SAN ILDEFONSO

HISTORY AND ARTS

SAN ILDEFONSO is near the east bank of the Rio Grande, seven miles below San Juan and eighteen northwest of Santa Fe. According to Tewa tradition the ancestors of San Ildefonso lived at Otowi (Po-tsu-wíi, "water sink gap"), on a mesa beyond the river and seven or eight miles west of the present village. From Otowi came the builders of Tsankawi (Sa^{n}-ke-wíi, "Opuntia sharp gap"), on a mesa two miles southeastward, and these later rejoined their former townsmen, who meantime had abandoned the parent village and founded Perage (Pé*r*a-ge, "kangaroo-rat at"), just across the river from present San Ildefonso. Both Otowi and Tsankawi were constructed of stone, Perage and San Ildefonso of adobe. The material used was of course the one most easily obtained in the locality, stone on the mesas, clay in the valley. Otowi was a large pueblo of terraced houses estimated by Hewett to have contained seven hundred and fifty rooms. In 1924. the San Ildefonso population numbered only ninety-seven.

With the other Tewa San Ildefonso participated in the uprising of 1680, but, more fortunate than some of the Keres, they escaped severe punishment when Vargas reclaimed the territory twelve years later. Nevertheless it was not until 1694 that they were finally induced to surrender. Taking refuge in temporary homes on the top of Huerfano (Spanish, "orphan," referring to its isolation),[1] an impregnable rock two miles north of the village, they defied three successive attempts to dislodge them. The precipitous sides of the mesa forbade assault, and after three separate threats against the position the general laid siege

1 This formidable rock of black basalt the Indians call Tú nyo, which Harrington translates "very spotted," referring to the "large greenish spots" on the northern cliffs, adding that "no etymology for the name usually exists in the minds of the Indian users." But the present writer obtained the same interpretation, unsolicited. Another perfectly good translation is "basket large," referring to the resemblance of the rock to a great, inverted basket. This landmark is known to many Americans as Black mesa. The English-speaking natives, however, and many Americans, apply that name to the mesa known in Tewa as Shúma, the beginning of the cañon wall on the east side of the Rio Grande about two miles south of San Ildefonso.

and in five days, during which the Indians attempted several more or less costly sorties, he induced them to surrender. Two years later they imprisoned two priests in the church, which had been established about eighty years previously, and after closing all openings set fire to the building. The priests and several other Spaniards lost their lives.[2]

The aboriginal arts of basketry, pottery, and weaving are still practised at San Ildefonso. Twined baskets for winnowing and washing grain and for gathering fruit are made of willow, as the name *yán-tu*^{n} ("willow basket") indicates. *Kún-tu*^{n} ("sumac basket") is the name of a coiled meal-basket made entirely of *Rhus trilobata* for rods and wrapping. There are some very capable potters. The material is a mixture of clay and *hyúnyá*^{n}, or tierra azul (Spanish, "blue earth"), a blue-white earth which, soft in its native state, becomes hard after moistening and drying. The decoration is red and black on a whitish ground, or black on a red ground. Red is produced with yellow ochre, which changes color when oxidized in the kiln. Black is the dried residue of a decoction of the leaves of *hwa*^{n}, or guaco (Mexican Spanish, the Rocky Mountain bee plant (*Peritoma serrulatum*). Within recent years a highly polished black ware has been developed at San Ildefonso, which finds ready sale at good prices to amateur collectors. It is really a revival of an ancient phase of the potter's art, for Coronado's chroniclers observed ware of the same kind.

The remarkably smooth pebbles used for polishing the surface of pottery are found in small clusters among or near deposits of fossil bones. They are the stomach pebbles of dinosaurs. Tewa women, and probably all Rio Grande Pueblo potters, cherish them inordinately, refuse to part with them, and anticipate very bad luck if one is lost.

Little weaving is done by the modern Tewa. Belts and hair-bands for women are made, but mantas have long been purchased from the Keres and the Hopi.

Some years ago several Tewa young men began to attract surprised attention to their water-color drawings of episodes in native ceremonies. The best of them was, and is, a San Ildefonso man known as Awatsí*r*e. More recently others have enthusiastically taken up this new

2 Bandelier in *Papers of the Archæological Institute of America*, IV, 1892, page 82.

art, girls as well as youths, and at other than Tewa pueblos — Cochiti, Santo Domingo, and Jemez. The work is commonly held to represent native, undeveloped ability. Such however is not the case. Native Pueblo paintings are found on pottery and in the churches, and it is crude indeed.

Miss Esther B. Hoyt, a capable artist, was in charge of the school at San Ildefonso from about 1898 to 1908, and most of the young artists of this pueblo learned drawing under her instruction. She wisely held them to native design and feeling. Many of these students, after seven or eight years at San Ildefonso school, continued their studies with Miss Gertrude Ferris, a competent public-school art instructor at the Government school in Santa Fe. At Cochiti day school under Mrs. Luella S. Gallup several pupils of both sexes developed into fairly good painters. For many years the Prang system was compulsory in the Indian schools, and all pupils received instruction in drawing and design.[3]

Untutored genius may be more spectacular than developed ability, but its product is certainly less creditable; and the work of these native painters deserves the highest praise for its fidelity to color, detail of costume, and the posture and grouping of figures - a fidelity all the more remarkable in that they use no models, relying solely on their wonderful power of photographic observation.

Among the primitive implements were arrows tipped with obsidian or flint, simple bows of cedar, cherry, oak, or elk-antler, obsidian knives and lance-heads, stone axes and metates, flint-pointed fire-drills operated against a flint (or pyrites?) hearth, stone war-clubs with wooden handles either bent around the head and lashed fast or attached to rawhide shrunken tightly on the head, slightly curved rabbit-sticks for small game, leather slings, wooden drums with leather heads, wooden flutes, pump-drills for piercing beads. Aboriginal garments included woven cotton dresses, robes, belts, and sashes, deerskin moccasins and leggings, winter caps of buffalo- or rabbit-fur.

The principal native products of the soil were corn, beans, squashes, piñon-nuts; berries of cedar, juniper, and sumac; acorns, yucca seed-pods, Opuntia cactus fruit ("prickly-pears"), and numerous roots and pot-herbs.

3 Information from Miss Clara D. True, 1924.

GAMES

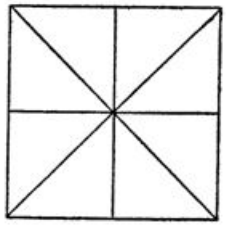
San Ildefonso has preserved most of the aboriginal games, which include shinny, the kicking-race, and contests of skill resembling pachisi and checkers.

Púna-be ("stick ball") is played by men in two parties of equal, but no definite, number. The ball is laid in the centre of the plaza and one party strives to drive it to Huerfano mesa two miles away, the other to Shúma mesa equally distant in the opposite direction. The game has no ceremonial significance, and is played for wagers laid between individuals. Women sometimes play shinny in the plaza.

Hwéve-chanu ("missile throw-with-the-foot") is the kicking-race. A round bit of wood about two inches long, the *hwéve*, is decorated with black marks, and with hummingbird-feathers to make it go swiftly. The contest is not between kivas nor between ceremonial moieties, but since it is believed to have been played by the war-gods it has ceremonial significance. It may be held at any time, not merely once a year. The contestants start in the plaza and follow a route to the hills or around Huerfano mesa or to Black mesa, according to previous agreement, each party sending its *hwéve* forward by inserting the toes under it and giving a vigorous kick. The losers must sponsor a dance of a kind agreed upon, such as a war-dance or a Kiowa or Navaho dance.

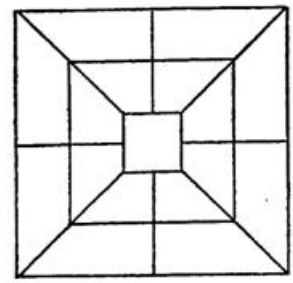
É-fé (game wood"), or *popoyíge-é* ("cup game"), called by the Mexicans cañote (from caña, cane), is played in the kivas in spring. Four round, hollowed blocks of wood, the *popoyége,* are thrust, base first, into a heap of sand, and a small bit of wood, the *fe,* is secreted in one of them. The openings are then covered with sand, and the leader, who places the marker, throws off the blanket under which he has been working. His opponents then guess which cup contains the marker. If it is in the first one indicated, the guesser's side loses ten of the one hundred grains of corn that compose a common fund of tallies, and his rivals set the cups again. If, however, the first cup is empty, the guesser then indicates a second choice, and if this holds the marker he loses six and again the same players set the cups. If the second choice is empty, a third is indicated, and if this contains the marker the guesser's side wins the inning, but if not they lose four and the inning remains where it was. The "in" party constantly sings, and the others study long which cup they will select.

