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LAGUNA

HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION

LAGUNA, principal seat of one of the two divisions of the western Keres, is situated on the south side of San Jose river about forty-five miles west of the Rio Grande. It was established in 1699. Beginning about the year 1870 various summer settlements began to be more and more permanently occupied, until today Laguna is simply the best-known of eleven villages of the group.

The oldest and largest of the outlying pueblos, equalling, if not slightly exceeding, Laguna in population, is Paguate, separated from the mother pueblo by eight miles of difficult road and perched on a slightly elevated rocky eminence overlooking a small valley. The original Indian settlement at Paguate was an outpost established for the purpose of checking the Navaho. A grant of this land was made by the Spanish Government to Antonio Paguati and others during the governorship of Don Tomás Vélez Cachupin (1749-1754), and the grantees sold it to the Lagunas in 1769. In 1746 four or five hundred Navaho had been induced by Father Juan M. Menchero to renounce their nomadic habits and settle at Cebolleta (Seboyeta). After four years the Navaho, bored by uninterrupted agricultural pursuits, abandoned their fields, which passed into the hands of Mexicans. Nevertheless, the Navaho continued to regard the Cebolleta country as their own, and made not infrequent attempts to despoil the Mexican settlers there, as well as the Laguna farmers at Paguate. It was in answer to this threat that the Lagunas built at Paguate three permanent buildings, two of which had an upper story used as a watchtower and place of refuge.

Throughout the eighteenth century there were frequent conflicts with Mexican slavers, and both then and later Navaho, Apache, and occasionally Ute raiders were a constant menace. Against these tribes Laguna warriors often combined with Mexican settlers and soldiers, who claimed as slaves any prisoners taken. It was during these times of tribal warfare that such Mexican settlements as Cebolleta and Cubero were established, and their occupancy was possible only because of their nearness to populous Laguna.

The following clans, exogamous and matrilineal, are now repre-

sented at Laguna:[1]

1. *Osáts*[a], Sun
2. Tsíts[i], Water
3. Shúwimi, Turquoise
4. Yáka, Corn
5. Hápañi, Scrub-oak
6. Qaíya, Bear
7. Tsósk[i], Coyote
8. Tyóp[i], Badger
9. Kûts[i], Antelope
10. Tyámí, Eagle
11. Tsínna, Turkey
12. Sháwi*ty*[i], Parrot
13. Shá*s*ka, Roadrunner
14. Méyo, Lizard
15. *S*ówi, Rattlesnake
16. Tsíka, Cicada

Sun, Bear, Roadrunner, Parrot are numerous; Rattlesnake became extinct between 1917 and 1924.

The alien origin of many of these clans is recognized, but in many particulars informants disagree. Roadrunner, Badger, and Antelope are Zuñi clans. Parrot is variously assigned to Zuñi and to Sia. The Sun clan "came from the Hopi." These statements concerning the origin of clans should not be always taken, as they usually have been, to indicate the migration of a considerable group of people from one tribe or pueblo to another. In most cases a clan was introduced from one group to another simply by marriage. Thus, in an eastward flight of the Hopi from dire famine, a Hopi girl of the Sun clan married and so established her clan at Laguna. This is on the authority of a member of the clan,

1 Add *háno*, person, for the singular, *hánots*[a] for the plural.
Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons has noted also Deer, Pumpkin, and Wheat, all extinct. The Deer clan existed until recently at Acoma, and the Squash clan *(táñi'* is improperly translated pumpkin) is still represented there. Asá'ñi, Grass (the word was applied to wheat when that grain was introduced), is at Acoma a name-object of the Antelope clan.

who had the information from his grandparents. During the period of disturbance following the uprising of 1680 there was a considerable incorporation of small alien groups by various pueblos, but intermarriage has no doubt been the principal factor in giving approximate uniformity to the Pueblo clan system.[2]

Some of the clans are paired, notably Oak and Cicada, Lizard and Rattlesnake, but no informant is willing to assert that all the sixteen clans are arranged in eight pairs. This coupling of clans is explained by one informant as the association of a numerically diminished group with a more flourishing one in former times, when the racing contests between clans were customary. Another recognizes the true, if not ultimate, meaning when she says the pairing is based on similarity or association of names. Members of two paired clans call one another *sanawai,* just as if they were clansmen; but paired clans are not exogamous.

