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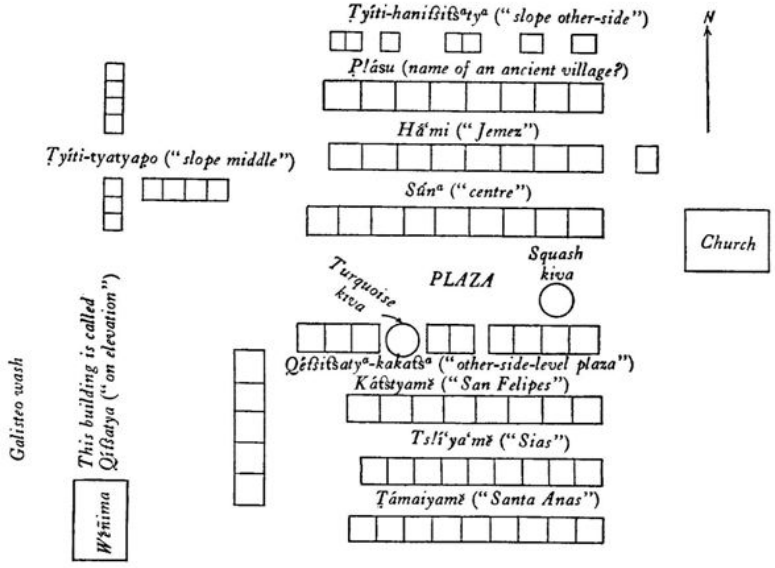
SANTO DOMINGO

HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION

QUEMADA MESA, about twenty miles northwest of the present pueblo, is named as one of the traditional homes of the Santo Domingo people. The next site mentioned was on Galisteo arroyo about a mile east of Santo Domingo station (formerly Wallace, later Thornton). This village having been washed away by a freshet, the surviving population moved westward down the arroyo, where, near the modern settlement, Castaño de Sosa found them in 1591. He called the pueblo Santo Domingo, and noted that three other villages were visible from this point. One of these no doubt was Cochiti. This Santo Domingo was the pueblo visited in 1598 by Oñate, who recorded its name as Guipui, a name (Kyípwi) which traditionists apply also to its predecessor. Again a sudden torrent destroyed the village, and the people rebuilt a short distance westward, down the arroyo, on the bank of the Rio Grande.[1]



IDEALIZED SKETCH OF SANTO DOMINGO

1 Bandelier calls this village Huashpatzena, which is for wáspa, sage , *china,* river. Modern Santo Domingans appear not to know the name.

A third calamity of the same nature forced them back nearly to the present site. In 1886 the church and most of the houses were engulfed by an unusual rise of the Rio Grande, and the present buildings were erected slightly to the east on a low terrace above the bottom lands. The modern pueblo and its predecessor are called Kyíwa.

At least one building of old Kyíwa remains, the structure called Qítsatya ("on-elevation"), which houses a secret ceremonial chamber known as Wéñima. Prior to the beginning of this century Galisteo arroyo was quite deep, and the land between it and the river was much below the level of the site occupied by this old building. The bottom is now nearly filled in with alluvial soil, so that the former appropriateness of the name "on-elevation" is no longer apparent. Most of the heavy growth of great cottonwoods has been cut, and the land is devoted to farming.

The population of Santo Domingo is about one thousand. As at Taos, the men in authority resist the taking of an accurate census.

Santo Domingo clans are matrilineal and exogamous, but the rule of exogamy has in many cases within the last decade been disregarded, in spite of the disapproval and ridicule of the elders. No trace of totemism or of pairing of the clans has been discovered.

There are two ceremonial parties, called Squash and Turquoise, corresponding to the Summer and Winter groups of the Tewa pueblos. These parties were formerly endogamous, and disregard of this rule is still strenuously opposed, for the reason that a woman marrying a man of the opposite party is lost, as a dancer, to her former associates. It is said that formerly the entire membership of a clan belonged to one or the other of these moieties, but on this point there is so much uncertainty that one suspects the statement as being the expression of what it is felt the system ought to have been. Each party is associated with one of the two circular kivas.

The following are named as Santo Domingo clans:[2]

1. Sótsona, Fox
2. Káwety[a], Skunk
3. Mókats[a], Cougar
4. Kóhaiy[u], Bear

2 To the name of the clan add *hána*, person, *hánats*[a], people.

5. Kûts, Antelope
6. Kí*s*a, Elk
7. Tsí'n[a], Turkey
8. Sówe, Rattlesnake
9. Yák[a], Corn
10. Táhñi, Squash
11. Há'mi, Tobacco
12. Íse, Mustard
13. W*á*spa, Sage
14. Hí*ts*aañi, Cottonwood
15. Hápañi, Scrub-oak
16. Ó*sats*[a], Sun
17. Táhwa*ts*[a], Moon
18. Shíkyat[a], Star
19. Hákañi, Fire
20. Yáshty[a], Coral

In 1924 Bear, Elk, Fire, and Coral were extinct, Antelope, Turkey, Rattlesnake nearly so.

The officers of native origin are the two war-chiefs, *tsíyatyai,* and their six or eight subordinates, *kôchañi.* The war-chiefs are in charge of pueblo affairs outside the ceremonial chambers during the progress of religiousrites, and at such times they are referred to as Másewi and Óyoyewi, names of the two legendary war-heroes who are their prototypes.

The *kôchañi* are the underlings of the war-chiefs. They stand guard around the pueblo during religious activities, and fetch wands and make prayer-sticks with them for their superiors.

A *kôchañi*[3] also has charge of the horse-herders, who, twelve to fifteen in number, go about twenty miles from the pueblo to guard and water the horses. There were in 1924 perhaps two hundred to three hundred horses belonging to the pueblo, but a few years earlier they were much more numerous. The herders camp in a convenient place, rise before daylight, and are detailed in pairs by the *kôchañi* to round

3 The name appears to be a fusion of Mexican Spanish cavallo, horse, and Keres *hóchañi,* chief.

up the animals. They return with the horses, and a few of the men station themselves on slight elevations overlooking the herd and carefully inspect it for possible missing animals. They breakfast, saddle their mounts, and drive the stock ten miles or more to the river and back, after which the animals are turned loose to be rounded up again the following morning. The herders remain on duty one week, sending to the village two or three times for food. After their tour of duty is ended another *kôchañi* with a new detail of herders takes his turn. The same system of caring for horses obtains at San Felipe, but not elsewhere. They think this is the only way to have success with horses, and to avoid loss by theft or straying, for they have had more or less trouble with Mexicans driving off their animals. The cacique and his two associates, and men who have been governor or war-chief, are exempt from such duty, as well as from repairing irrigation ditches; but all others, even shamans, must do their part, whether or not they own horses.

The war-chiefs and the *kôchañi* also manage the communal rabbit-hunt, in which capacity they are called *tsátyô-hochañiz* ("country chief"). When the ditches are to be repaired or cleaned, it is the duty of a *kôchañi* to see that the *kóchak*^{u} ("divider"), or *kókach* ("watcher"), fairly apportions the work among the laborers by scraping a line across the ditch with his shovel and thus laying off about six feet for each two workmen.

The civil officers are the governor, *tápup*^{u}; the lieutenant-governor, *tápup*^{u}*-tinyét* (Spanish, teniente); the *mayóro* (Spanish, mayordomo) and the *mayóro-tinyét; the pishkáre* (Spanish, fiscal) and his assistant the capitán; the *pishkáre-tinyét* and his assistant the *capitán-tinyét*.

The *mayóro* is an understudy and general manager for the governor, either carrying out his orders or transmitting them to the fiscal or the capitán. He is normally in line for the governorship the following year. The *mayóro-tinyét* occupies a similar position with respect to the lieutenant-governor.

The fiscales and their assistants are in charge of affairs of church and of community work, such as the construction and maintenance of ditches and apportioning of water. Two of these officers always act as foremen in charge of the ditch laborers. The chief fiscal usually makes the public announcements of the governor.

At the end of December the cacique calls the principal men to the Turquoise kiva and announces whom he has chosen to be the new of-

ficers. They have nothing to do but murmur approval. The officers are inaugurated on the first day of January in the council-house, whence they go to the church, where prayers to the native deities are offered, asking for good luck, and the people are exhorted to obedience. The priest is present, and blesses the new officers.

In even-numbered years the first war-chief and the governor are of the Squash party, in the odd-numbered years, of the Turquoise. The second war-chief and the lieutenant-governor are always of the party opposite to that of their principals. A similar rule prevails in the appointment of other officers.

A few days after the inauguration the Turquoise people and the Squash people assemble in two large rooms, not necessarily always the same ones. The Kwí'*r*anna shamans preside for the Squash people, and either the Flint, or Pokéyu, or Shkóy^{u} society for the Turquoise. Másewi (the first war-chief) and the governor attend in the house where their ownparty has assembled, and Óyoyewi and the lieutenant-governor in the house occupied by their party, and so with the other officers. The shamans prepare their altar in the regular way to the accompaniment of singing, make their medicine, asperge the officers, and give them medicine-water to drink. Any spectator may now come forward and receive the same treatment. The shaman in charge exhorts the officers to attend to their duties for the good of the people, and enjoins the latter to obedience.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

Planting of the Cacique's Field

In May about fifty to sixty men are selected by the war-captain and taken to a seven-acre field belonging to *hóchañi,* the cacique, where they work in groups of five — four as plowmen (one following another so that four furrows are turned simultaneously) and the fifth following with a bag of seed corn which he plants in the fourth furrow. The first plowman in his next course turns the soil over on the planted seed. Sometimes the ground is afterward leveled by dragging a plank across it, but usually the soil is simply drawn up with hoes into ridges. The entire plot is quickly plowed and planted.

On the morning of this day and before the workmen have gone to

the field, the cacique is in his ceremonial chamber,*hóchañi-tsa* ("chief room"), with about thirty men called *kaits!* ("maple"). They dance and sing, holding a rabbit-club (not a curved missile, but a knobbed cudgel) in the right hand and an ear of corn in the left. After a time two of them dress in shirts made of blue-black Hopi cloth, Hopi sashes, and fringed cotton leggings, and with nicely wrapped bundles of corn on their backs they proceed through the streets. The women run up behind them, drench them and their bundles with water, thus symbolically watering the corn that is to be planted, and crash the empty vessels on the ground as if to remove all obstacles that might withhold the rains. Sometimes these men, who are called *saiañi* ("buyer"), run after a woman, and, perhaps with the help of a war-chief's deputy, carry her, struggling and laughing, to the ditch and tumble her into the water. Every family gives the *saiañi* an ear or two of corn for the cacique's field, and the deputies who accompany them collect the corn in bags and give it to a pair of their mounted fellows, who ride with it to the field that is to be planted. The *saiañi* at the same time run from the pueblo across the river and on to the field, where they remove their clothing and dry it. Another man cuts open the bags of seed corn, others pile the ears and divide them among the planters, who by this time are ready to begin work.

Meantime every household has been preparing wafer bread, mush, and stew, and at noon long lines of women wind their way to *hóchañitsa*. After the cacique and his singers have eaten, they send two or three wagon-loads of wafer bread, stew, and sweet-corn meal[4] to be

4 This sweet-corn meal, *háti,* has been ground for the cacique by young girls in their own homes several months prior to the occasion. It may be eaten without cooking by simply stirring it in water.

In winter at various times a number of unmarried girls from fourteen to sixteen years of age grind corn, not for ceremonial purposes, until about midnight. If there are more than two or three, they work in relays. A large number of men attend, and while some sing others play their six-hole flutes. These instruments are about thirty-six inches long and are made of two sections of pine joined laterally, or of a piece of cane. Some have a bell-shape piece attached at the lower end, like a blunderbuss. This formal grinding is for the purpose of making the girls industrious and to encourage them in adhering to the ancient method of preparing meal. From time to time they are exhorted

distributed among the laborers. The men remain in the field all day, though the work is soon done.

The cacique's corn is cultivated and irrigated by the *kôchañi,* who sometimes, but not usually, call on others for assistance.

In August and September the men hunt three times for the benefit of the cacique, who will use the dried meat to feed the harvesters of his corn about the first of October. Every animal secured is taken by the killer from his home to *hóchañitsa,* where several of *the kôchañi* receive the game and pile it in separate heaps according to the species: quails, rabbits, hares, rats. Women of the pueblo now come crowding in to receive some of the game, which they take home and disembowel,[5] and they bring the bodies, unskinned, back *to hóchañitsa. The kôchañi* skin the animals and hang them, tied in pairs by the legs, across poles in the street to dry.

At harvest time the *kôchañi* pass from house to house ordering men to "go tomorrow and gather corn for our *hóchañi-náwaya* ("chief guardian" — the cacique). About sixty are selected. Most of the corn they husk in the field and bring in wagons to *hóchañitsa,* but two or three loads are left unhusked and taken to Wéñima, the secret kiva, to be used in the course of the year by the Shíwanna (cloud-gods), who bring gifts to the people. The fodder also is brought to *hóchañitsa* for the cacique's stock, and the harvesters come and receive food, of which rabbit-stew is the principal item. The cacique thanks them for the work, and at great length urges obedience to his commands and

by the old men to cling to the ancient custom and to avoid the purchase of flour. This custom obtains also at Zuñi, and probably was general Pueblo practice.