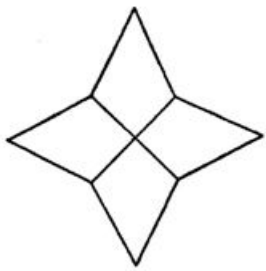
For *nan-tá-é* ("earth paint game") a square bisected by two diagonals and two perpendiculars is marked on the ground.



One of two players sets a pebble on each of any four intersections, and the other deposits four bits of wood on any four of the remaining five intersections, provided that he may not completely blockade his opponent. The first player then moves any pebble to an adjacent unoccupied intersection, his opponent follows suit, and the game proceeds on the principle of checkers, except that there are no kings and a marker may move in any direction, until either pebbles or sticks are all captured.

Similar in principle is *pú-wo*^{n}*-é* ("rabbit hunt game"), in which the diagram consists of three squares, concentric and parallel, and two diagonal and two perpendicular bisectors extending through the two outer squares but only touching the sides of the innermost one. On any twelve adjacent intersections a player sets twelve pebbles, the hunters; and on any one of the remaining twelve his opponent deposits a wooden marker, the rabbit. One of the hunters is advanced to an adjacent intersection, then the rabbit. The latter may leap over, and thus capture, any hunter occupying an intersection next to him, provided the one beyond is unoccupied, and a similar rule applies to the hunters. The object is for the hunters to capture or pen up the rabbit so that he cannot move, or for the rabbit to capture all the hunters. If the odds seem to be overwhelmingly against the rabbit, they are nearly equally so in the communal hunt which the game represents; and the play was probably devised with the idea of exerting a lucky influence on the important rabbit-drive.

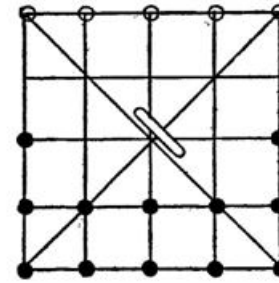




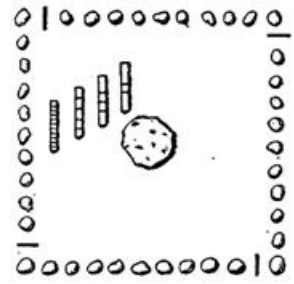
Another mimic rabbit-hunt is *tosóge-é* ("pen-up game"), the diagram for which is a four-pointed star bisected by two diagonals connecting the obtuse angles. The hunters

occupy any four adjacent outer angles, the rabbit takes any other angle, the central intersection is left open.

Pá^{n}-wo^{n}-é (" deer hunt game") is a little more involved. A square is divided into sixteen blocks, and two diagonals and an inscribed square with the angles touching the sides of the large one complicate the figure. The five intersections on one side are game-pits, the two adjacent sides are the impassable brinks of high precipices, and along the fourth side of the mesa are twelve hunters: a double row of five, and two executing a flank movement about the deer, which occupies the centre of the field. The deer moves first, along either a perpendicular or a diagonal line, and a hunter pursues, the object being to corner the quarry in such a position that his only possible move is into a game-pit. As the two precipices are impassable, the deer's only escape is straight ahead through the ranks of the hunters, apparently a very remote possibility.



The local form of pachisi is *kú-é* ("stone game"). Forty pebbles are arranged to form the sides of a square, in the centre of which is placed a flat stone. Each of the two players has a stick four or five inches long, which he places in any of four openings left at the ends of the sides. After the first player has placed his marker, his opponent may place his at the same opening, or at either adjacent side, or at the opposite side. The start is made by agreement. The first player casts perpendicularly on the flat stone four half-round wooden dice, marked on the round face with transverse lines, respectively ten, four, three, and two. He moves his marker in either direction the number of spaces indicated by his total cast, and continues to cast until he fails to score. This occurs more frequently than one would expect, because the sticks have a tendency to fall on the rounded surface. His opponent then casts, and moves in either direction, either pursuing the first man or going in the opposite direction. If his total cast, or any combination of his integral



counts, brings him to the space already occupied, the first player is thus "killed" and must return to the starting point, and he himself does likewise. He then casts again, and to his total count adds the number by which he overtook the first player, which is the same as if he remained on the spot of the killing and then made his cast. Once having started in a certain direction, a player may not reverse his movement in order to catch an opponent. Thus, if the second player should wish to move in the direction opposite to that taken by the other, then after they have once passed each other the game becomes simply a race for home without the possibility of one being killed.

In a similar game ninety spaces in groups of ten are indicated by a circle of radiating straight lines on the ground or on a skin, and there are three half-round dice. The bark side is called black, the flat side white. On the round side of one are four black crosses. A cast of one white and two black scores two; one black without crosses and two white, three; all white, five; all black, ten; two white and one black with crosses, fifteen. A score of ten or fifteen entitles the player to another cast. After covering half of the route a player may go forward or turn back.

In the local variant of the wheel-and-pole game a group of archers shoot simultaneously at a rolling black-rimmed hoop of twined willow-bark or yucca-leaves. He whose arrow strikes nearest the black spot in the centre takes all the arrows.

WARFARE

The Tewa, within the historical period, seldom left their shelter to make forays, and when foes threatened, messengers were sent to the other Tewa villages for assistance. The principal enemy in these later days was the Navaho. The Tewa, Ute, and Jicarilla Apache were allies at one time against the Kiowa and Comanche. A battle once took place near Jemez, probably about 1870, between the Jemez people and the Navaho on one side, and the Tewa and the Jicarillas on the other. The latter captured several Navaho boys, one of whom was still living at San Ildefonso in 1909.

Prior to the Spanish entrada the Tewa were persistent enemies of the Keres, whom they forced farther and farther south. A few miles below San Ildefonso the Rio Grande enters White Rock cañon, an

impassable gorge separating Tewa and Keres territory. But the Tewa, not to be deterred by geographical obstacles, would make a long detour and cross the river below the cañon in the vicinity of present Cochiti. They finally attacked in force the village Kuapa in the Cañada de Cochiti, occupied by the ancestors of the present population of Cochiti and San Felipe, to such effect that a portion of the Keres fled southward and established Katishtya (old San Felipe), while the remainder took refuge on lofty Potrero Viejo overlooking the Cañada. Even here they were attacked by the Tewa, but the position was too strong for successful assault and the northerners were driven across the Rio Grande with great loss.

Scalps were taken in war and given into the custody of the Tséoke society, which consisted of men who had taken scalps. The trophies were kept in a room of the house occupied by the leader of the group, a cell called Po-wi^{n}ká-kegi (*pó-kowa*, head skin; *wi^{n}ká*, —; *kégi*, room). It was the duty of Tséoke-séndo to see that each of the departing warriors was equipped with proper weapons. During their absence the Powi^{n}ká women remained almost constantly in the scalproom praying for their good luck. A woman became a member of this group by reason of a pledge made during sickness. After the return of the victorious party, the warriors, the Tséoke, and the Powi^{n}ká held a "captive dance" (Pan-hyár*e*) around a pole from which the scalps dangled.

HUNTING

The communal rabbit-hunt is announced four days in advance by Tséoke-séndo or, if he is unable to act because of sickness, by the war-chief. Early on the appointed day Tséoke-séndo offers a prayer that the game may be plentiful and unable to run fast, after which he sets out, and the hunters immediately follow. Sometimes women accompany the men. Tséoke-séndo[4] takes his place at the starting point, and two of the war-chiefs proceed in opposite directions along the circumference of a large circle. The other war-chiefs direct the hunters in placing themselves at the proper intervals, and finally all move toward the

4 Elsewhere among the Rio Grande pueblos this duty is performed by the head of the hunters' society. Possibly the chief of the scalpers so functions at San Ildefonso because the hunters' group no longer exists.

centre, driving before them whatever small game may be found in the enclosure. If women are present, as soon as a rabbit is struck they run to the lucky hunter, and the first arrival receives it. In return she must later give him meal or rabbit-stew. If women are not present, the returning hunters are pounced upon and the game is taken from them at random.

Once a year a hunt is held for the benefit of the two caciques, and again for the other officers and principal men.[5]

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Having spoken to a girl about marriage, a young man, according to native custom, sought the consent of her parents; and after ascertaining her mind they called on him two or three days later. Thereupon the two young people, accompanied by their relatives and friends, appeared before the cacique of the season, received a long address of admonition, and withdrew. This was in effect a public avowal of their marriage. The young man's relatives furnished the bride with a new costume, including ornaments, and he became a member of her households.[6] If for any reason harmony did not prevail, the man could take leave or the woman could pile his personal effects outside the house, a mute dismissal. The levirate was unknown.