CUSTOMS

Marriage is now an affair of the church, but until recently the native customs were carried out in connection with the ecclesiastical rites. The girl's parents called on the young man's parents to arrange the match, and on a day agreed upon they returned with a few relatives and led him to their home. The bride's relatives then spent several days in grinding meal, which they gave to the other family, who later brought to her house a quantity of clothing and distributed it there at the wedding feast. The former custom that a man take up his residence with the wife's people is not now always observed. Divorce was

2 Mr. F.W. Hodge was told in 1895, when traditionists must have had better information than those of this generation, that Bear, Eagle, Water, Turkey, Corn, came from Acoma; Badger, Parrot, Roadrunner, Antelope, from Zuñi; Sun, probably from San Felipe; Rattlesnake, probably from Oraibi; Wolf (now extinct) and Turquoise, from Sandia; Earth (now extinct), from Jemez; Cougar (now extinct) and Oak, from Mount Taylor.

Regarding the relative importance of intermarriage and migration as factors in the diffusion of clans, it must be conceded that Laguna occupies a special position in that it was founded after the end of the period of revolt against the Spanish, but at a time when all the Pueblos were in a state of unrest; and, unlike most of the pueblos of today, it was not simply a new site for a migrating, homogeneous population.

merely an agreement to separate, or the abandonment of one spouse by the other. The levitate was not practised.

In childbirth a Laguna woman is attended by a midwife, who massages her abdomen and determines if the infant is lying in the proper position. She administers herb medicine in which is mixed the powdered remains of a dried lizard, in the belief that the swift, gliding movement of the lizard will facilitate the delivery. The placenta is buried in a spot where fresh water spreads out thinly over the ground. A cotton pad bound over the umbilicus is kept constantly moist, and when the stump falls off it is taken with the cotton and (if the infant is a boy) buried in the field of his mother's family in order to make him an industrious farmer. If the child is a girl, it is buried beneath the mealing-stones so that she will become a good housewife. For a period of three days after childbirth the mother remains in bed, drinking frequently of hot decoctions, especially of juniper-twigs.

In the native custom a corpse was immediately turned with the head to the east, and was washed and clothed. The face was marked with paint of many colors in allusion, it is said, to the turning of the body into dust, which in turn becomes plants of various hues. It was buried in a grave, lying on the back with the head eastward.[3] The white down-feather of an eagle was tied to the hair, which floating upward would carry the soul with it. Bowls of food and water were deposited in the grave, and on the third morning a basket, filled with broken food and covered with cotton into which many prayer-sticks were thrust, was placed there. On this day a shaman went about the house with his feathers and expelled bad luck. There was no ceremonial purification of those who handled the dead, and mourning was confined to a few days of walling by the women. Speaking the name of a recently dead person was avoided by tacit agreement, but there was no actual taboo.

The cacique, *hóchañi,* and the war-chief, *tsátyô-hóchañi* ("country chief"), were the only aboriginal officers. The former, of priestly rather

3 Usual Pueblo practice was to lay the head of a corpse toward the north, the region of the original home of the people. Zuñi is an exception; here the dead are interred with the head eastward (as was the usual practice in ancient times), the males in the southern half and the females in the northern half of the church cemetery. The Zuñi do not sleep with the head directed eastward.

than political rank, occupied his position for life and was succeeded by his most capable assistant. His duty was to think and plan for the welfare of the people, and particularly to pray and fast and see that the various ceremonial organizations began their activities at the proper time. The others planted and hunted for him, and he did no labor. When a new cacique took office, the Shíwanna society made for him a ladder with three uprights instead of the usual two, so that in case of necessity two persons could use it simultaneously. On the top of each side pole was a wooden parrot, and curving above the ladder a wooden rainbow. This was his ensign. The ladder of a deceased cacique remained standing at his family's home.