There is a pseudo-society of some twenty females, appointed in youth by the cacique, who grind the corn used by the Flint society in making offerings. They are called Mérinako (náko, maid). All must be present for the work, and while one set grinds, the others sit and sing, awaiting their turn. Two members of the Flint society are present, observing the women but not singing. The Mérinako take no part in the activities of the society. Mythic characters of this name are mentioned in a Cochiti dance-song.

5 The entire mass of intestines and organs of small game, with chyme and chyle included and only the actual excrement in the rectum squeezed out, is placed in a bowl, mashed, salted, and cooked, and eaten steaming hot. When a goat or a sheep is killed, the gall is regarded as a great delicacy. The head is thrown back, the gall is bitten open, and the liquid greedily drunk.

adherence to the old customs.

The Scalpers

Those who have taken a scalp are called Ópe. The tribal trophies arestill kept by Íwas-*s*ka-nasty^{u}she ("children their father") in seven large flour-sacks in a cell below his living quarters. The room has no outer entrance. Every Sunday the scalps are washed and laid on blankets in the house to dry. On the twenty-fourth of June, San Juan day, they are washed again, and several hours before dawn all the men of the pueblo must bathe in the river. After the scalps have been washed, the water is strained through cloths and medicine is added to it, and all the men go to the scalp-house and receive a drink of the liquid.

In the scalp-dance, Áhena, the Ópe are called Áhenatañi. On the abdomen and on the small of the back they have a circular spot of red with black border, and white eagle-down is applied to the paint. Here and there on the body and limbs are black crosses, a symbol peculiar to warriors, and on the outside of the arms and legs are lightning-lines terminating in arrow-points, in red, yellow, blue, white, all these colors appearing in each such symbol. A white band of paint crosses the crown of the head, and eagle-down adheres to the paint. At the back of the head is a *wáhpañi*. Over the left shoulder is a bandolier, the upper part of deerskin wrapped closely with sinew and the lower part of many strands of twisted sinew like bowstrings, on which are strung here and there large shell beads. At the lower ends of the wrapped deerskin are numerous tiny deerskin packets containing medicine.

The Ópe and Másewi, Óyoyewi, two *kôchañi,* and a Flint shaman dress in Turquoise kiva. They come out in the following order: a *kôchañi* representing a scout, Másewi representing the leader of the war-party, theFlint shaman, all the Ópe, the second *kôchañi, and* Óyoyewi. Single-file they proceed without a sound, as if marching into hostile country, to the north street and pass down between two lines of men armed with guns, bows, clubs, rabbit-sticks, and shields. At the head of these lines, the west end, are various shamans, next the principales, then other men and youths according to their importance. At the left of the head of the lines are a drummer and a flutist, and at the middle a man with a larger, deep-toned drum and a man carrying a pole with scalps tied from top to bottom. Arriving at the head of these

lines, the Ópe begin to utter war-cries, and at the sound of the cry indicating the killing of an enemy[6] the men shout and fire their guns into the air, sometimes directing them toward the scalps. The warriors harangue the crowd, describing various exploits with vigorous gestures, and begin to dance in characteristic fashion, imitating the act of fighting. After twenty to thirty minutes of this the entire partymoves through each street of the village and on to the plaza, the Ópe continuing their threatening gestures and the others shuffling sidewise. A good many women join the procession, standing outside the lines and near the rear, and shuffling forward with arms rigidly extended upward.

In the plaza the drummer stands just outside the kiva and the men form a large circle, with the warriors in a smaller concentric circle, and the women now in large numbers crowd outside. The scalp-pole is in thecentre of the Ópe. The dance continues to the singing of the men in the large circle until late in the afternoon without intermission for food or rest. When a song ends and before another is begun, the dancers continue without pause. Various evolutions are performed, but always in a circle. Many of the songs relate actual occurrences, and when the climax is reached, telling of the killing of a Navaho, the men fire their guns and shout. At the end of the afternoon women bring large quantities of food for the dancers.[7]

Societies

There are seven secret societies at Santo Domingo.

1. Shaíyak[a] control a hunters' cult, and have now (1924) some twelve members, including two women.
2. Shkóy[u]-ch!aíañi, Giant Shamans, include all persons who have

6 The Ópe are now all deceased, and the dance was last celebrated about the year 1900.

7 When an attack was made, the war-cry was a long-drawn, high-pitched *ô...ô!* ending on the same note. After killing an enemy the same cry was given with the addition of three close-clipped exclamations, *ôôô*, on the same note. The cry of warning to the pueblo was *ô…* "like a train whistle." All these cries were in imitation of the coyote's howl.

recovered from lightning-stroke. Only the men perform as shamans, and they alone treat such cases. There are approximately twelve male Giant Shamans.

3. Pokéyu-ch!aíañi are concerned with the health of crops, and have about twenty members.

4. Kû'*sa*r*i,* forty to fifty males and about as many females, perform as clowns in various ceremonies. They are exclusively of the Turquoise party.

(*a*) Kû'sari-ch!aíañi, now numbering about twenty-five men, are a group of shamans, an order or degree of the *Kû'sari*.

5. Kwí'*r*anna, thirty to forty persons of both sexes, are the clown society of the Squash party. They participate as fun-makers in unmasked dances only.

(*a*) Kwí'*r*anna-ch!aíañi, now numbering thirteen men, are the shaman order of the Kwí'ranna.

(1) Pákana-ch!aiañi are a degree of the Kwí' *r*anna shamans.

6. Híu*s*teañi-ch!aiañi, Flint Shamans, now numbering about fifteen men, are principally concerned with curing the sickness caused by witchcraft, and with fasting and praying for the general good at the summer and winter solstice.

(*a*) Hákañi-ch!aíañi, Fire Shamans, a degree of the Flint society, perform the feat of extinguishing a blazing packet of splinters by thrusting them into the mouth.

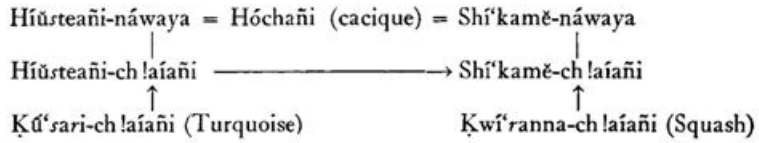
(*b*) Sówi-ch!aíañi, Rattlesnake Shamans, another degree of the Flint society, have charge of all cases of snake bite.

7. Shí'kame-ch!aíañi, Rattle-shaker Shamans, numbering twelve to fifteen, are in the same category with the Flint society.

Kû'sari shamans may join Híu*s*teañi, and Kwí'ranna shamans, after attaining the degree of Pákana, may join Shí'kame. After becoming a Híusteañi shaman, a man remains subject to service as a Kû'sari clown (but not as a Kû'sari shaman). On the other hand, a Kwí'ranna shaman who joins the Shí'kame severs all connection with the Kwí'ranna. A Híusteañi shaman may join the Shí'kame (in which case he no longer associates with the Kû'sari), but the converse does not hold. This last statement, coupled with the fact that the Híusteañi chief, Híusteañi-náwaya ("flint protector"), is also Shí'kame-náwaya, seems to point to the conclusion that Shí'kame is perhaps to be regarded as a degree, and

the highest, of Híusteañi. It is to be noted also that both societies meet in the same lodge-room. The principal reason for calling Shí'kame a society and not a degree of Híusteañi is that shamans other than Híusteañi may join Shí'kame. The man who is the joint head of Híusteañi and Shí'kame is *ipso facto* the cacique, *hóchañi,* the highest religious officer of the pueblo, a veritable Pontifex Maximus.

The interrelation of these four esoteric groups may be shown graphically:



No such relationship concerns Shaíyak[a], Shkóy[u], and Pokéyu, which recruit their initiates from those who belong to none of the other societies. But a shaman of the Shkóy[u] or the Pokéyu group may join the Shí'kame. Usually only the most experienced men in the lower societies, either *náwaya* himself or one of his most capable assistants, enter this group, which is really a society of graduates. New members of any society except the two highest, Flint and Shí'kame, are generally either the children or other relatives of older members, or individuals who, by reason of trespassing on the society during the progress of its ritual, or making a vow during sickness, are compelled to join.

All females and all males who have not joined a society are called Síusti, and Síusti-náwaya is the title of a man who has charge of painting masks and dancers of whatever kind. He never joins a society.

All the societies except Shaíyak[a] treat sickness, or at least have in their membership a group that treats sickness, especially cases of obscure, violent, or supposedly nefarious origin.

The Flint or the Shí'kame shamans are called in desperate cases, for they are regarded as the most powerful societies. For some years the Flint men have been taking charge of all cases of childbirth without the assistance of a midwife. Formerly there was a Kû'*sa*ri woman who acted in this capacity, not only for her Turquoise people but for the Squash as well.

When the *ch!aiañi* encounter a sickness they cannot cure, such

as measles, smallpox, or any skin eruption (all of which are supposed to be caused by the ravages of ants and worms eating the flesh), they advise the family to consult *nitsayákaia-náwaya,* a shaman who acts alone. He comes, and brushes down over the patient's body with a bunch of fibres of a mountain plant, *yápe*, mingled with human hair. After a time there appears on the floor a quantity of red ants and winged ants, which he brushes together with eagle-feathers. The Santo Domingo *nitsayákaianáwaya* is summoned to Cochiti in such cases.

Participants in any ceremony observe a partial fast on the four days preceding the rites, and each morning before a frugal breakfast they vomit after drinking a large quantity of water in which any of various kinds of herbs or leaves, such as Douglas spruce, *Yucca baccata,* or greasewood, have been soaked. Some insert three fingers into the gullet, others can produce the desired result by pressing on the abdomen. An informant declares that he can drink fully two gallons of water.

In preparing an altar, shamans constantly sing, mentioning each object by name as it is placed in the "house," as they call the rectangular space enclosed by meal lines, and making appropriate gestures. The *íaliku,* perfect ears of corn nicely covered with bright feathers, are the first objects to be placed, one for each shaman. The *kóhaiy*^{u} ("bear"), that is, the skins and claws of a bear's forepaws, come next, then the stone images of cougar and other animal helpers of the shamans, and the *kópishtaia,* which are small stone figurines with a human face rudely outlined. Some of these *kópishtaia* represent the two war-gods.

The following account illustrates the native belief regarding the animal-helpers of the shamans.

A long time ago the Jemez shamans were summoned to Santo Domingo to treat a sick woman. They set up their altar, and after feeding with ceremonial meal the *kóhaiy*^{u} and the *kópishtaia,* they proceeded to the work of curing the woman. But they overlooked one of the *kóhaiy*^{u}. When they had finished, they replaced the stone figures and the bear-paws in the bag in which they were kept; but the spirit of the neglected bear did not remain in the bag. [When a bear is killed for the sake of its claws and paw-skin, the spirit is "brought back with the skin."] He was angry, and departed. His children were waiting at their home in a cave in the north, eager for the return of their father with food. A Santo Domingo shaman travelling in the mountains happened upon them, and they told him how they were waiting for food. Soon

the old bear came in, very sad. The man gave him meal. Then the bears began to sing, and slapped him with their hands in the manner of shamans. When they had finished, he gave them a small quantity of wafer bread and parched corn, which immediately became a large heap. They promised that they would always be present when he called them. A few days later the sick woman died. The work of the shamans was not successful without the help of all the *kóhaiy*[u].

Shaíyak[a]*, the Society of Hunters*

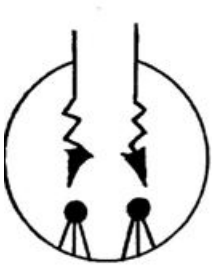
The Shaíyak[a] society has charge of all hunts and prays for the perpetuation of game of all kinds. When a hunt is to be held, the war-chief asks permission of the head of the society, who appoints the day, and his society holds its secret rites to make game plentiful and tame.

On the morning set for the hunt all the Shaíyak[a] go to a spot about half a mile from one of the several sun shrines which lie near the village, and build a small fire of greasewood, the bush under which rabbits are most frequently found. These sun shrines consist of two large concentric circles of stones, in the centre of which is a large stone called *Ósats*[a] -paíyatyama ("sun youth"). Between the circles is a running-track used before sunrise by boys and youths desirous of being good runners and hunters. Such devotees offer meal to the rising orb and to the stone symbol, and return home.

As soon as the smoke of the Shaíyak[a] fire is seen, men, boys, women, and girls troop out of Shaíyak[a] pueblo and gather around the shrine. If anyone is late, two of the Shaíyak[a] who are watching at the shrine order him to "shoot," and he must remove his loin-cloth, direct his member toward the waiting people, and pretend to discharge. Women must act in similar manner. Nobody is permitted to approach the Shaíyak[a] who remain beside their fire. About a mile from the fire others of the society have already outlined with black manganite[8] a circle open at one side, with two arrow-pointed lightning lines directed inward through the opening toward two small green discs, from each of

8 Manganite, a manganese ore, is obtained in the Cerrillos mountains, in the region of the turquoise mine, by scraping it out of small pockets and veins, not by actual tunnelling. It is found also in certain places in the Rio Grande bottom, where eddies have collected the finely divided material and receding water has left it exposed.

which three black lines radiate to the edge of the circle opposite the opening. The significance of the figure is not known, but an informant thinks the two discs represent the sun, the radiating lines its rays. The same discs and radiating lines appear on the walls of Shaíyak[a] houses and also in the church.



