two societies dismantle their altars.

Shortly after midnight the war-chiefs go from one kiva to another and call through the ventilating opening in the wall: "Be ready! It is time to go!" The Kópishtaia place in bags the food and cigarettes they have been offering to their "friends," take up the masks, and climb out of the kiva. Those who brought green stalks and branches and

planted them in the crack in the rock go to that place, pull them up, and carry them away. (During the preceding four days the people have been visiting this spot to break off bits of the stalks and boughs, which they boil to make liquid for vomiting and for symbolically bathing the body.) Departing from the village, the Kópishtaia either carry the masks wrapped in blankets, or, if their hands are fully occupied with the bundles of prayer-sticks they have been making, they wear them on the head. They go to the east side of the mesa, uttering their cries, and throw over the side the food, the green things, and the prayer-sticks, after which they return quietly to their kivas, remove the feathers from the masks, put everything away, and sleep. With their fellow members they remain eight more nights in the kivas, during which time they must practise strict continence.

Ceremony of the Kapína-ch!aiáñi

The Kapína-ch!aiáñi[24] formed a society the function of which was not to cure sickness, but to impart courage to warriors, luck to hunters, strength to runners, and health to all. With the assistance of members of the two societies of shamans the sole surviving member still performs a winter ceremony for the purpose of ridding the people of the bad luck that would otherwise result from any evil-doing of which they have been guilty during the year.

Observing the sun about the middle of January after the newly appointed war-chiefs have completed their prayers, Kûts-hano, the cacique, notifies the principal war-chief that it is time for the Kapína ch!aiáñi to have their rites; and that officer notifies the Kapína chief, and then publicly announces that in four days the Kapína-ch!aiáñi will begin.

On the third day the Kapína chief and his fellow members bring from the room in which they are kept the two effigies called Tsamáhiya and Yúmahiya. The two personages bearing these names were defenders of the people in legendary times, warriors who could overcome anything and could see events taking place at a great distance. They are referred to as *hayétsi-ha*ts*atsai* ("drill men"), because of their courage

24 Kapína is said to mean "glutton," but, if so, the allusion is not clear.

and "sharpness." The effigy representing Tsamáhiya[25] is about eighteen inches in diameter at the base and six feet tall. The base is covered with cotton webbing of coarse cord, and above this, in front, is a space covered with blue feathers, the face of the image. The remainder of the surface is a mass of upright feathers, especially the long feathers of eagles and hawks. Yúmahiya is about four feet high, but otherwise is just like Tsamáhiya. Whenever a man kills an eagle, a hawk, a duck, or any other large bird, he keeps the long feathers, and before starting on a hunt (or formerly on a fighting expedition) he goes to the Kapína house and with his own hands thrusts the quill ends of some of his feathers among those already covering the two effigies. The vanes of the older feathers become in time totally destroyed by moths, but a quill is never removed. In consequence the effigies are masses of quills and feathers.

The room in which the images are kept, though a part of the Kapína chief's house, is not occupied as a residence, and daily he gives water and food to the effigies and sweeps out the room if necessary.

When the Kapína chief now enters the room, he addresses the effigies, "It is time for you to help us strengthen the people." He makes a trail of meal out through the door, and the images are lifted up and carried out by his helpers, who march through the plaza and around to Môharo. The war-chiefs are on guard outside and on the roof.

In the ceremonial chamber the two effigies are set on the floor a

25 A Laguna informant suggests *tsáma,* nearly dark, dusky; *tsamáhiya,* carrying darkness, full of darkness. Stone figures representing these two characters were a part of the Laguna Sun shamans' altar, which by the use of colored sand and meal was made as bright as possible in the centre, but shaded off to black at the sides where the images stood.
Tsamáhiya is the title of the asperger in the Hopi Snake ceremony, and the character is mentioned in certain Snake songs of that tribe in the Keres language. See Volume XII, pages 77, 78, 143. It is plain that the Hopi Snake ceremony was greatly influenced by Keres custom, and perhaps it was actually introduced by Keres accretions of the Hopi population. Except for the suspected harboring and veneration of rattlesnakes at some of the Keres pueblos, and the ceremony for curing snakebite, the serpent cult is defunct in this family; at least there is nothing like the partially public ceremony of the Hopi. But the cult was an ancient Keres institution, for Espejo in 1583 saw a ceremony at Acoma in which the dancers performed many juggling feats, some of them very clever, with live snakes."

short distance from the north wall, facing the centre, Tsamáhiya being at the left of Yúmahiya. In front of them is a rectangular medicine-bowl, and scattered here and there about them are numerous flints. The ladder rests on the floor near the fireplace, about midway between the centre of the room and the south wall. Between the foot of the ladder and the west wall lies a device made of yucca leaves tied together in such a way as to form a hollow square, from which an approximately semicircular trail of sand leads to a corresponding point near the opposite wall, the middle of the trail lying a short distance in front of the warrior effigies. The head of the trail is flanked by two triangular patches of colored sand, usually but not necessarily blue and green respectively; and on the first half of the trail, as also on the second half, lie four crosses of yucca leaves.[26] At its middle point, on the concave side, is a square figure representing the world and its difficult trails, of white sand mingled with green, with an inscribed brown square and two brown diagonal lines from opposite angles. At the end of the curving trail stands a Kapína-ch!aiáñi holding an entire yucca plant (*Yucca baccata*) with small feathers attached to the tips of the leaves. Two members of the society stand on opposite sides of the yucca-leaf square, most of the others sit in a row along the north wall behind the two effigies. Midway between the fireplace and the sand figure of the world, about the centre of the room, is a dance-plank.

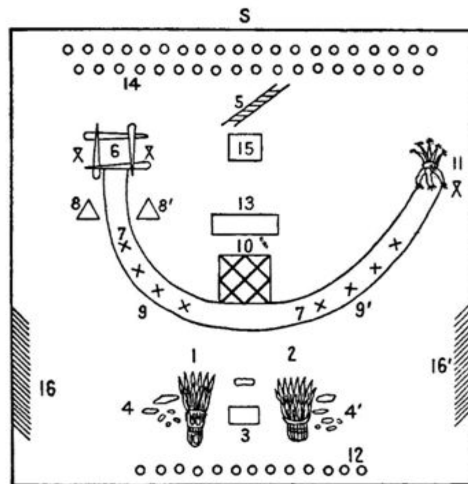
Throughout the third day such men as intend to do penance, and some women, such as are going to confess that they have had illicit relations with men, are preparing prayer-sticks and feathers, and washing their hair and their bodies; and about nine o'clock on the fourth morning all these come straight from their homes to Môharo, the men wearing only moccasins and loin-cloths and bearing prayer-sticks, feathers, guns, bows, arrows, quivers, rabbit-sticks, and lances. As the

26 The cross is a symbol peculiar to warriors, suggestive, perhaps, of a wound. One is here reminded of the reference by Castañeda to prayer-sticks seen at Acoma in 1540, which led the chronicler to suppose that their occurrence was due to Christian influence. "They venerate the sign of the cross in the region where the settlements have high houses [the pueblos], for at a spring which was in the plain at Acuco [Acoma] they had a cross two palms high and as thick as a finger, made of wood with a square twig for its crosspiece, and many little sticks decorated with feathers around it, and numerous withered flowers, which were the offerings." Winship in *Fourteenth Report Bureau of Ethnology,* pt. 2, page 544, 1896.

men come down the ladder, a Kapína-ch!aiáñi takes the weapons from each in turn and leans them against the wall, or hangs them on the wall, or piles them in front of the warrior effigies. Each man in turn then throws off his blanket and removes his moccasins, and the Kapína chief approaches and extends two long eagle feathers, which the man grasps by the ends, and thus is led to the square of yucca-leaves. He steps inside the square, and the two Kapína-ch!aiáñi standing beside it raise it with four motions and bring it rapidly up over his head, and there make a gesture as if dumping it backward, thus removing and casting away all evil that may be on him. They drop the square back on the floor, ready for the next man.

The Kapína-ch!aiáñi who receives the first man leads him with his feathers along the sand trail between the two mountains. The man must step carefully on each of the four yucca crosses, and coming to the square sand figure with cross-lines representing the trails of the world he is led by a prescribed route along these lines. He then proffers a bunch of feathers and prayer-sticks, which a Kapína-ch!aiáñi thrusts among the others that adorn the two images. The penitent is led on to the next four crosses, and so to the Kapína-ch!aiáñi at the end of the trail, who spreads open the leaves of his yucca plant. The pilgrim expectorates among them, and the *ch!aiáñi* closes them. This means that if the man has any sickness, any great sorrow, any uncleanness of

1, Tsamáhiya.
2, Yúmahiya.
3, Rectangular medicine-bowl.
4, 4′, Flints (various weapons lie in front of the two effigies).
5, Ladder.
6, Two Kapína with square of yucca-leaves.
7, Sand trail.
8, Green mountain.
8′, Blue mountain.
9, 9′, Yucca-leaf crosses.
10, Sand figure representing the world (white mixed with green, trail lines brown).
11, Kapína with yucca plant, small feathers attached to tips of leaves.
12, Kapína singers.
13, Dance-plank.
14, Participants after their absolution.
15, Fireplace.
16, 16′, Weapons of participants.