The war-chief was always a man of the Oak clan. He held his position for life, and worked solely for the commonweal. He was expected to eat little and to be upright, unselfish, and courageous. He made his own public announcements, but in other matters this was done by the crier, *kokátseét*.[1]

At the present time the officials are *tápop*^{u}, the governor, two *tápop*^{u}*hôkawátsishi* ("governor helper"), and a fiscal with two assistants for each village of the Laguna group. The people assemble at Laguna on the first day of the year and by a standing vote elect these officials. Laguna is the only pueblo where the people have any voice in the selection of officers. An important duty of the governor is to sell live stock and wool for the community and to see that individuals pay their debts as well as receive their proportionate returns from the merchants.

When a scalp was taken there was a victory-dance in which, as' at Acoma, the Kasári played a principal part. The scalp was carried at the tip of a pole, and the Kasári shot arrows toward the enemy country in order to rid themselves of evil influence, and perhaps as an expression of defiance. After the dance the scalp was deposited in a large jar in a cave near the pueblo. The Kasári chief was custodian of the scalps.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The Laguna ceremonial system has been decadent since about 1880, when a progressive faction, disgusted with the chicanery of the shamans, destroyed a large number of their fetishes. Detailed information, and even a dependable outline, of the system can no longer be had. The following fraternities are named:

1. Ko*r*aína-ch!aiáñi, or Shíi'kami [4]
2. Hís*ty*iañi-ch!aiáñi, Flint Shamans
3. *S*ówi-ch!aiáñi, Rattlesnake Shamans
4. Hákañi-ch!aiáñi, Fire Shamans
5. Kasári-ch!aiáñi, [5]
6. Skóyu-ch!aiáñi,, [6]Giant Shamans
7. Shíwanna-ch!aliñi, Cloud-god Shamans
8. Saíyap-ch!aiáñi
9. Sahaíya-ch!aiáñi

All these societies treated sickness, and at the summer solstice arranged their altars and sang for good crops and health. At least some of them performed feats of magic, the Kas*á*ri shamans "swallowing" wooden wands, the Hákañi extinguishing fire in the mouth, the Rattlesnake shamans handling snakes.[7] All but the Kas*á*ri and the Shíwanna are now extinct, and these no longer practise as shamans, but celebrate the Shíwanna dance occasionally. The only other native ceremony still observed is a necessarily decadent form of the summer and the winter solstice rites by two Kas*á*ri, the only survivors of the old priestly party.

When the fraternities assembled in their respective quarters at the summer solstice and again at the winter solstice, they spent the entire day chanting a cycle of songs reciting the long wanderings of the people. The chant was little more than a catalogue of names of places

4 Ko*r*aína is equivalent to eastern Keres Kwí' *r*anna.

5 An informant translates: s *aríni*, rags; *kasári*, his rags; referring to the ragged loincloth affected by these fun-making dancers. This is probably folk-etymology.

6 *S*kóyu really is an ogre. Cf. Hopi Súyuku, Zuñi Súyuki.

7 In I917 there died a man who had related to the informant how in his youth his father wished to initiate him into the Rattlesnake fraternity. He was taken to a place near the Laguna hamlet of Santa Ana (Púñistyi), where there was a circular hole in the ground. His father prayed and offered corn-pollen, and called to the Rattlesnake chief. A very large rattlesnake came out of the hole. It had horns. The man said, "Now come into my hand." The snake crawled upon his hand, and he ordered his son to approach. But the youth was afraid.
This is one of numerous bits of testimony pointing to the existence of a snake cult which kept very large rattlesnakes either in cells of the houses or in outdoor dens.