When the Shaíyak[a] have finished their rites, the two war-captains proceed to make the circle, and all follow and take their stations, a woman beside each man. Meeting at the opposite side of the circle, the war-chiefs sit and smoke. When all the hunters have taken their places, the Shaíyak[a]. start forward in a straight line, and the hunters, men and women, begin to close in. All assemble at the place where the war-chiefs wait, and from there another circle is made, and again and again this is repeated until they have made as many as a dozen drives, the last ones proceeding in the direction of the village. The women take all the game and repay the men with meal. Generally, however, the men hunt alone.[9]

In midwinter, if they have initiated a member, the Shaíyak[a] hold two dances. They perform eight times alternately in the two kivas, where the two parties are respectively assembled, and while they dance in one kiva the Kû'sari make fun in the other. The Shaíyak[a] wear deerskin shirts, leggings, and moccasins, have the face concealed behind a mask called R*óhon*[a], carry bow and arrows, and drape a cougar-skin on the back. The lower half of the mask is black, the upper half white on one side and green on the other. An eagle-feather rises at the top, and the mouth is a long, tubular, toothed beak.

In winter the Shaíyak[a] are supposed to be abstemious as to food, to spend much time praying to Eagle, Cougar, and Wolf for game. They have no part in the summer ceremonies, not even in the important rites of the summer solstice.

About the year 1910 first one woman, then a second, being sick, expressed the desire to become Shaíyak[a]. This caused much excite-

9 The Acoma custom involving sexual freedom after a communal hunt (page 174, note) is not observed at Santo Domingo, according to this informant.

ment, especially among the *ch!aiañi,* who protested: "How can women be *ch!aiañi?* They would have to pretend to be men when they go to Sipáp[u] and when they use the eagle-feather whips." The entire community was in tears, but the women persisted and finally had their way. They performed just like men, wearing only a loin-cloth and using the eagle-feather whips and the bear-paws like any *ch!aiañi.* One of the two recently died. Besides performing as a shaman and acting as Shaíyak[a] in the communal hunts and wearing the R*óhon*[a] mask, she wished also to "bring the Shíwanna" like the male *ch!aiañi;* that is, when the Shíwanna came she wished to "make the road for them" by strewing meal. The others would not permit it, and "she died of shame."[10]

In the month of December, January, or February the Shaíyak[a] perform a ceremonial purification of those who desire luck in hunting. In a ground-floor chamber without entrance except through the second story, an altar is arranged, the principal feature being a small stone cougar. A short distance in front of the altar are piled the stuffed heads and the horns of deer, antelope, and mountain-sheep, sacred possessions of the society. The shamans take their seats in a row behind the altar, and the people enter. The men wear only loin-cloths and blankets, and carry bows and arrows, which they deposit in a pile in front of the altar as they enter. The women wear the native dress, and carry curved sticks that are used as staffs when they go rabbit-hunting. These too are piled at the altar. All the weapons are sprinkled with medicine-water by the head of the society, after which the two *ch!aiañi*2 sitting at opposite ends of the row rise, take the headman's assistant by the arms, lead him around the altar, and seat him in front of the small stone cougar, which is the principal sacred object on the altar. He faces the image, his back to the people, and while the other *ch!aiañi* sing, these two proceed to dress the assistant in the usual dance-costume of moccasins, skunk-skin anklets, turtle-shell rattle, yarn leg- and arm-bands, and Hopi sash ornamented with rattlesnake designs. Yucca-fibre strips, with radiating bunches of the same material at short intervals, are tied about the legs and arms and like a baldric over one shoulder. They place a yucca whip

10 The Shaíyak[a] are not healers, and the word *ch!aiañi'* as used above indicates a seer rather than a shaman. 2 Seers, not healers.

in each of his hands. While this is being done, he sits with knees drawn up and lowered head, and makes no movement. When they raise a foot or an arm in dressing him and release it, the member falls as if the man were lifeless. He now sits with the whips in hand pointing back over his shoulders.

The *ch!aiañi* start another song, and slowly he begins to look to one side, then to the other. Gradually he becomes more lively, looking up and down and all around. Suddenly he leaps to his feet and begins a quick shuffling, a sort of stuttering with the feet, raising and lowering the whips. While the whipper is coming to life, the two dressers sit on opposite sides of the stone cougar. When he becomes active, one of them moves over, and on hands and knees with head bowed over the cougar and hands grasping it, waits for the whip to strike him. The whipper now begins to step vigorously about, and finally he strikes the bare back of the kneeling man twice with each whip. The other man then takes his place in the same position and is whipped, and so it goes until each *ch!aiañi,* including the head of the society, has been whipped. While this is going on, the people, who occupy both sides of the room, men in front and women behind, have risen to their feet, and now stand as close to the shamans as they can crowd. The men come forward one by one, drop their blankets, receive four blows of the whips, and recover their weapons. The women follow without removing their dresses. When all have been whipped, they stand in their places and dance, holding their weapons and staffs, while the*ch!aiañi* sing another song.

In the midst of the song a *ch!aiañi* calls out the name of one of the men, who promptly steps forward, lifts one, two, or three of the animal heads, goes to the rear of the room, and at once returns as if he had just come down the ladder after a hunting expedition. He approaches the altar, bending beneath his supposed burden of game, and the women cry out approval of his success, some running after him. He deposits the heads on the heap, and the people in little groups crowd forward, extending their hands to the pile of heads and drawing them back to the mouth, inhaling the breath. This is a gesture of thanks to the object so treated, and at the same time it signifies taking into one's self the good luck of the animal or image. The ceremony continues until each man has brought in a load of game, after which the leader delivers a speech of exhortation and dismissal. Sometimes the Shaíyak[a]

remain in the room to sleep the remainder of the night.

Buffalo were hunted on the plains of Estancia valley, also in Colorado and in Oklahoma. A wary eye was kept for the Comanche, who were so constantly in mind on such occasions that the chief of the hunt was commonly called Kománchi-hóchañi. On these expeditions the hunters transported their heavy equipment and meat on travoix.

Before leaving the pueblo they held a Buffalo dance in much the same fashion as various pueblos now perform, personators of game animals being called in from the surrounding hills to dance in the plaza. It is still observed, but never before the first snowfall.

On the first of the four nights of practice singing in the outer room of the Shaíyak[a] house (participation not being limited to any one group), Shaíyak[a]-náwaya directs Síusti-náwaya to select the dancers, two Deer, two Elk, two Buffalo Boys, a Buffalo Girl, two Antelope. All these must be Turquoise people, because this is a winter ceremony. They retire with the Shaíyak[a] into the inner room, where they remain fasting partially during the next three days and nights.

Shortly after midnight of the fourth day the animal personators run swiftly to various points as much as twenty miles distant, each party, deer, elk, buffalo, antelope, followed by a war-chief's deputy with bow and arrows. The Buffalo Girl, unable to make this long journey so quickly, is left at the sun shrine near the pueblo. At their destinations they pray to the animals they represent, and then return running to a place near the village,[11] where they wait in concealment until they are called into the pueblo by a Shaíyak[a], who, accompanied by a woman, goes to an elevated position near by, all the while uttering a long cry.

The Shaíyak[a] society and Síusti-náwaya are in the Shaíyak[a] room, where the altar has been laid out, and in the outer room are the singers. When the animals come into the plaza in answer to the call of the Shaíyak[a] they dance there, and in the intermissions they go into the ceremonial room.

The Shaíyak[a] have charge of another winter-time animal dance, in which, strangely, only Squash (Summer) people take part. The performers are two Deer, two Antelope, two Elk, two Buffalo, two

11 About 1914 the Deer dancers were crossing the road near Domingo Station just about dawn, and two Mexicans, mistaking them in the half-light for actual deer, shot at them.

Mountain-sheep, and two girls associated with the Buffalo but wearing the Hopi costume without buffalo head-dresses. It is said that the Squash people desired to have such a dance, asked the Shaíyak[a] to help them, and added the Mountain-sheep to the Turquoise people's animal dance.

Shkóy[u]-ch!aíañi, the Giant Shamans

Prior to 1898 the Giant Shamans were a small society. In that year at the feast of Guadalupe in June (at which time the China Shíwanna, "River Cloud-gods," used to appear, but do so no longer because of the presence of white spectators), the men and women were performing in the plaza the so-called "corn dance." A black cloud appeared in the north and approached the village. The people congratulated one another and sang and danced with renewed vigor. The cloud came overhead, and suddenly a green and red bolt of lightning extended vertically from the cloud to the ground at the feet of the dancers. It stood there an appreciable length of time. Many fell to the ground. At the same time another bolt struck a chimney in the row of houses at the north side of the plaza, tore a circular hole in the wall, and flashed along the outer wall itself. A large number of females sitting under the portico were thrown to the ground. Nearly all the dancers soon got up and so escaped the necessity of joining the Shkóy[u], but many of the females were so badly shocked that they could not rise. The plaza was filled with acrid smoke, "as if someone had been shooting a twelve-gauge gun." The dancers fled from the place, some going to the kiva, but most of them, especially the women, to their homes, where they quickly removed their costumes. Everybody was crying over this manifestation of anger on the part of the Shíwanna.

Almost at once the Shkóy[u]-ch!aiañi went from house to house, directing those who had been shocked to come to an upper room of the house that had been struck. There were twenty-four females and three men, all of whom were initiated into the society. Two of the girls died within a day or two, supposedly because a man came into the room and touched them, which was contrary to rule. Since that occasion lightning-stroke has been rather frequent, until now there are about

fifty members, male and female.[12]

Certain members of the Shkóy[u] are *ch!aiañi,* others are of the ordinary class. The latter, including all females, are called Shkóy[u]shíwanna. They take no part in a healing ceremony, but participate in the society's fasting and follow out the orders of the *náwaya* in fetching wood for prayer-sticks and in making and depositing these offerings. If an ordinary member desires to become *ch!aiañi,* he makes known his wish to the *náwaya,* and the usual initiation rites are held. The Shkóy[u] wear masks in a dance which they hold by themselves and to which no others are admitted.

This society possesses an effigy of heavy blue stone, probably serpentine, with a nicely carved face. Arms and legs are indicated in shallow relief. It is called Shónutewa ("corn-tassel"), and is kept in a concealed niche high in the wall of a certain house, which formerly was occupied by Shkóy[u]-hóchañi (or Shkóy[u]-náwaya). After his death the effigy remained necessarily in that house, although at the present time no member of the household belongs to the society. Whenever the Giants meet, a member is sent for the image, and after the ceremony it is returned to its niche.

Before dismantling their altar the Shkóy[u] place before the effigy a large quantity of meat and chile and piles of bread. This also is taken to the house where the fetish is kept for the use of the family living there, and they in turn offer bits of the food to the image before replacing it in its niche.

Kû'sari

From forty to fifty men and boys belong to the Kû'*sa*ri, and about as many females. Approximately half of the males belong to the order of shamans, Kû'sari-ch!aiañi, a group from which women are excluded.

A generation ago the society met in a large room in a dwelling, but it has become so popular that no room large enough can be found, consequently it now meets in Turquoise (Winter) kiva. All members

12 About a month after this event numerous horses were killed by wild animals supposedly wolves but possibly cougars, in the mountains near Cañada de Cochiti. Since then the pueblo has possessed comparatively few horses. This disaster was attributed to the same angry deities that sent the lightning-bolts into the plaza.

are recruited from the Turquoise party.[13]

The society performs a public dance in the plaza on the fourth day of its annual initiation rite in January or February, when all new members, including females, are inducted together. The initiation includes partial fasting for three days, vomiting each morning, whipping, and instruction in the songs. All this time, three days and four nights, novices and members remain in the kiva.

In their public appearances the Kû'sari wear nothing but loincloths and moccasins. The entire body is covered with a wash of white paint (gypsum), and limbs and torso are encircled with numerous horizontal black stripes. There is a flattened ellipse around the mouth, a circle around each eye, and a crescent moon on the forehead, all in black. On thorax and abdomen is outlined in black a Kû'*sa*ri, which probably represents Sun Youth, patron and prototype of the society. A bandolier of rabbit-fur rope crosses each shoulder, intersecting on the chest, and there are wristlets of the same material. About the neck is a string of hard, yellow seeds, probably viburnum, and from the lobe of each ear hangs a small cone of corn-husk. The hair, stiffened with the gypsum wash, stands in two bunches tied at the base with strips of husk. The right hand holds a gourd rattle, and two turtle-shell rattles are worn, one behind the right knee, the other at the back of the belt that supports the loin-cloth.

Kû'*sa*ri women are painted in the same way wherever the body is exposed. Their hair is whitened, drawn back tightly, and tied compactly with strips of husk at the base of the skull. Like the men they have seed-necklaces and husk pendants. Their one-piece garments are as ragged and dirty as possible.

The novices are painted and costumed the same as the full-fledged members, but in her initiatory dance a female Kû'sari wears a special headdress. This is a thin, flat piece of wood, hollowed out at the lower edge so as to fit across the crown of the head, and with the outer edge following a similar curve. The surface is painted with horizontally curving bands, green, red, and white, and on the white band is a

13 But in 1924 a Squash woman, ill, vowed to join Kû' *sa*ri, and though there was much opposition it was decided that such a vow could not be disregarded. It may be said with assurance that no generalized rule of conduct among Indians is not subject to exception.

black crescent. At the base, on either side, project a pair of eagle wing-feathers and a parrot tail-feather, with small parrot-feathers and tips of Douglas spruce fastened at their point of attachment. This tablita (as such head-dresses are commonly called in the Pueblo country) apparently represents the rainbow and ultimately refers to the patron Sun Youth.