Altar of the Kapína-ch!aiáñi

heart, it is here deposited and the Kapína-ch!aiáñi will dispose of it later. Singing by the *ch!aiáñi* sitting along the north wall behind the altar accompanies the entire proceedings.

As each man enters the room, he goes through the same course. As soon as a member of the society has led an individual along the trail to the final point, he returns to the foot of the ladder to receive another, and while he is thus engaged another member is leading another candidate for absolution. One by one the suppliants seat themselves along the southern wall. This continues perhaps until late in the afternoon.

At any time during this procedure there enter a number of Kómaiyawashi, who, having notified their kiva father that they wish to perform thus, and having receive his permission, have prepared their masks and gone to the customary place to dress. They come down the ladder in their usual talkative way, saying: "Oh, I am not afraid. I am strong, I am brave, I can run fast. Come, I will show you." They go through the same pilgrimage as the penitents, and then two station themselves beside the square of yucca-leaves and use it, while the two displaced Kapína-ch!aiáñi stand there and repeat the prayers, for of course the Kómaiyawashi do not know them. Others sit with the singers and join in the songs, all the time chattering and making fun. All others preserve a religious solemnity. The Kómaiyawashi are not long in one place, but keep moving restlessly about.

The women who take part in this ceremony are dressed in mantas. By their presence they confess that they have been unfaithful, which excites no adverse comment, because all the men are in the same category.

When all have been purified, the Kapína chief asperges the weapons with liquid from the medicine-bowl and returns them to their respective owners, after which his subordinates sweep up all the sand and leaves and other debris and pile it in a basket.

Then the leader rises and speaks: "My dear children, this is our custom to strengthen ourselves and to confess all our bad deeds, that we may be clean and hope not to do any more bad deeds. Let us look ahead for our good luck, to have a good year and to have luck for our children, long life for them and for our animals. Let us all wish for plenty of rain. We do not wish to look back on our past times, at what we have been doing. Let that be forgotten."

Then they resume their singing. Two Kapína-ch!aiáñi take their

places on the ends of the dance-plank with the war-chief between them, and the three dance in place, while the Kómaiyawashi circulate in their customary fashion. Each of these two dancers holds a tightly bound bundle of long yucca-leaves. At the abrupt ending of the song one of them strikes the war-chief a hard blow across the shoulders, the other across the shins. The song is repeated three times, and at each termination they strike the war-chief again, once across the back, the buttocks, and the calves, and once across the thighs, the abdomen, and the chest. The blows leave livid marks. The war-chief then goes to the singers and receives a small shellful of liquid from the medicine-bowl. Meantime the Kómaiyawashi are moving about, watching the whipping and encouraging the victim. Then in turn all the other officers are flogged, and thereafter all the individuals present themselves for penance. Each one after being whipped, except the war-chief, may depart if he desires, or may remain to see the others whipped.

By this time it is about dark, and the Kapína chief rises and calls the three war-chiefs before him and says: "My dear sons, you have new clothing.[27] This will strengthen your prayers to the end of the year. Now, my sons, if you wish to have great power, to be seers, you may be helped by this." Sometimes they refuse, or any one of them may refuse. If one of them assents, the Kapína chief mixes something in a shallow bowl of water, raises the bowl four times to Tsamáhiya and Yúmahiya, and gives it to the officer to drink. This medicine is called *ts!í*ts*ûñi*. A Kapína told the informant that it is snake excrement. After drinking it a man must remain in Môharo four days more, in which time nobody may so much as brush against him with a fingertip. Usually the elder war-chief drinks this medicine, and his two brother officers may come to sleep in Môha*r*o with him during his restriction, at which time also the Kapína men remain in the room with him. He goes out early in the morning and at midnight to pray. If he goes home for any reason, the members of his family must be very careful not to touch him.

Tsamáhiya and Yúmahiya are returned to their usual place the night after the flogging. About midnight the Kapína-ch!aiáñi take the yucca plant into which the penitents spat, as well as the sand and

27 The flogging of the officers is called "giving them a coat."

leaves in the basket, to the northern edge of the mesa and cast it over, saying, “This sickness and bad luck, may the sky rise and let them be thrown out.” The sky at the horizon is expected to rise, all this sickness and sorrow will be expelled from the world, and the sky will close down behind them. The witches, *kánatyaia,* are believed to live in the north, therefore they beseech these sorcerers, who are more powerful than ordinary humans, to help them by raising the sky.

Origin of Scalping and the Scalp-dance

After the people settled at Áko, Máséewi and Uyúyewi, the twin warriors, killed a Navaho woman. She was very ugly. They failed to kill her instantly, and she haunted them. They could not sleep. Every night she would come and pull at their hair. She would say, “Oh, my dear husband, I have come to sleep with you!” But she was repulsive. Growing thin and weak from lack of sleep, they fled to Wéñimatsi, yet still she troubled them. They went to the sunrise, but there she was. Then they decided to go and see if she were really dead. They found the body and cut off the scalp. They said, “We will dance, and for sixty days we will vomit and abstain from women.” They summoned the twelve O*sáts*[a]-paíyatyama (“sun youth”) to help them. These were the first Kasári.

Máséewi and Uyúyewi asked them to be the fun-makers, as well as the guards. During the four days preceding the dance nobody except the Sun Youths, not even Máséewi and Uyúyewi, was to make a cigarette. Four nights they practised singing and dancing. The Ka*sár*i brought one woman into the kiva the first night, two the second night, five the third, and three the fourth. These women danced singly with the elbows at the sides, hands level with the shoulders, turning this way and that, circling among the male dancers. The Sun Youths gave songs for the four directions, and there were songs from the various Kátsina: four each from Ts!íts!ûnûts!, Long Tongue, Piñon Mountain-dweller, and Máashty*ts*uai. The Sun Youths travelled instantaneously to far-distant places, in order to learn these new songs.

During these four days the scalp hung on a pole in the plaza. Around it the people were going to dance. The last night the Ka*sár*i made medicine and passed it around to all.

The next day eight women danced singly, then the scalp was taken down and Máséewi and Uyúyewi took charge of it. Thus they rid

themselves of the old Navaho woman's ghost.

Kasári Dance, a Sequel to the Scalp-dance to Lay the Ghost

In 1888 the Ópi, or scalpers, having been for some time inactive because there had been no fighting with the Navaho, the eight remaining scalpers met with Kûts-hano, the war-chiefs, the shamans, and the two head-men of each kiva, and proposed that they perform the scalp-dance, using an old scalp and pretending that it had been newly taken from a Navaho. The plan was approved, and all agreed to keep the secret.

When the appointed time came, all the people were warned to remain in the village, but they were not told the reason. In the night two Ópi secretly departed with the scalp, and about two miles from the pueblo they built a Navaho summer hogan, in which they hung the trophy. The following morning one of them came running into the village, shouting that the Navaho were attacking the shepherds. Immediately men armed themselves and set out, the women having hurriedly packed food for them.

Arriving at the place, they found the two Ópi shooting at the hogan, and they joined in the attack, giving the war-cry and firing their guns. The two Ópi ran to the hogan, and quickly came out brandishing the scalp. They threw it on an anthill, while the people stood apart and watched. One after the other the Ópi leaped across the scalp from each of the four directions. They threw it on a bunch of yucca-leaves and repeated this act.

The informant was herding sheep in the vicinity and came running, having heard the shooting and the war-cries, and believing that an enemy had really attacked some of his people. He stood in the crowd and saw what the Ópi were doing. With all except those in the secret he thought that a Navaho had really been killed, and not until the succeeding dance was ended did he become aware of the deception. The two Ópi ordered the men to build a camp, and when this was done the scalpers camped apart by themselves and the others in a group. They remained there all night, just like a returned war-party, singing the old scalp-songs, which the younger men now learned. That evening the second and the third war-chief were sent back to Acoma with the news for the war-chief himself, and two young men were

sent westward to bring Douglas spruce for the warriors to wear about their heads.

Arriving at the village, the two war-chiefs asked permission to enter, for they had a message for Máséewi. They told about the affair in detail, and Máséewi announced the news at various points in the village, instructing the women to bring food to his house, for the warriors would be coming tomorrow with a Navaho scalp.