Husband and wife own property in severalty, and bequeath their possessions equally between the children on the one hand and the surviving spouse on the other. Every individual of either sex is supposed to receive a plot of community land as a wedding dower, and possession of sufficient ground to sustain life does not prevent the acquisition of additional land. A certain typical family has between four and five acres lying in five widely separated tracts. Under such circumstances of course efficient farming is impossible, but the Pueblos of the Rio Grande uniformly refuse to face the vexing problem of consolidating their respective individual holdings and making small farms out of

5 The informant denied that sexual freedom is proclaimed after a hunt in which the women participate, as is the case at Acoma; but as he did not admit the existence of promiscuity at any time, he perhaps was concealing a fact.

6 The residence of the husband with his wife's people and the ownership of houses by the women point to an earlier system of matrilineal descent.

what are now scattered gardens.

Desiring more land, a man makes application to the governor, who brings it to the attention of the council. If the applicant is in good standing, orthodox in the belief and practice of native rites, and the plot in question is not being sought by another in greater need, he receives permission to clear, cultivate, and fence it. If he fails to use the land within a year or two it reverts to the community; but once having worked it he possesses a proprietary interest that can be extinguished only by continuous neglect for five years, or by an order of the council issued as a punishment for heresy. In return for his use of community land every man must do his share of such public work as repairing ditches and participating in dances and secret ceremonies; but exemption from physical labor in the common interest is granted to the two caciques, the governor, the first war-chief, and former governors.

In preparation for burial a corpse was washed, clothed, and covered with a blanket by members of the family, and carried out to a shallow grave in the hills (now by the fiscales to the churchyard). It was laid on the back with the head southward, the feet directed toward Sipófene, the place of the mythical emergence of the people upon the earth, and a package of food was placed under the left arm. Such personal possessions as bow and arrows were broken and left on some hill, so that their counterparts would return to Sipófene for the individual's use. They were broken so that no living person would appropriate them (or perhaps so that the spirit essence could escape). The relatives washed themselves four days later and put on fresh clothing as a symbol that mourning was ended, sorrow forgotten. Small bits of food are even yet placed in a dish and taken outside the village at night by an old man, who addresses the departed by name and says, while tossing the food toward the north:

Hawí ná^{n}-kusó, ú^{n}bi-ha^{n}, ga^{n}kó. Nárii wú^{n}unmonpi. Owé; ha^{n} u^{n}má Póqi^{n}-ge.

now this food you spirit eat here not you belong far yonder you go lake at

"Now, you spirit, eat this food. Here you do not belong. Go far yonder to Póqi^{n}ge."[7]

7 Póqinge, a sacred lake on Lake peak. The reference of course is to the

The hair was not cut nor the face blackened, and there was no taboo of the names of the dead. Three days after a death occurred the relatives and friends, before eating, cast away bits of food for the spirit of the departed. Before each meal food is still tossed aside from the right hand for Poseyémo and all the gods, with a wish for rain and crops and good luck in everything, and from the left hand for the spirits of all the dead.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The names of fifty-eight so-called clans have been recorded at San Ildefonso, of which seventeen were still represented in 1924. These are nominally divided into two ceremonial moieties, but members of the same clan may be found in both the larger divisions. These "clans" are patrilineal and not exogamous. A certain woman, an Eagle by birth, married a Sun man, and now regards herself as a Sun woman, which of course is impossible if these groups are really clans. As elsewhere among the Tewa the only explanation offered by the natives is that they are "like family names." The existence of such a large number in a meager population is a baffling problem, and the true nature and function of these groups will probably remain in question pending the happy union, in the person of one native, of adequate schooling, knowledge of native lore, courage to defy the elders, and desire to contribute to the store of published learning. The present investigator, after painstaking efforts at all the Tewa pueblos, as well as at Isleta and Taos, confesses that he has been unable to formulate a satisfactory outline of Tanoan sociology. Discussion with Tiwa (Isleta and Taos) informants leaves one with the conviction that so-called clans are in reality religious groups; but all attempts to harmonize with this theory the statements of Tewa informants end in doubt.

The two ceremonial moieties are respectively Pá^{n}yo-tówa ("summer people"), or Pá^{n}yo-ge*ŕ*ii^{n}-tówa, and Ténu^{n}*ŕ*ii^{n}-tówa ("winter [plu-

lake at Sipófene. Póqinge has become so thoroughly identified in ceremonial practice with that fabled lake of the north, that only in referring to the origin myth are the two differentiated.

ral] people"). Esoterically they are called Háye-tówa ("gourd-shell people") and Qá^{n}*ri*-tówa ("gum-sticky people"), and the correct native names were probably, as elsewhere, the equivalents of Squash and Turquoise people, rather than Summer and Winter people.

The clans nominally belonging to the Summer moiety are:[8]

1. Ta^{n}, Sun
2. Okúwa, Cloud
3. Ágoyo, Star
4. Ágoyo-sóyo, Star Big*[9]
5. Pá^{n}yo, Summer
6. Po, Water*
7. Qa^{n}, Rain**
8. Tsigowéno, Lightning**
9. Qa^{n}tá^{n}, Thunder**
10. Qa^{n}-tem-bé, Rainbow*
11. Poqí^{n}, Lake**
12. Pi^{n}, Mountain*
13. Po, Squash*
14. Ts!e, Douglas Spruce
15. Tse, Eagle**
16. Tyughá, Chicken-hawk*
17. Ka-tsí*r*e, Leaf Small-bird**[10]
18. Se, Jay*[11]
19. Tétse, Oriole*[12]
20. Ka^{n}, Cougar
21. Ke, Bear
22. Ku^{n}yó, Wolf*
23. Keá, Badger*
24. A, Bow*

8 To the clan name add *tówa*, people. A star indicates a clan extinct in 1909; a double star one that became extinct between 1909 and 1924.

9 That is, morning star.

10 That is, yellow summer warbler.

11 Interpreters usually translate this "bluebird."

12 The word seems to contain the element *te*, cottonwood, the tree favored by this bird for its nesting.

25. Su, Arrow*
26. Tsi, Obsidian*
27. Na^{n}, Earth*
28. Ku, Rock*
29. Fe, Wood**
30. Te, Cottonwood*
31. Kóo, Buffalo
32. Pa^{n}, Mule Deer**
33. Óhu^{n}, Whitetail Deer**
34. Ta, Elk**
35. Fa, Fire**
36. Ku^{n}, Corn*
37. Ku^{n}-fé^{n}di, Corn Black
38. Ku^{n}-tsá^{n}wa^{n}, Corn Blue
39. Ku^{n}-pí, Corn Red
40. Ku^{n}-tsá^{n}, Corn White
41. Ku^{n}-tséyi, Corn Yellow
42. Ku^{n}-á^{n}i, Sweet-corn

The clans nominally belonging to the Winter moiety follow:
1. Fo^{n}, Snow*
2. Oyí, Ice
3. Oyí-san^{n}ñá^{n}, Ice Crystal*
4. Oyégi, Hoarfrost*
5. Ku-pí, Stone Red[13]
6. Kuyá^{n}, Turquoise
7. Kwáa-tsa^{n}yi, Bead White**
8. Tsé-ka^{n}-qíyo, Yellow Dim Old-woman*[14]
9. T!ighíni, Pleiades*
10. Hwiŕíini, Orion's Belt*
11. T!óun, Antelope**
12. Ye, Lizard**
13. De, Coyote**

13 Usually translated "coral," but identified by some natives with a red marine shell.

14 That is, evening star.

14. Hwa^{n}-pí, Tail Red**[15]
15. Okú, Turtle**
16. Pá^{n}ñu^{n}, Snake*

For ceremonial purposes these clans are said to fall into eight groups, evenly divided between the two moieties. The Summer moiety consists of:

I. Sun, Cloud, Star, Morning Star, Summer, Water, Rain, Lightning, Thunder, Rainbow, Lake, Mountain (because clouds gather about the peaks), Squash, Douglas Spruce (used in ceremonies for rain), Eagle, Chicken-hawk, Summer Warbler, Jay, Oriole (the feathers of all these birds being used in the prayer-plume offerings for rain).

II. Cougar, Bear, Wolf, Badger, Bow, Arrow, Obsidian, Earth, Rock (because the animals of this group live in caves and burrows), Wood (used by hunters for cooking), Cotton-wood (in which game is hung out of reach of animals).