About the middle of the fourth morning the Kû'*sa*ri appear suddenly on the roof of the kiva, standing in a circle with the females inside, and singing. The song is followed by loud yelling, and they rush down the steps and over to the north street, where they stand in six or seven rows, the men in front, the women behind. In front of all are two of the best performers, and behind walk the war-chiefs and their deputies, guarding the Kû'*sa*ri. Between the guards and the dancers is a drummer. In this formation they march with a dance-step through every street, and then to the middle of the plaza, where they perform briefly and then return to the kiva. The people remain in their houses or crowd about the doors, watching as they pass, throwing meal to them and drawing in good luck from them with the usual inhalation of breath from the hand.

When the Kû'*sa*ri next emerge from the kiva, they at once form in two lines facing each other, men in one line, women in the other.

Between them are the first two "newborn," that is, the first boy and the first girl who made known their determination to join the society. The boy, carrying a bow and an arrow with a rabbit-skin hanging from the shaft just below the point and another at the opposite end, is preceded by his ceremonial father, and the girl, immediately behind the boy, is followed closely by her ceremonial mother. These elders show the new members how to act. The girl has in each hand a pair of eagle-feathers and sprigs of Douglas spruce and greasewood tied together with corn-husk, which she holds at the level of the shoulders while her elbows are pressed to her body. She wears the head-dress already described. The two rows of dancers shuffle sidewise to the middle of the plaza, the two initiates and their ceremonial sponsors dance forward between the lines. The drummer accompanies them at the side of the procession.

Arriving at the middle of the plaza, they break up and dance in a promiscuous throng and the girl weaves in and out among them, while the boy stands slightly to one side and near the drummer. Next the

dancers kneel in two rows, men facing women, and the novices with their sponsors dance between them. At the end of two songs all stand up and crowd about the initiates, hugging them, thanking them, and drawing in their breath. They return dancing to the kiva in the same formation as when they left it. This procedure takes place with each pair of novices, and in each case the pair who danced in the preceding appearance take their places in the line, just like the other finished members, the girl having relinquished her special head-dress to her successor. A variation occurs after the last pair has performed between the kneeling lines. The dancers do not then return to the kiva in two lines facing each other, but form in two curving rows facing the kiva, eastward, the women behind the men. In front of all, in the concavity of the rows, are the last two initiates and near one end of the line is the drummer. In this formation they return to the kiva.

At the conclusion of the dance preceding the noon intermission the men alone retire to the kiva, leaving the women standing in the plaza in a row, with only two men to attend them as masters of ceremonies. To the accompaniment of lively songs these two call out the women in groups of two, three, or four, to dance in front of the line. At this time the women openly perform various acts designed to arouse sexual excitement in the men and thus having the practical purpose of promoting fecundity. When all the women have thus danced they return to the kiva, and the men emerge and do likewise. These things are necessarily done at this time for the complete instruction of the novices.

On the first or the second night following a Kû'*sa*ri initiation the populace assemble in their respective kivas. In Turquoise kiva two of the best Kû'*sa*ri clowns have charge of two initiates, and in Squash kiva two others have charge of three initiates. After the spectators have assembled, the Kû'*sa*ri joke, and badger the initiates, reminding them of their ignorance and comparing them with green watermelons. Then appear forty to fifty masked figures representing Shíwanna of various kinds. In Turquoise kiva the arrangement is as follows: The spectators huddle together around the central fireplace, facing the walls, with women and children in the less favorable places in the centre. Outside this group, facing the northern wall, sit the principales. Near the eastern segment of wall, facing the centre, sit a Kû'*sa*ri -ch!aiañi and Másewi (first war-chief) with an initiate between them, and at the

western segment in similar position are the other Kû'*sa*ri -ch!aiañi, Óyoyewi (second war-chief), and the second initiate. The Shíwanna take their places, shoulder to shoulder and facing the spectators, in the southern segment, and with a shuffling dance-step move around to the opposite side, where they dance in front of the principales.

After a time one of the Kû'sari approaches a Shíwanna and says: "Well, can you show me how to do your way? I would like to be Shíwanna. Can you show me how to use that knife [or bow and arrow]?" The Shíwanna indicates that it can be done, and the clown takes the knife or other weapon and says: "Well, come! Let us go and see. Maybe I can be Shíwanna." All then depart and proceed to the other kiva, where similar action has been going forward, so that as they prepare to enter Squash kiva the other party is leaving for Turquoise kiva. In the new kiva they dance as before. After a time the Shíwanna begin to look about as if they have just discovered themselves in a strange place. By signs they ask where they are. After a time they seem to become used to the new surroundings, and dance without distraction. Each party dances twice in each kiva. If there are more than five initiates, the others are "finished" a few nights later.

The Santo Domingo Kû'*sa*ri have no connection with the scalp-dance,as at Acoma, though they are said to represent Ósats[a] paíyatyama ("sun youth"), in which they follow the Acoma myth. Nevertheless, the carrying of bow and arrows by male initiates, and the weaving in and out among the performers by female initiates, are reminiscent of Cochiti scalp-dance practice.

On August fourth, at the fiesta of Santo Domingo, which the natives call Kyíwa-pask[u] (Santo Domingo fiesta) and Americans corn dance," the Kû'*sa*ri perform in alternate years and young men chosen from the Síusti in other years. At this time the governor and his officers turn over all authority to the Kû'*sa*ri, who become responsible for the welfare of the people. At the same time they are permitted the greatest freedom with the females. On account of the number of white spectators they are circumspect in public, but in the kiva while preparing for the dance and practising their antics they are very familiar in their behavior.

The Kû'*sa*ri enact another dance in midsummer, men in a row facing the women, and a man and a woman dancing between the lines. They make four appearances, performing their usual obscenities and

casting fruits and other food among the spectators, all for the purpose of influencing crops.

Kwí'ranna

The Kwí'*r*anna are the fun-makers of the Squash party. Unlike the Kû'*sa*ri, they do not participate in Shíwanna dances as clowns, but as different kinds of Shíwanna, such as Wíko*r*^{u}, Kwí*ts*aiyak^{u}, Kána*s*kû*r*^{i}.

Members include both sexes. Initiation takes place in a first-story room over the secret, subterranean kiva called Wéñima. On the fourth day they dance in the plaza in much the same fashion as the Kû'sari in their initiation dance. They dress in their best clothing of the ordinary kind, paint the cheeks red, attach a hawk-feather (distinctive symbol of the society) at the left side of the head, and have tufts of white eagle-down on the crown. The women carry turkey feathers, but the men are empty-handed. In the noon intermission a few perform some of the obscene acts characteristic of the Kû'sari, but in a less abandoned manner.

At the pueblo fiesta in August, but at no other time, some of the Kwí'ranna men meet in Squash kiva and issue forth alternately with the Kû'sari who meet in Turquoise kiva, and act as clowns while the dancers perform. In this capacity they are called Kwí'*r*anna *Kû'sari*. They wear only loin-cloth and moccasins. The symmetrical halves of the body are painted in two colors in any combination of white, red, yellow, and blue, according to individual

fancy. Scattered here and there, as well as on each eye and the mouth, are black daubs made by pressing on the skin a wad of paint-soaked cloth. The excess of paint, trickling down, forms irregular lines suggestive of rain. The whitened hair, mingled with strips of corn-husk, stands upright in a single radiating bunch, at the base of which a few hawk-feathers project at one side and eagle tail-coverts at the other. Necklace and wristlets are flowing strips of rags, and a bandolier of sprigs of Douglas spruce crosses each shoulder.

Rattlesnake Shamans of the Flint Society[14]

14 The activities of the Flint and the Shí'kame shamans of Santo Domingo are

The Rattlesnake shamans, Sówi-ch!aiañi, are a small, specialized group of the Flint society, Híusteañi-ch!aiañi. When a person is bitten by a rattlesnake, his companion, if he is accompanied, runs to the pueblo with the news, and two or three Rattlesnake shamans hurry to the place where the accident occurred. While one cuts the wound and sucks out the venom, the other digs out the snake, catches it with a forked stick or a noose on the end of a pole, and removes the fangs.[15] He grasps it firmly by the neck, and on foot carries it to the pueblo, while the other rides in with the injured person mounted before. They go to any house where there are several connecting rooms of sufficient size.

The other Rattlesnake shamans immediately assemble, and as soon as possible they go into the fields, returning after dark with a large number of rattlesnakes. The injured person is kept in the house during the next four days, and the shamans remain with him, singing and praying.

Their altar[16] is in a small interior room, and consists of a bed of meal with various sacred objects on and about it. This figure, which represents the world, may be described as a conventionalized heart with the base rectangular instead of acute; in other words, as an oblong indented at the forward end. At each corner of the base are two small medicine-bowls. A larger medicine-bowl is in front of the right cusp of the figure, and a bowl of sacred meal in front of the left. From the deepest point of the indentation between the two cusps a trail of meal extends through whatever rooms it must traverse to reach the outer door. A bunch of greasewood shoots stands just inside each basal corner of the figure, and midway between them lie two eagle wing-

herein practically ignored, for the reason that they have been treated in some detail in the chapter on Cochiti.

15 A few years ago a boy inserted his hand into a rabbit-burrow and was bitten on the thumb. The shamans came, and while one was sucking the wound another went after the snake. He too was bitten on the hand. He said nothing, ostensibly because one shaman is powerless to cure another, but really of course because he dared not let the boy know that a shaman was not proof against rattlesnake venom. He died, and the explanation was given that the boy's condition had been hopeless, therefore the shaman "took short life for himself and gave his life to the boy."

16 As described to the writer's informant by a native observer.

feathers, the "snake whips." Between each bunch of greasewood and the feathers are two ammonite casts.

The shamans sit in a row between the wall and the base of the altar, and the patient is at the right side of the altar. The captive snakes are permitted to crawl about on the "world," but if they try to cross its bounds they are "whipped back." From time to time the patient's wound is sucked.

On the fourth night, when the proceedings are public, a similar altar is constructed in the large outer room. In front of it is erected an arch of Douglas spruce with small sprigs of the same tree hanging from it at short intervals and with a Hopi sash pendent at each side next to the wall. This forms an entrance to a secluded nook in which the altar reposes. In front of the "world" and just inside the arch sit the patient and, at his right, a new godmother and a new godfather behind her. The shamans at frequent intervals sing, asperge the snakes, and sprinkle meal on them. This continues until near morning, when the spectators depart, and later the shamans secretly carry the snakes back to the open country. The person thus cured becomes a Rattlesnake shaman, the healing ceremony being in fact also an initiation rite.

The killing of rattlesnakes is not prohibited, in fact some men hunt them for their oil, which they rub on their bodies. A certain young man is a noted rider of wild horses, and his ability is attributed to his use of rattlesnake oil. The rattles of a snake are held against the teeth to cure toothache or headache.

A very long, thin, red snake is described by trustworthy natives as being at least occasionally arboreal. It is sometimes seen in the top of a tree coiled about a rising branch with head extended rigidly upright. It is thought to take this position when rain is approaching, and thus check the clouds. An informant has several times seen one of these snakes in such a position. He is positive that Santo Domingo never kept captive snakes, and since he voluntarily revealed many carefully guarded secrets of the pueblo his statement on this point deserves credence for sincerity, if not for finality.

Retirement of the Societies at the Summer Solstice

Near the end of June the cacique, that is, Híusteañi-náwaya, who is also Shí'kame-náwaya, finishes his observation of the sun for deter-

mining the arrival of the time when it reaches its northernmost point. These observations he makes from the roof of his one-story house, looking eastward through an opening in the coping. He announces to the Flint society that they will meet in their ceremonial quarters on the fourth night thereafter to fast and pray. This room, which also is used by the Shí'kame society, is a ground-floor chamber reached only through the upper story of an apartment midway between the two kivas in the first row of buildings south of the plaza.

On the fourth night the Flint shamans retire, and spend four days and nights in prayer and song and partial fasting. They do not leave the room during this time except for necessary reasons. Food is brought to them, but their diet is limited to a small quantity of wafer bread and water. A war-chief or a deputy is constantly on guard outside. On the third day they send word to the Kwí'ranna ch!aiañi, and on the second day following, that is, the day after the Flint society has finished, the Kwí'ranna meet in their own lodge-room. Similarly, on the day following their four days of prayer, the Shkóy[u] meet, and then Pokéyu. Finally, each of these four societies assemble again in their respective quarters and fast four days more.[17]

In spite of the fact that the Shí'kame appear to be the highest of all the societies, they usually have nothing to do with the solstice ceremony, although sometimes they retire to fast during the last four days.

On the first day of the fasting by all the societies in unison, the Pokéyu send one of their number early in the morning to a spring near Hagan, a hamlet about twelve miles south of the pueblo. This man wears a Shíwanna mask and dance-costume, and completely wraps himself in a blanket so that the people will not see his mask. He is accompanied by the war-chief himself, who, similarly enveloped, wears his shoulder-belt and bag, and carries bow and arrows wrapped in deerskin and his small official baton. These two run rapidly and return in a few hours with a jar of water, which the Pokéyu man carries in a belt on his back. He bears it to the room of his society, and the women (lay members) take it to the Flint society, where the cacique pours the water into a vessel of his own. He carefully holds the liquid

17 On another occasion the order of retirement by the societies was given as Flint, Kû'*sa*ri, Pokéyu, Shkóy[u], Kwí'*r*anna, all.

to a small trickle, which signifies that steady showers, not destructive downpours, are desired. Any sediment that remains he collects in his hand and apportions among the members, who rub it on the chest over the heart. The cacique then mixes medicine, and sends some of his men with a bowl of it to each of the other fasting groups, whose members drink it and rub it on their bodies.