During the night the Ópi gathered numerous cedar branches, and to each one they attached the ends of several separate hairs drawn from the scalp. In the morning the two messengers loaded their food on horses and went back to the camp.

The "war-party" started about the middle of the morning, walkingslowly and following the Ópi, one of whom carried the scalp on the tip of a pole, the other the cedar branches. All had their faces blackened, and spruce wreathes on the head with sprigs extending down over the eyes.Frequently the procession stopped, while the Ópi prayed and the men behind them sang. Late in the afternoon they approached the mesa, and thirty or forty young girls met them a short distance from its base. Each girl received a cedar branch with the Navaho hairs attached, and theyformed two lines, double file, with the Ópi side by side between the last two. In this fashion they all marched to the village, the warriors singing and the girls frequently uttering an ululating war-cry. At the foot of the mesa they met two shamans, who made a meal trail for them to follow, and as they passed the shamans each of these struck his two eagle-feathers together, scattering bad luck and remorse, so that all would be happy. A short distance farther on were two Shíwanna-ch!aiáñi ("cloud-god shamans," who treat wounds and lightning-stroke), and as the "warriors" passed, these pressed on their heads and shoulders with flints. The singing was continuous, and progress slow. At the top of the trail the people of the village were waiting, and when the "warriors" came up the women embraced them and followed them to the plaza. Kûts-hano, the cacique, and his Antelope clansmen and the war-chief led them from the edge of the mesa.

When the procession reached the top of the mesa, the character of the songs changed. The Ópi took the boughs from the girls and tied them to the pole, some near the top, others below, and another clump still lower. The scalp was at the very top. After taking the trophy to the church to be baptized by the sacristan, they proceeded through

the various streets to the plaza, and there made a hole in the ground and set up the pole. It was now dark, because progress was very slow, since they stopped frequently and prayed for as long as thirty to sixty minutes, while the singers continued their songs.

In the dance men and women performed around the pole in apromiscuous throng, among them the other six Ópi, who had not gone into the field. At any time a man was privileged to select any female and go aside with her to cohabit. She could not refuse. The women did not dance all night, but many of the men continued until sunrise, and the deputies of the war-chiefs kept bringing wood for the fire, taking two pieces from each house in turn. Those who danced all night were called coyotes.

About daylight they went to dance in front of the house of each Ópi, and the food and large packets of cigarettes brought out to them were taken back to the plaza, where the food and some of the cigarettes were consumed. The remaining cigarettes, a very large number, were divided among them to be kept for a later occasion. They left the dishes on the ground and dispersed to their homes. The scalp-pole remained in place four days. On the fourth night the Ópi took down the pole, removed the scalp and the hairs, and put them in their scalp-bag.

Two or three weeks after the scalp-dance the Ka*sár*i prepared to play their part. Having been inactive for some time, they were reduced in number, and it was decided to initiate young men in place of their deceased fathers who had been Ka*sár*i. They were in two parties, one of which met in Môharo, the other in the Fire society room.

A messenger came to the home of the informant, a youth of nineteen, announcing that he was to take his father's place. When he came home and heard this, he tried to avoid it, but the Ka*sár*i would not hear of it. He was the eldest son and must serve. That evening they came for him and took him to Môharo with the other six initiates. The head-man inquired: "Are you willing to be Ka*sár*i? We cannot make you Ka*sár*i unless you consent."

Some assented. The informant asked, "If I am unwilling, will you excuse me?"

"No, you must take your father's place. You are the eldest son of your father."

So he agreed, fearing punishment if he refused.

There were four Kasári in the Fire lodge-room and seven, includ-

ing two women, in Môharo. On the night after their consent had been obtained the seven initiates were called to Môharo, where the seven Ka*sá*r*i* of that party were assembled. A member came from the Fire group to learn how many were going to join his party, and after some discussion three whose fathers had been members of that party decided to accompany him.

The initiates were instructed to rise early each morning of the next four days and vomit by drinking herbs to make the heart and the stomach clean, so that they could make good fun for the people and drive away the grief and sickness of the mind. Also they were to pray morning and evening, facing the east where the Sun Youths, the first Ka*sá*r*i*, lived, and then in the other directions.

On the fourth morning the two Ka *sá*r*i* parties arranged their altars. In Môharo the altar consisted of a rectangular bed of fine, white sand, on which were placed in a row along the rear side four small beds of meal, the resting places of four *íatiku* (ears of corn adorned with feathers). Unlike the societies of shamans, the Ka*sá*r*i* did not individually possess these fetishes; the four íatiku were the property of the society.[28] The row of corn-ear fetishes was surrounded by a flattened ellipse of shell and coral beads, and in front of it was a stone effigy of Sun Youth with arms and face rudely delineated. This image was about twelve inches high. About it were scattered flints, and in front of it was a rectangular stone medicine-bowl. Here and there at the front of this collection of ceremonial objects were fifteen to twenty stuffed wrens, which contained the dried hearts wrapped in cotton and a quantity of corn-pollen, beads, and roots of a plant called *kashtyátsi* ("rainbow"). Wings and tails were spread.

The Ka*sá*r*i* placed their altar on the east side of the ceremonial chamber, because their prototypes were the Sun Youths. In general an altar stands on the north side, in memory of the northern origin of the people. In Môharo the Ka*sá*r*i* altar was at the eastern wall of a small inner room, an offset at the southeastern corner of the principal chamber.

After the altar had been arranged by the head-man, the novitiates were sent for food, which the women of their families brought to the

28 Possibly this was the result of the decadence of the society.

door: and after the head-man had offered bits of food to the spirits resident in the six directions and to the objects composing the altar, and laid small bits at one side of the altar, the dishes were moved aside for the feast. Whatever was left was put in a bag for use during the four days which they were to spend in the chamber. The bowls were taken home after dark.

After their meal the Kasári, old and young, sat before the altar on their rolled blankets and sang. The head-man stood up, facing the east, and called, "Paíyatyama, O*sáts*[a]-paíyatyama, your altar is placed, and we wish you to be present in this room and bring a good word, funny and voluble, like a mockingbird!" Then he called on the Sun Youth in the north, in the west, in the south. He sat down and started to sing for making medicine. One song was for yellow water to come into the bowl, then followed chants invoking water of the other ceremonial colors. At the end of four songs the head-man lifted the *íatiku* at his right and took up from the spot where it had been standing a bit of sand and meal, which he dropped into the bowl, and in similar fashion he added sand and meal from the bed of each *íatiku.* Last he took up the stone Sun Youth, held it over the medicine-bowl, and with his fingers dipped water and dropped on it.[29] The singing continued all afternoon. They used rattles consisting of a wooden crook with handle wrapped with deerskin and with shell rattlers pendent from the crook.

At the end of the singing late in the afternoon, the head-man rose and gave each novice one of the stuffed wrens, saying: " My newborn son, here is the strength of Sun Youth, the words of Spátyi-paíyatyama ['mockingbird youth'] and Shúuti-paíyatyama ['wren youth'][30] and Tsétseka-paíyatyama ['yellow-warbler youth']. May these be with you always." The initiates put the birds inside their garments, and kept them constantly as personal fetishes. They were supposed to give the Kasá*r*i the volubility possessed by these birds. It was not yet sunset.

The two women were now beating up a lather of yucca-root in a large vessel, and one by one they washed the heads of the young men,

29 In Pueblo rituals it is often impossible to say where the influence of Christian usage begins or ends.

30 The second war-chief, Uyúyewi, is known as "wren boy," the third war-chief as "mockingbird boy."

who then removed all their clothing, and the women washed them from head to foot with the suds, intentionally arousing their sexual instinct to the amusement of the company. When the bath was finished, the youths put on their loincloths.[31]

The older men then undressed and bathed, while the women painted the novices. The entire body and face were covered with a wash of dust-colored clay, and with a brush (a tuft of rabbit-fur on the end of a stick) they made black rings about the arms, legs, body, eyes, and mouth. The hair was tied in a standing bunch with corn-husk ribbons. Very ragged clothing was then put on, a piece of a suit of overalls, or a portion of a shirt, or a vest, or a piece of a woman's dress. The feet remained bare. The women then removed their mantas and started to paint themselves, standing quite naked. At the behest of the old men the novices took certain liberties with the women, who however paid little attention to them. Having finished their painting, the women resumed their mantas.

Then the male Kasári marched out, the old members singing and the novices shouting, while the women remained behind with the altar. The Kasári had previously notified a woman who was to participate in the dancing. In two parties of four and five they went in opposite directions through the village, calling to the men to assemble in Môharo, and finally they met at the starting place. The other Kasári from the Fire lodge-room did likewise.