III. Buffalo, Mule Deer, Whitetail Deer, Elk, Fire (used for the smoke signals of hunters).

IV. Corn, Black Corn, Blue Corn, Red Corn, White Corn, Yellow Corn, Sweet-corn.

The Winter moiety groups are:

V. Snow, Ice, Ice Crystal, Hoarfrost.

VI. Red Stone, Turquoise, White Bead.

VII. Evening Star, Pleiades, Orion's Belt.

VIII. Antelope, Lizard, Coyote, Redtail Hawk, Turtle, Snake.[16]

The clans never meet singly, but always in groups. The Sun-Cloud group assembles for the purpose of assisting the Summer cacique in offering prayers for rain and in making and depositing at numerous shrines feather offerings to Okúwa-tsa^{n}wá^{n}yi-sé ("cloud blue man"),

15 That is, redtail hawk.

16 "A coyote barking on a hilltop is regarded as a messenger from the antelope, hence the two names are associated. When Antelope Old Man wishes to summon his clans he sends the message by a Coyote man. Lizard, Turtle, and Snake are supposed to carry messages to the underground people, and Hawk to visit the creatures of the air." This explanation of apparently incongruous associations appears to be an afterthought.

the rain-god of the north, who distributes the prayers and plumes among all the other deities.

Various religious personages are mentioned in connection with these groups: with the Sun-Cloud series, the Summer cacique, who is always of the Summer clan, and the head of the Cloud clan, who is ceremonially called Blue Cloud Man; with the predatory animals, ("mountain cougar"), also called Ká^{n}-séndo ("cougar old-man"), head of Samá^{n}-yu, the hunters' society; with the game animals, Kóo-séndo ("buffalo old-man"), presumably head of the Buffalo clan and assistant to Pí^{n}ká^{n}; with the Corn group, Blue Corn Woman, presumably head of the clan of that name, who also holds the office of Nayi-hwá^{n} ("dust sweep"), head of the Powí^{n}ká (female scalp-dancers) society and in charge of the propagation dance for young girls; with the Snow-Ice group, the Winter cacique, who is always of the Ice clan; with the Shell-Bead group, an individual known as Red Stone Man; with the Star group, Yellow Dim Old Woman; with the Antelope and associated clans, Antelope Old Man, leader of the clan of that name.

This grouping of clans is on the authority of a single informant, but Taos information tends to confirm it.

GOVERNMENT

The dual system of government prevails at San Ildefonso. The officials of native origin are sacerdotal, and include two so-called caciques and the war-chiefs. The Summer cacique, Poá^{n}-tu^{n}yo ("water-running leader"),[17] or Pá^{n}yoo-ke ("summer strong"), controls religious activities, and, by his dominance of the governor, civil affairs as well, from the end of February to the middle of October. The Winter cacique, Oyí-ke ("ice strong"), rules during the remaining four and a half months. Each highpriest is head of a secret society, and each chooses and trains his own successor, whose identity is known only to the other members of the society. The caciques do no physical work of any kind, not even on their own farms.

17 **Harrington, Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians,** *Twenty-ninth Annual Report Bureau of American Ethnology*, translates *poá^{n}* "to preside at a ceremony." The translation given above is not only appropriate and distinctive, but is supported by the title of the Taos Summer cacique, Water Person.

On the civil side are the governor, *tú*^{n}*yo*, his two lieutenants, known respectively as his "right arm" and "left arm," five fiscales (Spanish), who take care of the church and of burials, and the alguacil (Spanish), a peace-officer.

The caciques alternate in naming the governor and the first war-chief. On some day in June they meet in a kiva and make prayer-sticks, which they take into the hills in supplication for health, strength, and a good heart for the men whom one of them has chosen. Three days before the end of the year the war-chiefs assemble all the men in the round kiva, and the names of the new leaders are announced. On New Year's day the new officials are installed and a dance is held, and on the sixth of January the caciques retire to the Summer kiva to offer prayers for the governor and to make prayer-sticks which they carry to various local shrines.

While the governor is regarded as the temporal head of the village, he is largely the mouthpiece of the ruling cacique. No important question can be settled without reference to the council, and this body almost invariably agrees with the opinion of the caciques. Such a matter as setting aside community land for a new head of a family must be decided by the council and ultimately by the caciques. A white man coming to the village for information may ask the governor for permission to make investigations, but the cacique will decide the question, although of course the visitor will not come into his presence. If the governor thinks that prayers should be said for the people, he requests the cacique to act; but the latter, of course, does not have to wait for such a request. The council meets in the governor's house and consists of former governors and old men of proved ability, who are called "elder brothers."

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND ORGANIZATION

There are three kivas at San Ildefonso. A round, partially subterranean kiva in the plaza, called simply *téé* ("kiva"), is used when there is an assembly of the people, as when the men gather to hear the names of the new officers or when the Tablita dance is performed. On the north side of the plaza is a square, isolated room used by the Summer moiety, the Summer people being allocated to the north side because the sun is farthest north in mid-summer. On the south side is the Winter

moiety's kiva, a room in one of the houses. Adjoining it are two rooms used respectively by the Kósa in their secret rites (their public dance is in the round kiva) and by the Buffalo dancers. The two square kivas are called Háye-tee and Qá^{n}ritee, from the esoteric names for the Summer and Winter moieties respectively. All the kivas are entered through the roof.

The principal deities are: Pose-yémo ("dew falling"'), a culture hero of miraculous conception; Okúwa-tsa^{n}wá^{n}yi-sé ("cloud blue man"), rain-god of the north; Okúwa-tséyi-sé ("cloud yellow man"), rain-god of the west; Okúwa-pínu^{n}-sé ("cloud red [plural] man"), rain-god of the south; Okúwa-tsá^{n}ñu^{n}-sé ("cloud white [plural] man"), rain-god of the east; Okúwa-tsá^{n}ge-sé ("cloud all-color man"'), rain-god of the zenith; Okúwaokí-sé ("cloud steam[18] man"), or Okúwa-fe^{n}di-sé ("cloud black man"), rain-god of the nadir; Tówa-é-tsa^{n}wá^{n}yi-sé ("people small blue man"), war-god of the north resident at Pimpíye-sipófene[19] ("north black-spring"), and five other Tówa-é, designated by proper color-adjectives, living respectively at West, South, East, Upper-firmament, and Lower-firmament Sipófene; Tánséndo ("sun old-man"); Pó-séndo ("moon old-man");[20] Ágoyo-sóyo ("star big"), the morning star; Tsé-ka^{n}-qíyo ("yellow dim old-woman"'); Kú^{n}tsa^{n}wá^{n}yi-áñu^{n} ("corn blue maid") and five other Kú^{n}-áñu^{n} ("corn maids"), designated by the usual color-adjectives and associated with the cardinal directions.

The Okúwa are the Tewa equivalent of the well-known Kachinas. The Tówa-é, of small stature but immense strength, play the same role as the twin war-gods of other Pueblo mythologies.

In addition to the deities named above, many natural phenomena such as thunder, lightning, and whirlwind are personified, and of course animals have preternatural powers and must be propitiated and

18 *Okí*, steam rising from moist ground under the rays of the sun.

19 A San Ildefonso man translates: *si*, gut; *po*, road; *féne,* blow; and refers to the mythic emergence of the people, when a powerful leader blew his breath and opened through the crust of the earth a round hole like a piece of gut. The true etymology is apparent in the cognate Taos form, Chi-pâ-fún-ta, eye water (that is, spring) black at.

20 Bandelier has "Moon Old-woman."

supplicated for aid. Furthermore every object is conceived to be the abode of a spirit, to be possessed of a soul, and consequently prayers may be offered to anything that has power to benefit or to injure mankind. Before cutting a tree, a prayer is uttered and a plume laid under it, that the tree may not fall on the workman. Prayers and plumes are offered by one going through a forest, to prevent trees from toppling on one. Similarly, before passing under an overhanging rock one dismounts, prays, and deposits a feather to the spirit of the rock. Prayers and feathers are offered to streams and springs by any who may feel so inclined, that the water may not fail. After starting on a hunt and before game is found, similar supplication is made to trees, rocks, and all, animals, to lightning, thunder, and storms.

Offerings to the gods consist of sacred meal, especially ground for the purpose and carried in small pouches or cloth packets, and bunches of feathers bound with cotton string, each bunch containing a feather of a goose, a turkey, a magpie, an eagle, an oriole, a summer warbler, and a duck. These messages to the spirits are supposed to be carried by eagle, hawk, and hummingbird. The meal is tossed in small pinches, either in the general direction of the supposed abode of the deity addressed or directly on the sacred objects representing the spirits. The Tewa apparently do not practise vomiting in preparation for ceremonial activities, as do the Keres.

The gods of rain and the gods of war are associated with various shrines, those of the former being situated, except in one instance, on lofty peaks because of the prevalence of clouds in such localities.

San Antonio peak, Ké-pí^{n} ("bear mountain"), just south of the Colorado line and about seventy-five miles from San Ildefonso, is the site of the shrine of Blue Cloud Man, rain-god of the north.