On the last night the men and boys of the pueblo repair to Wéñima, a very large ceremonial room excavated beneath a two-story house a short distance west of the village beyond the corrals and about half a mile from the Rio Grande.

The building is said to be a relic of the old pueblo which the river washed away in 1886. The entrance to the chamber is through a trapdoor within the building. From the fireplace a chimney, invisible from the outside, extends to the roof. The existence of this room is a closely guarded secret. It is said to be unknown to white people up to this time, and even to the children and many of the women of the pueblo. Here are kept all the Shíwanna masks and costumes, which are the special care of Síusti-náwaya, and here the masked dancers dress to issue forth like the real Shíwanna from their mythic home, Wéñima.

When the men of the village enter this secret chamber on the last night of the summer solstice fast, they find about two hundred masked figures standing in four rows along the south side of the room and curving around on the west side. The two front rows include the tallest figures, all of nearly the same height and all wearing masks of the same kind, representing a personage called Mákachañi Shíwanna.[18] The last two rows are the shorter figures, and all wear masks of *L*ûkachañi Shíwanna.[19] Both masks completely cover the head. Big Rainer has a long, black beard, three turkey-feathers pendent from a rectangular mouth with fearsome teeth, triangular eye-openings, green face, and a turkey-feather on the crown of the head. Little Rainer is exactly the same with the addition of a red, wooden, wing-like projection at each side, terminating in an arrow-point at the upper corner and with the outer edge forming the broken line that is the symbol of clouds.

18 *Mátsich,* large; *kaach,* rain; *ñi*, agent-affix; Shíwanna, cloud-god: "Big Rainer Cloud-god."

19 L*ûskish,* small: "Little Rainer Cloud-god."

The náwaya of the various societies are standing along the east side of the room. The cacique, that is, the *náwaya* of the Flint and the Shí'kame, delivers a speech, recalling to the assembly the arduous fasting and praying which the *ch!aiañi* have been enduring for the sake of the people, in order to bring the friendly Shíwanna with rain for good health; and here is the answer to their prayers. One after another the *náwaya* pass in front of the first row of Shíwanna, each carrying an abalone-shell of sacred meal, of which he throws a pinch on the mouth and beard of each mask, passing then along each succeeding row. This is done in the midst of profound silence.

The ch!aiañi then resume their places at the east side of the room, and the cacique asks the Shíwanna when they are going to visit the pueblo. By signs they give him to understand that they will come the next day. He then addresses the war-chiefs to the effect that the Shíwanna will come on the morrow, and they must be prepared and have the pueblo and the people ready. The *ch!aiañi'* then climb the ladder and the people follow, leaving the Shíwanna there to remove their costumes.

Winter Solstice Rites

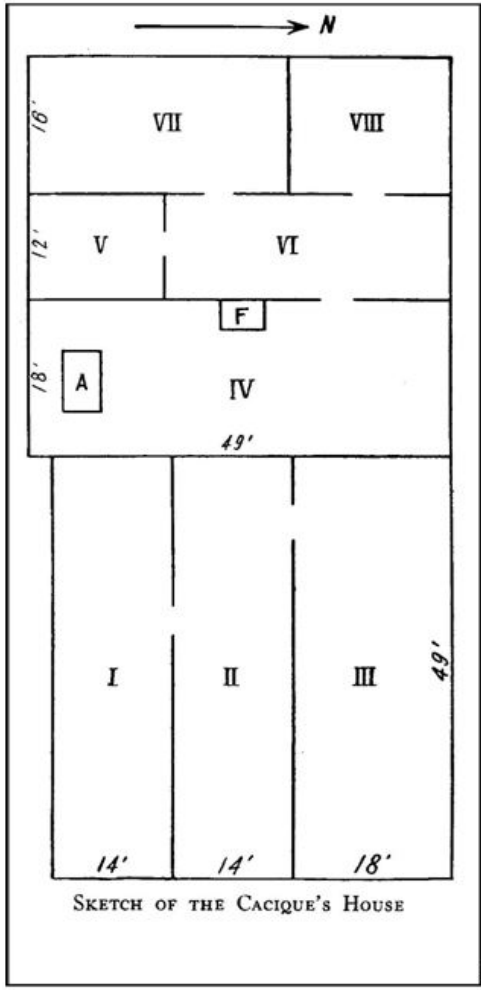
At the winter solstice the cacique notifies Shaíyak[a]-náwaya, head of the hunters' cult, when it will be time for him and his society to retire and pray and fast four nights and four days for good winter rains and for abundance of game. This society is followed by Pokéyu and the latter by Shkóy[u]. During this time the cacique does not retire with any society, but remains in his own ceremonial chamber fasting and praying.

At this season the shamans give place to a group of young men of the Síusti group (those who have not become affiliated with any society), who perform in shamanistic fashion in the kivas. They are calledSûtsi-ch!aiañi. Contrary to Cochiti custom, this form Sûtsi ("uncooked") is limited in application to this particular group of pseudo-shamans. They wear white pigeon-feathers instead of eagle-feathers, and do not use the stone images of the shamans.

The Cacique's Chamber

With the nine members of his family the cacique in 1924 occupied a

one-story apartment in the third row south of the plaza. Referring to the diagram, rooms I, II, III are kept locked. They are filled with ceremonial paraphernalia, such as rattles, drums, feathers, and costumes. A doorway connecting III and IV has recently been walled up. Room IV contains the cacique's altar, A, and a fireplace, F, and its walls are festooned with ceremonial costumes. Here the cacique spends most of his time, even sleeping there, according to his wife. Room V is the living and reception room, VI a bedroom, VII a bedroom where most of the household sleep and the family activities are carried on, VIII the kitchen.



Sketch of the Cacique's House

The cacique's altar is made up of a bowl of sacred meal, a bowl of sacred water reposing on the end of a meal trail, a stone cougar, a stone eagle, four stone figures rudely carved in human form and representing Kópishtaia, a bunch of eagle-feathers, eagle-claws, bear-paws, his *ialiku* (a perfect ear of corn enclosed in cotton webbing and feathers), and materials for making prayer-sticks, that is, turkey-feathers, sticks, and cotton cord.

In this room a number of young women known as Kóchinako ("yellow maid") at irregular intervals grind the sacred meal that fills the bowl at the altar, meal for the use of visitors in making offerings to the

sacred objects.

A young man, absent from the pueblo for some years and returning with a recently married wife of another group of Indians, was at once summoned by the cacique through a war-chief. He attended with his wife and his mother. The mother was kept in the outer room, and the young people were admitted to the presence of the cacique, who said in effect that he was glad to see the young man return, that these Kópishtaia had been watching over him, no matter where He had been, that the ways of his father and his mother would always call him back to the pueblo, that these were the true ways and must be clung to by the Indians.

The Shiwanna

Shíwanna, Kópishtaia, and Kátsina are nearly synonymous terms for the cloud-gods; but Kópishtaia is also used in a restricted sense to describe the gods represented by stone figurines in the altars of various cults. The principal gods represented by masked dancers are named below. The first group (1-21) are known as Sóyan[a]-tsékuyat[a] ("run-around walk"). They move about at random while the other maskers are dancing decorously in line, and they carry fruits, meat, and bread, which they throw among the spectators. Any number of them may be represented in any Shíwanna dance. When a boy is initiated into the order of the cloud-gods, he may be destined to personate one of these "run-around" Shíwanna, in which case he will never perform as any other kind. If however he is to represent one of those who dance in line, he may wear the mask of any Shíwanna of the latter class.

1. Saíatasha (Zuñi, "horn long," referring to the mask).
2. Kómaiyawash[a] wears a large mask with great teeth and eyes, and a wildcat-skin about the neck. The mask in no way resembles that of the Acoma Kómaiyawashi and the Zuñi Kóyemashi.
3. Hí*l*ûlika ("knife carry") bears a wooden knife about twelve inches long, with lightning-lines on its surface. His function is to preserve order among the spectators.[20] Across the top of the mask ex-

20 About the year 1883 a young woman told her friends that the Shíwanna were

tends a *wáhpañi*, a wooden arrow, from the base of which project two eagle-feathers and a parrot-feather. Another eagle-feather rises from the crown of the mask. A pendulous red tongue droops from the mouth below a row of fierce teeth, and the lower part of the face is covered with bear-fur. A fox-skin is attached at the base of the mask so that it surrounds the wearer's neck like a ruff.

4. Kátsina acts as an observer and whips those who make errors in dancing.

5. Tsá^{n}nawa^{n} ("mean one") goes about dragging spectators from the roofs.

6. Tsíyats!en^{a} ("from there to here") is another observer who whips dancers guilty of mistakes.

7. Hé*r*uta is the advance messenger of the Shíwanna, the one who converses with the Kû' *sa*r*i* interpreters by signs.

8. Ñéñeka is the companion of Héruta.

9. Kû'*sa*r*i* Shíwanna.

10. Kaishpá*r*a walks very slowly, taking a long time to arrive at the plaza, and carries a small pail of water and two eagle-feathers, with which he asperges any Shíwanna who happens to be inflicting punishment. But he is so slow that usually the punishment is accomplished before he arrives to intervene.

11. Hyúto'ma ("racer") goes about challenging men among the spectators to race, and promising them all the game, the rain, and the clouds in the world if anyone can defeat him. [21]

really men; for she had heard her father go out at night with his bells and other costume material, and concluded that he was one of the masked figures which she had always been told were gods. One day she informed her friends that the Shíwanna would be coming to dance, because she had heard her father go out the night before. That day at the dance Hílûlika seized her in the plaza, disembowelled her, and festooned the entrails on the kiva ladder.

21 About 1911 two young men were heard saying to each other that they could beat Hyúto'ma and deriding his fleetness. Late one afternoon when all the people, men and women, were completing their ditch work for the day, Hyúto'ma, Híiya, and Kána *s*kû*r*^{i} appeared among them. Hyúto'ma repeated his customary challenge, and the principales tried to prevent the threatened contest. The two young men seemed to be willing to run, but the old men did not permit it, for if they lost there would never be any more rain. The stake was too great, they declared. As a matter of fact, they knew that any good runner could defeat a man en cumbered with a mask. Finally

12. Yó'sir[u] carries bow and arrows and a yucca whip, as if to protect the dancers.
13. Wíkor[u] has a long yucca whip in each hand. He is always Kwí'ranna, and whenever there is a Kwí'ranna initiation dance he makes his appearance, coming from the east.
14. Kókoshi*r*[i] (Zuñi Kâ-kâkshi, god good) dances in front of the Shíwanna, holding a prayer-stick in both hands.
15. Kwí*ts*aiyak[u], always Kwí'ranna, has a Hopi sash about his neck, and makes a downward jerky motion with his closed hand, apparently symbolic of planting corn with a dibble. The second part of the name refers to this gesture. His eyes and mouth are like those of Kómaiyawash[a].
16. Yé*r*uta has a deerskin ball full of seeds. Near the end of the dance he goes back and forth along the row of sitting principales, holding the ball out to each one but quickly jerking it back. They try to seize it, and at last one of them does so and gives it to the cacique, who cuts the string, opens the ball, and gives a few seeds to each person among the spectators, who hasten to him for this lucky gift.
17. Híiya, as his name indicates, makes the people laugh, runs after them, and if he catches one "tickles him to death." He has round eyes and mouth like Kómaiyawash[a], and is always Kwí'ranna.
18. Íu*s*tipéyu ("desirous of copulating"), always Kû'*sa*ri, wears the painting of that society and has corn-husk at the sides and top of the mask and a mere fringe of it hanging from a thong about the waist in lieu of a loin-cloth. He calls out any woman and goes through the motions of copulation, and sometimes the woman responds. This is believed to be good luck for having children. A long time ago he once actually did the deed, but this was afterward prohibited because the Shíwanna are not supposed to cohabit, nor,

Hyúto'ma declared he was going away and would never return. With that he started off, running swiftly, the eagle-feathers attached to his arms stand ing out like a bird's wings. Some of the men, with the intention of placating him, pursued him for nearly ten miles until on the bank of the river just as he was about to jump in and disappear, they caught him about the waist and brought him back. All this of course was a prearranged affair designed to impress the young people with the folly of deriding the Shíwanna.

indeed, to associate at all with women.

19. Kána*s*kûr[i], always Kwí'*r*anna, acts much like Íu *s*tipéyu, paints like the Kwí' *r*anna, and has hawk-feathers on the mask.

20. Ó*s*a*ts*[a] ("sun") carries a Douglas spruce sapling in the left hand, a yucca whip in the right, and another whip in the belt.

21. Ná'wish has four incurving turkey-feathers at the top of the head.

Following are the names of the principal gods represented by the maskers who dance in line. On any occasion only one kind of Shíwanna is represented, and usually there are fifty to sixty dancers, all wearing masks of the same kind.

1. Tsí'yana ("straight").

2. *L*ûkachañi ("little rainer").