At this time the Ópi-ch!aiáñi ordered the war-chief Máséewi to warn the people to leave the making of cigarettes to the Kasári. And Máséewi went about simultaneously with the Kasári, prohibiting the making of cigarettes under pain of breaking a finger or a leg in the operation, and announcing a meeting in the two ceremonial chambers for four nights of practice. In each house food was laid out, and when the Kasári entered they were invited to eat. They ate a small quantity in each house, and tried to make the people laugh with their ludicrous conversation. Returning to their respective chambers they found the men already beginning to group themselves on the north side of the room. In the private room the Ka sári removed the paint from their

31 The informant does not know what happened in the other ceremonial chamber, where there were no women, but thinks perhaps the men did the same thing to the initiates.

faces, but not from their bodies, and put on their ordinary clothing. The altar remained in place. Two of the Môharo Ka*sá*r*i* led in the woman who had been selected to dance, seated her near the door of the inner room on a low ledge extending along the southern wall of the main chamber, and sat down on either side of her. The other Ka*sá*r*i* sat grouped in front of the ledge, each initiate with his ceremonial father.

The Ka*sá*r*i* had purchased large quantities of tobacco, both native and commercial, and now began making cigarettes. Anyone who wished a smoke would call out, "Give me a flute!" Receiving an internode of cane stuffed with tobacco,[32] he asked for "a beautiful flower" and received a section of sunflower-stalk, which he shook until the smoldering end began to glow. Some men asked for as many as a dozen cigarettes, most of which they took home.

After a few songs by the assembled men, they began a dance-song, the two Kasári women led the female dancer to the middle of the room, and the Ka*sá*r*i* men danced with the woman among them. At the end of this song the Ka*sá*r*i* sat down arid the woman remained standing. A second song was begun, and she danced alone, shuffling sidewise from one end of the room to the other with arms extended to the sides. The head-man of the Ka*sá*r*i* came out and danced in front of her, making gestures describing the rising and the setting of the sun, moon, and stars, and telling the story of a war-party. The gestures interpreted the words of the song. At the end of the song one or two Ka*sá*r*i* took her by the arm and conducted her to the ledge, and after a short rest they led her home. The men departed, and the Ka*sá*r*i* men and women remained all night in Môharo. They dismantled the altar before sleeping.

Next day at sunrise Máséewi, the war-chief, bade the people make new moccasins and prepare food in anticipation of a "good time." The Ka*sá*r*i* asked the women of their families to prepare *hátyi*[33], and busied themselves assembling a costume for two female dancers and certainarticles for the Ópi. The dance-costume consisted of a *ts!ímaityi* (a

32 Cane cigarettes, used by the Pueblos from time immemorial, have been found in sacrificial cave deposits in various parts of the ancient Pueblo region.

33 *Hátyi* is made by drying sprouted wheat, grinding it to flour, mixing this with cornmeal, baking the resulting dough in a Mexican oven, and grinding the bread into fine flour, which is stirred in water to form a thin, sweetish, brown gruel called *yás'ka*.

blue-black manta with checkered geometrical designs in varicolored yarn representing the world); a head-band made of a wooden hoop wrapped with yarn, ornamented with beads and with a bunch of turkey-feathers standing out horizontally at each side, and having in the back a fringe of goat-hair dyed red and strung with blue beads; and eagle-down to be scattered on the crown of the woman's head. For the Ópi they furnished a cougar-skin to sit on, a bear-skin for a foot-rest, two deerskins, and various paints. The Ópi themselves supplied their belt and bag, their kilt, and feathers for the head-dress. The Ka*s*á*r*i engaged the services of twoshamans to dress and paint the Ópi. The women of the village, andespecially the clanswomen of the Ópi, were preparing great quantities of food to be scattered among the spectators.

This second night the Ka*s*á*r*i stood on the roof of Môharo and summoned the men to assemble. Either two or four women were led in to dance on this occasion, women selected for their skill as dancers. After the men had practised their new songs under the direction of the men who had composed them, and had amended them to their satisfaction, they started to sing for the dancing, and the Ka*s*á*r*i danced as on the previous night with the women among them. Then the women danced together, standing shoulder to shoulder and moving sidewise with outstretched arms. They sat down, and after a short rest one of them danced alone with the Ka*s*á*r*i chief making his interpretative gestures. She was then led home, and the other woman danced. If there were four, the other two then danced in their turns and were taken home. All the shamans, the Ópi, even Kûts-hano, were among the singers, like ordinary men. (If the Ka*s*á*r*i observe that any man is absent, they send for him and he must come. Nobody can refuse to assist them. Even the war-chief and the cacique are not exempt.)

On the third morning the Ka*s*á*r*i initiates went very early to get wood for prayer-sticks, and dry stalks of chandelier cactus *(Opuntia arborescens)* to be used as torches. Others went to Acomita for canes to be used in making cigarettes. That evening before the practice dancing they assembled in the inner room of Môharo and made prayer-sticks. This time eight women performed, all different individuals from those who had previously danced.

Early on the fourth morning the Ka*s*á*r*i went out to pray in various places, east, north, west, and south. The informant and another novice went eastward with the head-man, prayed, and buried prayer-sticks.

They besought Sun Youth to be present the next day to help them.

About noon they returned and made cigarettes, one for each man and for each of the eleven female dancers. These were prepared by leaving one end of an entire joint of cane closed by the node, and with a stick packing tobacco in until it was full, then cutting off the node. The two female Ka*sár*i provided large quantities of water and brought in the sweet meal of sprouted wheat. Near sunset the head-man set up his altar again and sang for making medicine. This time however they added some "rainbow" roots, and then each Ka*sár*i and each novice spit into the bowl and washed his privates in the water, and the women did likewise, adding also a bit of urine as part of their contribution. Each person pulled out a pubic hair and dropped it into the bowl. The old men explained that this "medicine" was made in such a disgusting fashion in order to show that all men, no matter whether cacique or war-chief, were but common men so far as the Ka*sár*i were concerned. The idea of promoting fertility was not present. The women then mixed six or seven large bowls of thin gruel with the sweet meal, and the headman took up the medicine-bowl and poured some of its mixture into each vessel. The men stripped and painted as before, but without removing their loin-cloths. They tied up the hair with corn-husk, but wore no rags. The women painted their faces, arms, and legs, but did not remove their mantas.

It was now dark, and the men and the eleven female dancers had assembled in the outer room, where a small fire burned. The Ka*sár*i had cactus torches. One of them carried a bowl of sweet gruel to the outer room and gave each woman a drink. Two others accompanied him, one carrying a torch, the other a bundle of cigarettes. After drinking, each woman received a cigarette and a light. A second group of three served the men. When a bowl was emptied, they returned to the inner room and the Ka*sár*i women refilled it. The initiates followed behind the older men, watching the proceedings. The party which served the women dancers soon finished with them and passed on to the men, and when the two parties came together they knew that each person had drunk. While this was going on the men were constantly singing. Some of the mixture remaining, the Ka*sár*i asked if anyone wished more, and were told to bring it out. All must be drunk, and the Ka*sár*i themselves partook. The bowls were returned to the inner room, the two women washed them and went to sit with the eleven

female dancers outside, who occupied the ledge at the southeast corner of the room. The Ka *sá*ri themselves sat as usual in front of the ledge, and the women danced as previously described, all together and then two at a time.

At dawn the Ka*sá*ri put on their rags over the paint of the previous day, and before sunrise went out and called from house to house, bidding the men dress in their best garments and assemble in Môharo or the Fire lodge-room. They also told the head-man of the Ópi that they would soon come for him, and the last eight female dancers. Meantime in Môharo others were arranging seats for the Ópi and setting out in baskets thecostume of the women dancers and that of the Ópi. The two shamans, the dressers, were in their place in the northeastern corner.

The messengers now brought in two of the eight women and seated them on the ledge. The first Ópi who entered sat down between the two dressers, and was painted by the first, after which he moved on and was dressed by the other. He himself did nothing except to put on his belt and bag, which no one else was allowed to touch. The next Ópi who entered took his place, was painted, and awaited his turn to don the costume. And so it continued. All the other men were now entering and sitting on the south side. They were the singers, *mataík*[u] ("grapes"). The head-man of the Ka*sá*ri and a helper painted and dressed one of the women, first dusting the entire face with corn-pollen, then painting squares of any color, such as yellow or blue, on the cheeks and sprinkling powdered manganite on the paint. Her hands, arms, and the lower part of the legs they painted white. They adjusted the head-dress and the embroidered manta, and the woman was ready to dance. Immediately the painting of the next dancer was begun, the while one or two more women were brought in to await their turn.