where they had stopped, much like the origin and migration myth of the Pima. This continued until after dark, then the people were invited into the houses. The members sat behind the altar and sang dance-songs, while the people stood in a row and danced in their places, men and women in separate groups. From time to time a member took his place at one end of the line as a director. The members now and then drank their herb medicine and at the conclusion they gave the dancers a drink. There were four medicine-bowls, one for each cardinal direction, standing on the "earth," a space covered with a mixture of sand and meal. Behind this were narrow painted boards standing upright and painted in various colors to represent cloud and other deities. The house door remained open, and from it to the "earth" extended a trail of sand and meal. There was a basket full of prayer-sticks, one of which was given to each dancer. At dawn the shamans and some of the older men who had been especially invited by them to assist, deposited the prayer-sticks at shrines or in the fields.

The Shíwanna, or Kátsina, constituted a fraternity of masked dancers impersonating various cloud-gods. Into this society every boy was initiated by flogging. Following are the names of some of these deities:

1. Kaiyámusha*ty*[i] ("bearded"), or Cháquna,[8] wore a black mask with prominent, serrated teeth and a long, black beard of horsehair. A yellow angle was painted above each eye. The mask covered only the face, and black fleece concealed the back of the head. He carried a bow, arrows, and a yucca whip. When the maskers represented this character, they were invariably accompanied by Mashch*ts*waí and Sa*r*a*r*aspíyo, who served as messengers in bringing absent members to the kiva.

2. Mashch*ts*waí, a mythic personage who enticed women to his home in a cliff and cast them to the bottom, was represented by a mask with a curving beak, a fan-shape band of feathers of the eagle or the redtail hawk at the back, and a bunch of short parrot-feathers at the crown. He had a long staff tipped with a bunch of spruce sprigs and spirally wound with colored yarn, which at two points held two eagle-feathers at opposite sides directed upward

8 This is the equivalent of Zuñi Cháqena; but the Zuñi masker of that name represents giant woman who led an enemy encountered by the people in their migration.

like leaves of sprouting corn. He wore a Hopi kilt, and a fox-skin hung behind at his waist. The Acoma equivalent is Máashty *ts*uai.
3. Sa*r*aspíyo[9] had a mask with a tubular beak, crow-feathers about the neck, a bunch of short and a pair of long parrot-feathers at the crown. He carried a yucca whip, and wore a Hopi kilt.
4. Mó'ts^{i} ("Hopi") mask covered the entire head. The eyes were triangular, the mouth was circular and surrounded by red wool. Above each ear were two long feathers of an eagle, one of a parrot. Short parrot-feathers were on the top of the mask, and in the back a piece of black fleece hung to the shoulders. When the dancers repre sented Mó'ts^{i}*ts*^{a} (plural), they were accompanied by Náwish.
5. Náwish had four long turkey-feathers equally spaced and upright on the crown, with a downy turkey-feather, representing a cloud, at the tip of each. The top of the mask was tufted with red or black wool, the circular mouth was surrounded by red wool.
6. Hémish Kátsina ("Jemez cloud-god").
7. Kowápeuts^{i} wore a face-mask with long hair behind.
8. Waíyos ("duck") Kátsina had mandibles like those of a duck.
9. Sto*r*óka wore a woman's dress and carried in the left hand an ear of corn in a mass of spruce-leaves. His ears were corn-husk cones with the apex downward, his mouth was a circle of dyed jack-rabbit fur, and his eyes were shaped like the line of the human outer ear. He represented a berdache.
10. Chópak^{u} mask was green and had a duck-bill. There was a long parrot-feather above the right ear. The personators of this character imitated the quacking of ducks.
11. Ts!íts!ûnûts! (*ts!íts!ûts!*, clenched teeth) was the flogger in the initiation rites.
12. Kúmaiyôsh^{i} were the clownish messengers of the Shíwanna, representing the mythic children of Kóchinni-náko ("yellow maid") and her two handsome brothers, Paíya tyûmû ("youth").[10] They were the equivalent of the Zuñi Kóyemashi.
13. Paíyatyûmû ("youth").