On the top of Tsi-kúmu^{n}-pi^{n} ("obsidian covered mountain"), twenty miles northwest of the pueblo, is the shrine of Yellow Cloud Man, rain-god of the west.[21]

21 There is confusion in the names of the second and third peaks mentioned. Some of this is due to the over-frequent use of Pelado and its English equivalent, Baldy. Maps of the United States Land Office have Pelado as the outstanding peak of the mountains at the headwaters of Jemez river (the nomenclature adopted above), and Pedernal as the most prominent peak of the mountains southwest of Abiquiu (the site of the west shrine). In his Eth-

Pelado (Spanish, "bald") peak, Sá^{n}hyu^{n}-pí^{n} ("pigeon mountain"), twenty-five miles west of San Ildefonso, is the home of Red Cloud Man, rain-god of the south. Pelado summit is more than eleven thousand feet above the sea.[22]

On Lake peak, Agáchani-pi^{n} (Agáchani, name of a lake), or Támu^{n}-yoge-póqi^{n}-ge ("morning big-at lake at"), near the head of Nambé creek, is the shrine of White Cloud Man, rain-god of the east. This mountain attains an elevation of more than twelve thousand feet.

Ná^{n}-sipó-ge ("earth centre at")[23] a low hill about half a mile southeast of San Ildefonso, is the abode of All-color Cloud Man and Black Cloud Man (or Steam Cloud Man), rain-gods of the zenith and the nadir.

All the Tewa are said to recognize the four mountains named above as the homes of the cloud-gods, but the central shrine is localized near each pueblo. The Keres are said to have shrines of their own on Pelado.

On the south side of the precipitous basaltic hill called Tú^{n}yo,

nogeography of the Tewa Indians (op. cit.) Harrington gives Pelado, Baldy, and Santa Clara peak as names of the highest point in the Abiquiu group, the one known as Tsikúmu npin; and Pelado, Baldy, Redondo, and Jara as names of the Jemez peak. Douglass calls the latter La Sierra de la Bola. The maps also have a Baldy east of Nambé and north of Lake peak, and another northwest of Taos. The nomenclature of the mountain ranges in New Mexico is even more confused. An authoritative fixing of geographical names in this region is highly desirable.

22 Harrington (op. cit.) gives Sandia mountain, Okú-pi n ("turtle mountain"), as the sacred mountain of the south. The statement is not irreconcilable with the paragraph above. Assuming that Sandia is the sacred southern mountain of Tewa cosmogony, it is possible that physical difficulties led to the establishment of the actual shrine of the south rain-god on a peak nearer home. The San Ildefonso informant who named the sites of the shrines for the present writer certainly knew their true locations; and there was no reason why he should identify three of them correctly and give misleading information as to the fourth.

23 *Sipó,* translated "centre," is possibly for Sipófene, the fabled lake at which the people issued upon the earth. Harrington has *sipu,* "the hollow at each side of the abdomen below the ribs," from *si,* belly, *pu*, base; which probably is what the present informant had in mind when he gave "centre."

two miles north of the pueblo, is the shrine of the war-god of the north.[24] Pa^{n}hwá^{n}-pí^{n} ("deer tail mountain"), west of the Rio Grande, is the home of the war-god of the west; Okú-pí^{n} ("turtle mountain")[25] south of the pueblo, has the shrine of the war-god of the south; Póvi-pí^{n} ("flower mountain"), southeast of the village, is the abode of the eastern war-god; and Ku-tsá^{n}qíyo ("rock white old-woman") is the shrine of the war-gods of the zenith and the nadir. This last is about a mile southeastward, the others approximately two miles distant from San Ildefonso. In each of the war-god shrines is a hard, shiny stone of the appropriate ceremonial color, the visible image of the god. These objects, as well as the stone fetishes of a society or an individual, are called *kuháYe,* which may be a Tewa word (*ku*, stone) but probably is a misapplication of Keres *kohávyu* ("bear"), the magic bear-paws used by shamans.

There is no shrine for Poseyémo, which is consistent with the supposition that he is simply a culture hero, the deification of an outstanding leader who had actual, historical existence.

San Ildefonso has the same secret organization as San Juan.

Cacique Societies

The Summer cacique, who controls ceremonial affairs from the end of February to the middle of October, is the head of a secret society called Pá^{n}yoo-ke ("summer strong [one]"), and as such he has the title Pá^{n}yooke, or Pá^{n}yooke-séndo. Although he himself must be of the Summer clan, the members of his society may be of any clan; but they are of course from the Summer moiety. In 1909 there were fourteen members, including the cacique, besides seven female associates concerned with supplying and preparing food. Only two or three of the men were Summer clansmen. In 1924 the membership had been reduced by death to three inch and three women.

24 Douglass visited and sketched nine shrines on the flat summit of Tú nyo. See his Notes on the Shrines of the Tewa and Other Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, Washington, 1917

25 This is perhaps the same as Harrington's Oku-tuwa n-yo, hill height great.

The Winter cacique is head of the Oyí-ke ("ice strong [one]"), and as such is called Oyíke-séndo. He is necessarily of the Ice clan.

Entrance into either society is the result of a pledge to Poseyémo that the petitioner will join if he recovers from the sickness that afflicts him. Having recovered, a man prepares seven bunches of feathers, one each of the feathers of the goose for the north, the turkey for the west, the magpie for the south, the eagle for the east, the oriole for the zenith, the summer warbler for the nadir, and the duck for all directions (that is, the duck, which flies in all directions, will assist in carrying all the prayers to the gods in every quarter). Holding all together he drops a pinch of meal in the midst of them and takes them to the Summer kiva, where he finds the male members, each with a similar bunch. The cacique sits near the wall, and the others are in a curving line at his right and left, the older members sitting next to him. In front of himself the cacique makes a rectangular altar, sifting out with thumb and forefinger fine black sand, yellow corn-pollen, and white meal. No praying nor singing precedes the making of the altar, and during this work no word is spoken.

The altar finished, the cacique lays six turkey-feathers in a row in front of it, beginning at his right. Another places a goose-feather on the first turkey-feather, the second lays one on the next, and so until a goose-feather lies beside or on each of the six turkey-feathers.

Then in the same manner follow feathers of the magpie, eagle, oriole, summer warbler, and duck, so that there are six groups of seven feathers. A short cotton string is placed on each pile. The fourth bunch is then tied by the cacique, and the others by his men, and all are placed in a bowl that sits in front and to the left of the opening of the altar. Without the aid of the cacique the other members then make six more piles of feathers, bind them, and place them in the bowl; and in the same way are made six more, and six more, twenty-four in all. Next the cacique lays in front of the altar a number of corn-husks, all in a row, one for each man excepting himself. Beginning at the left he lays a bunch of feathers on each husk, then comes back to the left end and deposits the remaining feathers as far as the twenty-four reach, removing them from the bowl in groups of six. He now fills a straight pipe, smokes, and passes it along the line. Each member ties one of the husks, enclosing one or more bunches of feathers, and lays it in the bowl, after which the cacique prays to Poseyémo, the six gods of rain,

and the six gods of war, begging them to send rain, to cause the crops to grow and ripen, that the people may be fed. This prayer may vary in its wording according to the fancy of the cacique, and it occupies as much as fifteen or twenty minutes.

The prayer finished, the members rise and seat themselves around the wall of the kiva and eat the food which the women have brought. After the meal the cacique resumes his seat, effaces the altar, and gives one bundle of prayer-plumes to each member, bidding him take it into the country and offer it to the gods. They go in various directions, open the husks, and deposit the bunches of feathers on the ground, naming Poseyémo and all the twelve gods and asking for rain. The husks are brought back and burned in the fire at home.[26]

The new member undergoes no ordeals, and simply takes his place as one of the members.

Four or five times annually the Summer cacique summons his society for instruction. He tells them about the sun, moon, and stars, how they are to conduct themselves honorably, how to pray. As to the sun, he says that each day it comes out of East Sipófene, and goes down into West Sipófene; that in summer it returns from the south to make the earth warm and produce crops, and in winter goes southward to bring snow and rain and thus store moisture in the soil. The moon, he says, follows the same course as the sun, and though sometimes he shows only a little light, he is always there unchanged in size. When the cacique teaches his fellows how to pray, they sit silent, listening, not attempting to learn his prayers verbatim.

On the day before the sun reaches the point farthest north he prepares an altar like that used when a member is initiated, and the priests observe the same procedure as upon that occasion, each one finally taking his prayer-feathers out as an offering to the sun, praying that it will return. Each day at the solstice season the cacique stands on the roof of his house looking anxiously for the sun to start on his return.