The procession now left Môharo, first the Ka*sá*ri, then the singers,then the single Ópi, and last the woman. To the beating of a drum they proceeded along the street, the woman among the last of the singers, whodanced as they went, and the Ópi by himself following at a little distance.The family of this Ópi was ready with many presents to cast among the singers while the dance took place in the plaza. They danced in a circle, the Ka*sá*ri among the others, and the woman weaved in and out among them, but not with outstretched arms. At the end of the song the Ka *sá*ri led her outside the circle, and

she danced alone with extended arms, as in Môharo, while the singers sang the war-songs and the head-man of the Ka*s*á*r*i interpreted with gestures. At the end the spectators shouted and fired their guns. They returned to the chamber, removed the costume ofthe Ópi and put it on the next Ópi, who was already painted, and put the woman's costume on her successor. While they were doing this the Ka*s*á*r*i from the Fire lodge-room were dancing in the plaza, and when they retiredthe group from Môharo again appeared with their second Ópi and their second woman. This continued until evening, with four dances by each party in the morning and four in the afternoon. Each woman after retiring was called for by members of her clan, who took her to the clan house, where the clan mother bathed her and led her home. The Ópi were treated in the same way.

In the evening the Ka*s*á*r*i dismantled their altar, and were taken in charge by women of their fathers' clans, who bathed them and led them to their several homes with presents of food.

The Acoma Ka*s*á*r*i celebrated their dance only as a sequel to the scalp-dance. But since the initiation of 1888, following the pretended taking of a scalp, they have danced on several occasions with the officers of the puebloenacting the part of Ópi.

Gathering Salt

The head of the Squash clan at intervals of several years, whenever salt is required, asks the war-chief for permission to visit the Zuñi salt lake. The Squash and the Parrot clans then meet in the Squash house and make prayer-sticks. Anybody who wishes may join the expedition, which is captained by the heads of the two clans. At the lake they place their prayer-sticks where Mína-koya ("Salt woman") lives and bring salt from that shrine, which is so far out in the lake that they have to wade, sometimes up to their necks. From that salt obtained at the shrine a man or two of each clan takes a handful for good luck, and then wades into the shallower water and proceeds to scrape salt from the bottom. Sometimes the salt may be gathered from the shore, but this is not always free from refuse.

After two or three days they load their burros with sacks and return with very large quantities, enough to last some years. After two or three days they send messengers ahead to notify the people of their ap-

proach, and the populace proceed to clean the houses and paint on the outer wall of each apartment the symbol of the clan of its occupants. Every household receives its share; for if a family sends no member on the expedition, it may lend a clansman a burro and send another animal for its own supply.

Shrines and Prayer-sticks

There are several shrines in or near the pueblo. South of the main plaza is a huge flat stone with a circular hole in the centre, the "door of the Kátsina," which is regarded as a surety that the village will always abide. Anyone passing this stone after dark utters a prayer and drops a bit of meal into the hole, and the war-chiefs pray there nightly.

East of the village and almost at the foot of the cliff is a cavity called the "door of the Kópishtaia," where meal is offered by passersby.

In the same quarter at the base of the cliff is the shrine of Istóamûty ("arrow boy"), a legendary hunter, where supplicants worship for power in the field. Meal is offered to Arrow Boy and prayer-sticks are either buried or cast into the crevice of the rock.

A prayer-stick, *hátsamoñi,* is a nicely trimmed and painted section of a branch, about six inches long and with feathers attached. Maple, willow, and reed are used, maple being reserved for such principal men as the war-chiefs, the head of the Kátsina cult, and the kiva leaders. At the base of one of these votive offerings are two trimmed turkey-feathers tied by the quill end in such a manner as to resemble the leaves of sprouting corn, and various feathers of small birds are attached to the quills. Near the tip of the stick dangle two tail-coverts of a turkey. A man of importance, such as the head-men of a kiva, marks a face on the flattened head of his prayer-sticks and rounds and paints the tip so as to suggest a jar borne on the head. Such a stick represents a Kátsina bringing rain. Each stick is painted with one of the colors associated with the cardinal points, red, blue-green, yellow, white, and as prepared for burial as offerings to the deities one of each kind is included in a wrapping of corn-husk, which extends to the upper feathers, leaving these to flutter freely. In the native mind the "body" is clothed, the "face" exposed. Included in the wrapping are a bit of meal, four miniature cigarettes, and a wad of cotton containing corn-pollen, beads, manganite particles, and even turquoise.

Societies of the Shamans

Within recent times there were seven esoteric groups of healers at Acoma:

1. Histíañi-ch!aiáñi, Flint Shamans
2. Hákañi-ch!aiáñi, Fire Shamans
3. *S*kó'yu-ch!aiáñi, Giant Shamans
4. Shíi'kami-ch!aiáñi, Rattle-shaker Shamans[34]
5. Síi-ch!aiáñi, Ant Shamans
6. *S*ówi-ch!aiáñi, Rattlesnake Shamans
7. Shíwanna-ch!aiáñi, Cloud-god Shamans

Only Flint, Fire, and Shíwanna are still active, and the Shíwanna do not hold a public healing ceremony as do the others. They treat broken bones and wounds, and especially lightning-stroke. Anyone struck by lightning must become one of the Shíwanna and remain confined in a secret room four days without food while being initiated. There are still a few men called Sówi-ch!aiáñi, who masticate medicine and apply it to a snakebite, and initiate by instruction those whom they cure.

Initiation into the Fire Society

New members of a society are obtained as a result of a vow made during illness or of trespass upon the members engaged in their rites. Or if anyone addresses a Fire shaman and offers him a cigarette without first lighting it, the shaman strokes him on the head and calls him "my newborn child." This of course is really a form of trespass. Both sexes may join the society, but only men actually perform the rites.

A shaman who apprehends an individual in trespass visits the home of his "newborn child" and informs the family what has happened. They may be saddened by the news, but there is no escape. The initiation usually occurs in February, and the females of the family

34 An alternative name for the Shíi'kami is given as Sûts-ch!aiáñi ("uncooked shamans"). This probably means that the recruits lot the society came from the "uncooked," that is, the men who joined neither of the clown societies, and points to the existence of some such interrelation between societies as at Cochiti.

concerned must furnish all the food for the society.

Twelve days before the time set, these women begin to prepare the food, grinding corn, drying rabbits. Eight days before the time the clansmen of the initiate begin to make prayer-sticks, and at the same time the Fire shamans and the initiate inaugurate a four-day period of purification by vomiting each morning, praying morning and evening, and avoiding meat, grease, and salt.

On the first day of the third quadriduum the initiate is taken in the Fire lodge-room. He drinks the supposed snake-excrement medicine, such as is given to a newly elected officer if he desires it, and sits motionless on a rolled blanket with the knees drawn up to the chin. He must not lean against the wall. Each night after the people have retired all the *ch!aiáñi* and the initiate in their midst go from place to place in the four directions and pray. As they proceed, one blows a cane whistle as a warning that people must keep out of their way; for if anyone is encountered, he must join. This is the only time the initiate leaves the room during the four days. The women members are the only ones to go and come, for they must bring and prepare the food. The capitancitos who guard the house do not stand on the roof, but on the roof of the story above.

On the first of the twelve days the initiate is instructed in what he is to do that night, when he will show his newly acquired power by curing the people, a performance which completes his initiation.

In the afternoon the initiate's women relatives are notified by a war-chief or a capitancito to bring food, which they do. The novice however does not eat meat until after the night's performance is over. Each shaman receives two large baskets of meal and quantities of wafer bread and meat, most of which they take home so as to leave the space clear for the audience. This occupies them until about dark. The people, men and women, then gather on the roof and sit there waiting for the invitation to descend. The men wear only loin-cloths and blankets, and the women mantas. Attendance is not compulsory. The walls of the room have various animals painted on them for this occasion. Back of the altar are two bears holding feathers and rattles, and on the

other walls are the Kópishtaia, the Kátsina, the Kómaiyawashi, and the emblem of the initiate's clan.

Máséewi then comes forth and calls two men to be cigarette-makers, and these two go down into the room and all the people follow. The clanspeople of the initiate enter first and seat themselves in front. The initiate sits beside the chief shaman behind the altar, which has been standing four days. An altar is called *yápai'shiñi*[35] a term which may also be applied to the sacred objects even when they are not ceremonially exposed. The supernatural beings represented by various stone figurines, such as cougar and bear, are called *hónawáaityi,* which also designates the fetishes themselves and the shamans who represent the supernaturals in the healing ceremony. In front of the altar the novice dances in company with his godfather, while the others sing. He then puts the skin of a bear's forepaw on his left forearm, takes a flint in the right hand, and goes about the room sucking sickness from each person, treating his clanspeople first. Gradually he simulates stupefaction from the great quantity of sickness thus taken into his stomach, and near the end the others have to lead him. Finally they take him to the altar and he vomits into the medicine-bowl, thrusting a finger down the throat. These proceedings last only through the first part of the night, after which all go to bed. The shamans remain in their room.