9 The name is evidently not Keres. It sounds Spanish.

10 When for any reason it is desired to refer to a man without mentioning his name, he is called Paíyatyûmû. A woman is similarly referred to as Kóchinnináko.

14. Osá*ts*[a]-paíyatyûmû ("sun youth").
15. Tsanawáñi ("Ill-natured") had a long, rounded snout with teeth along the sides, like an alligator.
16. Tyeñe ("deer").
17. Katapína.[11]
18. Tsískisk[i].
19. Sho*r*ácha was painted black with white spots.
20. Shónata was painted in the same manner as Sho *rá*cha.
21. Tsíukchanóo ("look about").
22. Héiyá uttered a call from which the name is derived.
23. Shúmaikuli. [12]
24. Kôkakaía. The Acoma name is Kôwatyaii*ts*a, said to mean "long hair hanging at one side." The mask has serrate teeth, a beard, a flowing lock of hair and a flint at one side and a parrot-feather between two eagle-feathers at the other side.

The Kaiyámusha*ty*[i] still dance once a year, either in the fall or in the winter as late as December. The Mó'ts[i]*ts*[a] formerly danced in the summer or the fall. The Acoma system prevailed at Laguna, each of various kiva groups always personating a certain kind of Shíwanna and dancing in a line, while various masked individuals circulated about the plaza. Within the memory of the present informant only one kiva remained. The entrance was through the roof, and the chamber was not subterranean. It was torn down not later than 1890, and as far as he is aware it was used only for the war-dance. One of the earlier kivas was called Haímatatsi, the same as a certain kiva at Acoma.

Besides the numerous deities represented by masked performers, there are three beings of abstract conception. The sisters Nôtsityi[13] and Tsitstyínáko ("all-thinking maid") created in the lower world the other deities and the people and their institutions. Tsitstyínáko is sup-

11 This word occurs in the chant of the Acoma Kómaiyawashi when they carry the cacique and the war-chief into the plaza before a Shíwanna dance.

12 Since 1902 the Laguna Shúmaikuli masks have been in the custody of the Zuñi Shúmaqe society.

13 Apparently for Náya-tsityi ("mother all"), or perhaps for Náwaya-tsityi ("protector all").

plicated for good thoughts. Nôtsityi is represented by the *íyetik*^{u} fetishes of the shamans, ears of corn adorned with feathers. She is conceived to be under the earth and to nourish her people by the fruits of the soil. She is, in short, the earth-mother. Ûts-tsityi ("above all") dwells in the sky and sends rain to refresh the earth and growing things. He is the sky-father.

There are certain places used for purposes of divination. Schétawa,[14] near Mesita Negra, is a deep vertical cave ten to twelve feet in diameter with a receding cavity under the rim-rock. The Kaśári of Acoma as well as those of Laguna, accompanied by a war-chief, used to sit at the edge and gaze steadily down toward the opposite wall. Then stepping aside they would pray and return to sit at the other side, and so at the four sides of the cave. By the character of the visions there beheld they knew what sort of year the people would have. If it was to be a good year they would see water-marked soils and waving fields. Prayer-sticks and offerings of beads were left in the cave. The informant believes in this, because about 1910 a man saw there his own dead body wrapped in a blanket which he recognized as one at his house in Acoma. He saw the print of a white man's shoes, and a male infant. A short time thereafter his wife gave birth to a male child, and soon after he himself was killed by a Mexican. A similar place on Mount Taylor is called Tspínnakowaiyátyûma ("Mount Taylor cave"). There people from Laguna, Acoma, and Zuñi, and Navaho as well, plant prayer-sticks and leave offerings of turquoise beads when there has been a dry season, and when they desire a glimpse of the future.

14 Said to mean "know one's self."

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