The Winter cacique and his society have a similar ritual at the sea-

26 This of course is the merest outline of the ritual of initiation. The subject is one the natives are reluctant to discuss, and few can be induced to tell even the meager details given above. The informant says nothing about corn-ear fetishes, which the members undoubtedly possess, nor about other sacred objects used in connection with the altar.

son of the winter solstice. His altar stands during the four days when the sun is supposed to remain stationary, resting after its long journey southward. Ashes and sweepings must not be removed from the house, lest the rising dust obscure the trail and prevent the sun from starting back. All rubbish is brushed aside, to be removed with general good-feeling and happiness on the fourth day. The kindling of a new fire at this time is said not to be practised at San Ildefonso.

The first three of the four nights preceding the resumption of control of affairs by a cacique are spent in a rehearsal of songs, all the males of the season's moiety, Summer or Winter, assembling in their kiva to practise for a masked pantomime, Okúwa-hyáre ("cloud dance"), on the fourth night. The same dance occurs in the kiva in June. Four songs are used by the Summer party on such occasions, two of them in the Tewa language, one in Keres, and one being wordless. The first two follow.

Sóv-okúwa, okúwa, qa^{n}-pó, posé; poqí^{n} di^{n}kó.
fog cloud rain dew lake have water

Sóv-okúwa, okúwa, qa^{n}-pó, posé; o^{n}wí^{n} di^{n}kó.
village

"Fog, cloud, rain, and dew have a lake. Fog, cloud, rain, and dew have a village."[27]

Towé; pimpíye okúwa ndipí. Towé tsampíye okúwa ndián .
yonder north cloud emerge west come from

Towé akompíye towé tampíye okúwa ndin póvisa.
south east have flowers

"Yonder in the north clouds arise. Yonder in the west clouds approach. Yonder in the south, yonder in the east, billowy clouds arise like flowers."

27 These four forms of moisture are believed to inhabit a lake under the earth, all springs and other visible bodies of water being openings into it.

On the first morning in March, at the beginning of the Summer cacique's resumption of control, the men and youths of the Summer moiety assemble in their kiva and don the customary dance-costumes. Over the loin-cloth is a cotton sash, fringed at both ends, each separate cord hanging from a small ball of corn-husk covered with cotton webbing. Just above each moccasin is a band of black and white skunk-skin. At the right knee is a turtle-shell rattle, in the right hand a gourd rattle and in the left a bunch of Douglas spruce sprigs. Tips of spruce are thrust fanwise beneath the armbands. The torso is painted black, the thighs and forearms are white and the lower legs black.

Thus apparelled they climb out of the kiva and march in single file to the plaza, while the cacique, in ordinary garments of the best kind, takes a position on the roof of the kiva. On the west side of the plaza the dancers form in line, shoulder to shoulder, facing eastward, and lift the feet alternately, striking the ground vigorously and shaking the rattles in time to the first song used by the Summer society in its ceremonies:

Fog, cloud, rain, and dew have a lake.

Fog, cloud, rain, and dew have a village.

They turn, each where he stands, and repeat the song while facing the west, then turn again to the east, again to the west, and a third time to the east. Then in single file they march to the right, turn at right angles on the spot where their leader stood, face northward on the south side of the plaza, and chant the same song, thrice facing the north and twice the south. In single file they proceed to the right and take a position facing westward, exactly opposite their first station, and repeat the song five times, reversing each time. Finally they stand on the north side of the square and after repeating the song five times they return to the kiva, where they remain about a quarter of an hour, resting and rehearsing the next song in low tones.

When they reappear they take the first position on the west side and chant five times the second song:

Yonder in the north clouds arise. Yonder in the west clouds approach. Yonder in the south, yonder in the east, billowy clouds arise like flowers.

Passing the south side of the square without stopping, they dance

and sing as before in the third position, then pass the north side on their return to the kiva.

At noon intervenes a long period for rest and food, after which the dancers come forth again and passing along the west side take their place on the south, where they chant five times the Keres song mentioned before. This they repeat five times on the north side.

On their fourth appearance they observe the same procedure as on the first, repeating twenty times the last song of the series.

During the dancing and the intermission following the first and the third performance the cacique maintains his dignified stand on the roof of the kiva.

On the first of November the members of the Winter moiety perform in a similar manner.

At the summer solstice the Summer cacique with three or four fellows of his society visits the shrine of the north rain-god on San Antonio or of the west rain-god on Tsikúmu ^{n}pi^{n}, alternating between the two. The Winter cacique in his season makes a pilgrimage to the shrine of the east rain-god on Lake peak one year and to that of the south rain-god on Pelado the next. Each cacique annually visits the central shrine. Before departing from the kiva on these pilgrimages the cacique and his companions bathe prayerfully. At the shrine they remove their clothing and carefully clear any accumulation of rubbish from the entrance and from the enclosed space. Inside the enclosure they prepare an altar of black sand, pollen, and meal, and after making and asperging the medicine-water and praying not only for their own people but for all Indians and the entire world, they spread out twelve bunches of feathers, one for each rain-god and each war-god. The local deity is supposed to distribute these among his fellow gods. Then taking up their sacred objects they withdraw, leaving the altar design undisturbed. In the entrance to the shrine they make a ceremonial trail of meal, pollen, and feathers for the use of the clouds on their way from the shrine to the village fields.

Society of Shamans[28]

28 In 1909 there were six members of the shamans' society, but in 1924 there were only two and consequently the society no longer was active.

The Pufónu performed a public healing ceremony in the autumn. Their altar, a bed of sand and meal, behind which stood a row of corn-ears decorated with feathers, one ear for each member, was made in the Summer kiva. These *yíya* ("mother") were addressed as Blue Corn Woman. Bear-paw skins, flints, and stone figurines representing bear, cougar, wolf, badger, eagle, redtail hawk, and rattlesnake (these being the real *pufónu),* lay about the altar, and a round medicine-bowl stood in front. After singing while preparing medicine in the bowl, the shamans, all except the leader, Pufónu-séndo, passed about among the audience and slapped the people with the bear-paws, which they wore on the right hand, and sucked the sickness from them. They did not carry their flints, as do the Keres. After sucking at a person's body they spat into the bowl a small quantity of cattail-down, and at the conclusion of the rites one of them emptied the bowl in the river. In the course of the proceedings the shamans rushed from the kiva and at various points outside the village they shouted and fired their guns in combat with the sorcerers (*tyugé*). After a time they came in simulating great exhaustion and exhibiting a small effigy of rags or fur, which they at once burned in the fire.

When an individual needs a medicine-man he sends for any one of the Pufónu. The shaman brings a bowl and other sacred objects, prepares the usual altar, and proceeds to sing, make medicine, rub the patient with a bear-paw, suck out the sickness, and spit cattail-down into the bowl. Though the treatment may not be successful, it is not repeated. If the shaman feels that the case is hopeless, he refuses to attempt a cure, and no criticism is offered if a patient dies after treatment. The shaman is rewarded with a bowl of meal.

In a secret meeting in the Summer kiva before the spring planting the Pufónu arranged their altar and prayed that the seed might sprout, and that no disease or plague of insects beset the young plants. Before the harvest they prayed that the food to be garnered might suffice until the next year's crops were gathered.

Shamans of two kinds existed at San Ildefonso. The Téma-ké ("Keres bear") were recognized as derived from Cochiti (and probably were initiated there), while the Téwa-ké ("Tewa bear") were supposed to be of local origin. Whether these were simply two classes within the ranks of the Pufónu society, or two separate societies, does not appear.

Clown Societies

In 1909 there were three male and five female Kósa, in 1924 three male and two female. They meet in the Winter kiva and hold a dance either in the spring or in the autumn, while at the same time the Kwíraina perform in alternate dancing, using the Summer kiva. Membership in these societies is independent of moiety affiliation. The Kósa have the hair tied up with corn-husks, paint the body white with black horizontal stripes, and have black ovals about eyes and mouth. The Kwíraina have hawk-feathers in the hair and paint the body and face black, white, red, yellow, as the individual fancies. Stripes and spots are much in evidence. In Tewa the Kwíraina (an adopted Keres term) are called Sá^{n}hyu^{n} ("pigeon").[29] Besides their own society dances, in which they act much like the Keres clowns, the Kósa and Kwíraina participate as fun-makers in all public dances.