3. Mákachañi ("big rainer"), or Mátsich ("big").

4. Kashtyétse ("rainbow") has on the head a broad tablita representing the rainbow.

5. Ópe paints black like the warrior Ópe, and wears a black mask sprinkled with sparkling manganite. The eyes are red, and the hair hangs loose.

6. Tsaíatyuwetsa has perpendicular, undulating white stripes on the back, to which the name refers. When this mask is used, Ná'wish dances about in front of the row while at the same time all the other " run around " Shíwanna are performing as usual. Four masked young women called Kóchi-nako ("yellow maid") stand at one side, each holding a very large gourd with a hole in one side and the flesh removed from the interior. After a time a blanket is spread on the ground and the women kneel in a row, set down their gourd-shells, place the end of a notched stick on them, and rub a deer-scapula rhythmically across the notches. The Kóchinako are females who as girls have been initiated by whipping in the same way as all boys are initiated. There are about ten such in the pueblo, and they are initiated at a special time by themselves. They really form a pseudo-society, and their leader bears the customary title of *náwaya*. It is they that grind the sacred meal for the cacique.

7. Chá'qena carries bow and arrows and dances for protection from enemies. In the manner of the warrior Ópe, he wears trans-

versely in the back of the hair a *wáhpañi,* a large wooden arrow with eagle-down massed about the shaft end.
8. Haháp[u] dances particularly for fruit crops, such as watermelons.
9. Róhon[a] dances for game in the fall and winter. The mask is used by the Shaíyak [a] society.

In June of every fourth year, which happens to coincide with our leap-year, all boys from about twelve to sixteen are initiated into the order of the Shíwanna. All the men assemble in Wéñima, the secret chamber devoted to the activities of these masked personators of the cloud-gods. After a time two Saíatasha with yucca whips appear, having made their preparations in a secret place outside the pueblo somewhere in the hills. Each boy, kneeling in turn before a stone cougar and holding his hands toward it as if "taking in its life," receives two lashes from each hand of each Saíatasha, who then departs to unmask while the others go home.

On the following morning the initiates are taken to this secret place and are instructed that the Shíwanna are really masked figures representing the gods. They are then equipped with masks of various kinds, and with other performers, including their ceremonial sponsors, they come back to the village and into the plaza. Each initiate closely follows on the heels of his sponsor, who represents the same kind of Shíwanna as the initiate himself. After thus proceeding about the plaza, they dance in close proximity to their sponsors, but on subsequent appearances later in the day they comport themselves just like the older members.

In a Shíwanna dance the line of maskers stand on the south side of the plaza near the row of houses on that side, and the principales, with the cacique, or his representative in the person of some other *náwaya,* in their midst, and the spectators grouped behind them, sit on the opposite side. Nobody is permitted to watch from the roofs. In the space between the dancers and the principales the "run-around" Shíwanna perform. The cacique himself often remains in Wéñima.

In these dances there are always two or three Kû'sari, not masked, who play pranks obviously designed to arouse sexual excitement, and call on others to act according to their sensual demands, which nobody is permitted to ignore. While these things are going on the people are convulsed with merriment. All these acts are said to make for fruitful-

ness.

The masked Shíwanna are led into the plaza by a Kû'*sa*r*i* followed by Másewi (the first war-chief) and a principal*ch!aiañi,* such as a leading man of the Flint society, or perhaps Pokéyu-náwaya. The line is closed byÓyoyewi (the second war-chief) and another Kû'*sa*r*i*. They make four appearances, returning to Wéñima after each performance. The "runaround" Shíwanna throw fruits and seeds and bread among the people, and the other Shíwanna themselves do the singing to the accompaniment of their own gourd rattles. There are no drums and no special singers.

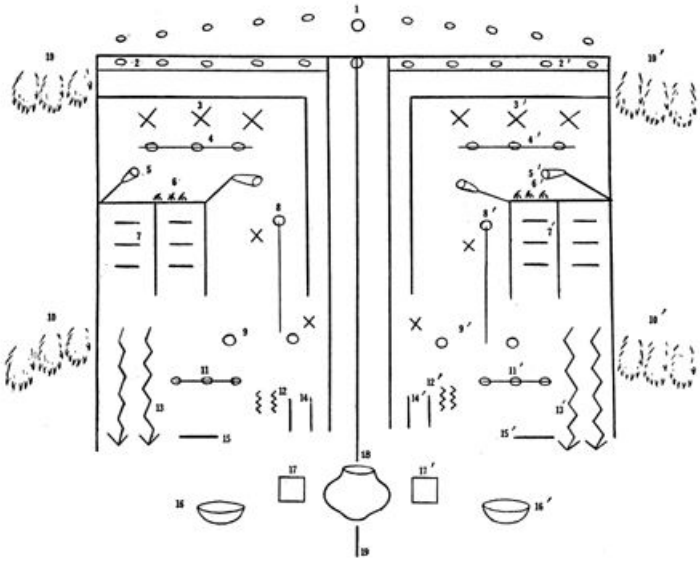
At the noon interval all the spectators retire and lock their doors. A few women slip out secretly and hand dishes and bundles of food to the war-chiefs and their deputies, or to the Kû'sari, who turn them over to the war-chiefs, and these carry the food to Wéñima, where the Kóchinako women receive it. While this is going on the "run-around" Shíwanna are running through the streets, up one and down the next, yelling in characteristic fashion and striking one hand upward against the other as if driving away bad luck. In the kiva the dancers remove their masks and the Yellow Maids serve the food. .

At the west side of the plaza, when the dance begins, seven other maskers take their place in a row. At the right end of this group is Máska*r*i, a character always played by a Kwí'*r*anna. His mask has a large nose, a moustache, and a knot of blond hair. He represents the *mayóro,* and with his cowhide whip he is present at the opening of ditch work to see that everybody labors. He is also the one who calls the people out for all community work. The character evidently had its origin in some Spanish taskmaster, and the name is probably a corruption of maestro. Next to him in the row stands Kaiskû*r*aw[a] ("scratcher"), wearing a black mask covered with coarse hair. He is supposed to be infested with fleas, and a Kû'sari clown is constantly tormenting him by tweaking his ears and pretending to catch fleas in his hair and to kill them. Next is Ch!aiañi Shíwanna ("shaman cloud-god"), who has a long snout like a bear, and bear-skin on his forearms. He constantly makes the gestures characteristic of the shamans in their healing ceremony. He represents Bear, one of the patrons of the shamans, in fact their principal helper, the one whom they try to simulate in their ceremony. Fourth is Kaiyách, who is painted red from head to foot, wears a red mask, and has a large artificial phallus. This charac-

ter has not been personated for some years. Fifth is *L*íko's ("dandy"), who dresses in the finest possible costume, with strings of turquoise and other beads, representing "the richest man in the world." Sixth is Mahó, who is supposed to live about six miles north of Santo Domingo at a place called Pé*r*akana, a tunnel-like cave in the side of a rocky hill with a spring inside it a considerable distance from the entrance. This water, ice-cold, flows underground and comes to light about a mile distant, where it forms a small oasis but flows no farther on the surface. Water from the oasis is brought to the pueblo for certain ceremonial purposes. Mahó represents the Shíwanna who lives in this spring in the cave. Last in the row is Hyústaka, who roams up and down closely observing the spectators. If he sees one nodding, he hurls an egg-like object filled with liquid paint of various colors. He tries to strike the wall near the delinquent, and the paint spatters out, red, yellow, green. Then he runs rapidly to Wéñima and does not reappear for perhaps half an hour, and this time without his paint-filled missile. All these seven move about in the open space, circulating among the "run-around" Shíwanna.

Leading the Shíwanna to the plaza, Másewi, the first war-chief, wears deerskin shirt, leggings, and moccasins. A streak of yellow paint, on which manganite is sprinkled, crosses each cheekbone, and on the crown of the head is a band of white paint, to which white eagle-down adheres. In the left hand he carries his baton of office, a rod about three feet long, but bow and arrows are lacking. A bag of sacred meal hangs at his left side.Óyoyewi, the second war-chief, is dressed and painted in the same manner except that his crown has a circular spot of white paint instead of a band. The *ch!aiañi* guardian of the maskers has his face black and sprinkled with manganite particles, and across the top of the head a band of white paint and eagle-down. He wears only a loin-cloth, not even moccasins nor bearskin gauntlets; and he carries an abalone-shell full of corn-pollen.

The Shíwanna dance shoulder to shoulder, slightly raising the feet alternately, and striking the ground with the right foot simultaneously with each ictus of the chant, while rhythmically shaking their gourd rattles. Pueblo dances of this character are quite impressive, though they tend to monotony. The songs are mainly series of vocables with detached phrases that suggest mythical incidents in which the Shíwanna and other characters were concerned, or that describe the ap-



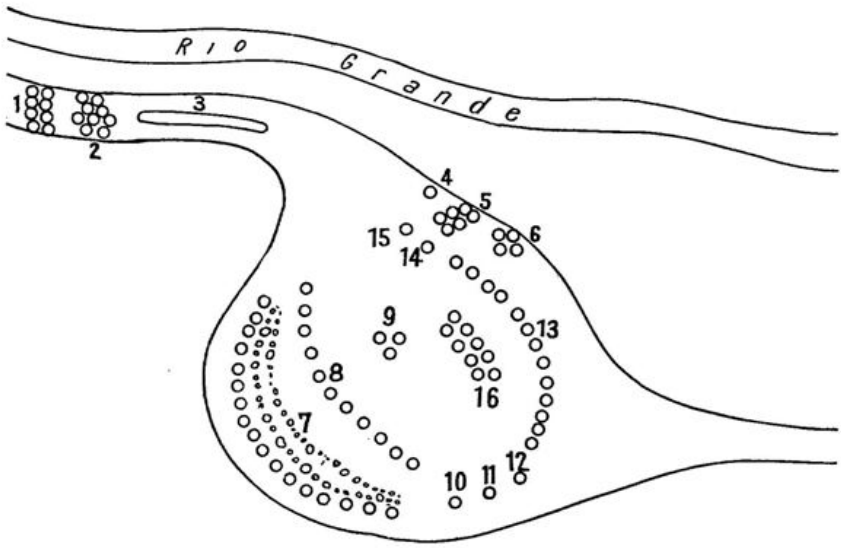
SKETCH OF THE FLOOR-ALTAR IN WĒÑIMA AT THE SANTO DOMINGO SUMMER SHÍWANNA CEREMONY

1, The cacique, flanked by the Ḳû'ɜari-chlaíañi. 2, 2′, Corn-ear fetishes, one in front of each shaman. 3, 3′, Meal crosses, symbols of the Ópĕ. 4, 4′, Six medicine-packets on a meal trail. 5, 5′, Four tubular meal designs representing flowers. 6, 6′, Eagle-claws. 7, 7′, Twelve Kópiśhtaia figurines about three inches tall. 8, 8′, Stone cougar at the head of a meal trail. 9, 9′, Four hemispherical quartz crystals, about four inches in diameter, used by shaman seers. 10, 10′, Bear-paws. 11, 11′, Six Kópiśhtaia figurines about eight inches tall. 12, 12′, Lightning-sticks. 13, 13′, Meal designs representing lightning. 14, 14′, Flints about five inches long. 15, 15′, Stone wolf. 16, 16′, Bowl containing sacred meal. 17, 17′, Meal design representing the house of the Kópiśhtaia. 18, Medicine-jar, capacity about five gallons, with lightning design. 19, Meal trail for the use of the gods.

proach of the rain-clouds. When such phrases occur, some of the "run-around" Shíwanna, and especially the Kû'*sa*ri clowns, make appropriate and sometimes exaggerated gestures.

The Shíwanna dance in the plaza four times during the months of September, October, and November. In the first autumn dance they usually represent Rainbow Shíwanna. These always sing very melancholy songs, lamenting that the people have forgotten them, because the women have been buying commercial flour and hence the young men cannot give the gods sacred meal at sunrise. They ultimately cause general weeping among the auditors.

About once a week during June, July, and August, regardless of the exigencies of agricultural work and of the fact that in midsummer some society is sure to be in retirement for the solstice ceremony, the Shíwanna dance under the trees at the river. That locality is chosen



SKETCH SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF A SANTO DOMINGO SHÍWANNA DANCE ON THE RIVER-BANK

1, Shamans guarding the dressing dancers. 2, Personators of Shíwanna, dressing and practising at Wĕ̃ñima, which for this occasion is simply a cleared space in the trail. 3, Meal trail over which the Shíwanna travel to the "plaza." 4, Fiscal on watchman's duty in a tree-top. 5, Governor and other officers, guarding the trail to Wĕ̃ñima. 6, Horses for the use of the guards. 7, Spectators, mostly women and children. 8, The cacique, or his representative, with the principales sitting on either hand. 9, Three Flint shamans, known for this occasion as Wíṡtyaka-náwaya ("bow protector"); they have diminutive bows, and sit silently smoking. 10, A Ḳŭ'ṡari, who leads the Shíwanna in, then roams about making fun. 11, Principal war-chief, personating the hero-god Másĕwi. 12, A head-man of any society, who from time to time walks along the row of dancers and inspects their costumes, to see that everything is in order. 13, The Shíwanna dancers. 14, Second war-chief, personating the younger hero-god Óyoyĕwi. 15, A Ḳŭ'ṡari, who follows the Shíwanna, then goes about making fun. 16, Nine or ten "run-around" Shíwanna.

for the reason that white visitors at this season are so numerous and constant that it would be difficult to keep them out of the pueblo. When such a dance is to be held, the announcement is made that all the people are going rabbit-hunting. Leaving the village ostensibly for that purpose, they go by an indirect route to the dance-ground at the river, and soon the Shíwanna come from Wéñima, their ceremonial chamber. Guards are stationed about the place at various points of vantage two or three miles distant and on both sides of the river. At the edge of the dance-ground, which has been carefully cleared so that it is surrounded by a wall of trees and brush, a fiscal takes his place in

the top of a great cottonwood. His duty is to observe the guards constantly. If an outsider is seen approaching, the sentinel in that direction waves a blanket, the watchman informs the officers who sit below in a group, and a subordinate quickly mounts one of the horses kept ready for this purpose and dashes off in the direction indicated, to warn the intruder away.