The next morning the capitancitos bring wood, at least one stick from each house, and throw it down in the street south and east of the lodge-room. The shamans there lay a fire for the heating of four large vessels of water for making mush, and a short distance away they dig with flints a hole about four feet in diameter and half as deep. The people are on the housetops and near by on the ground watching, but cannot come too close because the shamans have drawn lines of ashes cutting off this immediate vicinity from trespass. They pile fuel in the circular hole and as high as they can reach above it. Before placing a stick in the hole or under the vessels of water they spit on it some of the medicine which they are constantly chewing. They are now in ordinary dress, and the fuel is still not ignited. The women of the society fill the pots with water and ignite the fuel, and after carefully clearing

35 C*f.* *yápi* (p. 199), and note that pointed wands are conspicuous in many Pueblo altars.

the ground of bits of wood or stone, the men return to the kiva.

The chief shaman now brings out his fire-drill and ignites the fuel in the pit, while in the room his members are dressing. The hair is drawn up into a bunch on the top of the head, to keep it out of the fire. The entire body is black, the face glistening with manganite particles dusted over the paint. The men wear loin-cloths and the women mantas. They come out in single file with the novice in the middle of the line, and the women behind carrying a basket of meal and a basket of shelled corn. By this time the fire is a mass of coals. The women pour the meal into the pots, and men and women, after rubbing spittle over hands and forearms, stir the mush with their bare hands, form the mush into balls, and throw them among the people, who catch them and find them hot. The shamans' hands are covered with mush and the balls can be seen to steam.[36] The pots are then set aside, and the men and women dance about the pit filled with embers. The basket of corn sits under a ladder.

The men, having now the skin of a bear-paw on the left hand and a flint in the right, after encircling the fire four times leap on the coals, one after another, the chief first, and the women follow suit. Each one stamps on the embers a few times and jumps out. By the time they have finished, the coals are in large part extinguished but still hot, and some remain glowing. The pit itself must of course be still oven-hot. They take the initiate roughly, throw him into the pit on his side, turn him over once or twice and with their hands scoop the coals up over his body. He shrinks, but does not utter a sound. After a few seconds, he is taken out and the coals can be seen to fall from his torso.[37]

The basketful of corn is now poured into the pit, and with feet and hands the shamans stir it about for a time and then scoop it out and scatter it about the place. They retire to their room, after inviting the people to help themselves. As soon as they have gone, the spectators rush into the space and gather up the corn, eating some and taking the

36 The informant caught one of the balls and found it so hot that he hurriedly threw it away, and the part that adhered was unpleasantly hot to his skin.

37 The informant, who freely admits that other feats of Indian magic are tricks, once saw this performance from a housetop about fifty feet distant. He was in a position from which he could look almost directly down into the pots of mush, and saw that the shamans really plunged their hands into the hot mass.

rest home. This feature ends about midafternoon.

The next morning the shamans come into the plaza to dance. The body is white, with black deer-tracks here and there, the forearms and lower legs are black with white circular spots, the face is brown and spotted with manganite. The head-band of corn-husk holds numerous feathers. Each man carries two flat wooden swords, or one sword and a spruce rod four or five feet long and having a tuft of leaves and a few feathers at the tip. Swords and rods have been smeared with honey, and after this has dried they have been painted in various colors. The women have short sticks like the swords, but do not swallow them.

After the shamans have danced in a circle, one of them, accompanied by a woman, comes out and while the others sing they two dance side by side toward the east. The man thrusts one or both of the sticks down his gullet, while the woman merely dances beside him, holding her swords in clenched hands slightly raised at her sides. Thus they dance facing each of the four directions. Each member performs in this fashion while the others sing. After each one has performed, they all go back to the kiva and rest. The dance starts about sunrise and continues all day. This completes the initiation and the public performance of the Fire society.

Ceremonial Purification of the People by the Societies

About the end of February or a little later, after the battle with the Kátsina or the initiation of children has occurred, the chief of the Antelope clan and the war-chiefs meet and decide to have the societies cure the entire people before they scatter to their farms for the spring work. They make two *wapáñi* for the Flint society and two for the Fire, and the war-chief takes them to the chiefs of these societies, instructing them to notify their members to be ready four days later.

Máséewi then makes the public announcement, and the ten capitancitos meet at his house and shell some of the corn which they have raised for the use of the war-chiefs. They distribute the corn among the females of the pueblo, and the women grind it and immediately bring the meal to the war-chief's house, where the two cooks take charge of it. On the third day the capitancitos take the meal to various women known as good bakers of wafer bread. From the war-chief's house they take also juniper-wood fuel. They remain to watch the process of

making the bread, and at noon are bountifully fed on rabbit-stew and wafer bread. When the bakers have finished, they bring the bread to the war-chief's quarters.

A communal rabbit-hunt is held, and the game is dried. In the night of the following day, the fourth, the ceremonial curing of the people will take place, and on this day the capitancitos distribute among various families rabbits to be cooked for the concluding feast. The different families also prepare food for the shamans.

During the morning of the third and the fourth day a capitancito is on guard outside each of the two society houses, and another pair relieve them in the afternoon; but on the night of the ceremony the guard is doubled. The two houses are then surrounded by a line of ashes. Should anyone step on or inside of this line, and be detected, he or she would have to become a member of the society. It is not, however, desired to entrap new members, for the capitancitos repeatedly warn people away.

Meanwhile during these four days the *ch!aiáñi* have been making their secret preparations. Among other things they prepare the objects which they will suck from the bodies of the spectators, such as a narrow rag rolled up tightly into small compass so that it will draw out into a long strip, or a cactus thorn, or black and white pebbles. These things they conceal in their loin-cloths, and after vigorously slapping a person on the shoulder or chest or abdomen or top of the head, they suck and then turn and run to the altar and secretly draw the object out of its place of concealment and pretend to take it from the mouth.

On this fourth day the cooks of the war-chief call upon four women to come to their house and neatly heap meal in baskets in the form of cumulus clouds, one basket for each shaman of the Flint and the Fire society. In the top of each heap is thrust a *wapáñi*. About eight or nine o'clock in the morning the capitancitos select a number of young girls to carry these baskets, as well as the dishes of stew and bundles of wafer bread, to the two society houses, and women of all the families of the pueblo also carry thither their contribution of food. They return to their homes to bathe and dress. Everybody attends on these occasions, excepting only those who must remain at home to care for young children.

The *ch!aiáñi* chief spreads open a moist sheet of wafer bread and places in it bits from the various dishes, packages, and bundles of food,

folds the edges over, and lays it in front of the altar as an offering to the animal-spirit helpers of the shamans. After the people assemble, a shaman takes this packet outside to appease the witches, so that they will not work any harm that night. Before the people assemble the shamans divide all the dishes and packages of food, pouring some from each dish into a large bowl which each shaman has brought. The wafer bread and the large baskets of meal also are apportioned. Then the shamans take their respective shares to their homes. Shamans are very poor, for they are always so busy with their priestly duties that they have little time and less inclination to farm.

Returning from this errand the shamans start to sing four songs before the people enter. The outer sides of their arms and legs and both sides of the chest are painted white. The face is brown, and sprinkled with manganite. Blue and red feathers hang at the sides of the hair, and a lock above the forehead is tied with corn-husk. Each shaman has a rattle with incised figures, such as snakes, clouds, bears, the remainder of the surface being black. They wear nothing but loin-cloths.

After the shamans the first four men to enter the room are those who on the first day were appointed by the war-chief to make cigarettes for the *ch!aiáñi*. The people call them cigarette-makers, but the war-chief and the shamans refer to them as " fog-makers." Each morning and each evening of the four preliminary days they have gone forth to pray in each of the four directions. They are led in by one of the *ch!aiáñi* and are seated near the members, who are in a row behind the altar. The chief of the society, however, sits in front of the altar, facing it and his fellow-members. The female lay-members sit at both sides of the altar in rows at right angles to the line of shamans. Their faces and arms are painted like those of the men. They participate in the singing, but have no rattles.