In November the two clown societies perform publicly in Qa^{n}tembé-hyáre ("rainbow dance"), popularly called the Koshari dance. Each Kósa woman wears over her ordinary dress a black manta, and across the crown of her head a bow-shape device painted with the colors of the rainbow and having several parrot-feathers dangling at each end. The men are painted and accoutered as heretofore described. Emerging from the Winter kiva they dance in two parallel rows, and the Kwíraina, coming from the Summer kiva, form in line between them. Then the Kósa form two concentric circles, the men outside, revolving again and again, while the Kwíraina dance at random here and there. Next the men form two parallel lines, kneeling and facing each other, and the women dance between them, forth and back, twice in each direction. All this is repeated again before the noon meal, and twice

29 This is the term used by San Juan informants to describe the group of individuals who join no society. The two statements appear to be irreconcilable. It is to be noted that the Tewa have been persistent borrowers of Keres ceremonial practice, and it is not impossible that transplanted customs assumed different forms in different localities. Thus some of the Tewa associate Kósa and Kwíraina (Qí rano) with the Summer and the Winter kiva respectively; but San Ildefonso reverses the association, agreeing with the rule at Cochiti (Keres).

more in the afternoon. The sense of the songs is:

The clouds come, and rain, and while it rains they put a bridge, the rainbow, from one mountain to another. When the rain is gone, fogs spread over the mountain and yield moisture, to make our crops grow and ripen. We are happy.

Okúwa-Hyáre, Cloud Dance

Masked personators of the cloud-gods dance in the kiva in June and also on the night before the Summer cacique takes office in February. All the performers, numbering about twenty-five, are of the Summer moiety.

While they are dressing in a room adjoining the kiva, the men and boys of the pueblo are sitting expectantly around the walls of the ceremonial chamber, and two Kósa enter. One of them takes ashes in his left palm and claps his right upon it, causing a puff of white dust to fill the air, and he gazes to the north, saying, "I see nothing." He bids his companion look, and the latter follows his example, peering westward and repeating, "I see nothing." Alternately they repeat this act, looking in succession to the south, the east, the zenith, and the nadir. The first Kósa then makes puffs of dust in each of these six directions and cries, "I saw a large lake!" The second claps his hands toward the north, looks, and says, "Yes, I saw the lake." The first makes a puff in the same direction and exclaims, "I saw clouds coming!" The other repeats the act and the statement. Again clapping his hands and looking northward, the first says, "Well, then, the clouds are coming with rain, with lightning, with thunder, to make our crops grow, to make us happy, to give us good luck." Again he urges his companion to look, and the latter announces: "Yes, I saw the clouds putting a rainbow over to Ké-pí^{n} ['bear mountain' — San Antonio peak]. They are coming on the rainbow." He bids the first man look, and the latter declares: "Yes, I see them coming on the rainbow. They are putting the rainbow from Bear Mountain to Kúa-po ['mountainsheep water' — Tres Piedras]."[30] And he commands the other to look.

"Yes, they are coming, they are putting the rainbow from Mountain-sheep Water to Tsí^{n}-wi*n*i ['dark promontory' — Black mesa west

30 Also called Kúa-ku ("mountain-sheep rock").

of Embudo]."

"They have left the rainbow now, and are walking! They are running to Te-sóyo-ge ['cottonwood big at' — between San Juan and Santa Clara]."

"They are coming at Ká'po [Santa Clara]."

"They are coming at Tú^{n}yo [the hill near San Ildefonso]."

"They are coming at Po-sí^{n}-bú ['water clear-blue hole']."

"They are coming here close to the wall of the kiva!"

"They are on the roof!"

Then a noise is heard overhead, the first Kósa cries, "Come in!" and the masked men, the Okúwa, come down the ladder, one by one. They arrange themselves in a line, and sing and dance. Each carries a number of ears or stalks of corn. In singing the Okúwa use no words, merely repeating the vocable *hu^{n}, hu^{n} hu^{n}*. After a while they follow their chief up the ladder, having deposited their corn at the left of the fire in a corner of the room. The two Kósa distribute the ears and stalks among the spectators, advising them to plant the grains; and the cacique delivers a speech urging his people to act honorably, not to steal, to inculcate honesty in their children, to plant and care for the crops industriously. This done, all depart. Outsiders are not permitted to observe this ceremony.

Okú-Hyáre, Turtle Dance

The Turtle dance is one of numerous performances given in the plaza and open to spectators. Its name, referring to the turtle-shell rattles of the participants, is by no means distinctive, inasmuch as these objects are a part of the regulation dance-costume. Like most of the public dances it has a religious purpose, in this case the bringing of clouds and rain, although apparently no secret esoteric rites are involved. The Winter cacique has charge, but he calls on his colleague for the assistance of his young men. Illogically the performers make use of the Summer kiva.

On the two nights preceding Christmas day the men and boys of both moieties practise dancing and singing in the Summer kiva. The four songs used in the secret society of the Summer cacique and in the dance following the resumption of control by a cacique are employed also in the Turtle dance. On the morning of Christmas day the men and

boys who have been chosen by the war-chief go into the kiva and dress and paint in the manner of participants in the cacique dance. They emerge in single file and dance on the four sides of the square, as previously described. In the Turtle dance, however, the line of performers is led by Kósa-séndo, who appears in everyday dress and stands, without dancing, at the end of the line.

When the performers appear the second time, the other Kósa come running out of their Winter kiva and dance to the east of the imaginary square around which the other dancers take their successive positions. When Kósa-séndo leads his dancers to their second station, that is, on the third or east side of the square, where they face the west, the Kósa rush at him as if to frighten him, and he retreats into the kiva They then make a circle of ashes inside the dance-ground and dance in it. Should anyone else enter this circle, it is a sign that he means to join the society. The male Kósa are naked, except for the loin-cloth, and painted with alternate bands of black and white, and the hair is covered with a cap of buffalo-skin, which rises in two horns. The women wear dresses. When this second song is finished, they go as far as the steps of the Summer kiva, and after the others have disappeared they return to the circle of ashes and dance again.

After the noon intermission, during which the clowns go about begging bread and collecting it in the folds of their blankets, the dancers reappear, dance at the south and the north of the plaza, and retire. Then again the clowns dance.

The dancers come out the fourth time and dance in the four positions, while the clowns stand still, and after the former have withdrawn the Kósa obliterate the circle of ashes and retire.

Kóo-hyáre, Buffalo Dance

The Buffalo dance occurs on the twenty-third of January, the feast of San Ildefonso. Before dawn seven maskers selected by the war-chief meet at a spot behind two hills near the village. Two men and a girl have head-dresses of buffalo-fur and horns, two men wear deer-antlers, and two others antelope-horns. With them is a man who simulates a herder. He probably is, or represents Pínkán, head of the hunters' cult. Grouped about a small fire, they wait until at sunrise come five or six singers in ordinary dress, singing a call for the animals to enter the vil-

lage. The maskers now come out between the two hills, first having given notice of their approach by a cloud of smoke. The singers stand in a line facing the hills, and when the animals are seen drawing near, the dancers come out from the village and stand at the sides of the trail near the singers, forming in two opposite ranks extending toward the pueblo. The maskers with characteristic movements pass between the ranks of the dancers, and thus in three parallel files preceded by the singers the party dances into the plaza. There they finish the first dance, maintaining the same formation, all facing the east, the dancers in single files forming the north and south sides of a square, the singers shoulder to shoulder forming the east side, the maskers in three ranks between the dancers, first the three Buffalo, then the two Deer, last the two Antelope, the watchful herder standing near the Buffalo. The first song finished, the dancers form two lines on the south side of the plaza, flanking the door of Buffalo House (the residence of Kóo-séndo, head of the Buffalo clan), and between them the maskers retire. In single file the dancers, followed by the singers, enter a room above the Winter kiva. Breakfast is eaten, and the singers and the general population repair to the church.

After mass the dancers are joined by an equal number of women and by the singers, and soon the latter take their place in the plaza. The dancers follow in single file, men and women alternating, and form two lines from the door of Buffalo House. The men have black faces, white throats, black torsos, white waists and thighs, and black calves; on the head is a pair of buffalo-horns. Women have beaded headbands, eagle-feathers on the head, blue-black mantas, white deerskin boots. Between the lines the maskers come out, and in this formation all march through the west end of the plaza and halt in front of the church, standing in the same relative positions as in the early morning performance. They dance and sing, then return from the church to the plaza and repeat the song three times, after which the maskers return to Buffalo House and the others to the room above the kiva.

At their next appearance following the noon intermission the singers stand at the east of the plaza looking westward, while the Buffalo face north and the others east. Then, while the singers, the Deer, and the Antelope face west, the others turn south. Next the dancers and the Buffalo face north, but the singers west and the Deer and the Antelope east.

In the fourth dance the singers first face the east, the dancers and the Buffalo north, the Deer and the Antelope east. Next the dancers and the Buffalo look north, the Deer and the Antelope west, the singers still facing east.

Four songs, one for each separate appearance of the performers, are used, two of which follow.