The dance under the trees proceeds the same as if it were in the plaza. The relative positions of the participants are indicated in the accompanying sketch.

Immediately after the corn harvest, about October the first, begins a series of Shíwanna dances in the two kivas. The maskers as usual issue from Wéñima, and dance first in Turquoise, then in Squash kiva, usually three times in each place. This occurs three or four times a month during the four winter months, that is, until it is time to begin work on the ditches and in the fields. Each party meets in its own kiva, and while the Shíwanna dance in one the Kû'*sa*r*i* make fun in the other. Sexual freedom is said not to follow these dances, as it does at Cochiti and some other Keres pueblos.

In March the people assemble in their respective kivas and thirty to forty Kwí'*r*anna dress as Híiya Shíwanna and dance alternately in the two kivas. They are accompanied by Íus*t*ipéyu (a particularly obscene individual), Kána*s*kû*r*^{i}, and Má*s*ka*r*i.

Fiesta of Santiago Cavallo

In January, a short time after the new officers have been installed, occurs a fiesta called Santiago Cavallo (Spanish, Saint James Horse). After ten days of preparation spent in an outlying ranch-house there appear one evening near the pueblo a man wearing a costume of old, black, native blankets, representing a black bull, two others astride a pair of dummy horses, one white and one black, a fourth with a dummy burro, and thirty-six men in ordinary dress. The horsemen and the bull are always Kwí'*r*anna, the burro and the thirty-six bull-fighters are of the Squash party. They camp outside the pueblo.

Early in the morning all the people assemble in the church, and the bull, the horsemen on their effigies, and the bull-fighters enter.

The bull lies down and the others stand quietly. Then follow singing and praying to the native deities, after which all repair to the cor-

rals, where all the stock has been herded together, and prayers for increase are uttered and prayer-feathers are tied to the posts. They go then to the plaza, and the visitors "camp." In the afternoon the thirty-six bull-fighters, one pair after another, stage a mock contest, tormenting the bull in various ways and declaring to the people, always in Spanish and with exaggerated intonation, that now they will have some meat. The affair is simply an imitation of a bull-fight, with more or less of native religious practice interpolated, as in the case of all pseudo-Christian ceremonies among the Pueblos.

After this has continued for a time, the two horsemen mount their dummy steeds and gallop across the plaza, while the bull runs in the opposite direction and passes between them. They turn and repass each other. At the third passage the horsemen strike the bull on the neck with their wooden swords, and he falls; his red flannel tongue hangs out and a large quantity of blood pours from his mouth. The people now rush up and dip their hands in the blood, wishing for increase of stock and plenty of meat.

On the great beam above the entrance of the church is a painted horse, representing Santiago Cavallo.

Fiesta of San Juan

Another secular fiesta occurs on San Juan day, the twenty-fourth of June. After the men of the pueblo have drunk the water from the scalp-washing they mount horses, which have been brought up the previous night, and ride to the governor's house, where the war-chiefs and their assistants are assembled. Together they ride through the streets, shouting, "Juan, Juan!" And all individuals named Juan or Juana run out and give them various kinds of food, which they finally take to the church and pile up under the portico.

The horsemen then form a large circle enclosing two poles firmly planted and connected at the top by a rope, from which dangles a live cock. At one side stand a flutist and a drummer, and beside each pole are two attendants. To the beating of the drum and the piping of the flute the horsemen ride the circle, gradually increasing speed until they are galloping madly. Then the leader swings out of the circle and dashes for the cock. He grasps at it, but the men standing beside the resilient poles suddenly draw them apart so that the bird is jerked

upward away from his hand. The other horsemen follow close on his heels, and when at last one of them succeeds he gallops away, pursued by the others, who try to deprive him of his prize. He, or whoever gets it, dashes for home and throws the bird down at the door, and a woman runs out to retrieve it.

Next the riders form a circle in front of the church. Two strong men leave the circle, and a fiscal brings from the portico another fowl with its feet bound. He strikes one of the men a severe blow or two on the back with the fowl, which he then gives to the victim, who proceeds to belabor the other horseman with it. The latter tries to take it away, but in so doing he is not permitted to drop his reins from either hand. If he does not succeed before he has had sufficient punishment, he retires and another man rides forward to take his place. If the new contestant or his predecessor takes the bird away from the first man, he must remain to defend his prize, and, if he wins from his first opponent, he must fight another. Having vanquished two opponents a man wins the bird and takes it home, and the fiscal brings out another fowl. If a bird is torn apart the fight ends, and two new contestants come forth. The horsemen in the circle and the spectators shout encouragement. This is followed by footraces, the rewards being arrows, and by races for women with water-jars for prizes. While these contests are in progress the principales sit under the portico and at the conclusion the food piled there is divided among them. Three, four, or five wagonloads of food and clothing are thus distributed. All this is to make the men strong and to bring rain and good crops.

OTHER PRACTICES

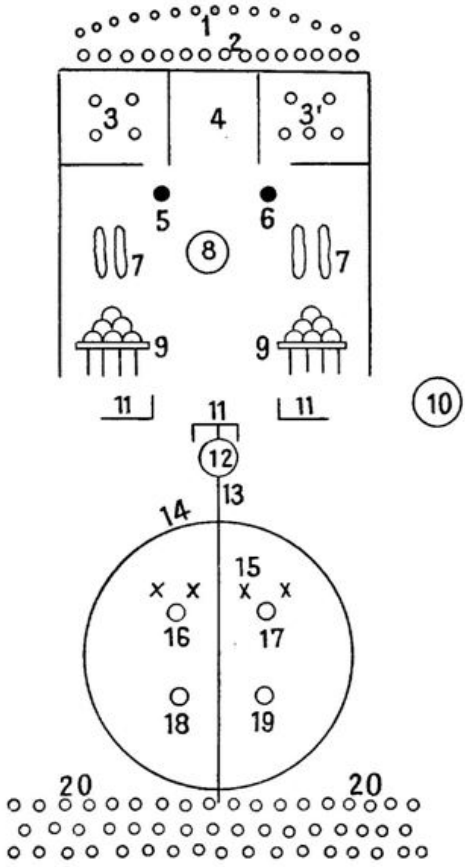
Mortuary Customs

The Flint society performs a ceremony for the purpose of laying the ghost. On the floor where the corpse reposed they pile the blankets and clothing of the dead person, a black or a white ear of corn, and a long flint, all of which, covered with a blanket, remain there during four days. On the fourth day the Flint shamans assemble in the house, and behind closed doors arrange their altar, as indicated in the sketch.

The altar completed, the people are admitted, and after the sha-

mans have chanted a number of songs, one of them gathers up the blankets and clothing, the ear of corn and the flint, and departing buries them outside the pueblo.

At harvest-time small melons and other fruits and small ears of corn are suspended on yucca-fibre cords from the beams of every home in anticipation of the memorial ceremony. The harvest completed, there are three public dances in the morning and three in the



ALTAR FOR THE MEMORIAL RITE

1, Flint shamans.
2, *Ĺaliku* fetishes, one for each shaman.
3, Stone figurines of cougar, bear, and other animals.
4, *Hâáſh-kaiyĕ* ("spirit room"), a space enclosed by lines of meal.
5, Tall stone figure, Tsamáhiya.
6, Tall stone figure, Yúmahiya.
7, Long flints.
8, Quartz crystal, through which the world is viewed and distant events are seen.
9, Meal designs representing clouds and rain.
10, Clothing, blankets, ear of corn, and flint.
11, Meal designs representing gates of the world.
12, Medicine-bowl.
13, Meal trail for the ghost.
14, Meal circle.
15, Meal crosses, the symbol of warriors.
16, Father, grandfather, or other close male relative of the deceased, sitting with his feet on the crosses.
17, Mother, grandmother, or other close female relative, in the same position.
18, Godfather of the deceased.
19, Godmother of the deceased.
20, Spectators.

afternoon by the Big Rainer Shíwanna with the assistance of the usual "run-around" Shíwanna and two or three clowns.

On the following day all the people leave their houses after the midday meal, each person except very young children concealing un-

der a blanket or the dress a small clay bowl containing a small tortilla, another tortilla with a hole in the centre, a piece of bread doubled over like a bun, a tiny empty water-jar, and a pair of small digging-sticks. A man of each family group has also a pair of diminutive moccasins, skunk-skin anklets, turtle-shell rattle, and gourd rattle, sometimes also a dance-sash. In groups they go westward, and on the edge of Galisteo wash each individual selects a spot, stoops, and with the hands behind the back digs a small hole about

six inches deep, in which he places the food and other objects and covers them while softly murmuring prayers to the dead. Immediately they return to the village. Many weep. All day long the outer doors remain open so that the spirits may have free access to the fruits hanging from the beams. These rites are called *tipóñi* ("return"), in reference to the return of the spirits of the dead.

With a dead body are deposited small bread wafers bearing symbols of the vulva and the phallus.

Child Fetishes

For every girl a wooden doll, *óak*[a], is made by one of her male relatives. The material is either cottonwood or Douglas spruce, and the doll, about twelve inches long, may be either cylindrical or flat. Having rudely carved a face, the man goes to the head of any shaman society and asks that his doll be painted and decorated in the manner of some certain kind of Shíwanna, if a male baby is desired for the girl, or in the manner of Kóchi-nako ("yellow maid"), a mythic character, if a female child is desired. Consent is given, and he is directed to take the doll to Síustináwaya, who has charge of the Shíwanna order, to be painted and decorated. Having finished his work, Síusti-náwaya delivers the doll, if it represents a male, to a personator of the Shíwanna represented, or, if a female, to the personator of any Shíwanna.

The bringing of such a fetish to the girl for whom it is designated is an incident of a Shíwanna dance. A single file of masked figures approaches the pueblo, led by Héruta and the man who carries the doll, who is regarded as its father. The Kû'*sa*ri clowns as usual interpret for Héruta. After entering the village the Shíwanna crowd about the "father" of the doll, caressing it, calling it by endearing terms, and urging it to remain in this pueblo with a good heart, promising to come

frequently to see if it is treated well and to bring it gifts. The "father" gives the fetish to the girl for whom it is intended, whose relatives crowd about her, each holding out a pinch of meal, upon which she breathes and which they then offer to the Shíwanna. The fruits and corn brought by the gods are piled up on two or three baskets, in which they are borne by the Kû'*sa*ri to the girl's house. Immediately her relatives lead her home, and a few women hasten ahead to prepare a bed for the childbirth. If the girl is very young, her mother now takes her place. The girl (or her mother) at once goes to bed, and the women proceed to boll a large quantity of water with crushed juniper-leaves and -berries.

In childbirth Santo Domingo women take a position on hands and knees, with a pad under the abdomen. In this position the child is expelled. A Flint shaman stands beside the woman, advising her how to exert her strength whenever the labor pains occur. If the infant cannot be expelled, he gives manual assistance. In any case he does what he can by pressing on the abdomen. The umbilical cord is cut with a flint knife, the placenta is wrapped in an old blanket and thrown into the Rio Grande. The navel-cord, when it sloughs off, is buried beneath the floor. After delivering her child, the mother is heavily wrapped about the loins with blankets and other cloths, and all openings in the house are closed, to induce perspiration. She drinks a large quantity of warm water containing crushed juniper-berries and -leaves. Parents hoping for a male child hang a bow and an arrow outside the house, and for a female child a besom, a bundle of sticks used in stirring parching corn, and a parching-vessel.

The girl having taken the position assumed by a woman in parturition, the wooden doll is placed under her body, and after a period of groaning and physical exertion, which results in profuse sweating, the shaman inserts his hand under her, draws out the doll, and shows a small quantity of blood. He lays the doll in the bed with its "mother," and it is attended just as if it were an infant of flesh and blood. On the fourth day it is taken out "to let the sun see it," and it receives a name, and it is then laid in a small swinging cradle suspended from a roof-beam. Every day it is "fed" with meal. Some informants say they have seen women nursing their dolls, others deny that this is done. A certain woman, mother of four adult children, recently received a doll from the Shíwanna at the age of about sixty years.

The dolls are attended daily, and when the "mother" dies her dolls are given to some younger female of the house, who thenceforth takes care of them. They are never buried or otherwise disposed of, and they are a permanent fixture in the household. Some houses have as many as fifteen. Such dolls are sometimes seen at Cochiti, and the custom was doubtless general among the Keres.

Boys and girls at the age of puberty are placed together in a room at night and urged to cohabit. Practically every Santo Domingo girl has from one to three children before marriage. Cohabitation begins as early in life as twelve or thirteen years, and usually with the consent or knowledge of the parents.