The people are crowded outside, huddled in their blankets, eager to enter. Some have been waiting long, and as soon as the "fog-makers" have been seated they hurry in. Each person casts a pinch of meal toward the altar, utters a prayer, rolls his blanket, and sits down at the side opposite the altar, facing it, all crowded together. The men remove their moccasins, which leaves them wearing nothing but loin-cloths. The women are clothed in mantas. The men carry their sacred meal in small deerskin bags, which are tied either at the right of the loin-cloth or at the left side on a thong passing over the

opposite shoulder. Women have their meal in pouches made of cloth inside their mantas, and from these the mothers give a bit to each of their children, to be cast as an offering. Spectators are not permitted to stretch out their legs: they must sit huddled up like the shamans; but women sometimes straighten their legs, because they are holding their young children. Women also may retire to another room with their children, but the connecting door remains open so that they can see and hear what goes on. While the people assemble, the shamans are making their medicine-water.

The chief of the society removes the medicine-bowl from its place in the altar and sets it slightly in front. It is a rectangular vessel of soft stone, with incised figures of clouds on the front, and on the other sides Kasári, frogs, bears. They begin to sing, the chief along with the others, and he extends his hands to the north with gestures of making a trail for Yellow Cougar and Yellow Bear of the north to come and take their place at the altar. These are the real *ch!aiáñi*. They sing next for Blue Wolf and Blue Wildcat of the west, then for Red Badger and Red Wildcat of the south, White Maítyanna-kánaskai*ty*-sówi ("seven his-head rattlesnake") and White Black-snake of the east, Sun and Moon of the zenith, and Eagle and Hawk of the nadir. Next they sing to bring to the medicine-bowl yellow water from the north, blue water from the west, red water from the south, white water from the east. Then they sing for medicines from the different directions. While singing these songs, the chief from time to time extends his hands and brings them together, as if he has received something from the air, and places it in the bowl. Each *ch!aiáñi* then opens his medicine-bag and drops a pinch of a pulverized mixture of various herbs into the bowl after raising it to the north, and so for each world-region. In the vessel are already various bits of flint, obsidian, and pebbles and minerals of peculiar appearance.

The chief shaman now stirs the mixture, rises, dips his two feathers into the bowl, and asperges the two men at the left end of the row of singing shamans, exclaiming, "*Tsahí, hi!*" He then takes his usual place behind the altar in the middle of the row, and the two men rise and dance after a woman member has carried from the fire a handful of ashes and spread it on the floor in front of the altar. They dance in place in front of the altar and facing it, singing along with the others, but less loudly. At the end of the song they dip their feathers in the ashes and

strike them together, the right feather upward against the left one, as if throwing something into the air. While doing this they keep saying, "*Tsahí, hi'!*" and half walk, half dance, about the room, passing before all the people. This is done four times to repetitions of the same song.

Having finished their dance the first pair asperge the next two in the line, exclaiming, "*Tsahí, hi'!*" and sit down; and these two rise to dance, leaving their feathers behind. The woman replaces the ashes in the fireplace. These two also dance to four repetitions of a song, beginning by advancing slightly toward the altar and extending their arms forward with palms downward as if drawing power from the altar. Then they turn about this way and that, extending their hands in all directions, and suddenly extend them palm upward, and exhibit white and black pebbles which they have held concealed between the fingers. They pass one palm briskly across the other, and the pebbles disappear. Thus all the shamans dance in pairs, only the first two using feathers. The "fog-makers" during these proceedings have at various times been busily making cigarettes for the use of the shamans in offering smoke to the spirits of the world-regions.

The dancing ends about midnight, and the chief calls on the two men next to him by uttering the usual signal for the *ch!aiáñi* to stand forth, "*Tsahí, hi'!*" These two rise, stand in front of the altar, and gaze through a piece of quartz crystal, seeking sorcerers. The chief dips the crystal into the medicine-water and holds it up, and again the two gaze through it, yelling and clapping their hands while pretending to peer to the other side of the world. Each shaman now draws over his left forearm the skin of a bear's forepaw, and takes a flint in the right hand. There is a great deal of shouting and tumult. The chief sits behind the altar singing, while the others stamp and leap about, shouting and making as much noise as possible. They link arms, left and right, and, followed by two guards, rush out of the door to catch the witch and recover the ravished soul of the people. The audience hear from without a great deal of noise and shouting: "Be brave, be a man! Catch him! Here he is!" After a time a few come in to get more power from the altar, crying and extending their hands to receive the power. They take up more weapons, such as flints or stone axes, and rush out. The women encourage them, "Be brave!" After a time they all come streaming in, one of them carrying a small rag doll, and all making it appear that they are having a struggle to drag the witch along, stopping

on the ladder and pulling downward. The chief leaps up, takes the doll, and carries it to the altar. He lays a bear-paw and a flint on the little effigy. The other shamans drop to the floor here and there, one perhaps on another as if half dead from their terrific struggle with the sorcerer.

Then come two other shamans slowly descending the ladder, grunting and struggling, and bringing a ball four or five inches in diameter. This consists of a mass of corn grains enclosed in wrappings of varicolored yarn. It is the soul of the people, which they have recovered from the sorcerers. They deliver it to the chief and fall to the floor. The chief lays a bear-paw and a flint on the ball, and sings, lamenting that his companions are all dead, and asking that life return to them. He makes the usual motions of drawing power from the air, and similarly draws out the strength of the witch-doll and blows it away into space. He takes hold of each man and partially raises him, and so one by one they slowly get to their feet. The female relatives of these men rise and bring them water to rinse their mouths. They talk to one another about the difficult fight they have had with the sorcerers, so that the people may hear and be impressed, standing in line each with his arms on the shoulders of the two next to him, and suddenly they begin to cry. The women in the audience, join in the lamentation. The shamans then sit quietly behind the altar, and the "fogmakers" bring them cigarettes.

After smoking, the chief shaman announces that he is going to release the soul, and, if the people are to have good luck and freedom from sickness, he will find the grains of corn all perfect; but if any are broken, there will be sickness and bad luck. He takes the ball and sits down where the people can observe him beside an open-dish lamp. With a flint he carefully and ostentatiously cuts the yarn and removes it, piece by piece, holds the end of each piece in the light and burns it, and then drops it on the pile of rags pebbles, thorns, and other objects which have been "sucked", from the bodies of the people and expectorated by the shamans into a bowl. Having removed all the yarn, he exposes a mass of cotton, and opening this he shows a quantity of corn grains. He carefully inspects each grain, and announces that every one is perfect, and the people will have good luck and no sickness. He then lays the corn, still on the cotton, in front of the altar.

They start to sing, and the chief places the corn in a large seashell and passes about giving each person a grain, which the individual swal-

lows. This is his new soul, or heart. Any that is left is given to the war-chief, and he probably mixes it with his seed corn as a measure of good luck. Two shamans carry away the mass of "sicknesses" and the witch-doll, and bury them. It is now about three or four in the morning, and some of the women depart to bring in dishes of stew and baskets of wafer bread. The shamans again feed their spirit helpers, and set the food aside to be taken home. The people are dismissed, but a woman or two of each shaman's family remain. The shamans begin to put away the sacred objects composing the altar, and each hands to one of his women his *íatiku,* the ornamented ear of corn, which she carefully wraps up. The women depart, and the shamans put away the sacred objects. The people are now free to go to their farms.

The ceremony is not largely attended at the present time. Most of those who still believe in its efficacy are the relatives of the shamans.

CLANS AND GOVERNMENT

Acoma has the following clans:[38]

1. Osá*ts*^{a}, Sun
2. Hóaka, Sky
3. Ts!its, Water
4. Hákañi, Fire
5. Kohaía, Bear
6. Kûts, Antelope, also called Asá'ñi, Grass
7. Tyáñi, Deer
8. Tyámi, Eagle
9. Tsí'na, Turkey
10. Hoóka, Dove
11. Sháwityi, Parrot
12. Sháa*s*ka, Roadrunner
13. *S*ówi, Rattlesnake
14. Síi, Ant
15. Yáka, Corn
16. Kashéshi-yaka, White Corn

38 Add *háno*, person, for the singular, *háno*ts^{o} for the plural.

17. Kóchinish-yaka, Yellow Corn
18. Kûkanishi-yaka, Red Corn
19. Koïshkash-yaka, Blue Corn
20. Táñi, Squash
21. Íse, Mustard
22. Hápañi, Oak
23. Tyaíitsi, Piñon

In 1924 Fire, Deer, Dove, Ant, White Corn, Yellow Corn, Red Corn, Blue Corn, and Piñon were extinct, Turkey and Rattlesnake nearly so.

Bandelier's Ivy clan is an error for Mustard. His Sho-hak-ka and Piñon-eater, and Hodge's Brown Corn and Buffalo recorded in 1895, were unknown to the present informant and his wife.