Far away in the Red River[31] mountains and valleys,
Buffalo Old-woman, Buffalo Old man, get up.
With all your people, get up quickly.
With your clouds, get up, with your lightning, get up.
With your thunder, get up, with your rain, get up.

Thanks, my dear old Poseyémo, that you ripen crops. Bring rain, my dear one, make the corn drink. Cause Cloud Boys to bring rain, to ripen the wheat for my dear little ones. Cause the snow to bring springtime; then when we plant, cause the crops to grow.

Kohéye-hyáre, Tablita Dance

The Tablita dance, popularly called Corn dance, occurs on the thirteenth of June and the sixth of September, except when the Summer cacique decides to have the Foot dance, which then takes place on the earlier date. Ten to fifteen men and an equal number of women, selected by the war-chief from both moieties, spend a part of four nights in the Summer kiva, practising the four songs and the dancing, the singers grouped about the fire, the women, when not dancing, sitting along the east wall and the male dancers along the west wall. On the fourth night the dancers bring feathers with which the cacique makes prayer-plumes, and when the singing is ended each man takes six of these offerings and deposits them in as many different localities a few hundred yards from the pueblo. The women place their offerings at the altar, which is secreted in a small excavation in the plaza and covered with a flat stone. The altar is the same as the one used by the Summer society. It is concealed to avoid profanation by the numerous American and Mexican spectators.

31 Reference is to Canadian river, known also as Red river, in eastern New Mexico.

About the middle of the following morning the male dancers enter the kiva and don the customary ceremonial dress and painting, after which the women join them and adjust their *kohéye*. These are broad, thin, wooden head-dresses (Spanish, tablitas), nowadays sometimes made of shingles. They are painted with symbols of clouds, rain, lightning, thunder, and flowers. The lower edge is concave, so as to fit across the crown of the head. When all are ready, the singers come out and stand in a circle near the south entrance of the plaza, and, led by Kósa-séndo, the dancers follow, men and women alternating. These form two files, one on either side of the circle of singers, and all looking northward. After a song, they march to the plaza, where the singers form a circle in the southwest quarter and the dancers make two lines extending east and west, facing each other and looking north and south. The song is repeated, and the dancers, merging into a single line, retire into the kiva, followed by the singers.

After an interval of rest, they repeat the same procedure, except that in the plaza the two lines of dancers extend north and south, facing each other. The second song finished, they retire for the noon interval, the men remaining in the kiva to partake of food brought by various women, and the female dancers departing to their several homes. Later the war-chief leads them back to the kiva, and the dancers make their third appearance, repeating the acts of the first occasion but employing a different song. The fourth dance is a repetition of the second, but the song is a new one. The ceremony concluded, they retire to the kiva, and the war-chief bids them cast into the river the Douglas spruce tips which they have been holding in their hands, and then wash themselves in the stream.

Tsé-hyáre, Eagle Dance

The Eagle dance is performed on the sixth of January. As in other winter dances of a public nature the Winter cacique authorizes his colleague to bid the war-chief select the dancers. Accordingly two men are named to simulate eagles. The hair is made into a stiff braid that projects in front like an eagle's beak, and the head is covered with cloth on which eagle-feathers are sewed. A long strip of heavy cloth is covered with wing-feathers, and at each extremity is a hole through which the dancer passes a finger, the strip crossing his shoulders and

concealing his arms. The tail is represented by a piece of cloth covered with tail-feathers, which is attached to the loin-cloth at the back. The body is painted black, yellow, and gray, conforming to the eagle's coloring.

Half a dozen singers and the two dancers come out of the house in which the latter have been dressing, and proceed to the plaza, performing as they go. They make two appearances. This dance apparently has no special significance, except as "we believe in the eagle, he can give us good luck."

Á^{n}-hyáre, Foot Dance

When the foot-race is to be held instead of the Tablita dance of June thirteenth, those youths of both moieties who have been chosen by the war-chief to participate in the contest spend four or five afternoons practising running outside the village. They are usually twelve to fourteen in number on each side, and from fifteen to twenty-five years of age. Sometimes, in these days of depleted population, mere children participate. On the morning of the thirteenth the two parties, which are not divided along moiety lines, are assembled by some of the war-chiefs in two houses at opposite sides of the plaza, where they strip and paint themselves according to their individual fancy. Then one party takes its place at the west side of the plaza, the other at the east, and each party, in two lines facing each other, dances sidewise past the other to the opposite end of the course and back again. Half of each band then walk to the other goal and stand beside their opponents. Between the two parallel courses for the runners are planted at each goal two cottonwood boughs, one a pace or two in advance of the other. Beside the farther of each pair stand two rival racers, and simultaneously with the beat of a drum they leap forward. When one of them reaches the first bough at the other end of the course, the umpire at that end strikes his drum and a waiting member of the same team starts out. The runners strive their utmost, not only for the honor of winning but because they are thus giving strength to the sun for his return journey from the north. In conclusion the racers again dance sidewise forth and back over the course.

Tú^{n}-hyáre, Basket Dance

The Basket dance, a prayer for rain for the planting, is performed in March. The Summer cacique bids the war-chief select men and women dancers from both parties, and these meet in the Summer kiva to practise on four nights preceding the day of the dance. On the first of these nights the cacique makes prayer-plumes which the men deposit outside the village, and on the fourth night more plumes are made, to be taken next morning by two or three dancers to the mountains and left there as offerings to the spirits of Douglas spruce. They return to the village in the afternoon with spruce boughs, which they take into the kiva without formality.

On the following morning the cacique makes medicine-water, with which he asperges the branches, and the dancers commence to paint and dress. They have black torsos, white waists and thighs, black lower legs, faces unpainted. The costume is the usual one: loin-cloth, sash, moccasins, skunk-skin at the ankles, fox-skin hanging behind, yarn arm-bands with inserted sprigs of spruce, yarn bands below the knees, turtle-shell rattle behind one knee, spruce tips in the left hand, gourd rattle in the right. The women have mantas and boots, spruce in the hair behind the head, a bunch of spruce in one hand and a basket in the other. Both sexes have eagle-down on the hair, symbolizing clouds. Led by Kósa-séndo they proceed from the kiva to the plaza and dance in two parallel files, the men in one, the women in the other. From time to time they turn and face in the opposite direction. At various intervals the women invert their baskets on the ground, then each places on her basket the end of a short stick, across which she rubs a notched stick, thus producing a sound representing thunder. The act symbolizes the grinding of meal which they hope to have as a result of this year's planting. Four songs are used, that is, the dancers make four appearances, two in the morning and two in the afternoon. Kósa-séndo participates only in the first dance. Thereafter the performers are taken in charge by two other Kósa, who dance about the line as if to keep intruders away.

Á^{n}teye-hyáre, Foot-lift Dance

This so-called Thunder dance sometimes takes the place of the Basket dance, or it may occur about September. In the one case it is a prayer for rain for the planting, in the other a thanksgiving for crops that have

matured. The men are painted and dressed as in the Basket dance, but have turkey-feathers, quill to quill, across the top of the head. Two women participate, each having a squash-shell in one end of which a hole has been cut large enough to admit the hand for removing the fleshy interior. These are dried, so that when struck they produce the drumming sound responsible for the popular name of the ceremony.

The preliminary making of prayer-plumes and practising of songs occur on four nights, and prayer-plumes are made and deposited for the spruce spirit, as in the Basket dance. Kósa-séndo leads the dancers at their first appearance, and thereafter two other Kósa have them in charge. During the four dances the women sit and beat the squash-shell drums, while the men dance one behind another.

Yére-hyáre, Seed-clean Dance

For some unknown reason this ceremony is called by local Americans the Snowbird dance. It occurs in March. In the usual way the cacique tells the war-chief to select his dancers and singers, songs are practised, prayer-plumes are made and offered to the gods, and spruce boughs are brought from the mountains. The men wear moccasins, skunk-skin anklets, deerskin or cotton leggings, yarn leg-bands, sash, fox-skin behind, deerskin or cotton shirt, a fan of turkey-feathers at the back of the head. In the left hand is a bunch of spruce tips, in the right a gourd rattle. The face is unpainted, and turtle-shell rattles are absent. The women, about equal in number to the men, wear boots and mantas; their hair, hanging loose, is flecked with eagle-down, and in each hand is a bunch of spruce. The Kósa do not participate. Both men and women make motions of raising the hands to the shoulders and bringing them down forward, in simulation of the act of planting, the purpose of the ceremony being to keep the seed free from disease and pest.

Such are the public ceremonial performances of San Ildefonso, so far as they have survived; but there is little doubt that before the Spanish missionaries in their zeal made every effort to abolish all native practices that were repugnant to their teachings, Tewa ceremonies were far more numerous and elaborate.