Witchcraft

If a man catches a sorcerer, he gives him, or her, short life, that is, he declares that the sorcerer will never see the sun rise. He then sits and watches the witch, who under such circumstances is without power to move. Just before sunrise the captor departs and the witch begins to stir. But that morning some individual in the pueblo will be found dead, and thus is known to have been the witch.

Every shaman has the power of witchcraft, though not all make use of it. But witchcraft is not limited to the shamans. Many old women are believed to possess and exercise the power. When one of these falls sick, the shamans are bound to attempt to cure her, though they know what she is. There is no possible doubt that there are many individuals who believe they possess this power and attempt to employ it; and when once accused they seem to believe it useless to attempt denial.

There is considerable jealousy and even hostility between shamanistic societies. When a Flint shaman tried to seduce a certain young man's wife by telling her she must remove her clothing before he could apply his medicine, and the husband complained to the cacique, head of the Flint society, the latter strongly urged him not to inform his cousin, who belonged to another society, because "they have ways different from ours, and perhaps he would kill our man." When the shamans "pursue the witches" at the conclusion of their healing rites, they frequently represent that the witch caught is a member of some other society of shamans.

About 1913 Juan Rey Martínez, a Tewa of San Ildefonso, had been giving information to Matilda Coxe Stevenson, an ethnological investigator, which she caused to be published locally. In particular she revealed something of the existence of the snake cult. An inter-pueblo council met at Santo Domingo, a favorite place for these not infrequent occasions, and strict orders were issued against the revelation of religious customs. One day half a dozen mounted men from that pueblo suddenly appeared at San Ildefonso. In a short time they reappeared with Martínez, mounted, in their midst. As the group rapidly passed a neighboring ranch, the prisoner waved his hand to a white woman and called in Spanish, "*Adiós!*" *He* seemed to desire to leave some message, but the others crowded about him and forced him along rapidly. He was never seen again. When inquiry was made a few days later, the San Ildefonso men said that he had died of typhoid. The fact that this execution was carried out by Santo Domingo officers is well known to the present informant.

A few years ago a young man was paying attentions to a Santo Domingo girl. This aroused the jealousy of four young men who had been among her lovers. One night when he was at a farmhouse about fifteen miles from the pueblo, these four appeared, wearing the masks and painting of Shíwanna. They had forced the door of the secret kiva and stolen the masks. They pretended to be real Shíwanna, and said that they had come to kill him. A shaman happened to be in the neighborhood, and he interpreted for the Shíwanna. He insisted that they were genuine gods, thinking that they had been sent by the governor and the council to frighten the young man. But the intended victim declared they were only men, and wanted to tear off their masks. After some argument he consented to be taken back to the village and there to submit the quarrel to the cacique. They started back, but at the river the four left him, doubtless not caring to reveal their identity to the officers. They "gave him short life," that is, they declared that unless he reached his own door within a certain unspecified time he would never reach it alive. So he made haste to the door.

The cacique was called, and he told the young man that the others did not wish him to have the girl in dispute. There the matter rested. A few days later the officers caught one of these young men wearing

a mask without authority. They called the council together and were going to try him, but considering the fact that a secret mask was involved, they dropped the matter, fearing that it might get into court and "take the cover off," that is, reveal to the public the nature of their masks, "like Zuñi."[22] The persecuted youth's aged uncle placed prayer-sticks in the trail of the four masked men, in order to cause their death and send them to the abode of sorcerers in the northwest.

In 1923 an American enthusiast took various Pueblo Indian "delegates" to Washington, ostensibly to plead for religious freedom. Three men were taken from Santo Domingo. A principal feature of the program was exhibition dancing. Soon after their return two of the Santo Domingo men, Agustín Aguilar and Santiago Peña, were executed, because they had participated in the dancing, "showing their secret feathers." The body of one was placed at the base of a wall, a portion of which was thrown down, to demonstrate that he had met death by accident. The method of execution is explained as an application of supernatural power. The actual means employed is not known, but probably is either garrotting or poisoning.

A few years ago a Santa Clara girl married to a Santo Domingo man refused to participate in a ceremony, and ran away to Santa Fe to work in an American household. Soon some Santo Domingo men followed and forced her to return, and she was taken at once to the council-room for trial. Several times she attempted to escape from the room, but was dragged back. They pronounced judgment, stripped her, and whipped her until her back and legs were raw. She reported the affair to the Government's representative, and the sheriff with eight men came from Albuquerque, arrested the officers, and lodged them in jail. The case however never came to trial. The girl now takes part in the

22 All the Pueblos of the Rio Grande are greatly incensed that Zuñi has revealed to investigators so much about its religion and still permits the public to view some of its masked dances, like Shálako. Nevertheless, while the Zuñi will often converse openly on their esoteric affairs, and have no objection to strangers (except Mexicans) witnessing their outdoor masked ceremonies, woe to him who should have the temerity to dispose of a sacred object, such as a mask, for dire vengeance would be visited on the malefactor. Several years ago two Zuñi boys were employed to guide a visiting American to Corn mountain and to show him a war-god shrine below its summit. Some of the wooden images forming the shrine were missed soon after, whereupon the boys, held culpable for the sacrilege, disappeared.

ceremonies, and employs native healers. She finds it necessary to do her washing in the dead of night, for Santo Domingo frowns on aping the silly cleanliness of Americans.

A man or a woman who comes late to the kiva to dress for a dance is forced to strip and stand on exhibition before all the others.

About the year 1911 a youth, returned from school, took communion in the church. This was the first time the officers had seen the rite, and two or three days later at a meeting of the principales they inquired into its significance. It was decided that if such a practice were permitted, the young people would soon even be going to the confessional, where they would inevitably reveal the secrets of the masks and the religious customs. Communion was therefore prohibited. It is never taken in Santo Domingo church, but occasionally some young people go secretly to Peñablanca, a Mexican hamlet and residence of the priest, for the purpose. It is to guard against the possibility of communion and confession that two war-chiefs or their deputies attend every movement of the priest when he visits the pueblo. He cannot enter the church without them. They watch while he dons his vestments and follow when he makes his rounds of the village. Ordinarily only children attend mass. On the feast day of the pueblo the church is crowded, but not with Santo Domingo people. On rare special occasions some of the older people, especially the officers, attend mass; as, for instance, when the false news was circulated that the Government had extended the reservation boundaries, the principal men went to the church, laid the large crucifix on the floor,[23] and offered meal and wafer bread in thanksgiving. Within the church the Indians keep various fetishes of their own. In front of the altar are several bowls filled with medicine-water, and just inside the door are small stone figures of bear and other animals. In a small room at the side are leather-covered trunks containing a large quantity of old church archives, and to this room the priest is never admitted.[24] The dead are buried in the churchyard, males on one side, females on the other. Food is always deposited with the corpse, and calico is dropped into the deep grave. A native

23 The significance of this act is not apparent.

24 Many church and civil archives were swept away when the church was destroyed by the flood of 1886.

never enters the church without a small quantity of meal in the left hand to placate the spirits of the dead.

About 1916 some fifteen men, all members of Shaíyak[a] (the hunters' cult) and of the council, proposed to the principales that all the ceremonial paraphernalia and costumes be burned. They were angry because they had wished, and actually had attempted, to perform as healing shamans, and the shamans themselves opposed it. The proposal of course created an uproar, and the council remained in session all day, all night, and part of the following day. The informant recalls that his mother's brother, an old man whom he called grandfather, came storming into the house, seized the bundle of Shaíyak[a] paraphernalia, and declared that he was going to burn it. His sister wept and pleaded. After this affair the fifteen men were never called into the council, and in a few years nearly all of them died from the chagrin of ostracism. A Pueblo Indian outlawed from his seat in the council is an object of pity.

The following incident occurred about 1916.

A certain man, having become involved in argument in the council, was dropped from its membership. As not infrequently has happened, this ostracism and the attendant disgrace so preyed on his mind that he died a short time later. His particular friend, also a principal, was so angered that he told a friend he was going to renounce participation in ceremonial affairs. He said that the Shíwanna were only men after all. This heresy eventually reached the ears of the principales. Not long thereafter, without previous notification to the public, a band of "run-around" Shíwanna suddenly appeared in the plaza, having dressed some miles from the pueblo on the other side of the river. They did not come from the secret kiva, as is the rule. As they approached the village running, the news was hurriedly circulated, and two or three Kû'*sa*ri quickly threw off their clothing and without stopping to paint ran into the plaza for their customary duty of interpreting for the Shíwanna. They announced that the visitors had come looking for a certain man, whom they did not name. The Shíwanna simulated great anger, brandishing their whips and knives. The Kû'*sa*ri dipped their hands in ashes and rubbed them down over the weapons, and begged the Shíwanna to be quiet. This somewhat mollified them. However, they quickly began to run about the streets as if looking for someone, but they did not enter a house. Then the war-chiefs and other officers and principal shamans came and succeeded in leading them to Wéñima. Soon, how-

ever, a number of Rainbow Shíwanna entered the plaza to dance and to chant their usual songs reproving the people for their neglect of the ancient customs. They too retired to the secret kiva.

Meantime the man for whom they were looking suspected that he was the intended victim, and hid in a corral with an infant on his back. Soon the Shíwanna returned from the kiva, and before long they found him. They whipped him, struck him with their hands, pulled his hair. Some of the principales and the shamans then led him home, and the Shíwanna departed. The next day the man was dead, his abdomen enormously swollen. The informant saw the dead man. The swollen abdomen indicates the use of a drug; but the informant never heard of similar swelling in the case of an executed person.

In 1924 a San Felipe woman left her Santo Domingo husband, who thereupon went to her pueblo to persuade her to return; but he was not permitted to see her. A second visit was equally futile, and he went a third time at dusk, when without provocation he was arrested, suspended by the arms for three days, and whipped. The School Superintendent sent his Government farmer to take the man to Isleta, probably for safekeeping. After his release from the Isleta jail the victim appealed to his people, but the Santo Domingo governor ruled that the San Felipe governor was within his rights.

Some years ago a merchant at Domingo Station, near the pueblo, made nude photographs of two women and hung enlargements in his rooms. The Indians were greatly angered, and a short time thereafter the store burned to the ground.

Drums and Songs

The drums are held in very reverent regard. They were made by the principal men of the scalpers' order, and since these have all died no new ones can be made. The Squash moiety, which has only ten drums, recently purchased a Cochiti instrument for two hundred dollars. The Turquoise party has fifteen drums.

Each drum is the property of a man who inherited it and keeps it very carefully. Each has its personal name, such as Paíyatyama ("youth"), Shíote ("wren"), Shónutewa ("corn-tassel"), Kéa-shónutewa, Tsíyats!en[a] ("from here to there," a phrase frequently used in dance-songs, accompanied by the gesture of extending the right hand

and drawing it in toward the face, a movement suggesting the approach of rain-clouds). The drums are in fact regarded as persons.

A certain old man of each party trains younger men to be drummers, *kôyapamposít*[a]. In this capacity he bears the honorary title *náwaya* ("protector"), the same as the head of a society. When a dance is to be held, each *náwaya* calls his drummers and again instructs them. He directs them to bring the drums, in each case naming the one which the individual is to bring. Each of these men goes to the house where the drum indicated is kept, and says, "I have come [for example] for Paíyatyama." The owner leads him to the place where the instrument hangs, they offer meal and prayers, the drummer thrusts into his belt the drum-sticks, which in some cases are as many as a dozen, and slings the drum on his back. The Turquoise drummers assemble in a certain house on the south side of the plaza, the Squash men in a house at the west end. Again meal is offered to the instruments, they are supplicated in prayer, and are set in a row in front of the fire.

When the dance begins, náwaya leads one of the drummers and the company of singers into the plaza, himself conducting the singing, while the others remain in the house, taking care of the drums, keeping them warm, and solemnly smoking cigarettes. No levity is permitted.

At each appearance of a given party, Turquoise or Squash, the drummer, usually the same man throughout the dance, brings out a different drum, first having carefully warmed it at the fire and tested it with a few gentle blows. If it should be desired to employ a different drummer, the other party is so informed and it too changes its drummer; for there is constant rivalry between the two parties, each endeavoring to surpass the other in the excellence of its drumming, which is considered a very essential feature in bringing rain.

Inside each drum there is a curved wooden device arranged in such manner that when the instrument is reversed it will lie against one of the heads and so produce a different tone from that given out by the other head. The exact manner in which this device operates could not be learned. In the midst of a song the drummer carefully but quickly up-ends it, and makes use of the other head with a deeper tone. The art of the drummer is a difficult one. He must know every song perfectly, for the rhythm is everything and by no means simple. The mere physical effort required to beat the drum for several hours with only brief intermissions is not inconsiderable.

A song is the exclusive property of an individual or a group, and appropriation of it by another is regarded as theft no less than if an article of clothing were taken. In 1923, at a public exhibition in Gallup, the Navaho performed their fire-dance, in which medicine-men lighted large bunches of juniper boughs smeared heavily with pitch, and thrust them against one another's bodies until they were extinguished. A Navaho woman stood with outstretched hands and received in them showers of sparks and dripping pitch, and "washed" her hands in them. At the same affair a Cochiti man was announced to sing a love-song. It proved to be a Navaho song, and the theft excited so great resentment among the Navaho that in 1924 they refused to repeat the fire-dance and indeed took little part in the show except as spectators. The people of Cochiti, reduced in number, have been accustomed to ask Santo Domingo singers to assist them in their ceremonies; but recently it has been decided that Santo Domingo songs must not be given away in this fashion.

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