Acoma clans are matrilineal and exogamous. There are no ceremonial moieties corresponding to the Turquoise and the Squash people of the eastern Keres.

The dual system of officers common to the Pueblo country obtains at Acoma. The group representing the aboriginal practice includes the war-chief, *tsátyô-hóchañi* ("country chief"), bearing the ceremonial title Máséewi and representing the elder twin hero of that name; the second war-chief, *shúuti-mû*ty ("wren boy"), bearing the title Uyúyewi and representing the younger twin hero of that name; the third war-chief, *spátyi-mû*ty ("mockingbird boy").

The ten assistants, or deputies, of the war-chiefs, and the two cooks who prepare meals for their superiors during ceremonial activity, are not really officers. The former are called *tsûka'shá'shi-tsátyô-hóchañ*i ("little country chief"), or the approximate Spanish equivalent capitancito, and, reappointed by the cacique from year to year, ultimately become capable of selection as a war-chief.

The civil government, a Spanish heritage, consists of the governor, *tápop*^{u}, the lieutenant-governor, *tinyénte* (Spanish, teniente), an assistant lieutenant-governor, and three *pishkár*i (Spanish, fiscales), who have charge of church affairs.

The principal man of the pueblo is, of course, the so-called cacique, a sacerdotal officer of life tenure, who occupies his position by reason of being head of the Antelope clan, as his native title of Kûts-hano ("antelope person") indicates. All the other officers are annually appointed by him.

About the twenty-fifth of December the cacique summons to his house[39] all the men of the Antelope clan (and, before its extinction, of the Deer clan). At the same time the war-chiefs and the head-men of the shaman societies meet in Môharo, whence Máséewi goes to the Antelope house and ascertains the names of the newly selected officers. He reports to the waiting men, and if the shamans do not approve the selection they may insist on other names being submitted. When they have been satisfied, the meeting disbands, and the next day the war-chief calls the kiva headmen to Môharo, for they too must be satisfied.[40] The next day all the men of the village meet in Komañi*r*á,[41] a hall near the church, coming in groups from their kivas. They follow the war-chief until the hall is reached when he goes ahead and announces to the officers that they are coming. The men then enter and sit until commands are given by the old officers for them to smoke, after which the war-chief announces that they are assembled for the purpose of hearing the names of the new officers, and urges all to have good hearts of single thought. He proceeds to call the names of the three new war-chiefs, of two individuals who are to cook food when the Kátsina come and keep meal ready during any ceremony, of the governor and two lieutenants, and of three fiscales or managers of church affairs. The head-men of the shamans sit on the platform with the cacique and the retiring officers.

After announcing the names, the war-chief inquires if the people approve, and the answer is always affirmative. The constantly reiterated statement of natives that the nominees usually object to taking office but cannot avoid the service means simply that it is good form

39 When a cacique dies, his family, not being Antelopes, vacate this house and his successor takes possession.

40 It is probable that this right of approval of the cacique's selection is more theoretical than practical.

41 Said to be a Spanish name, probably for compañia, compañero.

to appear reluctant.

The new appointees are now to receive their insignia of office and advice from the shamans. Each of the retiring officers goes into the crowd, takes his successor by the arm, and leads him to the platform, where all the new men stand together and receive from the chief of either of the shaman societies the canes that are their insignia. Good advice is murmured in low tones, and each recipient of a cane makes the sign of the cross and sits down. The retiring war-chief urges the people to be obedient, to have good hearts, to observe the ancient customs. Each new officer usually makes a speech, and the people are dismissed after a prayer by the old war-chief.[42]

The new war-chief and his assistants bring from the house of his predecessor to a room in his own house, or, if none is there available, to a room in his mother's house, the following articles: (1) A quantity of corn which the capitancitos have raised for the war-chief, to be used in making wafer bread, *matsíni*, by the women of every family. In small packages they will bring this bread to the war-chief, and his two cooks, having prepared rabbit-stew, will carry out the stew and bread to Kátsina and Kópishtaia dancers. (2) About twenty-four large pots and other dishes, together with various benches and shelves. (3) A *há*ts*amoñi-kayúka* ("prayer-stick broken"), which is a post about three feet high and six inches in diameter, painted with different colors and having a carved face. This is set firmly in a heavy plank or timber, and represents a post holding the earth in place. The name "broken prayer-stick" is probably used to avoid all significant reference to it in the presence of common people. (4) A matsíni baking-stone, *yôshi*. (5) The costumes of the war-chiefs, consisting in each case of quiver, arrows, bow, and a flat or a double-peaked cap of deerskin. There are numerous such caps kept in the war-chief's official room, the relics of former war-chiefs. Each new war-chief provides his own leather bag on a shoulder-belt for carrying ceremonial meal.[43]

Four days after their installation the war-chief sends some of his

42 This procedure seems to echo the practice in Spanish times, when a priest participated in the ceremony of installing the new officers.

43 Ordinary men usually carry a small bag of this material inside the sash-belt or in the loin-cloth.

capitancitos to bring from the west material for making prayer-sticks. Each deputy carries a quiver and a deerskin in which to wrap the wands, and a small bag of meal furnished by the cooks. Arriving at the place where they are going to cut the sticks, the young men scatter meal over the brush, and just as they are about to cut, they say, "Yellow flint, green flint, white flint, red flint, come and cut this stick like lightning." Then they proceed to cut the desired shoots, wrap them up, and return home. It is night when they arrive, but they knock on the door and the war-chief opens it, takes the bundles, and passes them to the cooks, who lay them in the inner room. He makes a meal trail from the door, the deputies enter, and all sit around the wands and sing, after which the wood is put away.

They all remain there in *hóchañi-tsi*[44] ("[war-]chief room") through the night,[45] and early in the morning they commence to make prayer-sticks. They work all day, and those that are made are taken at night by the war-chiefs to a certain spring seven or eight miles north of the pueblo, where they dig a hole about three feet deep, and after praying to the Kátsina and the Kópishtaia, to sun, moon, and stars, they throw in the prayer-sticks and cover them.

Returning to the village they come up on the south side, and at a certain place deposit a cross and a cane which they have made. The cross is not necessarily a concession to the church; for, as has been noted above, Coronado's men observed a similar offering. Thence the two junior officers return to *hóchañitsi* to sleep, but the chief himself goes to Môharo and calls, "*Chíma* ['is anybody present']?" At least some, if not all, of the Flint shamans are present, and knowing about what time to expect him they have aroused themselves from sleep and are waiting. They answer, and invite him to enter. He descends the ladder, and in the northeast corner he utters a long prayer for good luck, rain, and crops, and drops into a hole in the floor a pair of the feather offerings called *wapáñi.* While he prays the others from time to time approve with: "I hope it will be so! Let us have good luck! I wish it may be true!" He then goes out and passes from place to place, offer-

44 At Santo Domingo this term specifies the quarters of the cacique.

45 The war-chiefs themselves spend every night in the year in this room, except when other-wise engaged in official duties.

ing meal and praying. Also at this time he calls aloud at several places, arousing the sleepers: "My dear people of the pueblo, I wish you to get up. Let all be thankful that a new day comes. Let us pray for good health and good luck and long life. Let all pray to the east. For I am the war-chief and I am not able to pray for all of you alone. I must have help. Please come forth and help me, and ask for what we need for this new year. We must have good luck for our crops and our stock and our children. Let us all try to help one another, each one adding his prayer." Finally in the plaza he stops at a place marked by a stone, where he has already dug a hole and filled it with soft earth. He now removes the earth and deposits prayer-sticks and covers them, after which he goes to the room of the Fire society and repeats the procedure observed at Môharo.

When the people hear the call of the war-chief, many of them, at least one from each household, rise and go out in various directions to offer meal and to pray, having in mind not only the thought of asking for good but of helping the war-chief in his onerous duty of bringing good to all the people.

After the war-chief leaves Môharo, the Flint chief takes up the wapáñi he dropped, goes to the east side of the mesa, and after praying and scattering meal, drops them over the edge. The Fire chief does the same with the *wapáñi* left in his room.

The war-chief spends the day in resting, and nothing is done on the second night. On the second day the three war-chiefs make more prayer-sticks, and after dark take them to a spring in the west, and proceed as on the first night; except that the second war-chief now spends the night roaming about the pueblo, praying, calling to the people, planting prayer-sticks, dropping wapáñi, and scattering meal. In this manner they plant prayer-sticks in the south on the second night following, and the first war-chief remains on duty all night; and on the next alternate night in the east, and Uyúyewi is again on duty. By this time it is about the middle of January, and the vigil of the war-chiefs is at an end. They notify the people to provide them with wood for the ensuing year, and each family brings a burro-load.

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